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U.S. UNLEASHES IRAQ AGAINST IRAN

This past week has seen the long simmering border conflict between Iraq and Iran explode into full scale war, with each country launching ground attacks, bombing cities and airports and attacking the oil facilities of the other. On September 17th, the Iraqi government ripped up a border agreement signed with Iran in 1975, claiming as "Arab territory" the Shatt al Arab waterway (which both countries rely on heavily for moving their oil exports), several chunks of land, and three islands in the strategic Straits of Hormuz.

Iraqi armored units then drove across the border with Iran along a 300 mile front, stretching from the Kurdish mountains in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south, and Iraqi jets hit

seven Iranian airfields, including Tehran's main airport. Iran retaliated by bombing targets near Baghdad, and soon the air war had escalated to hitting key oil refineries, industrial complexes and oil loading facilities (such as Iran's Kharg Island). As of last Friday, Iraqi forces had driven as much as 20 miles into Iran in a number of places, and had cut off the huge oil refinery at Abadan (which supplies Iran with most of its gasoline, heating fuel and other petrochemical needs) and had set major portions of it on fire.

But immediately behind this "local war," in which the U.S. is supposedly "not involved", lurks the bloodstained hands of U.S. imperialism. Over the last year and more, the U.S. and Iraq have

been collaborating closely to bring down the new government in Tehran and crush the Iranian revolution altogether. Border fighting has been going on since the fall of the Shah in early 1979, but it has picked up in tempo and intensity, not coincidentally, since the aborted U.S. raid on Iran in April.

It is an open secret that the CIA and the Iraqi government have together equipped and trained reactionary Iranian exile groups inside Iraq. These are

led by the ex-Shah's ex-generals (such as the infamous General Oveissie—who ordered the massacre of more than 5000 unarmed demonstrators in the streets of Tehran in November 1978) and former puppet Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar. Oveissie has made several trips to the U.S. over the past year, meeting privately with State Department officials. Only two months ago

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Historic Demonstration in West Germany



2000 March Against "Autumn Forge '80"

It was exactly what the largest war maneuvers in the history of NATO called for—the largest demonstration against NATO maneuvers to take place in Germany. On Saturday, September 20th, 2,000 people took to the streets of Hildesheim, West Germany and marched through the city and out to the headquarters of Operation Spearpoint.

With 60,000 troops from the U.S.,

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Sat. September 20 Behind a banner which read "To Hell With Autumn Forge '80"—"Oppose Imperialist War Preparations" with a lead contingent of 350

workers organized by the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF) 2,000 people took to the streets in Hildesheim, West Germany.

Titan Blows in Arkansas

Politicians Call For "Safer" H-Bombs

Titan II silo—after the blast.

It was a tremendous explosion which crashed through the night air in the early hours of September 19, near the farming community of Damascus, Arkansas. Bright orange flames shot hundreds of feet into the sky, so bright one observer reported that, "You could read a newspaper by it." "They didn't have to tell us what it was," said one local farmer. "We got in the car and got the hell out of there."

Shooting off into the darkness was the nosecone of a Titan II Intercontinental Ballistic Missile carrying a hydrogen bomb with an explosive power equal to 9 million tons of TNT. But rather than the 6,000 miles to Russia for which the warhead was programmed, it travelled only 200 yards into a nearby ditch. Deep in its hardened silo designed to withstand the force of a near miss by a nuclear bomb, a Titan II missile had exploded. The 750-ton sliding door made of steel and concrete which covered the bunker was smashed by the force of the explosion, sending chunks of steel weighing over a ton

raining down onto fields and pastures a quarter of a mile away.

Alerted the evening before that there was "trouble" at the silo, local press and police officials sat stunned as their radio monitors overheard the air force disaster crew talking among themselves as they removed the last casualties from the site:

"OK, that puts us all off the site. Do we have any further instructions?"

"Any information about the weapon?"

"Negative, we have no information at this time. I doubt very seriously if anyone has really looked for it."

Back in Washington it was like Three-Mile Island all over again. Uncertain at first about just how bad the accident was and whether it could still be covered up, government officials put out one lying coverup after another, contradicting each other and themselves, while back at the scene more and more damaging evidence kept tumbling into the light.

First they said no one was killed, then

one airman turns up dead in a Little Rock hospital with 21 injured. Everything is under control, then it turns out the warhead is missing. The Titan is a very safe weapon, then a check of the files shows at least 55 deaths and numerous injuries and dozens of breakdowns in the aging Titan missiles. But most disgusting of all, when the extent of the disaster can no longer be concealed, the capitalist

politicians and media all rushed to feign concern for the safety of thousands of Americans whose lives are endangered by the aging missile, while raising no objection at all that the purpose of these weapons of mass destruction is to incinerate millions of working people like ourselves in the great cities of Russia as our respective rulers scratch and claw at one another for world domination.

"Isn't it terrible the way these creaking old missiles blow up," cried the politicians. "What we need are some newer, safer missiles. These things are supposed to blow up in Russia—not Arkansas!"

In the first attempts at coverup, it was truly laughable how the various brass had stumbled all over each other. In Washington, Air Force Secretary Hans Mark held a news conference to defend the Titan missile: "A very, very good piece of hardware." Claiming that there was absolutely no danger to people who live near the Titan silos, Mark added, "Accidents happen. Even safe systems can have an accident." The air force also cited a safety report on the Titan systems completed last May which declared: "The physical condition of the Titan II weapons systems is good and considered by many to be better now than when it was new. Maintenance procedures are adequate to safely and effectively maintain the system." And as he rushed off to Camp David for the weekend, Jimmy Carter declared, "The situation is under control." Of course there were some of the ruling class who wanted to jump on the occasion to create some public opinion for the U.S. programs for new, bigger and more destructive

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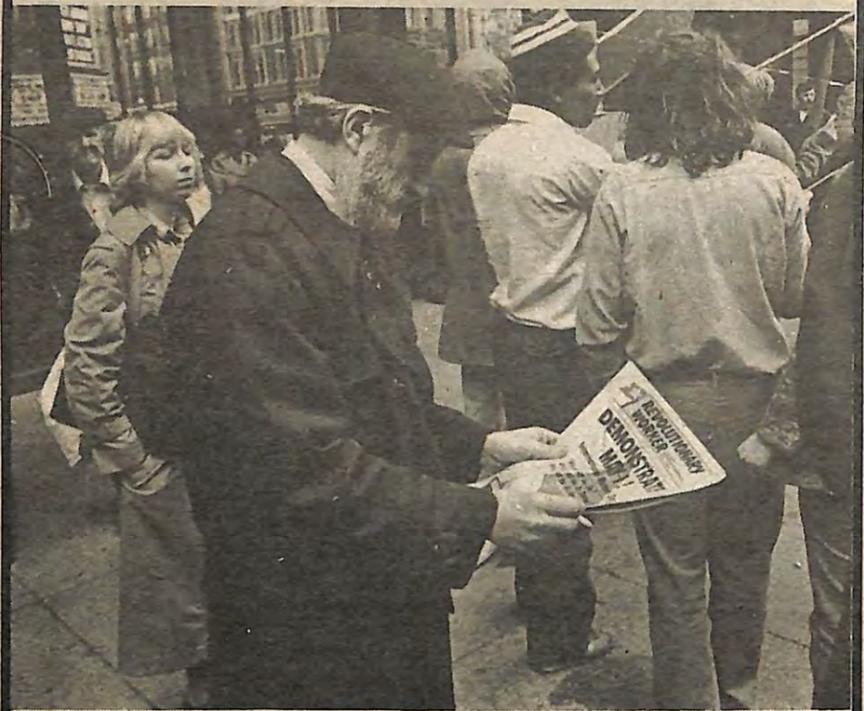
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U.S. PLAYS CARRIBEAN PINBALL

CUBAN REFUGEES BOOTED TO PUERTO RICO

What goes around, comes around. Last spring, thousands of Cubans trapped under Fidel Castro's revisionist dictatorship and Soviet neo-colonial rule gullibly swallowed U.S. imperialist propaganda and the sales job of their gusano relatives. They scrambled aboard the "freedom flotilla," which became one of the most hysterical migrations of modern times, and landed some 80,000 strong on the Florida beaches. Five months later, following a summer of hellish confinement in concentration-camp-style "relocation centers" punctuated by frequent riots and rebellions, the U.S. State Department has dropped the other shoe: thousands of refugees currently still incarcerated will be transferred to a Caribbean colony for future "processing." Net change: the colony is Puerto

Rico, not Cuba, and the U.S. controls it, not the Soviet Union.

The State Department's "Cuba-Haitian" task force announced last week that a U.S. naval installation on the south coast of Puerto Rico would be converted into a refugee processing center. The new center will receive all new Caribbean refugees. (At present, according to State Department figures, 45,000 Cubans a month continue to stream into the U.S.) The new facility, Ft. Allen, features all the charm and comfort of the other facilities currently housing Cuban immigrants—barbed wire fences, heavily armed MPs, all the frills. In addition, State Department spokesman Art Brill announced that refugees at "overcrowded" bases in the U.S., especially in and around Miami, would be moved to Puerto Rico.

A front page story in the Wednesday *Chicago Tribune* said that the refugees who would be sent to the new Puerto Rican processing center at Ft. Allen would include "many Cubans who are criminals or who had severe mental problems." Puerto Rican government officials, who had earlier "agreed" to the new plan (as if they had any say in the matter) publicly protested, complaining that Puerto Rico would become "the garbage dump of the Caribbean." This led Brill to utter a hasty denial: "Cubans with mental illnesses or serious felony offenses will not be sent to Ft. Allen."

But the cold fact is that from the standpoint of the U.S., the refugees are nothing but "human garbage" whether they are mentally defective or not. The initial propaganda coup the U.S. thought it had scored, when it briefly adopted the statue of liberty pose and piously welcomed the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," has long since blown up in its face. U.S. propaganda has for some time portrayed the refugees as ungrateful rabble, an echo of Castro's description of them as "degenerate, anti-social scum." At the height of the Cuban immigration, we observed that "the fact of the matter is Castro was glad to unload thousands of people to lessen the burden of his col-

lapsing economy in which both spreading unemployment and severe rationing and hunger are both major factors. Castro's throwing of a number of common criminals and mental defectives into the lot was no doubt viewed by him with a chuckle as 'pulling a fast one' on the U.S.; but it also reveals his attitude towards the immigration as a whole, getting rid of a lot of dead wood. And regardless of the calibre of the 'refugees' the fundamental cause of this approach lies in the moribund economy of a colonized island presided over by a petty collaborator in the enslavement of his people to imperialism." Ironically, the current U.S. attempt to dump the refugees on Puerto Rico is a fitting development in the whole refugee episode, which has deeply impressed not only the refugees but millions of others with the horror of life under U.S. imperialism revealed beneath the tattered lie of the "American Dream." In Puerto Rico, the refugees next stop, frenzied cries are already being raised at the official unemployment which is already 17%—"we don't want them!"

Meanwhile, among those refugees who have managed their release from the detention centers, life in the U.S.

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Harlem Hospital, Slated for Shutdown, Occupied

The scheduled closing of Sydenham Hospital in the Black community of West Harlem has touched off a wave of resistance not seen in Harlem for many years. Since the city administration of New York had ordered the beginnings of Sydenham's phase-out for September 16, closing the emergency room and admissions office, Black activists took over the hospital the night of the 15th. Hundreds of protestors moved into the lobby of Sydenham demanding that it remain open. And for nearly two weeks, Sydenham has continued to be occupied.

Closing a hospital in Harlem is an outright atrocity against the Black community. The infant mortality rate in Harlem is among the highest in the country. Yet Mayor Koch told the Black community that he was actually doing the best thing for them, shutting down an old and inadequate hospital, leaving residents 6 other, and better, facilities to use.

The idea of other and "better" hospitals that Koch has held out for the masses of Black people is a joke. Some, like St. Lukes, are not even in Harlem, and the majority of them are private hospitals that mainly do not accept poor patients who don't have insurance. Harlem Hospital, a city-run facility, was forced to close its operating rooms for a period during the summer when doctors walked out because the air conditioning failed to keep the hospital cool enough. North Central Hospital, located below Sydenham, was in danger of not meeting its payroll during the very same week that Sydenham was shut down. Sydenham is not the

only hospital to close in the area, either. Last year, Logan Hospital went bankrupt and ceased functioning. Nearby, Metropolitan Hospital is also threatened with closing. One nurse at Sydenham described the effects of the loss of this hospital by saying, "A lot of people are just going to die."

Mayor Koch arrogantly went ahead and ordered Sydenham shut down, pushing through this process in such a way as to incur a backlash even from members of the Health and Hospital Corporation, the agency which runs the city's hospitals. Diane Lacey, of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, is the chairperson of the Coalition to Save Sydenham and was among a group of 30 Black people who barricaded themselves inside the administration offices at Sydenham.

The battle keep Sydenham open has drawn many forces into it. Among them are people like Timothy Mitchell, chairman of the board of directors of the National Conference of Black Churches; Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front; Cenie Williams of the Association of Black Social Workers; and other ministers and figures in the Black community.

And as the struggle around Sydenham heated up, a stream of political lackeys like Congressman Charles Rangel and CORE leader Roy Innis showed up. Both of these men were soundly booed by the people whenever they attempted to speak. But more important, the struggle over Sydenham has drawn a significant number of the Black masses and others into sharp battle with the authorities. The significance

of this goes even beyond the question of whether Sydenham is forced to reopen or not.

Six days after the takeover of Sydenham, a rally was held outside the hospital which drew area tenants groups, hospital workers, health professionals, and people from the surrounding community of Harlem. The police attacked this demonstration when the crowd demanded the removal of the barricades the police had set up during the middle of the night, separating those still inside the hospital from the protestors outside. Wielding billyclubs, police charged into the crowd, some of them being met with flying rocks and bottles, barricades and garbage cans.

The police ran down the street chasing after people, pulling many of them out of apartment building doorways and beating them unconscious. One demonstrator remains hospitalized and in critical condition. On at least two known occasions, the cops drew guns on people, threatening to shoot those who refused to stop.

The dispersed demonstration quickly regrouped, and when they returned in a defiant march back to Sydenham, the area had been turned into an armed encampment. The police had positioned themselves down in the subways. On rooftops more cops were stationed. 200 police, equipped with helmets and clubs, stood between the demonstration and Sydenham—with reinforcements from the Tactical Police Force on the way. Police barricaded the area, demonstrators held a picket line—and then left.

On Sunday, several thousand people amassed outside Sydenham in response to the police's assault against the previous day's demonstration. The next edition of the *Amsterdam News* (a Black newspaper in New York) condemned the police attack on its editorial page and had a front-page photo of the cops going wild. The insistence on the part of Mayor Koch and the police commissioner, that the police had acted out of self-defense, only fueled the people's anger.

As we go to press a stalemate exists. The authorities have had to take steps essentially to buy time. To date, Koch has not ordered police to evict the 9 people still inside Sydenham, though food, telephone service and electricity have been shut off to them.

Koch has made an announcement that he will postpone the movement of patients out of the hospital until November 1. The city will continue to hold the hospital operating certificate until November 21, while a proposal by a group of doctors to run the hospital on federal funds as an acute health care center is being studied. But those still inside Sydenham have refused to leave until the emergency room is reopened, a demand that Mayor Koch has refused to meet. What the outcome of this struggle to reopen Sydenham will be is not clear. But what is clear is that in closing this hospital the bourgeoisie has opened up a reservoir of hatred among Black people for their oppression. □

Commemorations Held in 36 Towns

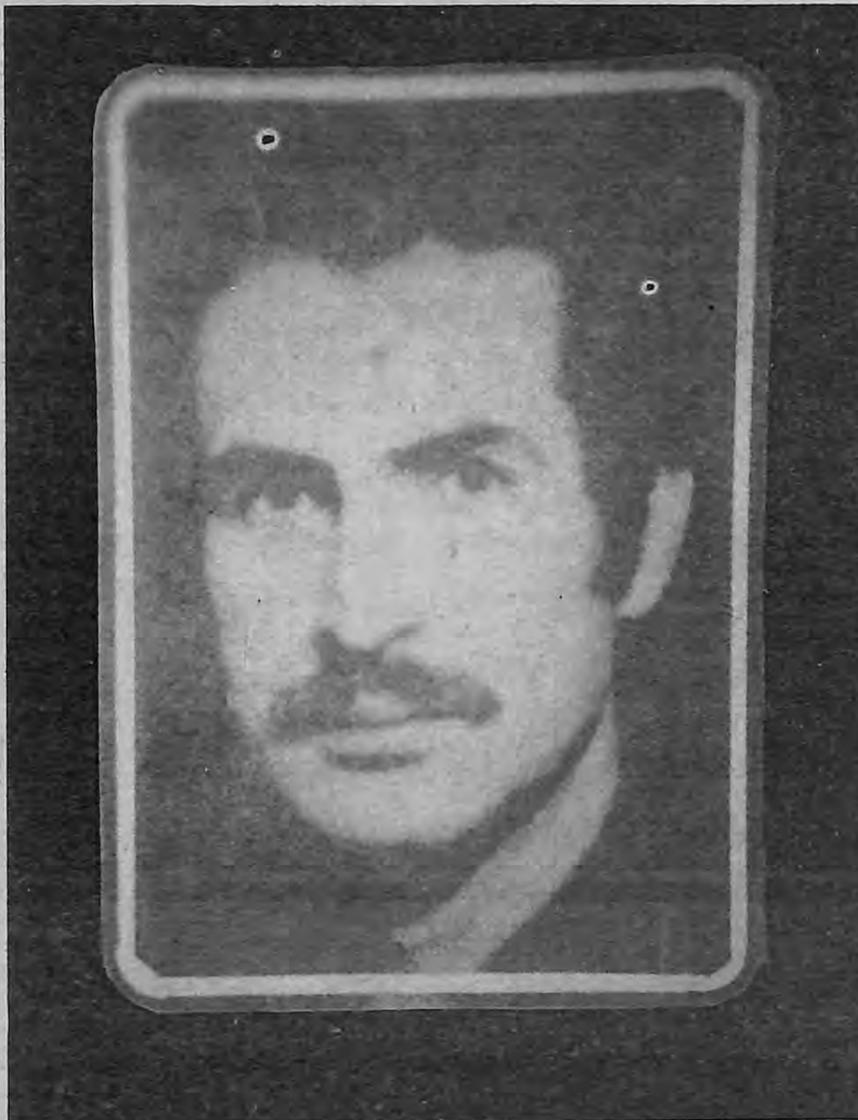
Revolutionary Leader Murdered in Kurdistan

The RW has recently received reports that Salahadin Shams Borhan—the leader of the Peshmergas of the Oppressed and Toiling Masses (Tashkilot) in the Kurdish city of Mahabad and a veteran member of the Union of Iranian Communists—was brutally murdered July 3. This was no isolated incident but part of a rising level of counterrevolutionary activity in Kurdistan and throughout Iran. Salahadin had received numerous death threats in previous weeks, which had also seen bombings of the Mahabad headquarters of several other revolutionary organizations.

This killing was obviously well organized and plotted out in advance. On this day several Tashkilot Peshmergas were sitting outside Salahadin's house when they noticed someone was hiding beneath a blown-up Land Rover jeep out in the street. Several Peshmergas went out to investigate. The person underneath the jeep immediately ran away. Pursuing him they encountered a car with five people in it parked nearby. On cue, the suspicious group got out of their car and started swearing at the Peshmergas and calling them "counter-revolutionaries," clearly intending to provoke a fight. Meanwhile one of them, Osman, ran into his house nearby, came out with an AK-47 and started firing wildly at the Peshmergas. Hearing the shooting, Salahadin came out of his house, and Osman wheeled around, took careful aim and killed Salahadin.

Four of these men were arrested shortly thereafter by forces of the KDP (Kurdish Democratic Party), which refused to turn them over to Tashkilot. Osman himself mysteriously disappeared from sight. Tashkilot's own investigation turned up the fact that Osman was a former KDP member and that he had been in close contact with one of the top-ranking leaders of the KDP up until two weeks before the murder. When an investigative committee that included Tashkilot, Komoleh (the largest of the revolutionary fighting forces in Kurdistan), Peykar and others were finally able to interrogate the four men at KDP headquarters, they found that they weren't being guarded closely as prisoners would be—in fact it looked more like they were held for their protection.

While the investigation so far has only begun to uncover the complete story behind the murder of Salahadin, it is clear that KDP—or at least a section of it—is heavily involved in the murder and the continuing coverup. As a bourgeois nationalist political party that is widely known to have landlords and bourgeois elements among its leaders and members, the KDP is directly threatened by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces active in Kurdistan. And clearly reactionaries of various stripes have been provoked by the work and political line of Tashkilot and the Union of Iranian Communists—that of building the Kurdish people's struggle as a component part and a driving force in the Iranian revolution as a whole in order to completely defeat imperialism, feudalism and reaction; that of struggling for autonomy by relying on the masses of workers, peasants and other Kurdish toilers in unity with the other peoples of Iran; their stand of waging a self-reliant revolutionary struggle, targeting the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys as the main enemies of the people at the same time as they expose the Soviet social-imperialists' attempts to infiltrate the movement; and their exposure of the KDP's treacherous, compromising role in the struggle over the last year, repeatedly trying to use the Kurdish people as a bargaining chip to arrange a deal with the central government in Tehran. Even though KDP is



Interview with Salahadin: 'Our Enemy is the Same'

This past spring, a revolutionary activist visiting Kurdistan had the opportunity to interview Salahadin, a leading member of the Tashkilot organization, who was murdered by reactionaries a short time later. Salahadin's revolutionary internationalist spirit, and his determination to carry forward the Kurdish people's struggle in this context, is partly captured in the following quotes from the interview:

—Welcoming the comrades from the U.S. to Kurdistan:

"We thank you for doing your duty and hearing the voice of the Kurdish people and echoing it around the world. We know that our enemy is the same U.S. imperialism that is your enemy, and we extend our solidarity to you in your very good struggle against this enemy."

—On the relationship between the Kurdish struggle and the Iranian revolution:

"Real autonomy, or self-determination, or even just winning the demands now put forward by the 'Representatives of the Kurdish People,' can't be won unless the democratic revolution in Iran is led by the proletariat and completed successfully. But at the same time, the Kurdish people's struggle has a dialectical relationship with the overall Iranian revolution. Today the struggle of the Kurdish people is in the forefront of the struggle of the people of Iran."

—On the fighting in Kurdistan:

"While the revolutionary forces now (May 1980—RW) control such cities as Sanandaj, we will probably not be able to hold on to them. We think the cities will switch hands several times; this is the second or third time already. The revolutionary forces go into the town and kick out the Pastars and the army, and then the masses and the Peshmergas leave (when the heavy counterattack comes). This is how the fighting develops."

—On May Day activities in Kurdistan this year:

"In Sanandaj there was fighting on that day, and two workers were martyred. On the same day we put out a leaflet which quoted another worker who said that on this First of May, we have presented two martyrs to the worldwide struggle of the working class."

led by pro-Soviet revisionists, the nature of this party is such that various reactionaries and other low-life elements in Kurdistan linked to the Shah's regime and to the CIA-supported Barzani forces have been recruited into the KDP, where they continue to carry out their counter-revolutionary activities. Osman appears

to be such a person, though the full picture of just who his mentors are in KDP and elsewhere remains to be filled in.

Salahadin was a clear target for the imperialists and their reactionary agents in Kurdistan. An experienced and tested revolutionary, he had been active in the Iranian revolutionary movement for more than 15 years. Salahadin join-

ed the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) and the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC) when he was studying in Turkey during the late 1960s. In 1970, he was condemned to death in absentia by the Shah's regime; this sentence was announced publicly at the time on Iranian TV and radio. During these years, Salahadin was in charge of maintaining contact between the branches of the UIC (which were all underground) in Turkey and Iran. Because of his revolutionary activities, Salahadin was arrested by the Turkish police for deportation to Iran. However, this joint conspiracy of SAVAK and the Turkish secret police was frustrated because of the vigorous protests of revolutionaries and other progressive forces in Turkey.

Salahadin returned to Iran at the end of 1977, when the revolution was beginning to pick up, but the borders were still carefully guarded. He immediately plunged into the revolutionary struggle in his native Kurdistan, where he played a leading role in organizing a branch of the UIC and initiating several mass democratic Kurdish organizations. Over the next year of intense revolutionary struggle, these organizations grew and developed into the Peshmergas of the Oppressed and Toiling Masses (popularly known as "Tashkilot"), which was founded in the summer of 1979.

Salahadin worked tirelessly to advance the revolution throughout Kurdistan. He spent most of his time in the villages, politically educating and organizing the peasants, and actively participating in many struggles against the local feudal landlords. As he became increasingly known and respected among the people, his life was repeatedly threatened by the feudals and other reactionaries. As one of the first revolutionary leaders in Kurdistan to publicly take a position against the Soviet social-imperialists and their designs on the Kurdish struggle and the revolution, he also incurred the wrath of the pro-Soviet revisionist leaders of the Tudeh Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party.

In early July, three days after Salahadin's murder, Tashkilot called for a public meeting in Mahabad. A number of peasants from the surrounding villages travelled for hours to attend. Messages were read by a number of organizations at this meeting including from the bureau of Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini, a respected leader of the Kurdish people, from the Communist Party of Turkey (ML), Komoleh, Peykar, Razmandegon, and the Fedayeen. The message from Hosseini's bureau stated that the death of Comrade Salahadin was "not just the loss of a great revolutionary, but it is as if we lost Sheik Hosseini himself." The Communist Party of Turkey (ML), some of whose members had known Salahadin, wrote that "we couldn't find anything in him but internationalism. He was full of love for the toilers and masses, and full of hate for the enemies of the people." The demand was raised at this meeting for KDP to turn the four murderers over to Tashkilot, which announced its intention of trying them in an open revolutionary people's court so as to expose who is behind this despicable act as well as other attacks on the revolutionary forces.

According to our most recent reports, commemorations were held in mid-August on the 40th day of Salahadin's death in 36 towns and villages in Kurdistan, including Mahabad, Saqqez and Buchan. Clearly the Kurdish people intend to strike new and more powerful blows against their enemies and shine a hot, white light on the criminals responsible for the murder of this revolutionary leader.

ARTICLE BY V.I. LENIN

A Talk With The Defenders Of Economism

In line with the opening of the "100 Flowers" campaign to open debate and discussion in the pages of the RW about the path to revolution in this country and the line of our Party that the Revolutionary Worker newspaper is the main weapon today and presents the most pressing and concrete task in preparing for the revolutionary goal, we thought it would be instructive to reprint "A Talk with Defenders of Economism" by V.I. Lenin. As we said in RW No. 72, September 19, 1980:

"We have put forward our plan for revolutionary work leading toward the proletarian seizure of power in this country—a plan for getting from here to there, through twists and turns—a plan centered around a revolutionary newspaper. We have put forward that the times are urgent, that far from being "ahead of where things are at," we are behind—not only behind the accelerating objective situation of crisis and looming war, but behind in meeting the revolutionary requirements of the advanced section of workers who need to be further armed with an understanding of the world in order to make big contributions to changing it.

"It is the duty of all revolutionary-minded people to respond to this plan; to voice disagreement where it exists or questions where they are felt."

The article reprinted below appeared in the pages of the newspaper *Iskra* in December of 1901, about three months before Lenin published *What Is To Be Done?*, and was later described by Lenin as a synopsis of that work. In "A Talk with Defenders of Economism," Lenin answers a letter sent to *Iskra* by people who held an Economist line and disagreed with Lenin that the communists in fact lagged behind the spontaneous movements of the masses and belittled the central role of ideological and political work centered around an all-Russian political newspaper. In his response to the letter, Lenin refers to the period beginning in late 1897 and especially in the fall of 1898 (the Party was formed in the spring of 1898) as one marked by the development of a retrograde trend of tailing spontaneity. In the conclusion of *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin calls this the "third period" in the development of the communist movement in Russia, and describes the emergence of this full-blown Economist trend as follows:

"This was a period of disunity, dissolution, and vacillation. During adolescence a youth's voice breaks. And so, in this period, the voice of Russian Social-Democracy began to break, to strike a false note. . . . But it was only the leaders who wandered about separately and drew back; the movement itself continued to grow, and it advanced with enormous strides. The proletarian struggle spread to new strata of the workers and extended to the whole of Russia, at the same time indirectly stimulating the revival of the democratic spirit among the students and among other sections of the population. The political consciousness of the leaders however, capitulated before the breadth and power of the spontaneous upsurge. . . . The leaders not only lagged behind in regard to theory ("freedom of criticism") and practice ("primitiveness"), but they sought to justify their backwardness by all manner of high-flown arguments. . . . Not the lofty contempt for practical work displayed by some worshipper of the 'absolute' is characteristic of this period, but the combination of petti-fogging practice and utter disregard for theory. It was not so much in the direct rejection of 'grandiose phrases' that the heroes of this period engaged as their vulgarisation. . . ." In *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin more fully analyses this Economist trend and fully puts forward his line on the role of the newspaper, concluding with a brief answer to the question of *What Is To Be Done?*: "Put an End to the Third Period."

In this spirit, we would hope that the example of the debate which raged in the communist movement in Russia at the beginning of the century will further point out the urgency of joining battle over the burning questions facing revolutionaries today. Great strides forward have been made in the analysis of the

Party of the objective situation and our tasks, but there is further work to be done in fully grasping the urgencies and revolutionary possibilities in today's situation and the central task as put forward in the Draft Programme and elsewhere and in putting an end to the "third period" in the revolutionary movement in this country with gusto.

A Talk With Defenders of Economism

Below we publish in full, as received from one of our representatives,

"A Letter to the Russian Social-Democratic Press.

"In response to the suggestion made by our comrades in exile that we express our views on *Iskra*, we have resolved to state the reasons for our disagreement with that organ.

"While recognising that the appearance of a special Social-Democratic organ specially devoted to questions of the political struggle is entirely opportune, we do not think that *Iskra*, which has undertaken this task, has performed it satisfactorily. The principal drawback of the paper which is the cause of all its other defects, large and small, is the exaggerated importance it attaches to the influence which the ideologists of the movement exert upon its various tendencies. At the same time, *Iskra* gives too little consideration to the material elements and the material environment of the movement, whose interaction creates a definite type of labour movement and determines its path, the path from which the ideologists, despite all their efforts, are incapable of diverting it, even if they are inspired by the finest theories and programmes.

"This defect becomes most marked when *Iskra* is compared with *Yuzhny Rabochy*, which, like *Iskra*, raises the banner of political struggle but connects it with the preceding phase of the South-Russian working-class movement. Such a presentation of the question is alien to *Iskra*. It has set itself the task of fanning 'the spark into a great conflagration',* but it forgets that necessary inflammable material and favourable environmental conditions are required for such a task. In dissociating itself completely from the 'Economists', *Iskra* loses sight of the fact that their activity prepared the ground for the workers' participation in the February and March events, upon which *Iskra* lays so much stress and, to all appearances, greatly exaggerates. While criticising adversely the activity of the Social-Democrats of the late nineties, *Iskra* ignores the fact that at that time conditions were lacking for any work other than the struggle for minor demands, and ignores also the enormous educational significance of that struggle. *Iskra* is entirely wrong and unhistorical in its appraisal of that period and of the direction of the activities of the Russian Social-Democrats at the time, in identifying their tactics with those of Zubatov,² in failing to differentiate between the 'struggle for minor demands', which widens and deepens the labour movement, and 'minor concessions', whose purpose was to paralyse every struggle and every movement.

"Thoroughly imbued with the sectarian intolerance so characteristic of ideologists in the infantile period of social movements, *Iskra* is ready to brand every disagreement with it, not only as a departure from Social-Democratic principles, but as desertion to the camp of the enemy. Of such a



Lenin

nature is its extremely indecent and most reprehensible attack upon *Rabochaya Mysl*, contained in the article on Zubatov, in which the latter's success among a certain section of the working class was attributed to that publication. Negatively disposed to the other Social-Democratic organisations, which differ from it in their views on the progress and the tasks of the Russian labour movement, *Iskra*, in the heat of controversy, at times forgets the truth and, picking on isolated unfortunate expressions, attributes to its opponents views they do not hold, emphasises points of disagreement that are frequently of little material importance, and obstinately ignores the numerous points of contact in views. We have in mind *Iskra's* attitude towards *Rabocheye Dyelo*. *Iskra's* excessive predilection for controversy is due primarily to its exaggerating the role of 'ideology' (programmes, theories. . .) in the movement, and is partly an echo of the internecine squabbles that have flared up among Russian political exiles in Western Europe, of which they have hastened to inform the world in a number of polemical pamphlets and articles. In our opinion, these disagreements exercise almost no influence upon the actual course of the Russian Social-Democratic movement, except perhaps to damage it by bringing an undesirable schism into the midst of the comrades working in Russia. For this reason, we cannot but express our disapproval of *Iskra's* fervent polemics, particularly when it oversteps the bounds of decency.

"This basic drawback of *Iskra* is also the cause of its inconsistency on the question of the attitude of Social-Democracy to the various social classes and tendencies. By theoretical reasoning, *Iskra* solved the problem of the immediate transition to the struggle against absolutism. In all probability it senses the difficulty of such a task for the workers under the present state of affairs but lacking the patience to wait until the workers will have gathered sufficient forces for this struggle, *Iskra* begins to seek allies in the ranks of the liberals and intellectuals. In this quest, it not infrequently departs from the class point of view, obscures class antagonisms, and puts into the forefront the common nature of the discontent with the government, although the causes and the degree of the discontent vary considerably among the 'allies'. Such, for example, is *Iskra's* attitude towards the Zemstvo. It tries to fan into flames of political struggle the Zemstvo's Frondian demonstrations, which are frequently called forth by the fact that the government pays more attention to the protection of industry than to the agrarian aspirations of the Zemstvo gentry*, and it promises the nobles that are dissatisfied with the government's sops the assistance of the working class, but it does not say a word about the class antagonism that exists between these social strata. It may be conceded that it is admissible to say that the Zemstvo is being roused and that it is an element fighting the government; but this must be stated so clearly and distinctly that no doubt will be left as to the character of a possible agreement with such elements. *Iskra*, however, approaches the question of our attitude towards the Zemstvo in a way that to our mind can on-

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* A play on the word *Iskra*, which means "spark".—Tr.

* Reference is to the liberal landlords, members of the Zemstvo Boards.—Tr.

SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS' WAR MANEUVERS

The Call's "Sooner Or Later" Debate

"By social-chauvinism we mean the acceptance of the idea of the defense of the fatherland in the present imperialist war, justification of an alliance between socialists and the bourgeoisie and the governments of their 'own' countries in this war, a refusal to propagate and support proletarian-revolutionary action against one's 'own' bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly obvious that social-chauvinism's basic ideological and political content fully coincides with the foundations of opportunism. It is *one and the same* tendency. . . . The idea of class collaboration is opportunism's main feature. The war has brought this idea to its logical conclusion. . . ."

"... Firstly, chauvinism and opportunism in the labor movement have the same economic basis: the alliance between a numerically small upper stratum of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie—who get but morsels of the privileges of their 'own' national capital—against the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the toilers and the oppressed in general." (V.I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 242, 244)

"The socialist, the revolutionary proletarian, the internationalist, argues differently. He says: 'The character of the war... depends on what class is waging the war, and on what politics this war is a continuation of. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution. . . . I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country (for that is the argument of a wretched, stupid, petty-bourgeois nationalist who does not realize he is only a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie), but from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.'" (V.I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 286-287)

These two statements by the great revolutionary V.I. Lenin draw a clear and sharp line between revolutionaries and the many varieties of social-chauvinists who in any number of ways try to couch their subservience to the ruling powers under layers of "socialist," even "communist," rhetoric and phrases. In recent issues of *The Call*, the (for now) bi-weekly newspaper of the "Communist" Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), a debate (of sorts) is being aired between a couple of different variations of the same "unite with the U.S. imperialists to defeat the Soviet social-imperialists" theme. The parties to the debate are the CPML, represented by one "C.E." (for "Chauvinist Expert," perhaps?) and the initiator of the debate, a small collective of some sort calling itself the "Communist" Unity Organization (CUO) joined by one Larry Harris, who appears to represent one trend of thought in the "Revolutionary" Workers Headquarters (a.k.a. the Mensheviks, who split from the RCP several years ago).

The controversy centers around a book put out by the CUO called *Sooner or Later*, by which is meant you have to side with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet imperialists "sooner or later," so why not capitulate in this way now and do it completely openly, and avoid the rush later. About the only thing

positive that can be said about this book is that its authors make only the shabbiest attempts to justify their naked calls for unity with the U.S. in its preparations to wage a world war against the Soviet Union to grab up a bigger share of the world for its blood-soaked empire, while the CPML in its answer to the CUO attempted a bit more to hide its capitulation to the bourgeoisie's war schemes. In fact the CUO authors have the declared intention of knocking down any argument in opposition to this noble goal of capitulation. But alas, they do not do too well. Their complete butchery and distortion of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is shameless and unabashed. For example, compare the following passages from *Sooner or Later* with what Lenin had to say in the quotes at the beginning of this article:

"Given the present world situation in which the Soviet Union's fascist and hegemonist offensive has reached such threatening proportions, peace, national independence and democracy can only be saved by building the broadest possible united front, uniting all who can be united against the main enemy. . . ."

"... In the present situation of overwhelming Soviet military strength and the military weakness and disunity of the Second and Third worlds (Japan and the Western European countries, and the underdeveloped countries, respectively—RW), 'collective defense' requires the active participation of the United States. It is a 'positive factor' which must be mobilized against the main enemy.

"This does not mean that the U.S. has 'changed color,'" they hasten to point out (assuring us all the U.S. is not socialist). Thanks, for a minute there you almost had us convinced that it had. "The U.S. imperialists have an interest in peace only because they have an interest in the *status quo*, in the shoring up of the U.S. empire. But in this particular case the interests of the American bourgeoisie and that of the American and the world proletariat overlap, yet they do not coincide. . . ."

"As the clearest and most consistent supporters of the active defense of their own people, communists must then link the question of defense with the demands of the people for democratic rights and against the continuous deterioration of their standard of living."

We are treated in *Sooner or Later* to an amazing double-think exercise on diverting "along democratic and progressive lines" the "mass reaction to hegemonism" in the U.S. heralded by the reactionary demonstrations of "resistance to being pushed around" in Iran—yes, they really think there's a "progressive" side to the anti-Iranian demonstrations. Following this, the CUO advances the following stunning argument:

"The Soviet Union's hegemonist drive represents a clear and present danger to the independence of small, big and all countries and to world peace. In this there is a direct link to the interests of the American masses, for their peace and independence (make no mistake about it) are also menaced. By listening to the masses, by patiently pointing out to them their real enemies, we can indicate who their real allies are in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism. In the context of the mass movement which the pre-World War III period will unfold, we must then forge the 'democratic link' which binds together the interests of the masses at home and their interests abroad."

The CUO is of course eager to lay out the consequences of its strategy of

"united front" with the U.S. imperialists in this work. They openly call for increased U.S. military budgets, support for the draft, and other such immediate steps to strengthen their allies—the U.S. ruling class. In addition, they explicitly oppose all calls for the "unilateral" removal of U.S. bases around the world, in such colonies and neo-colonies as Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

CPML Says "Later"

But enough for now on the CUO, for they are quite open about their choice to openly and flagrantly capitulate sooner rather than later. The CPML, however, chooses a slightly slicker, more patient, more sophisticated route, preferring to do a little undercover work so as to bring some more troops along with them when the time is ripe. Thus their first response to *Sooner or Later* in the pages of the June 30, 1980 edition of *The Call*, in which C.E. puts up the appearance of opposing the CUO because "*Sooner or Later* pretty much gives a blank slate to the ruling class in formulating its own anti-Soviet agenda." But the only quarrel here is simply that the CUO is letting too much hang out too soon. According to C.E., CUO's error is that they have "a one-sided view of the (anti-Soviet—RW) united front." Yes, says C.E., "The CUO is correct in the sense that the U.S. does have a role to play in resisting Soviet aggression. To draw the U.S. into some kind of a front, to create obstacles to the Soviet drive and to promote any positive developments such as the U.S. votes in the UN on Afghanistan and Kampuchea—all are useful." But, "The CUO also goes much farther than *present conditions call for* in proposing support for American military preparations, generally supporting U.S. military expansion and the draft."

The CPML's real beef here is centered around the phrase "much farther than *present conditions call for*." And we shall soon see exactly what they think the present conditions do call for. But one thing is for sure: they have not in the past nor do they now shy away in the slightest from building support for U.S. imperialism under the guise of opposing Soviet hegemonism. In fact, like the CUO, they see this as their central task. The CPML's list of efforts on behalf of U.S. imperialism is long and smelly. For years, they objected to opposing U.S. arms shipments to the Shah of Iran, and while saying they opposed the Shah, they refused to go "so far" as to favor the slogan "Down with the Shah." This was because, according to them, the Shah had "an aspect" of defending then-U.S.-dominated Iran's "independence" against the Soviets. They would also never go so far as *Sooner or Later* and call openly for increased U.S. military spending. Oh, no. They would confine their remarks to criticizing any drop in proposed U.S. military expenditures (the B-1 bomber being a case in point) as being a "negative appeasement trend." They have more openly supported things like the U.S. Olympic boycott. There is hardly an issue of their newspaper that does not lament that the U.S. is supposedly not "getting tough" with the USSR and portray the U.S. as weak and impotent against the aggressive fascist Soviet Union. They're fond of quoting such bourgeois experts as Drew Middleton, defense analyst of the *New York Times*. The June 23, 1980 issue of *The Call*, for example, runs an article entitled "Reagan's China Plan Aids USSR," which begins (and this is no joke!): "Republican presidential candidate Ronald Rea-

gan fancies himself a 'hardliner' when it comes to standing up to Moscow. But if elected, his foreign policy platform will play right into the hands of the Soviet drive towards war." More "hardline" than Reagan, eh, *Call*!

In the face of such unbridled "doing the bourgeoisie one better," what can C.E. possibly be objecting to in *Sooner or Later*? The answer lies in looking at exactly what tactics the CPML thinks are appropriate under "present conditions." And herein lies the crux of CPML's dispute not only with the CUO but also with Larry Harris. Let's look briefly at the following passages from the August 4-17 *Call* reply by none other than C.E. to a letter by Larry Harris which criticizes C.E.'s first reply to the CUO for dumping on *Sooner or Later* and in particular for claiming that "*Sooner or Later* merges all of the demands of the workers and minorities into one demand for opposition to Soviet expansionism, when in fact two of the five sections of the book (pp. 70-104) are devoted to the relation between the domestic struggles of the workers and national minorities and the struggle against Soviet expansionism."

A quick note here. In this particular issue of their paper, the CPML employs a common tactic for them. First they run out two letters, Harris's and another one, both of which support the CUO and make no bones about tying the knot with U.S. imperialism. Then they run their response, which appears to be a milder and more reasonable position, but which is simply a slicker version of the same thing with certain tactical disagreements. By this method, they accomplish two things; first, it helps to cover their ass, but more importantly it allows them to run some things straight out without attaching their name to it. In fact, this is a big part of their carrying this whole "debate" in the pages of their paper in the first place. But back to C.E., whose response is titled "Don't Jump On the Patriotic Bandwagon." Note the following passages:

"While the authors speak of the need to 'link the question of defense with the demand of the people for democratic rights and against the continuous deterioration of their standard of living,' their program for doing so comes right out of the rhetoric of Business Week magazine and the capitalists' plan for a new 'social contract' between labor and business (Business Week, June 30).

"According to the authors, 'If the American worker is to cooperate by, say, restricting work actions at defense plants, then vigorous measures must be taken to assure his/her safety. . . and to prevent ownership from reaping the benefits of increased productivity' (p. 98). The CUO is even running ahead of the bourgeoisie in asking the workers to give up their right to strike for the war effort."

"To ask workers and minorities to accept the rule of the U.S. millionaires because it is not as bad as the fascist Soviet regime is the height of demagoguery. That is certainly not the question involved in the contemporary struggle of the people of the U.S.

"The fight in defense of the trade unions, the struggle for jobs and for the rights of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minorities is in no way harmful to the needs of the international struggle. Why then dwell, as do the authors of *Sooner or Later*, on the subordination of the national struggle to the needs of the international

Reagan/Anderson Send Millions to Bed Early No Debate on War Preparations

"A dead heat," pronounced NBC's Tom Brokaw. "That seems to be the consensus," responded his anchorman John Chancellor, during the ponderous "wrap-up" session following the Reagan-Anderson debate, which was even more boring than the debate—if that's possible. To hear the media pundits tell it, both Reagan and Anderson were just so good you couldn't tell who had won.

Only it turned out that "Midnight Express" won. Trying to put on a good face, the media reported that 50 million people watched "all or part" of the debate. But the key words were "or part" as millions checked out the drivel in the so-called debate for a few minutes and then switched back to ABC to see how the kid finally got out of the Turkish slammer. Initial polls conducted in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles reported that only 42% of all households watched the Baltimore follies in spite of their being carried on two of the three networks and the weeks of advance publicity.

But little wonder, since the great debate produced absolutely nothing but reruns of the same garbage that the candidates had been saying throughout the campaign. It was so bad, in fact, that the major national press ended up having to defend or apologize for it. The *Washington Post*, in an editorial, attacked "those 'surprise junkies' who populate the political scene (and who) at once proclaimed the exchange a bore." But a *New York Times* editorial went to the heart of the issue: "The purpose of such a debate is not to give reporters who follow the campaign

closely a torrent of new proposals. It is to give citizens who haven't been paying attention a chance to start taking the campaign seriously." The purpose of these things, advises the *Times*, is to put over the basic points of our program, to hype the election, and to give the U.S. ruling class some claim to representing "the will of the people" as the rush toward war intensifies.

"The two men performed ably in front of the cameras," says the *Times*. "Each did on Sunday night what he does well," added the *Washington Post*. Precisely. In an admirable division of labor, each presented the opposite sides of the same rotten coin of war and reaction. A laid-back Reagan, playing to the openly reactionary section of the population, piously preached about free enterprise, the law of the jungle and America's manifest destiny to lead the world; while Anderson, who looked and acted like a hyperactive jerril, spoke in a more "enlightened" tone using lots of words like "fiscal responsibility" and "a cost-effective military." But they were putting out the same imperialist message of war preparations and stressing somewhat different aspects.

This came out most clearly in the prepared closing remarks of both candidates. Reagan was in rare form, presenting a concentrated dose of the vilest national chauvinism with outright appeals to make America top dog again.

"I have always believed that this land was placed here between the two great oceans by some divine plan. It was placed here to be found by a special kind of people." Like every demagogue

before him, Reagan assured the masses that they are God's chosen people, either to dominate the world for the interests of their exploiters... or to go to heaven in the attempt.

"We built a new breed of human, called an American," continued Reagan, waxing scientific. If Reagan is the example of this new breed, it proves only that his mother once wandered too close to the orangutan cage at the Brookfield Zoo. Then turning to today's problem, "Some people in high positions of leadership tell us that the answer is to retreat, that the best is over." And that "we must not be provocative to any adversary." Playing his particular tune on the war trumpet, Reagan continued, "Well, we the living Americans have gone through four wars, we've gone through a great depression in our lifetime that was literally worldwide and almost brought us to our knees, and we came through all of those things and we achieved new heights and new greatness." If only we are prepared to be purified once again by the suffering of crisis and the slaughter of world war, greatness can be ours once more, "America Uber Alles."

Sidestepping these blatant appeals to an American "master race," Anderson spoke to a different section of the listening audience, but for the very same ends. "I am running for President as an independent because I believe our country is in trouble." Citing the economic crisis, the weakness of the armed forces and the refusal of half the population to vote, Anderson put forward his plan. "I think you ought to consider doing something about it—

voting for an independent in 1980." The Anderson-Lucey national unity ticket would bring "the kind of coalition government that we need in 1980," Anderson said. In other words, we're in big trouble, we have to restore faith in the system, restore "national unity."

Anderson, who like Reagan defended the all-volunteer army, was quick to pledge his willingness to support the draft "to protect the vital interests of this country." He then pinpointed the three issues he would home in on for the rest of the campaign: atomic warfare, natural resources, and nationalism. On the first issue, Anderson would not state his own position (though he has come out for the neutron bomb, for example). He made clear what subject he was talking about by citing Presidential Directive No. 59, which ordered the retargeting of U.S. nuclear weapons. The question is one of how best to deploy and utilize nuclear weapons for an actual war.

On the second issue, Anderson has consistently campaigned on the need to cut back on the U.S. need to depend on foreign oil. He seemed to distinguish himself in the debate by calling for conservation. As Anderson well knows, the professed goal of energy self-sufficiency is just not in the cards for the U.S., and U.S. imperialism has no intention of giving up its hold on the Persian Gulf, declaring instead that it will go to war over this question. But for the ruling class, the issue of energy conservation is nevertheless a real one and vital to their overall preparations for war.

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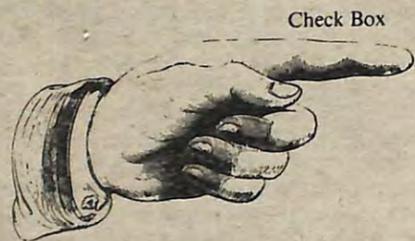
1980 ELECTION BALLOT

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

BALLOT



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



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

CITY _____ DATE _____
OCCUPATION _____

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

BALLOT



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



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

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

2000 March Against

Continued from page 1

West German and British armies, Operation Spearpoint is the largest exercise in Autumn Forge '80—NATO's massive war preparations involving up to a half a million troops, now in full swing from Norway to Turkey. Operation Spearpoint had turned a 400-square kilometer area around Hildesheim into a virtual war zone. All week the battles had raged across the fields and forests around the city. On Wednesday, a full battalion (600 men) of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division had flown in non-stop from the states, made a parachute landing into the "war zone" and had taken a bridge. It was a

taste of the kind of thing the ruling class has in store for millions: in the morning these men were in sunny North Carolina; nine hours later they were dumped out of a plane into the cold skies of northern Germany. On Friday, 400 tanks had been massed for a tank battle east of the city. Everywhere helicopter gunships, jet fighters and assault choppers carrying airborne troops criss-crossed the skies. The top brass and bigshots in general were feeling cocky. They'd thrown three divisions—30,000 troops from Britain and the 2nd Armored Division from Fort Hood, Texas—faster than a speeding

Behind the "Combat Readiness" Flap

In every corner of the globe, the U.S. war machine is shifting into high gear. Across Western Europe and the seas of the North Atlantic, the troops and navies of the U.S. bloc practice the opening phases of world war in the Autumn Forge war maneuvers. In the Indian Ocean, preparations are under way for the first major test of the Rapid Deployment Force to be held in the Middle East in November. In the South Pacific, the Australian and U.S. air forces are holding joint maneuvers.

In the last few weeks, the war preparations of U.S. imperialism have become starkly obvious, and so it is no surprise that during this time a major new effort to prepare Army units based in the U.S. for the next war is under way. As events move rapidly towards world war, the U.S. ruling class is quickly taking steps to prepare their army to wage this war, not only by readying the draft which will provide most of the huge numbers of troops that will be needed, but also by moving to put Army units on a war footing.

On September 5, Army Chief of Staff General Edward Meyer unveiled a plan which the *New York Times* described as one where "basic training for new soldiers would be tougher, discipline would be more rigorous, and more time would be devoted to teaching military skills." A key part of this plan is the shifting of almost 7000 sergeants stationed overseas to the U.S. to improve training and combat readiness of U.S.-based units. Basic training for new GIs will be increased from 8 to 9 weeks, and each training day lengthened 1-1/2 hours. A new mandatory physical training program is being planned. While the details of the Pentagon's physical training program aren't known, it will probably be similar to a physical training program announced by the 9th infantry division last month. This program includes daily mandatory push-ups, sit-ups, and long-distance running, and semi-annual testing to determine if a company is "fit to fight."

Army officials have also made it clear that tighter discipline is a key part of their new plans, so when GIs aren't sweating from the new exercise program, the brass will be trying to keep them sweating from the increased harassment and abuse so essential for reinforcing the unquestioned obedience which imperialist military discipline is based on. In the Pentagon, worries about their ability to hold the Army together in the midst of what will be the most destructive war in history are growing. Officials remember all too well how the Army began to disintegrate during the Vietnam War, as GIs' mutinied, killed officers, and just plain refused to fight.

Army officials feel that the constant rotation of troops, necessary because almost half of the Army is stationed overseas guarding the vast borders of the sprawling U.S. empire, has undermined efforts to drum up the kind of gung-ho "our battalion is number 1" spirit that the Army tries to use to hype up the troops. Now the Army is planning to form units in basic training and to rotate entire units rather than just individuals. Flashy new insignia for units, rank and branch of service are being designed, and the possibility of giving berets of different colors to signify infantry, armor and other combat arms is being discussed. Now only elite units such as the Special Forces and Airborne Rangers wear berets. And the brass is hoping that wearing a brown beret will inspire GIs with pride in the prospect of getting their guts blown out for U.S. imperialism.

These are the kinds of morale boosters which the Army is publicly announcing. Other steps are being taken which deal with the problem more directly. At Ft. Lewis (near Tacoma, Washington), for example, posters have been tacked up all over showing soldiers in the different Warsaw Pact uniforms. This effort to saturate the troops with the constant reminder of who they are being prepared to fight is just one example of the kind of propaganda which will be intensified more and more. The day is not far away when the posters will be used as practice targets, just as pictures of Vietnamese were used as targets in basic training during the Vietnam War.

But these measures are only a small taste of what's to come, for the imperialists must not only ready those already in uniform for war, but also they must expand their army with hundreds of thousands—and ultimately millions—of new troops. Unlike the first and second world wars, the U.S. will be on the front lines in the coming war from the start, and this means the build-up of their military machine must be well under way before the war begins. The Army, and the reserves and National Guard, must be ready to go into combat on a few days' notice (rather than a few weeks'), and they must all be expanded. This points to the vital role of the reinstatement of the draft in U.S. war plans. The Army has been discussing increasing the number of its divisions for well over a year, and the imperialists know that most of the troops who will fill the ranks of these new divisions will *not* be volunteers.

It is exactly the massive scale of the war preparations that the imperialists are undertaking that forces them to attempt to win public support for them. Only four days after General Meyer an-

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bullet onto the north German plains, and as every West Point product knows, that's the best place to attack (in either direction). What none of them openly said—but what was expressed in the crowing at the press conferences in an implied way—was, "hey, we did pretty good with this rehearsal. So why can't we win the war?"

But now the battle was against a different enemy. And this time instead of the blanks issued to the soldiers, the guns carried real bullets. The guns belonged to the Vereitshafft Polizei, the special West German riot police decked out in gas mask helmets and plastic shields that were massed in front of the gate to the maneuver headquarters. 2,000 stormtroopers in all, backed by British and U.S. MPs and armored cars topped by water cannons. Fresh in the minds of the bourgeoisie was the May 4 NATO birthday party they had held in Bremen that had been so rudely crashed by thousands of youth who caught the cops off guard with rocks, bricks and molotov cocktails.

The stakes were even higher this time. Not only is Autumn Forge '80 a crucial preparation for world war in the sense of practicing and perfecting the military action necessary to launch hostilities, but it is also being used to the max to whip up public opinion behind the imperialists' moves towards war. For this purpose they had flown in hundreds of

representatives of the international press to report on (read: glorify) their dress rehearsal for World War 3. A massive display of open opposition right in the middle of the maneuvers and targeting them as preparations for World War 3 definitely did not fit into their plans. And they did all they could to stop them. The permit for the march carried numerous restrictions (like no helmets, masks or banner poles, no slogans or banners that "insult the state or its authorities") which if violated were grounds for revoking the permit on the spot. Clearly these would be violated and the authorities were holding open their option to try to crush the demonstration by force. This was obvious to all and this element of intimidation was being counted on to keep many people away. On the day of the demonstration itself, police checkpoints were set up on all the major roads into the city and anyone who looked like they were going to a demonstration was stopped and searched. In addition to this, revisionists of various stripes, mainly of the pro-Moscow character, both inside and outside the demonstration coalition, did all they could to sabotage it, and to attack the revolutionary GI newspaper *Fight Back*, one of the coalition's main initiators.

All this, however, failed to achieve its desired effect. The demonstration could

Anti-Autumn Forge Stateside

Fighting for the Troops in a Military Town

As the largest war games in history were underway in Europe, in one part of the U.S. a mobilization was held to wage a battle for the troops stateside and join in the international effort to expose and oppose the forging of imperialist armed forces for World War 3. In one afternoon, over 1300 copies of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) newspaper, and hundreds of *Revolutionary Workers* and pamphlets were sold in a small town located near a large military fort from where many troops were about to be sent to Europe for Autumn Forge. The usually quiet town, which is mostly military personnel and Black civilians, came alive, as activists spread all over town debating and struggling with GIs and civilians over the battle to oppose Autumn Forge '80, the nature of the war preparations, and the possibilities the future holds.

Among the soliders in the U.S. army who are mainly working-class youth with a high percentage of oppressed nationalities, hated and disgust with military life, its racism and general bullshit, is tremendously widespread. More importantly, there is widespread disgust and hatred for the system as a whole. When agitators talked about the class nature of the coming war, that it was an imperialist war to redivide the world, a war of slavemasters to preserve and extend slavery, the GIs responded with serious and deep questions about the differences between the U.S. and the USSR, about what it would take to stop such a war and about whether their

action could make a difference. The call for GIs to come forward to sign statements in opposition to these war preparations raised to a higher level a debate that was already going on among the troops.

The mobilization to oppose Autumn Forge '80 broke through the barriers that the Army puts up to keep the troops isolated from political life and the GIs themselves found ways to stand up to the intimidation and repression the brass brings down on them. In one area, a GI who had been reading the *RW* invited some revolutionaries onto his base as guests. He picked a night when the officer on duty is the kind who is never around, and pulled together a number of GIs for a discussion right in the barracks. Right under the army's nose, opposition to Autumn Forge '80 was discussed, papers were sold, and the broader questions of revolution were debated. People bought copies of Bob Avakian's summation of the Black Panther Party, the pamphlet *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, and the draft Party *Programme*. Many of the people in the town who weren't GIs or relatives of GIs saw the importance of getting this campaign to the troops and to other people and bought bundles of papers to distribute. In fact several people bought bundles of 100 papers and sales of 20 were not uncommon.

All this was concrete training in proletarian internationalism which will prove invaluable in the fight for the troops in the future. □

"Autumn Forge '80"

not be stopped. Behind the banner proclaiming "To Hell With Autumn Forge '80"—"Oppose Imperialist War Preparations," and led by a contingent of 350 workers organized by the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF), the demonstration left the rallying point in front of the main train station, headed down the street lined by riot cops and hundreds of onlookers and onto a route of 10 kilometers through the city to the headquarters and back again. Stretching for blocks, the diverse makeup of the demonstration reflected the forces in motion at this time around the question of imperialist war—groups of mainly students and youth, people active in the anti-nuke movement, veterans of the struggle against the Vietnam war, some of the "party crashing" working class youth from Bremen and others from the villages around Hildesheim who were newly awakened to political life by the tanks rumbling through the streets. Although under the circumstances there was no question of NATO troops participating in this demonstration, it was certainly hotly debated and watched with great interest from the foxholes and fieldkitchens.

In fact the atmosphere in the whole Hildesheim area had become politically charged. The maneuvers and the upcoming demonstration were the subject of discussion and debate on street corners and in the pinball galleries. The demonstration played no small part in creating this situation by making an open and defiant call for mass opposition to the maneuvers and by targeting them as preparations for world war. It drew the line clearly: stand with the imperialists and their bloody plans or begin to act in the interests of the masses of people around the world. People lined up on both sides of the question in the days before the demonstration and on Saturday itself. The entire march route was lined with onlookers. Many had driven in from the surrounding towns and villages. Some joined the demonstration as it passed, others jeered as it went by but there was no mistaking that when the smoke had cleared on the day's events, the bourgeoisie had been dealt a stinging defeat.

It was a historic demonstration—nothing like this had ever taken place before. The events around the maneuvers and the Hildesheim demonstration were as much a dress rehearsal for the anti-imperialist forces as the maneuvers were for the imperialists, especially in terms of the sharp political questions that were posed, questions which will be all the more a matter of life or death in the not too distant future. Chief among these was the question of the nature of the war that is being prepared. Within the coalition itself, a loose group of supporters of the terrorist Red Army Faction (also called the Baader-Meinhoff Group) worked to oppose the call for a central demonstration and prevented the coalition from uniting around a slogan targeting Soviet as well as Western imperialism. They also opposed linking the maneuvers with the glaring reality of World War 3 since this raised the whole question of the character of such a war and in particular of the Soviet bloc. At the same time, as reported in last week's *RW*, the youth group of the official pro-Soviet party leafleted campuses in the northern Germany area calling on people not to go to the demonstration and slandering *Fight Back* as a "CIA front." These efforts failed to stop or cripple the demonstration. But they did have some effect by playing on some existing political confusion.

While there have been big demonstrations against "militarism" in West Ger-



More than just dust was stirred up in the streets of West Germany as NATO troops rolled through in a massive dress rehearsal for World War 3.

many in recent years, the fact that what all this military build-up is for is an inter-imperialist world war is still something that many honest forces are unclear about. This will take more political struggle to deal with—struggle that is absolutely essential so that the advanced political forces now active can lead the masses to grasp and fight for their own revolutionary interests in a war that does not *have* to end in a victory for one imperialist or the other, but instead might end in revolution. Nevertheless, through building for this demonstration, the line it represented became a material force beyond what some of the forces taking it out understood. This meant that while this coalition was not able to take full advantage of the potential that existed, a real blow against the bloodsoaked future our imperialist rulers have in store for us was struck. And the success of the demonstration itself, in the face of these obstacles, serves to drive these political lessons home.

In solidarity with the Hildesheim demonstration, 50 people marched from the White House to the Pentagon Sept. 21 in an action called by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and endorsed by a number of other organizations. Among other messages of support came several from foreign student groups and one from the Atlantic Life Community, whose members include Daniel and Philip Berrigan and others jailed for damaging a missile nosecone and pouring blood on the blueprints at a plant in King of Prussia, Pa.

Most significantly, the events around Autumn Forge give us a glimpse of the real contradictions our rulers face as they try to drag us off to world imperialist slaughter No. 3. That is, in doing so, they are forced to jolt millions of people who are now politically dormant into political life. Of course, with these maneuvers the imperialists can hardly be said to have tried to get the people of northern Germany and the world to put war out of their minds. But another thought has arisen and given a small sample of the material force it can become—the understanding that it is not fated that the peoples will have to line up behind the imperialists, but that they have another choice—to line up against them. □



Letters on the Draft Programme & Constitution of the RCP, USA

Some Proposed Changes in the Draft Constitution, Article 3.

I would like to suggest three changes to the final Constitution, Article 3, the section on the requirements of members of the RCP. The first suggestion is the addition of the following point:

"Vigorously and at all times raise funds from the masses to support the Party and its activities as a life and death task in making proletarian revolution."

Isn't this a question on which the Party's very existence depends? Yes it is. Without funds the Party's activities would grind to a halt. Yet, while most "agree" that it is important to raise money, too often this critical task gets lost in the shuffle or people feel they have to apologize for asking the masses for funds. There is a fundamental line question here: whose Party and whose revolution is this—the property of a small handful or do they materially and ideologically concentrate the basic interests of the international proletariat and ultimately of all mankind? The first line will not only lead to revisionism but to severe financial, and dialectically related to that, political, restriction. And if we don't recognize this very clearly the bourgeoisie certainly does and as practice has proven, devotes a great deal of attention to waging the class struggle on the financial front. Party members do not have to apologize for leading the proletariat to take history into its own hands. This applies especially sharply around fund raising. We should not beg the masses for money, we should expect it and struggle on this basis. Given the importance of this question I would like to see it written into the Party's constitution under points of membership.

The second suggestion involves a rewrite of point 3 to the following:

"Actively build the distribution of organization around and correspondence with the Party's press—its newspaper and other publications—as its main weapon among the masses, vigorously expose the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie, lead the class conscious section of the proletariat in supporting the outbreaks of protest and struggle of the masses, and arouse the masses to revolution."

This rewrite is an improvement over the Draft in a number of ways. It makes it clear that the task of each Party member is not to distribute the Party's press, which does not correspond to the necessary division of labor, but rather to build its distribution among the masses (through agitation and propaganda, for example) and more, to build organization around it and correspondence with it. Actually, the way the Draft is written now, it narrows down the role of the Party's press, reducing it to simply Party members distributing it, rather than making it the main political and organizational line among the masses and enlisting their correspondence.

This rewrite also changes the task of Party members from simply "supporting outbreaks of protest and struggle" to "lead the class conscious section of the proletariat" in doing this. This makes this part of the Draft Constitution more consistent with the stress throughout the Draft Programme on the great urgency for the Party to weld together and lead a class conscious section of the proletariat; it will not do to just have the Party members supporting these outbreaks.

The third suggestion is the following rewrite of point 7:

"Strengthen the Party's centralized leadership through resolutely upholding the Party's discipline, taking initiative in carrying out its line and policies and maintaining a regular system of reports to the Party leadership."

This rewrite makes more clear the actual dynamic relationship that needs to go on between the Party members and the leadership of the Party. It brings out the extremely important principle and responsibility of Party members to strengthen the Party's centralized leadership (which is essentially the leadership of a correct ideological and political line), a fundamental prerequisite to making proletarian revolution, defeating the bourgeoisie and continuing the revolution under socialism. The rewrite also adds the point that it is the responsibility of each Party member to maintain "a regular system of reports to the Party leadership." How else is the Party leadership and the whole Party to learn from every Party member who is carrying out the Party's line and how else is the Party to deepen and further develop its line? To cut off the Party leadership from the chain of knowledge or to maintain and strengthen this relationship is a fundamental question of principle that needs to be written into the Constitution.

A reader

Comrades,

I'm writing in solidarity with the letter published in *RW*, Vol. 2, No. 7, questioning the part of the Draft Programme which calls for the proletariat to keep nuclear weapons after establishing the socialist state. That letter raises these points: One, nukes are "qualitatively more destructive than conventional weapons," and, two, the proletariat has the responsibility to choose the forms of violence necessary to protect its forward advance in a way that is consistent with its general line and strategy of reliance on the masses and "revolution by all the peoples of the globe until capitalism is defeated."

The writer goes on to say: "The use of nuclear weapons, or even the implied use of them, would be great power chauvinism on our part, because our use of nukes would poison or make uninhabitable great stretches of land of other nations, in the name of preserving socialism in this country."

This struggle over the political significance of types of weapons and military strategy is very important because it points to some very important distinctions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The working class, with the revolu-

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The *Revolutionary Worker* will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

tionary leadership of its Party, controls the gun, and not vice versa. The imperialist bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is forced by its single-minded pursuit of ever-increasing profits to develop ever more destructive means of mass terror and destruction to protect its parasitic system. This is an example of the fact that the proletariat is armed with a superior world outlook, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Unrestricted by the narrow, compartmentalized, mechanistic, "science" of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat is able to apply the truly scientific methodology of materialist dialectics and see things in their myriad of manifestations and interconnections.

I would like to extend the application of Marxist philosophy a little deeper into the question of socialist construction (or reconstruction, in terms of the war ravaged industrial base the victorious working class will probably inherit from the vanquished bourgeoisie) and ultimately to consider, or reconsider, the fundamental contradiction between humanity and the rest of nature, which gives rise to the development of technology in the first place. To slide into this subject, it might be helpful to look at an issue closely related to nuclear weapons, and that is the existence and use of nuclear power plants.

Basically, if I am not mistaken, the RCP's position is that nuclear power is not bad in itself, but that in the hands of the capitalists it is very dangerous and potentially highly destructive. I will not argue against that correct position, since to do so would be to fall into the petty bourgeois line that it is beyond human capacity (presumably static and never-changing) to understand and utilize the forces of nature. I might be ready to argue, however, that once the total cost, both in economic and ecological terms, of rendering all phases of the nuclear power cycle safe, from mining to failproof storage of disposal of deadly waste that remains so at least 250,000 years, that once such costs are truly taken into account, fission power will prove to be a waste of time and energy, a dinosaur to become extinct with the bourgeoisie.

But that is not the main point. Though I'm sure it's not officially Party line, and I want to make that distinction very clear, I have heard supposedly scientific Marxists state that nuclear power is a great advance for mankind in its effort to conquer nature, since it harnesses the very force that fuels and powers the sun! Not only is this view erroneous in terms of physics—all nuclear power plants in use now utilize not fusion, the combination of light-weight atoms that powers the sun, but fission, the splitting of heavy, unstable atoms, which amounts to a complicated and dangerous way of boiling water to produce steam to turn a turbine and produce electricity. This view is also very narrow as a supposed dialectical materialist understanding of society and nature.

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Dear Comrades:

Please find enclosed the revised edition of my paper (response to RCP Programme) on agriculture alone. It is of some length as you can see. I decided to do what I felt was a "complete" analysis of the topic without being exhaustive. Any shorter treatment would have compromised the analysis too much...

Also more discussion needs to be done on implementation of the Programme during and after revolution. More specific goals need to be struggled over.

Finally there needs to be much more readership participation in the *RW*, *Revolution*, *The Communist* or a new periodical.

Please make comments about this article. We need more discussion, especially on agriculture.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
A Reader

Agriculture in the 1980's

This article on agriculture has the following objectives:

1. To bring forward the problems implicit in today's agriculture under capitalism by exploding the myths underlying them.
2. To illustrate some of these problems by presenting assumptions which a scientific Marxist studying agriculture must be aware of.
3. To offer basic Marxist solutions to re-building agriculture during and after revolution.

There is a fundamental myth surrounding American agriculture: it is the most effective, efficient, productive and advanced in the world...

Of course, the bourgeoisie would love us to believe that even though problems arise with agricultural labor and pesticide management, there is nothing fundamentally wrong with agricultural policy or direction of development.

The apologists and supporters of the present agricultural mess cite the following as evidence of success:

1. One U.S. farmer feeds about 60 persons at home and many abroad. (The closest ratio to this is 20 to 1 in Europe.)
2. It is good that U.S. agriculture is the most mechanized in the world.
3. The U.S. consumer pays a smaller percentage of take home pay for food (17%) than any other country.
4. The U.S. farmer produces the most bushels per acre of certain grain crops more consistently than any other farmer in the world.

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FREE THE UN 2!

Steven Yip talks with people who attended the tour program in Chicago.



Within the past year, there has been an acceleration in the moves toward war between the United States government and the government of the Soviet Union, as all of us can see, whether we want to or not. Actually, it has been so obvious that it is doubtful that anyone could fail to see it. There has been the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, as well as the move toward the draft to build cannon fodder in the United States military forces. Every move by both of the "super-powers" has been toward a more nationalistic stance, while proclaiming to us and the world that they, the "super-powers", will eventually reinstate detente (as if detente ever really existed). Those who are willing to open their eyes and see, will understand that a war between the Soviet Union and the United States is inevitable if the respective governments are to retain their places of mastery over the enslaved peoples within the borders of the respective countries and over the peoples of other countries.

Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, the UN2, have openly rebelled against this demand of not one but both governments that we become just so much cannon fodder in order to line the pockets of those who are running the respective governments. In so rebelling, they have made a statement to all of us that is so profound that we must recognize the full meaning of it. In their statement, they proclaimed a disavowance of our enslavement, and a demand that we no longer be used as pawns by the leaders of the Soviet and U.S. governments. It was in every respect a proclamation of freedom, of liberty from the enslavement of terror imposed upon us by the so-called "super-powers", i.e., the wealthy who survive by manipulating us and attempting to manipulate us for their own purposes of world domination and slavery.

This is why I must support the UN2, Glenn Gan and Steve Yip, for their action and consequent statement. In vowing my support for them, I further vow my support for any subsequent actions by them and/or by any others who act in furtherance of or extension of their statement. Indeed, I demand that Steve Yip and Glenn Gan be released from any form of control by the ruling class, whether that control be through institutionalized imprisonment or any other type of control. Any person who is opposed to nuclear power, the draft, and the "minimum security imprisonment" of this society in the U.S. and the same "minimum security imprisonment" current in the Soviet Union, would do well to join me in demanding the freedom of the UN 2.

Russell D. Smith
one of the original
Marion Brothers &
Director POSRIP
(People Organized to stop Rape of Imprisoned Persons)

From Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft

UN 2 Support Statement

We demand that the UN 2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, not be imprisoned. While members of our group differ on whether or not they approve of the tactics used by the UN 2, they are united in opposing the trumped-up charges the federal government has used against dissidents. The conviction of the UN 2 on such serious charges as felonious assault and conspiracy, and their sentence of a possible four years in jail for such a simple assault can only be seen for what it is, A POLITICAL RAILROAD! It is quite obvious that the UN 2 are being punished not for throwing paint at someone, but for their political views, which include opposition to registration, the draft, and war moves by both superpowers which have brought the world closer to the brink of nuclear destruction. This prosecution occurs in the context of other judicial witch-hunts which are occurring right now in this country: the jailing of Abbie Hoffman, the denial of bail to the Berrigans, and the harassment of the "Boston Dodgers," nine persons convicted of a petty federal building offense during an anti-draft protest, who were subject to an exhaustive investigation of every aspect of their lives, under a pretext of a "pre-sentence report" by the probation department. Such inquisitions are a threat to every person in every movement for social change in this nation.

FREE STEVE YIP AND GLENN GAN! STOP THE RAILROAD OF THE UN 2!

Signed,
Boston Alliance Against
Registration and the Draft

To the Appellate Judge
Re: Steven Yip and Glenn Gan
Your Honor:

The trial of and sentence imposed upon Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan was a travesty. The real issue in the case was and is, which is more criminal—throwing a bit of paint or planning nuclear war in which millions of persons will be incinerated. When one sees the issue in this light, one might suggest that Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan should be honored rather than being locked up.

Sincerely,
James R. Walker

After reading the *Revolutionary Worker* of September 5, 1980, I have come to the conclusion that gains are being made toward accomplishing the goals of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

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Letter from the Communist Party of New Zealand

The following is a letter from the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand to the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, published in the Sept. 1, 1980 issue of the CPNZ paper People's Voice. The CPNZ has asked us to publish their letter and our response in our newspaper. Following the CPNZ letter is the response from the RCP, USA.

The Central Committee,
R.C.P., U.S.A.

We note your published attack on our Party in "Revolutionary Worker" (August 8, 1980) and its aid and approval to another unprincipled attack by scabs and splitters who have recently departed from our Party. Your publication includes an introduction which declares your complete endorsement of the lies and slanders of these people.

As an example of these lies, slanders and distortions, your paper refers to our Central Committee and its decisions as "a kind of inner-Party coup carried out by the Party Chairman and others in top leadership". And your correspondents, whom you so ardently defend but who are in fact an anti-Party faction, call our Central Committee decisions the actions of "the Chairman of the Party, aided and abetted by some

other leading members."

In spite of these distortions, the fact remains that the decisions taken at that time were the unanimous decisions of the Central Committee, taken in session on 9 & 10 February 1980, with the exception of X and Y who were absent from the final session on a plea of ill health. The Central Committee and its decisions can in no way be likened to a "kind of inner-Party coup carried out by the Party Chairman and others in top leadership."

Nor can the decisions of the Central Committee be classified as rejecting the basic principles of democratic centralism as your correspondents claim when they state "the Chairman of the Party, aided and abetted by some other leading members, in violation of norms of democratic discussion and practice forced through a complete about-face in the Party stand." The Party stand, decided at conference, has always been that the PLA is a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party and Albania is a socialist country. It is the X and Y anti-Party faction who wanted to force through a complete about-face in the Party stand.

In fact the conspirators who did want to carry out a coup in our Party at that time, who are now your correspondents, are the very people who

tried by every means to achieve their objective of seizing control of our Party by replacing the Conference line with the line of the delegation that visited Albania. A co-conspirator of X and Y, Z, who led that delegation, made a self-criticism to the Central Committee meeting, admitted that he had been incorrect on the matters of the delegation, and on the question of support for Albania as a socialist country. And he voted for the Central Committee resolutions! Two weeks later he disappeared out of the Party.

We ask that your Central Committee re-consider its action in regard to the principles involved in the relations between parties, principally in relation to non-interference in other Parties' affairs. If your Central Committee upholds this publication then you have not only severed the principled relations which existed between our two parties, in spite of certain ideological differences, but you have completely thrown overboard principles previously agreed on, of working towards a deeper understanding of these questions between our two parties.

And this question exposes your call for unity in the international movement, through discussion and perseverance, as nothing but building a

springboard to attack the PLA and socialist Albania. This can only give assistance to imperialism and international reaction.

Such about turns and surprise attacks are not new to our Party. We have experienced identical attacks from previously fraternal parties via the revisionist Communist Party of Australia, during the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, and more recently the revisionist party of E.F. Hill, the CPA [Australia] (ML), and the Communist Party of China during our struggle against Hua-Teng revisionism and its New Zealand agents.

If you choose to follow in this company then that is up to you! But we will continue to pursue our line of full investigation into the source of revisionism in China on the principled basis of practising Marxism-Leninism. That is the question the international movement is faced with—not the question of the PLA and socialist Albania. Albania is a socialist country!

So that your wrong position can be corrected we ask that this letter be published in your paper, the "Revolutionary Worker".

Political Committee
CPNZ

Reply from the RCP, USA

To the Political Committee,
Communist Party of New Zealand

This reply to the article in our newspaper is typical of the political and ideological line you have recently adopted: it throws Marxism and Marxist principles totally out the window. It is a response totally unworthy of the history of the CPNZ and shows the depths to which following the revisionist Hoxha line has led you.

Exactly who has stabbed who in the back? Ourselves, for criticizing your sudden and shameful departure from the ranks of Marxist-Leninists? Or isn't it you who have stabbed the working class of New Zealand and the world in the back by this action?

In the past the CPNZ stood up to Khrushchev's attacks and later to the blandishments of the Chinese revisionists who attempted to force the world's revolutionary forces into line after their coup following Mao's death. During these times the CPNZ took a principled stand on the main dividing line questions facing the world's communists. This was

the principled basis of the cordial (if limited) relations between our two Parties. Then, six months ago, for reasons best known to you, your Party turned completely around and launched a surprise attack on Mao Tsetung's line and contributions and generally took leave of Marxism. How, under these circumstances, could we continue to uphold your Party as a Marxist-Leninist party? We would consider it a betrayal of proletarian internationalism if we failed to put the revolutionary interests of the worldwide proletariat above everything else, and in particular, if we failed to seek out and support those who are continuing to fight for and apply Marxism in New Zealand.

We will not comment on the ins and outs of the struggle within the CPNZ. Suffice it to say that your hysterical cries of "conspirators" aimed at the people who left the CPNZ after its departure from Marxism is itself a consequence of the line you have adopted declaring that there is not, nor can there be, any two-line struggle within a party. Obviously there

will be political and ideological struggle within the party between lines representing the different classes in society whether anybody forbids it to exist or not. Certainly two-line struggle within the party played a crucial role in the past in unmasking and driving out first pro-Khrushchev and later pro-Chinese revisionist elements within your party in the past, including leading party members, and if this time that struggle has forced the Marxists to leave your party, it will hardly do to call them "splitters." We do want to say one thing about your specific charges: how can those who defended Mao's line have been trying to "force through a complete about-face in the Party stand," when prior to February 1980, this was the official stand of your Party? Wasn't this the line of your 1979 National Conference? It is clear to people all over the world who have followed your publications that there has been an abrupt about-face in your Party's line, one that has been accompanied by much bluster and the bandying about of the names

and positions of "conspirators" in your press, but not one word of substantive political explanation. In light of this situation, isn't it a little hypocritical for you to get so self-righteous about "principles"?

If you are serious about "working towards a deeper understanding of these questions"—the questions involved which are of vital and urgent concern to the international communist movement—we invite you to respond to our polemic against the Hoxha line which you have swallowed hook, line and sinker (published in our journal *The Communist*). In the interests of the public airing of views which we think can only be beneficial to developing the struggle against revisionism, we will publish any reply to this polemic you might write, together, of course, with our comments, and invite you to do the same.

Central Committee
RCP, USA

U.S. UNLEASHES IRAQ AGAINST IRAN

Continued from page 1

there was a conference of assorted reactionary exiles who claimed to have joined forces to bring down the Khomeini government. In addition, there are at least two radio stations within Iraq that broadcast anti-Khomeini diatribes into Iran. (The CIA has publicly admitted funding one of these stations.)

Recent reports indicate that these Iranian exile forces are involved in the fighting to some degree, though at this point their most important contribution to the Iraqi/U.S. attack may be their knowledge of Iran's defenses—as well as the continuing contacts they have with pro-U.S. officers inside the current Iranian army. There is no question that they are preparing to go into action. During the last coup attempt this July, these exile forces actually started to move across the border, but turned back because the time was not deemed right. In fact, one U.S. based exile was quoted saying that their only question concerning launching a coup was "whether, when the right moment comes, the Iraqis will back us to the hilt."

Providing a glimpse of the "Big Lie"

technique the U.S. imperialists will increasingly utilize as they put the country on a war footing, U.S. officials have repeatedly denied Iran's charges that the U.S. is behind the Iraqi invasion. President Carter announced that the U.S. has a policy of "strict neutrality" and warned all other nations, especially the Soviet Union, to stay out. Doing their level best to muddy the waters and cover up the U.S. role in the fighting, CBS-NBC-ABC newsmen portrayed the fighting as the continuation of centuries-old feuding between Persians and Arabs, and noted that Iraq's Soviet supplied MIG's were dueling with Iran's U.S. supplied Phantom jets. (In one rare moment of truth, *Time* magazine reported last week that since the downfall of the Shah in Iran, National Security Council adviser Brzezinski has been "fascinated by the potential of radical, traditionally pro-Soviet Iraq as 'the new regional influential.'")

Behind the whole U.S. song and dance about non-interference and being in a "no-win" situation, the U.S. has several very clear goals it hopes to achieve during and as a result of this "local war" it has set in motion: The

U.S. imperialists are hoping to topple the Iranian government and finish off the revolution once and for all; they are also hoping to draw Iraq, now the second largest oil producer in OPEC, fully into the Western camp; and they are trying to utilize this opportunity to pose as great defenders of "peace" and as protectors of the whole world's oil supplies by moving U.S. military forces directly into the oilfield region. These are all part and parcel of the U.S. imperialists' overall strategy of moving rapidly to solidify their position in the Persian Gulf against their Soviet imperialist rivals in preparation for world war.

At a campaign press conference the same day fighting between Iran and Iraq erupted into all-out war, President Carter made an obviously pre-planned response to a question about the effect the fighting would have on the U.S. "hostages." The effect on the U.S. "hostages" (read: U.S. imperialist interests in Iran and the Persian Gulf), "could go either way" Carter said, as much as admitting that the U.S. is gambling by unleashing this fighting—betting, but quite sure that

the outcome will be in their interests. Or as Carter put it, in imperialist double-speak, things might "work out well" for the hostages if Iran "comes to its senses" and realizes that it is "isolated from the international community."

While it continues to suit the U.S. to claim that it has nothing to do with the fighting, Carter indirectly admitted that the U.S. has encouraged Iraq to strike at Iran. It's not a question of Iraq "taking orders" from the U.S. either, because the reactionary Baathist regime in Iraq and the U.S. imperialists share common interests in crushing the Iranian revolution. Since the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, Iraq's rulers have viewed the continuing Iranian revolution as a mortal threat to their own internal stability (all the more so because their population is almost 60% Shiite Moslems—like Khomeini—and because of the continuing revolutionary struggle being waged among the more than 2 million Kurds inside Iraq)—as well as to their plans to become a new regional power in the Gulf. Further, though the Iraqi regime has continued to have ties with the Soviets, they have been increasingly moving into the Western or-

Iraq: From the Soviet to the U.S. Orbit

In an attempt to muddle things and cover up the U.S. imperialists' involvement in the war between Iraq and Iran, the press, with constant references to the fact that the Iraqi military is using Soviet-made weapons and planes, has implied that Iraq is acting on behalf of the Soviet bloc in this conflict. But recently the Iraqi regime has come more and more under the wing of the U.S. imperialist bloc. And the history of Iraq-Iran relations and their ties with the major imperialist powers is an excellent example of the rising intensity of the contention of the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs for control of this strategic region, as well as the features of the dependent comprador regimes in these oil-producing countries.

After World War 2, both Iran and Iraq were securely under the thumb of the Western imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. and Britain. In 1958, the British-installed Hashemite monarchy in Iraq was toppled by a group of nationalist military officers led by Brigadier Abdul Kassem, who proceeded to take Iraq out of the U.S.-British led Baghdad Pact. As the Iraqi regime began to press more aggressively for a bigger share of revenues and oil production from the Western-controlled Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC), they began to move somewhat closer to the Soviet Union, where revisionists led by Nikita Khrushchev had recently seized power and were in the process of restoring capitalism. In 1959, the Iraqi regime signed its first economic and technical aid pact with the Soviets and began receiving military shipments from them.

In 1963, the Baath Party took power, hauling up the banner of "Arab socialism" to disguise the rule of the newly developing Iraqi state bourgeoisie. The CIA seems to have collaborated in this coup, supplying to the Baath names of members of the Iraqi Communist Party who were later executed. After much political see-sawing involving the coming into being of a civilian government, further inconclusive negotiations with the IPC, and big cutbacks in oil production by the IPC, the Baathists, in alliance with a group of right-wing military officers, staged a coup in 1968. Due to the conflict it was having with the IPC and the Western powers, Iraq soon took an even sharper turn toward the Soviets, declaring that "relations with the Soviet Union are the basis of our foreign policy." (The Soviet Union had by this time emerged as a full-fledged imperialist power, challenging the U.S. imperialists' global empire.) The fact that Iraq was rich in oil meant that the Iraqi bourgeoisie had a sort of bargaining chip which enabled it to play

one superpower against the other, but the fact that their whole economy was centered on and dependent on oil meant that they were inevitably tied as compradors to one imperialist bloc or the other for the extraction, processing and marketing of this oil.

Throughout the late 1960s and early '70s Iraq moved more heavily into the Soviet orbit, signing a long-term Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1972 with the Soviet Union, which had become the supplier of nearly all of Iraq's arms. With the nationalization of several Iraq oilfields in 1969 and 1972 and the withdrawal of Western technicians, the Soviets signed an agreement to help Iraq develop its North Rumailan oilfields with technical assistance and negotiated a number of large deals to provide Eastern bloc imports in exchange for Iraqi oil (which the Soviets didn't need themselves, but turned around and sold to Eastern and Western Europe at a substantial mark-up). Part of the arrangement worked out during this period with the Soviets was that the Iraqi Communist Party would be allowed legal status, and several Communist Party members even joined the "national unity" cabinet. Yet, in spite of increasing ties with the USSR during these years, the Iraqi regime never broke ties with the Western imperialists, continuing to sell the bulk of its oil to the West.

While the Soviet imperialists were making advances in Iraq (and even beginning to pay more attention to it after they were booted out of Egypt in 1972), their U.S. rivals were not sitting around with their hands tied. They had already selected the Shah's regime in Iran as the chief of police protecting U.S. interests in the Gulf. Under CIA direction, the Shah funneled large quantities of arms and money, and provided sanctuary, to the forces led by General Barzani in Iraq's Kurdish area beginning in the late 1960s. Here the armed struggle of the Iraqi Kurds, making up one-third of the country's population, had been raging for years and had succeeded in pinning down and exhausting much of Iraq's army. A 1974 CIA memorandum indicated the U.S. strategy of using aid to Barzani to pressure Iraq into loosening its ties with the Soviet Union: "Iran, like ourselves, has seen benefit in a stalemate situation... in which Iraq is intrinsically weakened by the Kurds' refusal to relinquish its semi-autonomy (sic)."

Feeling the heat, the Iraqi government met secretly with the Shah under U.S. sponsorship in 1975. In exchange for promises from the Shah and the U.S. to cut off all aid to the Iraqi Kurds, Iraq agreed to renounce its

claims to several pieces of disputed territory, including the three islands in the Straits of Hormuz that Iran had seized in 1971, and agreed to draw the boundary between the two countries down the middle of the strategic Shatt al Arab waterway. Thus, just as the U.S. imperialists' hands are "coming out of the sleeves of Iraq" today in trying to topple the Iranian government, the U.S. worked behind the scenes with the Shah in the early 1970s to destabilize Iraq and force it back into the Western orbit.

Since that time the Iraqi regime has tended to move toward closer collaboration with U.S. imperialism. It held a series of "security meetings" with the Shah to combat revolutionary Kurdish forces who were fighting against both their regimes. In April 1978, the Baathists ordered the execution of 21 leading members of the pro-Soviet Iraqi Communist Party for attempting to organize cells in the army. The party press was closed down and the last remaining revisionist members of the cabinet were removed.

Iraq's foreign policy has also moved in many ways into closer harmony with the interests of the U.S. It has condemned Soviet foreign policy in the Horn of Africa, worked to undermine the pro-Soviet regime in South Yemen, and condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Much of this has been carried out under the banner of "neutrality" and demanding that both superpowers stay out of the Middle East—which has overall benefitted the U.S. because the U.S. bloc is already "there" (mainly in the form of its control over Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and, of course, Israel). They have even toned down their strident attacks on Israel and refused to join the "rejectionist" states such as Syria, Libya and Algeria in opposing the Israeli-Egyptian axis. Finally, the Iraqi regime has tightened up its economic and military ties with the Western powers. Of course, these ties have always continued to exist, but as the level of Iraq's oil production has increased rapidly in recent years, it has gone in big for barter deals with the Western countries to get capital goods, consumer items, and military equipment (such as French MIRAGE jets, British tanks, and Italian gunboats) to reduce its dependence on Soviet weaponry. According to data collected by the *Middle East Economic Digest*, Iraq signed almost \$6 billion worth of contracts for goods and services in 1979, more than any other Mideast country except Saudi Arabia, and most of them with Western companies. Further, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, around \$10 billion in Iraqi oil revenues are held in the Euro-dollar market and Western banks, and as much as \$5 billion is thought to be in the U.S. Treasury alone. And while Iraq and the U.S. have not had formal diplomatic ties since the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, there have been a number

of recent moves towards restoring ties. Reports have recently appeared in the Middle Eastern press of secret contacts between Brzezinski and high-ranking Iraqi officials.

These developments underline one advantage that the Western imperialists have over their Soviet rivals in dealing with the rulers of these major oil-producing states. Since the West is their main market for oil and the U.S. bloc's more well established economic strength means it can provide the technology and capital goods these compradors want in return, they have overall been drawn towards the West. Finally, the U.S. bloc can supply arms just as well as the Soviets can.

This accounts for the fact that the Western imperialists were never pushed out of Iraq during the years of Soviet ascendancy, and that they have been making a comeback. Still, the Iraqi comprador bourgeoisie continues to have some room to maneuver, while they are increasingly entangled in the web of dependency, and the Iraqi regime has continuing ties to the Soviets, economically and even more so militarily. Iraq still gets most of its military supplies from the Soviets and is heavily dependent on them for spare parts. Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Aziz was in Moscow only last week asking for Soviet assurances that it would keep supplying Iraq with spare parts and other military equipment during the fighting. The 1972 Iraq-Soviet military treaty is still in effect, making it mandatory for Iraq to consult with the Soviets during a war with a third party, and while it is questionable just how much leverage the Soviets have over Iraq now, there are still definite links.

This example indicates how countries like Iraq that are under the domination of imperialism, no matter how much temporary maneuvering room their oil may give them, are facing increasing pressure to throw in their lot with one imperialist bloc or the other as world war approaches. However, at the same time, the growing intensity of the contention between the two blocs can and will have the effect of some of these states switching from one side to the other. (Only several years ago, Ethiopia and Somalia, regional rivals who were hooked up to different superpowers, switched sides in a short period of time and fought a bitter war, with Ethiopia ending up with the Soviets and Somalia ending up with the U.S. camp.)

As their purposefully distorted description of Iraq's ties to the Soviets and the West indicates, the U.S. imperialists are quite aware of the possibility that states such as Iraq could "switch sides" again, and they are gambling that their alliance with the Iraqi regime in this fighting may help bring the second largest oil producer in the Persian Gulf securely back into their camp. □

bit in recent years. (See the article on Iraq's relationship with the U.S. and Soviet blocs on this page.)

Most immediately the current fighting is aimed at bringing the Iranian government to its knees and in one way or another instigating a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat there. So far the Iraqi forces have been on the offensive, and the prospects for them to keep the upper hand are likely, mainly due to the numerous problems besetting the Iranian army—ranging from low morale, desertions, inoperable U.S.-supplied equipment due to parts shortages, and very importantly, scores of reactionary, pro-U.S. commanders who are undoubtedly applying a policy of reactionary defeatism in the fighting and are mainly trying to position themselves to overthrow the present government.

Already much of Iran's oil refining capacity has been destroyed, at a time when the economy is already staggering. All this will undoubtedly further increase unrest inside the country, and provide a new battery of arguments for the reactionary and capitulationist forces who have been arguing all along that the revolution has made the country a mess, that it is suicidal to continue

to clash with the U.S. imperialists when the economy and military are falling apart, and that the continuing social upheaval and outbursts of revolutionary struggle among the masses has got to come to an end.

Such an attempt to bring down the Iranian government could take place during the course of the fighting. Invading Iraqi troops, Iranian exiles and even possibly U.S. forces might hope to trigger and link up with an uprising among pro-imperialist forces in Iran, especially within the military. Last week the U.S. blabbermouth lackey Anwar Sadat commented that the present fighting provides a golden opportunity for just such a coup attempt and implied that the U.S. is in active contact with military officers inside Iran. (There are some similarities here with the plan the U.S. appeared to have in mind during the Tabas raid in April—supposedly to "rescue the hostages"—but which was clearly coordinated with sections of the Iranian military and other pro-U.S. elements in the country.)

On the other hand, a decisive move to bring down the government (or force it to capitulate to the U.S. and greatly strengthen the hand of the pro-

imperialist forces within it) might wait until after the fighting ends and the government is so weakened that such a coup could succeed or the "moderates" could gain the upper hand in a "mini-coup" within the government.

Though the level of anti-imperialist sentiments and struggle among the Iranian masses remains high, the U.S. is hoping that enough sections of the population are turned against or neutralized by the reactionary internal politics of the Khomeini government to launch a coup. The fact that internally the clergy has recently been losing much of its reservoir of support and that there are deep divisions within Iran is one factor in the timing of this attack.

This situation underscores the quandary that the Iranian government is in—due to its class character. On the one hand, they can't thoroughly mobilize the masses of people to hit back at U.S. imperialism and its various forms of intervention, because they are scared that the masses may get out of their control as well as because of the reactionary policies they have used internally. This applies especially to the Islamic government's suppression of the just struggles of the Kurds and the Arab people in Khuzestan (which has been ruled under

martial law since last summer), where the main fighting with the Iraqis has gone on. Given the vacillating, bourgeois character of the government, it has been forced to depend even more on the military to beat off the Iraqi invasion, and is ironically strengthening the position of the pro-imperialist forces within the army who have their sights set on overthrowing the very government they're supposedly "defending." By the same token, the crisis brought on by the war points to the great opportunity for the Marxist-Leninists and other anti-imperialist forces in Iran to build revolutionary organization and leadership among the masses to defend the country, defeat imperialism and advance the revolution.

Through the course of this war, that the U.S. has itself provoked, it has been working overtime at building sentiment in the U.S. and internationally to deploy U.S. military forces in the Gulf—a long standing, and urgent goal of the imperialists. And what could be a better pretext for doing so—and under the banner of "maintaining the peace"—than the "grave danger" posed by the war to the West's oil supplies. And the danger is "not just to

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H-Bombs

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missiles—so they, ironically, took up the cause of "safety."

Out in Omaha, Nebraska, Lt. General Lloyd Leavitt, Jr., vice commander of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) was holding his own press conference: "We have about the worst case we could have in terms of a Titan accident. . . . A catastrophic failure of the Titan II." General Leavitt had just returned from Arkansas where he "looked into the hole where formerly the missile was." He described the missile as reduced to bits and pieces. The General went on to speculate that the missile's fuel tank at the bottom of the silo collapsed causing the missile to crumple and the fuel to be combined with its oxidizer and explode. The "critical question" he said was, "Did the fuel-air mixture reach a combustible point? The accident board will get into that."

The general's "critical question" could be answered very simply by looking at the glowing propaganda which the Air Force put out to justify the money for converting the Titan I to Titan II. The big attraction of the new version was its new fuel which could be stored right in the rocket, unlike the Titan I which used liquid oxygen and took 15 minutes to load. The new fuel required no ignition system, the Air Force bragged, since the two compounds ignite spontaneously on contact.

And as for how the missile might just crumple, a close reading of the Air Force's own report from last May shows that the corrosive fuels are now eating their way through the walls of the fuel tanks which were originally designed for a service life of only 10 years. The report brought out that 19 of the 54 Titans had already required one or more tank patches because of corrosion, and that between 1975 and 1979 there had been 125 accidents, with the frequency of leaks greatly increased within the last 2 years.

With millions of dollars in lawsuits pending against the government the press had no difficulty in finding farmers whose health had been wrecked and whose cattle had been killed as clouds of escaping nitrogen tetroxide have rolled across their farms over the last few years. But the press was just as quick to highlight a handful of fools, lauding them as "staunch individualists" who poo-pooed the

danger like the old man who refused to leave his house on Mt. St. Helens. (He blew up.) Hailed was the farmer who refused to evacuate the morning of the explosion until he had milked all 140 of his cows. Enterprising reporters even found a 79-year-old retired engineer in Damascus who had helped build the first atomic bomb that was dropped on Japan in World War 2. "It kind of reminded me of the old days," said Rex Peters, "the sound, the big fireball going up." But Peters wasn't a bit scared, knowing how safe the bombs are. "It was an accident by enlisted men, not scientists," he continued. "More people die from some sodbuster racing his car crazy on the road out here than die from this." His wife Flossie chimed in that there's nothing you can do about it anyway. "If this was going to be it, why that would be it."

Promoting patriotic fools to the hilt, the *New York Times* even reported one woman who stood at attention and saluted as the air force truck hauling away the H-bomb rolled past. They probably will have some people in this country who will want to ride the missile nosecones all the way to Moscow.

But combined with this kind of garbage was a slicker political campaign as the major papers and news magazines suddenly "revealed" who was really responsible for the U.S. still having these decaying timebombs around. Why it was the Russians, of course. In tones of "now it can be told" the *Washington Post* and other papers pointed to the SALT I agreement of 1972 as the root of the problem. In 1972, when the two imperialist superpowers entered into their first big arms agreement, it is alleged that Henry Kissinger offered to scrap the Titans in return for the Soviets scrapping their big SS9 missiles. This sort of swapping was at the heart of the first SALT treaty in which the superpowers tried to polish up their peace dove images by scrapping their older weapons systems, while replacing them with newer ones. Since the Russians considered their SS9 too valuable, their answer was Nyet. Thus the final treaty as it was made public and approved by Congress provided that the U.S. could scrap its older Titans for three nuclear missile submarines with an equivalent number of missiles while the Russians could make similar swaps for their SS7 and SS8 missiles (which are older than the SS9).

So why are the Titans still around? Apparently the U.S. today still has 41 nuclear subs instead of the 44 permitted

under SALT I if the Titan swap were made, and the U.S. is planning to scrap some of the old Polaris subs before it launches the three new Trident subs permitted by the agreement. To explain this discrepancy, U.S. newspapers revealed a little bit more of the imperialist power politics picture: secret treaties. But of course, they only revealed one such treaty, one that some in the ruling class now feel is unfavorable to the U.S. Supposedly under this secret clause in the SALT I treaty, Nixon agreed with Brezhnev to keep the Titans after all. Exactly what advantage the U.S. side felt it got out of this at the time is not clear, but you can bet there was one, since charity and kindness isn't their game. And surprise, surprise . . . the U.S. press didn't reveal any other secret clauses which are almost sure to exist and some of which are certainly more favorable to them and less so to the Soviets. In any case, the Titan missile was hardly a liability for the U.S., since it had the most powerful warhead in the whole U.S. arsenal and accounts for one-third of the megatonnage of the land based missile forces. The complaint today against the Titan, and the reason why some in the ruling class are jumping on the "safety" issue to get rid of it, is because it is somewhat less accurate than newer missiles, and therefore less likely to have an exact hit on Soviet missile silos. Of course the fact that it packs a larger explosion makes up some for the lesser accuracy, and besides, the U.S. has simply targeted the Titan for other targets that require a little less accuracy, such as industrial areas. To say the least, the Titan accuracy squabble is an intra-ruling class argument that the masses have absolutely no interest in taking sides in.

Of course the politicians are holding up a way to get out of the "Titan dilemma." President Carter announced that the U.S. will indeed begin phasing out the Titan II missiles—just as soon as the MX missiles are installed. Want to get rid of the creaking old missiles? Then vote for the new and bigger missiles guaranteed this time to explode where they are supposed to—in Russia.

There has also been a great deal of speculation about what might have happened if the hydrogen bomb which was thrown 200 yards by the force of the missile fuel explosion had itself exploded. As an indication of the possible results, we might recall that natives of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific are just now being allowed to return to their homes after some of their islands were used in the 1950s for H-bomb test

sites. Toxic levels of radiation lingered for years. This is only a small taste of the destruction they are planning right now for World War 3.

Yet the government is probably correct in its assertion that the type of massive explosion which threw the bomb from its silo in Arkansas would more likely make useless the firing mechanism than set the bomb off. But even this tenuous assurance was designed to cover up the real danger inherent in the Arkansas type accident—plutonium contamination.

All the nuclear weapons contain both the deadly plutonium-239 isotope as well as a large amount of conventional chemical explosive which could potentially blow the plutonium all over the landscape. In 1966, a B-52 accidentally dropped 4 H-bombs on the coast of Spain with two of them breaking open and spilling plutonium.

Plutonium's great danger comes from its extreme cancer-causing characteristics, the ease with which tiny particles can be inhaled, and its enormous half-life. The half-life of plutonium, the length of time it takes for a quantity to lose one-half of its radioactivity is 24,360 years.

While the air force trucked away the recovered H-bomb in a container with the neatly stenciled words "DO NOT DROP," the people of the world cannot forget for a minute that that is just exactly what the imperialists build nuclear bombs for—to drop. Last week, for sabre-rattling purposes, yet another nuclear policy Presidential Directive was leaked—columnist Jack Anderson reported last week the contents of Presidential Directive No. 51, outlining the U.S. policy for the use of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. According to the Anderson column, a squadron of B-52s stationed in Minot, North Dakota has been given the assignment which calls for the use of 19 nuclear weapons.

Each and every day both imperialist superpowers meticulously plan and increasingly rely upon the use of nuclear weapons from the opening rounds of their impending world struggle. It is typical—and sickening—imperialist politics that when their precious nuclear arsenal starts getting some bad publicity—as it did in Arkansas—they try to turn this around and claim it shows not the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and the imperialist system that spawns and plans to use them—but the need for more destructive nuclear weapons. □

MANEUVERS

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struggle (p. 73)? Why then propose such a restriction of work actions?"

True, the CUO's rhetoric is straight out of *Business Week*, but C.E.'s is right out of the AFL-CIA's magazine *The Federationist*. Why dwell "on the subordination of the national struggle to the needs of the international struggle?", asks the CPML. Of course, CUO's "internationalism" amounts to the international interests of U.S. imperialism. But for the CPML, any "internationalism" (not to mention the proletarian internationalism in the international revolutionary interests of the working class) seems to be too much. In effect the CPML is criticizing the right-wing social chauvinists of CUO from the right—if that is possible. C.E. is certainly more in favor of tailing spontaneity. He is really saying that the CUO is being "too political" in directing the attention of the U.S. people away from daily and spontaneous struggles toward the political objective of opposing the Soviet Union. According to C.E., *Sooner or Later* is making the mistake of trying to raise the "dumb" masses' heads too far above the bread-and-butter issues. True, *Sooner or Later's* despicable goal of capitulating to U.S. imperialism is worthy and lofty, according to the CPML, but their means of doing so will only isolate the social-chauvinists from the masses. The whole point of this section in *Sooner or Later* that C.E. is criticizing

is that it is in the longer-term national interests of the U.S. working class to tighten its belts now, to make whatever short-term sacrifices are necessary, including signing no-strike agreements, etc., in order to help the U.S. out in winning the war and saving the nation, that is, saving the U.S. imperialist system. This is in fact not one single bit different from what many imperialist politicians are running out about "uniting to defend the country."

C.E., however, while not caring a bit about how reactionary all this is, realizes that it is not very popular at this time to "give up the right to strike for the war effort" in advance of the bourgeoisie—that will come later. How can we possibly get workers and others like Blacks and Chicanos to join our anti-hegemonist united front with such an "internationalist line"? This, in effect, is what the CPML is asking. Toward the end of the reply, C.E. says as much:

"Larry Harris obviously is in agreement with the CUO and this is certainly his right. But the problem here is not mainly how to interpret the CUO's book. Rather my review and his letter reveal two different approaches to the fight against hegemonism and world war. . . ."

"Can the approach taken by the authors of *Sooner or Later* really mobilize the working and oppressed people in the U.S.?"

C.E. seems to realize that social-chauvinists like himself and the CUO have a particular job to do, one that is a bit different, though directed toward the same reactionary goal as outright chauvinists such as the imperialist politicians Carter, Reagan and Ander-

son. Good social-chauvinists must maintain some "socialist," or at least "in favor of the working people" type mask in order to deceive the masses of people who have a bit of a sense of class struggle and that their interests are not identical to the ruling class of imperialists. The special job of social-chauvinists is, as Lenin once put it, to "throw dust in the eyes" of these workers, and win them away from embarking on the path of revolutionary struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie into being a loyal opposition.

Thus all this back and forth on the question of nationalism vs. internationalism is simply two versions of the same old reactionary social-chauvinism. And with their warning of "Don't jump on the patriotic bandwagon," the CPML really means, "Don't jump on so brazenly yet, help us fill up the wagon first." And the CPML is clutching today for every possible basis to do so. In an interview in the Summer 1980 issue of *Class Struggle*, CPML Chairman Mike Klonsky promises that the "struggle against hegemonism" is all around today: "It can be found in the workers' struggle where the sentiment for jobs and decent working conditions is not something totally separate from the longshoremen boycotting Soviet ships." Here, Klonsky's enthusiasm for reactionary ILA boss Teddy Gleason's practice of carrying out U.S. State Department orders is positively touching. Klonsky seems determined not to be outdone by CUO's extraordinary efforts in finding something progressive in the anti-Iranian demonstrations.

This approach leads him and the CPML to a related divergence with the

CUO and Larry Harris around the question of "Is there a democratic trend in U.S. foreign policy that can be united with?" The CUO, with its open political support for the U.S. government, now is compelled to come up with some sort of justification for it. Thus they have come up with the notion that there is "a shift in American politics" and that there is a democratic trend in the American ruling class represented by various politicians who not only are anti-Soviet but support "progressive policies toward the third world" and can therefore be united with. The CPML, on the other hand, has no immediate need for such a device and therefore contends that "no such democratic trend yet exists within any major faction of U.S. ruling circles" (our emphasis—RW). In response to Larry Harris's support for CUO's line on this question, C.E. replies:

"Without such an independent mobilization of labor and minorities with U.S. communists an active force in the struggle, can we place our hopes on any 'democratic current' within the ranks of the giant monopoly capitalists to oppose hegemonism? If such a current really has developed, who are its leaders and main representatives and how does Harris suggest we hook up with them?"

Show me. Show me, demands C.E., and it is quite likely that sometime in the future, at a more opportune or necessary time, perhaps "when the mass movement develops further," this "democratic trend" will begin to materialize before his eyes.

The CPML and Klonsky are confident that by pursuing reformism and

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Sauk Village, Illinois

Penalty For Traffic Violation: Death

Sauk Village, a small suburb about 30 miles south of Chicago, is a community of neat bungalows, shaded streets and well-tended lawns. On the surface this white, working class town, sprouting up right in the middle of a corn field, appears to be an island of stability safely insulated from the troubles of the big city. This illusion was shattered on the night of September 13, as 15 squad cars, lights flashing and eerie sirens wailing, zoomed toward the house of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Krawczykowski. The stage was set for a SWAT Team style operation involving Sauk Village cops, Illinois State Police, and Cook County Sheriff's Police. The target of the massive assault was the Krawczykowski's son-in-law Fred Frazier, a 20-year-old railroad worker charged with a traffic violation. For three and a half hours Frazier was under a nightmarish state of siege that ended when police lobbed tear gas canisters in the window, the front door and the back door of the house. Six days later Fred died from burns covering 92% of his body that he suffered when the hot canister set his mattress into flames. For committing a traffic violation, Fred Frazier's penalty was murder at the hands of the state.

"It's unbelievable to me," said Mrs. Krawczykowski. "It seems like we're dreaming, but we're awake and we know what happened. They never gave him a chance. It was a circus. It was like he was the lion and they were all the tamers." Mrs. Krawczykowski and Fred's wife, Shirley, told what happened. After stopping off for a few beers after work Fred pulled into the driveway of the house with a cop in hot pursuit. The cops said Fred had run over the parkway, the strip of grass between the sidewalk and the street, of someone's lawn. An argument ensued and the cop sprayed Fred in the face with mace but he managed to stumble inside the house. "He was petrified," said Shirley. "He had been beaten up real badly by the Sauk Village police two years ago. When I went to get him out of jail both his eyes were black and blue. He still has scars on his back from where they beat him."

Fred's wife and mother-in-law finally persuaded him to surrender to police. They planned to follow behind and bail him out of jail right away. But when the cops insisted that Fred had to be handcuffed, he changed his mind about surrendering. He had been handcuffed before when the cops had used him as a human punching bag. More squad cars screeched in and neighbors gathered. They argued with the cops, telling them again why Fred would not put handcuffs on. Police told Shirley they were going to spray him with a fire extinguisher to subdue him. In fact, they were about to gas the house and had even called in the Sauk Village Fire Dept. which soon arrived on the scene. Without a word of warning tear gas canisters were launched into the house. "I knew there was a fire right away because black smoke was pouring out," Mrs. Krawczykowski said, "but they told me it was only the tear gas." The pigs finally got their man—his charred body was brought out on a stretcher.

People in Sauk Village were shocked and outraged over the murder; such a thing had never happened in this town. It seems Sauk Village isn't all that far from the city streets of Chicago where, just three days after Fred Frazier died, Chicago police performed a similar SWAT-type operation, surrounding the house of a Black man and summarily executing him all in a few minutes. Walter Cooley died of a single gunshot wound to the chest after about 50 cops converged on his house on the South

Side. Police claim that Cooley shot at them first, but neighbors who were eyewitnesses say the cops are lying.

Sauk Village is closer to the big city in other ways as well. Layoffs from the steel mills and at the Ford plant where many of these workers are employed are rampant. Discontent is the most explosive among the youth under 17 who make up more than half the town's population, and the cops are there to "maintain order" by beating them over the head. "You could see this coming," said a reporter for a local newspaper. "We get complaints every year from teenagers who say they were beaten up for no reason. The cops say it's because 'the rednecks are hard to control.'"

In a disgusting attempt to justify the murder of Fred Frazier, the Sauk Village Police Chief, issued a twisted but typical statement turning the criminals into victims and the victim into the criminal. The action was necessary, Chief Young said, because Frazier "attacked a police officer with a metal pipe and a knife....The officers on the scene used appropriate police procedures to subdue an armed, violent

and dangerous person." Apparently we are to feel sorry for all 15 of those poor defenseless cops who had nothing but guns, clubs, mace and tear gas at their disposal. The family said Fred had picked up a hunting knife and a piece of a broken aluminum clothes rack in the beginning, but discarded it when he first agreed to surrender. The charge that a cop was attacked with a pipe was suddenly concocted by the cops for the first time five days after Fred's death.

"He always used to look at our 22-month-old daughter and say 'what kind of a world does she face?'" Shirley said. "He was a fighter. Some people if they're beaten up by the cops, they'll just give up, but not Freddy. Just think of all the people they've done this to. Freddy had to give up his life to show what these cops are really like." For refusing to submit to brutalization and degradation at the hands of the cops, Fred Frazier was murdered. The desire to hold your head up, to walk with a little pride, can be a crime punishable by death at the hands of the police.

No Debate

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First, reducing the outflow of U.S. dollars for imported oil is crucial to maintaining the economic and political stability of the Western bloc. As the top imperialist in this war bloc, the U.S. has to take up the chief "international" responsibility for keeping it together and handle economics in such a way as not to interfere with uniting for war against the Soviets and their bloc. Second, repeated calls to conserve, to sacrifice, to carpool, and to dial down serve the broader function of preparing the American public for wartime shortages and rationing. As the *New York Times* summed up in its editorial on the debate, "It was left to Anderson to make the urgent connection between national security, quality of life and the continuing need for oil imports."

Finally, Anderson mentioned the issue of nationalism, stating that "...every major problem confronting us is global and cannot be solved by nationalism, here or elsewhere; that is chauvinistic, that is parochial, that is as anachronistic as states' rights was in the days of Jefferson Davis." While the ploy about states' rights was meant as a little dig at Reagan and a sop to the liberals in the audience, Anderson's attack on "nationalism" was really not directed at the foul-mouthed, superbreed garbage of Reagan. With this kind of nationalism for the U.S. masses, Anderson has no significant difference at all. The kind of nationalism Anderson was hitting at was the "parochial" view of other imperialist countries within the Western bloc who do not sufficiently subordinate their own imperialist interests to U.S. imperialist interests or to the need for a common front in the U.S.-led war bloc. Some of these "parochial" contradictions among the allies surfaced sharply at the recent Western summit conference in Venice, where the question of who would bear what burdens and risks raged within the common outlook that war with the Soviet bloc was now inevitable.

Anderson, who has served with Jimmy Carter in such elite international capitalist bodies as the Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission, speaks for the highest concerns of monopoly capital and their opposition to the trade wars, import restrictions,

and protective tariffs, which are usually generated by domestic political pressures from small industry and some trade unions. It is Anderson who upholds "imperialist internationalism"—that is in the interests of U.S. imperialism as the dominant Western imperialist power as the Western bloc

faces its showdown with the rival Soviet bloc.

"See, it was a debate," cried the press when it was all over. But behind the facade of "sharply differing views" presented by Reagan and Anderson lies nothing more than different forms of the same appeal to prepare for war. □



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Letter from an Iraqi Revolutionary

We received the following letter from an Iraqi Marxist-Leninist living abroad several months ago, and are reprinting one section of this letter which is particularly relevant now:

Dear comrades of the RCP,

The regime in Iraq is a fascist dictatorship with a particularly gruesome record that is comparable perhaps only to that of the ex-Shah of Iran. In fact, U.S. imperialism is planning for Iraq to play the role of the gendarme of the Gulf region, vacant since the Iranian revolution. The revolutionary upsurge in Iraq will, however, eventually sweep away these plans. The regime is now more isolated than ever. After its criminal war of aggression on the Kurdish people in 1974-75, it stepped up its terror throughout the country, particularly in the southern provinces, and in the poorest and most exploited quarters of the capital. It has systematically tortured, assassinated and sent to the firing squad thousands of Marxists, Kurdish nationalists, Islamic revolutionaries and democrats. For more than a year now it has also added the revisionists (the Iraqi Communist Party—RW) to its lists and is now conducting a public anti-communist campaign. Until recently, the revisionists were part of

the so-called Progressive United Front with the regime. It has sent its terror squads abroad, and over the last two years, it has committed a number of assassinations that have been widely reported in the western press. The Iraqi "SAVAK" has taken the course of assassinating anyone who shows the least sign of opposition at home and abroad. In this it has surpassed even the ex-Shah's notorious secret police.

Iraqi communists work under extremely oppressive conditions which makes it all the more necessary to keep the revolutionary vigilance all the time. The more careful and conscientious the work among the masses now, the nearer is the day when the people will sweep away the monstrous regime once and for all. At this stage, a co-ordination of the efforts of Turkish, Iranian and Iraqi Marxist-Leninists is crucial. After all, the time-honored tactic of the reactionary regimes of the area has been to unite in the face of any revolutionary upsurge. Now revolutionary solidarity will surely make a breakthrough at a time when the regimes are most disunited.

Communist greetings

U.S. UNLEASHES IRAQ AGAINST IRAN

Continued from page 13

America," they add, broadmindedly. News reports have been speculating that the fighting will soon spread to the Straits of Hormuz—the 20 mile bottleneck between Iran and Oman through which one tanker passes every 15 minutes. Confronted with this "new threat," the U.S. announced that it is engaging in "consultations" with Britain, France and other Western allies about contingency planning to keep the Straits open. Clearly the formation of some sort of Western naval force to patrol the Gulf or bringing in U.S. forces unilaterally is being plotted.

The scenario being played out now has striking similarities to the U.S. plan to stage a "limited invasion" of Iran that Jack Anderson revealed last month; he reported that an invasion of Kharg Island—Iran's main oil-export facility—would take place in mid-October, after a suitable pretext was found by the U.S. government! There are other signs that just such moves are afoot: last week the USSR, which still has an invasion force of 80,000 in Afghanistan, charged that the U.S. was getting ready to invade the Gulf—a charge that shouldn't be dismissed lightly, because the U.S.' and the Soviets' record of telling the truth, though extremely dismal, improves radically when they are exposing the other's imperialist interests and aggressive moves.

After the world-shaking victory of the Iranian revolution in 1979, and the U.S. loss of its key "forward military base" there, the U.S. imperialists have regrouped and tried to put together a new lineup of allied regional powers—especially emphasizing the new Israeli-Egyptian alliance on the Mediterranean side of the Middle East and working towards the formation of a Saudi-Iraqi alliance in the Gulf itself (since this wouldn't be openly identified with the U.S. it would have an advantage of posing as a self-policing "Arab" force). At the same time as it was maneuvering in this area, the U.S. also summed up that the post-Vietnam "Nixon Doctrine" (that of relying on regional gendarmes such as the Shah to protect U.S. interests in the Middle East), was out of date, and replaced it with the "Carter Doctrine"—the announced policy that the U.S. would use its own forces to protect strategic areas of the world.

Thus, in the past year, the 100,000-man Rapid Deployment Force has been formed that is specifically slated for use in the Persian Gulf, and not coincidentally, units of it are supposed to fly to Egypt in November to hold joint exercises with local military forces. The U.S. has negotiated the use of military bases in Kenya, Somalia and Oman (located at the entrance to the Gulf), where heavy military equipment



is being prepositioned to "marry up" with U.S. forces that would be flown in from the U.S. And while the U.S. has been hesitant up to now to press for the establishment of U.S. bases with substantial contingents of troops stationed there, because of the danger that these would serve as a lightning rod for anti-U.S. sentiments in these countries and topple the puppet rulers, the U.S. is working hard through the current fighting to radically alter the political climate in these countries and convince their hesitant allies that U.S. bases in their countries are needed. Government officials have recently referred to this "kiss of death" syndrome as a major barrier they must overcome in order to get bases and station troops close to the Middle East oil fields before the outbreak of war with the Soviets.

And lastly, it should be noted that the U.S. is not without military forces in the area already. Cruising in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Iran, the U.S. Middle East Task Force has two nuclear-powered aircraft carrier battle groups. This includes the carriers themselves, frigates, destroyers (which guard the carriers) and supply ships. There is also a squadron of 12 F-4 Phantom fighters, along with 400 support personnel, in Egypt, where they have been "training" along with the Egyptian air force for the past 2 months. All this is the biggest recent concentration of U.S. military forces in and around the Middle East.

All of these moves of the U.S., including setting off the war between Iraq and Iran in the first place, are not a result of strength, but of their growing weakness and desperation: their system is caught up in economic crisis, and in

every part of the world they are being confronted by their reactionary rivals in the Soviet Union and are being pummeled by the revolutionary struggles of the people.

In Iran, ever since the revolution toppled their prize puppet the Shah, the imperialist rulers of the U.S. have not accepted a nationalist regime—even one that is neutral and not tied to the Soviets. They can't take half a loaf, and they won't be satisfied until they get the whole thing. Isn't this why they backed the Shah until the bitter end? Isn't this why they have never stopped trying to destabilize the government and reverse the revolution? And isn't this why they have taken increasing risks to refasten their grip on Iran?

This same point is driven home by this description of former Energy Secretary James Schlesinger's position when the U.S. was plotting a military coup as a last ditch attempt to save the Shah's regime in January 1979: "Schlesinger realized that this strategy might fail;... but Schlesinger pointed out that the stakes were very high. Not only America's interests, but those of the entire industrialized West were at stake in the outcome of the Iranian crisis. When the stakes were that high, the government should be willing to take some risks. If the gamble paid off, there would be a substantial reward."

Even though the U.S. clearly thinks it holds strong cards in this situation, their gamble could backfire. On one side, the Iranian masses could burst through the fetters that the Islamic regime has put on them and take a decisive leap toward completing the revolution in the course of waging an anti-imperialist war in defense of Iran. This is a prospect that

has both superpowers on edge and why both are to a certain extent collaborating in attacking the Iranian revolution. The revolutionary movement in Iraq could gain under these conditions as well, particularly as the reactionary nature of the war and the Iraqi government's collusion with U.S. imperialism becomes widely exposed among the masses.

On the other side, the Soviets could step in and take advantage of the situation. They stand to gain in several ways. For one thing, they have continuing ties to both the Iraqi and Iranian governments, and could end up in a position to broker a settlement that would put them in an improved position in either one, or even possibly both, countries. Another possibility is that in the event that civil war breaks out in Iran on the heels of a U.S.-backed coup, the Soviets could either intervene directly or be "asked" in by pro-Soviet forces within Iran such as the Tudeh Party, the Fedayeen or the Kurdish Democratic Party. The northern provinces of Azerbaijan, Mazandaran, Turkoman, and Kurdistan in the west are areas of high unrest and opposition to the central government and some pro-Soviet sentiment.

It is also possible that the Iranian government would be forced to seek large scale economic aid and military assistance from the Soviets. There have already been the beginnings of this trend, and a number of Soviet-bloc trade delegations have visited Iran. While this hasn't matured so far—and there have been reports of a recent worsening of Soviet-Iranian relations, including stepped-up Soviet military maneuvers on Iran's northern borders—this could rapidly in the future, especially if some forces in the government think they must lean towards the Soviet Union in order to hold on to power in the face of increasing U.S. attempts to overthrow them. Despite the strong anti-communism of Iran's leaders, political reality often makes strange ideological bedfellows.

In unleashing this war at this time, the U.S. may have made the assessment that the Soviets are right now bogged down and are on the political defensive temporarily in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan—thereby deciding that the time was ripe to press ahead to make a bold move to re-butress U.S. power in the Persian Gulf. The Soviets now seem to be in the position of having to choose between continuing to supply arms and spare parts to Iraq (and if they don't facing the possibility that Iraq will break off its remaining ties with them), or throw their weight behind the Iranian government (being particularly worried about the U.S. grabbing Iran and installing a new client government on its southern border). In either case,

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"Overthrow" Charges Still Stand

Atlanta Revolutionaries Back on the Street

Atlanta. The two revolutionaries arrested and charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," were released from jail four weeks after their bust. (See *RW's* No. 70 and 71 for background). They had been arrested for putting up the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" poster, which is an important tool in getting the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper known broadly and in achieving the battle to reach a sustained circulation of 100,000 papers sold every week. The supposedly simple process of finally bailing them out took an entire day, even though one of the people involved was their lawyer.

First, the legal team had to appear before the Superior Court judge, to get him to sign a statement saying exactly just what the bond was. It seems that there had been a legal ping-pong game going on, as first the Superior Court judge would overrule the city court judge, and lower the bail; then the city court judge would overrule the higher judge and raise the bail back up again... When the defense lawyer approached the Superior Court judge, the

robbed fossil was adamant that he could do nothing until it was okayed by the prosecutor—who was summoned to the courtroom. The judge tried to slime away from doing anything by indicating that it was the city judge who sets bond, but the prosecutor answered, "No, we do." So the judge set it at the lower bond and signed the paper.

But when the team went down to the Court Clerk to pay, the judge's signature hardly dry, they were sent back to the same judge. It seemed now that they needed another signed statement saying that they were allowed to pay the bond—this one only set the amount of bond! The judge hemmed and hawed, and called the prosecutor back into his court. Finally the legal team got the paper signed. In the middle of all this harassment the prosecutor turned to the defense lawyer and said that the D.A.'s office was not intending to prosecute on the felony "overthrow" charges anyway. It was another blatant example of the lies being spread by the state to throw people off guard, and to try to diffuse the growing support over

this outrageous attack on the RCP and its paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*.

It was learned from talking to the now freed revolutionaries that the male defendant (who is also a Mao Tsetung Defendant) had been held in maximum security all the four weeks. Some reactionary prisoners threatened him to move out of "their" cell. A letter to the warden written by one of these fools exclaimed: "This guy's a communist and is advocating the overthrow of the government right here in the jail!" Another prisoner fired off one of his own letters to the warden, declaring that if the revolutionary was moved, he wanted to be transferred with him. This prisoner, who is also an artist, was inspired by the copy of the *RW* that was given to him. He drew a colored picture of Lenin walking and talking to a crowd of workers after poring over the paper. He presented it to the comrade as he was leaving the jail. And over in the other defendant's cell, in the women's section, a fellow prisoner drafted the following support statement and had it signed by eight other women:

Jail is the wrong place to put revolutionaries, because when people locked up find out what the system is about, they want to destroy capitalism too. Like Fred Hampton said, "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution."

We're supposed to have freedom of speech in this country, so why are they trying to hush us up? They say that we have to go by their laws, but they don't go by them. They say justice for all, but its only justice on behalf of the capitalists.

The capitalists know that the masses have to have leaders, so they try to lock revolutionaries up, but they don't understand that leadership goes on and on. We will speak with our mouths, or write with pen and paper and the Revolutionary Worker. If the people came together, the system doesn't have a fighting chance and that's what the capitalists are afraid of. Free our Co-conspirators.

*Signed by 8 women
in the Fulton County Jail*

MANEUVERS

Continued from page 14

economism, and generally worshipping spontaneity in the day to day struggles of the masses today, why, capitulation and more political social-chauvinism will just come naturally later on. (Especially with some coaching along the way—but just a little bit subtler coaching that *Sooner or Later* recommends.) And the CPML is right: their line has been tested by historical research. The parties of the Second International which in the "peaceful times" before World War I practiced opportunism in the form of economism, reformism, seeking union and and government positions at all costs—these parties immediately capitulated to "their own" bourgeoisie once World War I broke out and played an important role in sending the workers of Europe off to do battle against each other in the service of "their" respective bourgeoisies. As Lenin put it, "the boil burst." Opportunism in peaceful times became the rotten pus of social-chauvinism in wartime. "Social-chauvinism is an opportunism which has matured... grown so strong and brazen during the long period of comparatively 'peaceful' capitalism..." ("The Collapse of the Second International")

Decisive Struggle in the RCP

When the Mensheviks who now call themselves the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (and with whom Larry Harris now seems to be associated) were still inside our Party, they taught us some things about this by way of negative example. Back in 1975, at the time of the founding of our Party, some of these people tried for a while to argue for a social-chauvinist line to be adopted by the RCP. In particular, they argued that we adopt the foreign policy of China (at the time still a revolutionary, socialist country under the leadership of Mao Tsetung) as our overall international line. This meant targeting the Soviet Union, which did represent the main danger to China, as the main enemy in the whole world struggle. The revolutionaries in Party leadership strongly opposed this at the time it came up, and waged a struggle to unite the Party against this social-chauvinism. The main leaders of the soon-to-be Menshevik faction gave these social-chauvinist arguments encouragement and some support, but they saw that this was not a battle they were likely to win in our Party at that

time. So they opted instead for ignoring the international struggle, dismissing it as "unimportant," and concentrating on huffing up an economist wind inside the Party. They met with some real success in this respect at that time, and hoped that this would set up the Party to capitulate on international matters later. And they kept raising "little points" of struggle at every chance to push this chauvinist line along, even while they concentrated on promoting economism. While they were defeated on all their chauvinist sorties, and some important struggle was unfolded inside the Party in 1976-77 against economism before their departure, it took the decisive struggle against these Mensheviks in 1977 which shaped up around the reactionary coup in China to really guarantee the continued existence of the RCP, USA as a revolutionary party in the face of intensifying contradictions in the world. So we have learned from our own experience, too, that economism is the grease for the skids to social-chauvinism and must be fought tooth and nail to stay on the revolutionary path.

The CPML has gone through a process slightly different from that of the Mensheviks who split from our Party. They have freed themselves somewhat from simply tailing after the foreign policy of China and have more wholeheartedly devoted themselves to promoting spontaneity in the U.S. class struggle. Thus they are more able, and have more of a necessity, to be flexible with their approach in order to reach the "broadest sectors of the American people."

This new broader approach of the CPML does not confine itself to the "labor movement" but extends to other movements as well such as the anti-draft movement, where they have been working to turn it in an "anti-hegemonist direction," to use Klonsky's euphemism, tailing behind the most backward trends in the movement and generally acting like a Trojan horse for the U.S. imperialists. Like other more openly bourgeois forces in the movement, whose opposition to the draft is based on "we don't need it now," the CPML is working in this movement now, aiming to turn it around later. They and people like them use flimsy excuses like this one: Right now the U.S. military is being readied for use against the Third World, and we should oppose this; they should be getting ready to resist the Soviets, and if they ever do that... well, then we should support their military efforts in this direction. This is a fairy tale about the nature of the U.S. military build-up, which, as an imperialist military

build-up, is directed against all potential enemies—but with special emphasis today on being ready to fight the Soviets (as opposed to the kind of weaponry, equipment and training they were into during the Vietnam era). Besides this, this "logic" is a reactionary set-up to turn the anti-draft movement around 180 degrees at a later date. Such is the CPML's role and reason for "going along with the tide" for the time being.

This "new" "become a significant political force" (for the U.S. ruling class) approach is what C.E. is trying to unite all social-chauvinists behind as the more realistic and effective way to accomplish the glorious ends to which they all aspire. In the Klonsky interview in *Class Struggle*, he makes an appeal exactly to forces like the *RWH* and the CUO:

"On the other hand, there are some small groups who try to mechanically copy China's foreign policy but without any attention paid to the concrete conditions here in the U.S. To their credit they are vocal in their opposition to the Soviet drive. But they have no real program for the working class and therefore are isolated from the masses. Who do they hope to bring into the united front? So without any regard for the past or for the present consciousness of the people they hope to lead, they solidly endorse the Carter Doctrine, the draft (even before Carter has called for it), a blank check in defense budget and put themselves at odds with every progressive force in the country. These people may have good intentions. But despite their denials, they are dogmatists who copy blindly from other countries or other periods in history and do a disservice to the anti-hegemonic united front.

"What is encouraging is that a significant trend is developing in the U.S. left which stands firmly in its opposition to hegemonism, but at the same time is developing its ties with the working class and progressive movements in the country. It is also encouraging that among these the Marxist-Leninist forces are developing more unity in their efforts to join in a single unified communist party.

"They are carrying out work in the peace movement and anti-draft movement to give them an anti-hegemonist direction and orientation." (Emphasis ours—*RW*)

And the CPML even offers this advice to "progressive, revolutionary and independence forces in other countries." For example, in opposing the CUO's call for supporting the maintenance of U.S. bases in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, C.E. writes:

"The authors are correct in trying to raise the vigilance of the people against the growing Soviet threat in these areas of U.S. domination. But their dogmatic, one-sided approach to the anti-U.S. struggle in Puerto Rico and the Philippines will only serve to isolate the Marxist-Leninist forces."

In other words, an open stand in support of the U.S. such as the CUO is calling for will only expose those in these countries who put forward such trash and thus render them ineffective in building the battle against the real enemy—the USSR—according to their particular conditions.

So far the CPML has left the authors of *Sooner or Later* with the last word—a full-page rebuttal to C.E. in the Sept. 8-21, 1980 *Call*. Appropriately, and in a conscious move by the CPML, the rebuttal is a call for C.E. to stop shilly-shallying around, cut out the crap and declare whether he supports the united front with U.S. imperialism and all that it entails, or not. The CUO writes:

"Some *Call* writers, including C.E., are having trouble with this view. They'd like to be regarded as supporters of the united front against hegemonism and China's position, but then they'd also like to be considered the most 'consistent' enemies of U.S. imperialism and leaders of the so-called 'mass anti-draft movement' (C.E.)..."

"The international situation is grim. War clouds continue to gather. If C.E. and others continue to oppose such steps as the modernization of U.S. forces and the draft (steps unpopular among some 'progressive' circles), then they have a duty to present a factual analysis of why they consider unnecessary what many consider absolutely essential."

We submit that the CPML has indeed made and presented their "analysis" in the pages of their newspaper and their journal; it is just that they have taken care to cover over their unity with the CUO on every fundamental question with a slightly thicker Marxist veneer than their fellow social-chauvinists do. We have seen just how much real solid unity there is among all three of the participants in this debate. In various ways, all of them propagate the idea that support for, and in fact alliance with, the U.S. imperialists in the coming war is not only necessary but desirable, and are working tirelessly toward this end. All wrap up this shameless support for one of the two biggest exploiters and plunderers in the history of the world in a package called the united front against hegemonism, by which they mean the Soviet Union—

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Letters

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Inherent in this line is the assumption, idealistic to the extreme, that any type of ability or power that can be developed by human beings is a positive advance over nature and should therefore be developed and used. This ridiculous line, if applied to the social sphere could result in such propositions as this: "class society has developed such intricate and effective methods of human exploitation that it would be a shame to let them go to waste, so let's, as the 'proletariat' (or Party thereof), in the name of 'modernization,' apply them to the peasants, or the small farmers, or national minorities, or the working class itself." Sound familiar? Instant revisionist fascism! Or if this line were applied fully to the conflict with nature and its various aspects it might lead to a decision to go all out using DDT or Agent Orange everywhere because they do such a good job of killing pests. Such a line fails to apply dialectics and falls easily into pragmatism, going for short term gains while ignoring the broader and longer term implications of actions and policies.

The principal aspect of this line goes a little deeper and is disturbing in that it seems to pervade the ranks of Marxists, both historically and in the present. That is the notion that the identity and destiny of the human species are somehow tied into the ultimate *conquering* of nature. Engels warned of such a view in "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" (p. 180 in *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers):

"Let us not, however, flatter ourselves over much on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first. . . . Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly."

In the part of this passage I omitted, Engels gives examples of ecological disasters resulting from peoples' misuse of power over nature. Will the future see added to this already extensive list the creation of huge areas, perhaps even global in scale, of radioactive deserts caused by the improper or ill-planned "disposal" of plutonium wastes from nuclear fission plants (or from the use of nuclear weapons for that matter)? It might, if we don't stop the capitalists soon, or if socialists are too narrow and *dogmatic* in their understanding of nature.

The "conquer nature" line in essence amounts to idealism. Since the realm of nature, the very existence of matter and the laws that govern its development are a *pre-condition* of human existence, the idea that humanity, or any other species, could overrule such laws, as a god presumably could, is just that—an idea, an imaginary thing and nothing more. As Howard Parsons points out in *Marx and Engels on Ecology* (Introduction, p. 69), and as the above quote from Engels demonstrates, *mastery* of the laws of nature implies something quite different than "conquering nature." A conqueror, especially one who maintains his rule by intensifying (not *even* attempting to eliminate) the already antagonistic contradiction between himself and that which he has subjected, will meet the inevitable revenge of that which he has "conquered."

To speak of conquering nature, just as in the conquering of a people, implies the use of force to overcome resistance. It assumes the existence, or the creation, of an *antagonistic* contradiction. Certainly there is a contradiction between humanity and the rest of nature, but that contradiction becomes antagonistic only under certain extreme conditions. These conditions have existed only for a brief moment in the history of human society, since the advent of classes.

The increasing concentration of the means of production as the property and under the control of a succession of ruling classes for the sole purpose of maintaining and continuing their rule has robbed technology from its natural role of fulfilling human need. Pre-class, or "primitive communist" societies coupled their "primitive," relatively simple technology with an intuitive understanding of ecological interconnections in their environment to maintain a lifestyle that (contrary to 19th century myth, swallowed unfortunately by many Marxists) amply satisfied their physical and cultural needs while keeping the human vs. nature contradiction from developing into antagonistic forms.

This is not to say that pre-class societies developed, understood, or embraced the science of ecology, though there certainly was a significant spontaneous development of knowledge in that area, if only because their survival as peoples was so closely linked to the workings of a local ecosystem. For example, a hun-

ting people occupy a particular niche in a biological food web. Any disturbance or disruption of that food web is a direct threat to the survival of the people; therefore their knowledge and practice must include principles of game and range management.

Class society brings about forced overproduction and the destructive use of technology to accumulate wealth and power for the ruling group. This means an intensification of human use and exploitation of nature and its objects, and results in a qualitative change in the contradiction into antagonism. Nature "responds" by a decrease in its ability to support human and other forms of life (e.g. deforestation and overgrazing turns North Africa into the Sahara Desert), becoming a more antagonistic environment to live in (and thus requiring a further adaptation on the part of human society; the role of the human/nature contradiction in driving ahead the development of the means of production is widely recognized, though I think the effect of this increasing *antagonization* has been too little studied). This process has continued to this very day, when class society overripe for death, imperialism, has developed colossal means of mass destruction of life and the ability of the planet to support life.

Under socialism, and subsequently communism, the masses must have the ability and means to choose and develop the technology they will be the masters of in such a way that they will *master* nature in the way Marx and Engels had in mind, by learning, understanding, and applying its laws. That includes not only the disciplines of chemistry, mechanics and physics, but the interdisciplinary science of ecology, and overall the guiding philosophy of dialectical materialism. Only through the correct application of this universal truth can human society develop in a living way, in so doing enhancing the evolution of life itself, finally abandoning the dead end road of anarchistic and entropic production that is class society.

This letter has dragged on longer than I originally intended, but the issue is complex and very important to the future development of human society. And since that is what much of the new program is devoted to, I don't think it's of such little significance as to be overlooked or shunted aside. These are questions of theoretical guidance and long term strategy.

Perhaps the Party is already moving toward this position in respect to the human/nature relationship. In past years the goal of "conquering" nature was put forward by the Party, for example in Chairman Avakian's speech to the founding convention of the RCP, and on p. 40 of the old programme. The words "conquer nature" are not in the new programme, but have been replaced with "mastery over the rest of nature" (p. 86).

But there is not enough indication that the Party has fully grasped and embraced the points being made in this letter. Specifically, I think the Party should include in the programme the need under socialism for conscious, rational direction of the development of production in a way analogous to the lawful development of life in nature as an opposing force to the laws of entropy and anarchy. This would involve the assessment, selection, and development of technologies not only on the basis of properly understood political economy, that is, to serve the needs of the people and the development of society, but also on the basis of the science of ecology, applying the laws, filling the needs and enhancing the development of that in which humanity plays the role of subjective consciousness, *life* in the ecosystem.

The RCP is already distinguished from opportunist and revisionist forces by its emphasis on all-round, socialist development and in its criticism of the production first, give-'em-ghoulash line of traitors like Teng. This demonstrates the Party's deeper understanding and application of dialectical materialism, as opposed to the opportunists' shallow, bourgeois lie that the attainment of communism depends primarily on the existence (not even necessarily the *equitable* distribution!) of an abundance of goods, i.e., commodities, such as is seen in the marketplace in advanced capitalist countries like the U.S.

The RCP has recognized that the proletariat is destined to fulfill goals much higher than the illusory accumulation of commodities in the marketplace; that primary among these aspirations is the elimination of all class divisions in society and all exploitation of humans by other humans. Thus will the basis be laid for the rational direction of production to fulfill the needs of individuals and society.

The Party must now make a further advance over all opportunists by recognizing that the rational direction of production must also take into account the needs of the larger ecosystem of which society is a part. Of course, none of these goals is attainable without a thorough and correct application of dialectical materialism.

onward and upward!

A Reader

Lenin

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ly dim class consciousness; for in this matter, like the advocates of liberalism and of the various cultural endeavors, *Iskra* goes against the fundamental task of Social-Democratic literature, which is, not to obscure class antagonism, but to criticize the bourgeois system and explain the class interests that divide it. Such, too, is *Iskra's* attitude towards the student movement. And yet in other articles *Iskra* sharply condemns all 'compromise' and defends, for instance, the intolerant conduct of the Guesdists.

"We shall refrain from dwelling upon *Iskra's* minor defects and blunders, but in conclusion we think it our duty to observe that we do not in the least desire by our criticism to belittle the significance which *Iskra* can acquire, nor do we close our eyes to its merits. We welcome it as a political, Social-Democratic newspaper in Russia. We regard one of its greatest merits to be its able explanation of the question of terror to which it devoted a number of timely articles. Finally, we cannot refrain from noting the exemplary, literary style in which *Iskra* is written, a thing so rare in illegal publications, its regular appearance, and the abundance of fresh and interesting material which it publishes. September 1901."

"A groups of comrades"

In the first place, we should like to say that we cordially welcome the straightforwardness and frankness of the authors of this letter. It is high time to stop playing at hide-and-seek, concealing one's Economist "credo" (as is done by a section of the Odessa Committee from which the "politicians" broke away), or declaring, as if in mockery of the truth, that at the present time "not a single Social-Democratic organisation is guilty of the sin of Economism" (*Two Conferences*, p. 32, published by *Rabocheye Dyelo*). And now to the matter.

The authors of the letter fall into the very same fundamental error as that made by *Rabocheye Dyelo* (see particularly issue No. 10). They are muddled over the question of the relations between the "material"

(spontaneous, as *Rabocheye Dyelo* puts it) elements of the movement and the ideological (conscious, operating "according to plan"). They fail to understand that the "ideologist" is worthy of the name only when he *precedes* the spontaneous movement, points out the road, and is able ahead of all others to solve all the theoretical, political, tactical, and organisational questions which the "material elements" of the movement spontaneously encounter. In order truly to give "consideration to the material elements of the movement", one must view them critically, one must be able to point out the dangers and defects of spontaneity and to *elevate* it to the level of consciousness. To say, however, that ideologists (i.e., politically conscious leaders) cannot divert the movement from the path determined by the interaction of environment and elements is to ignore the simple truth that the conscious element *participates* in this interaction and in the determination of the path. Catholic and monarchist labour unions in Europe are also an inevitable result of the interaction of environment and elements, but it was the consciousness of priests and Zubatovs and not that of socialists that participated in this interaction. The theoretical views of the authors of this letter (like those of *Rabocheye Dyelo*) do not represent Marxism, but that parody of it which is nursed by our "Critics" and Bernsteinians who are unable to connect spontaneous evolution with conscious revolutionary activity.

In the prevailing circumstances of today this profound theoretical error inevitably leads to a great tactical error, which has brought incalculable damage to Russian Social-Democracy. It is a fact that the spontaneous awakening of the masses of the workers and (due to their influence) of other social strata has been taking place with astonishing rapidity during the past few years. The "material elements" of the movement have grown enormously even as compared with 1898, but *the conscious leaders (the Social-Democrats) lag behind this growth*. This is the main cause of the crisis which Russian Social-Democracy is now experiencing. The mass (spontaneous) movement lacks "ideologists" sufficient-

ly trained theoretically to be proof against all vacillations; it lacks leaders with such a broad political outlook, such revolutionary energy, and such organisational talent as to create a militant political party on the basis of the new movement.

All this in itself would, however, be but half the evil. Theoretical knowledge, political experience, and organising ability are things that can be acquired. If only the desire exists to study and acquire these qualities. But since the end of 1897, particularly since the autumn of 1898, there have come forward in the Russian Social-Democratic movement individuals and periodicals that not only close their eyes to this drawback, but that have declared it to be a special virtue, that have elevated the worship of, and servility towards, spontaneity to the dignity of a theory and are preaching that Social-Democrats must not march ahead of the movement, but should drag along *at the tail-end*. (These periodicals include not only *Rabochaya Mysl*, but *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which began with the "stages theory" and ended with the defence, as a matter of principle, of spontaneity, of the "full rights of the movement of the moment", of "tactics-as-process", etc.)

This was, indeed, a sad situation. It meant the emergence of a *separate trend*, which is usually designated as Economism (in the broad sense of the word), the principal feature of which is incomprehension in, even *defense, of lagging*, i.e., as we have explained, the lagging of the conscious leaders behind the spontaneous awakening of the masses. The characteristic features of this trend express themselves in the following: with respect to principles, in a vulgarisation of Marxism and in helplessness in the face of modern "criticism", that up-to-date species of opportunism; with respect to politics, in the striving to restrict political agitation and political struggle or to reduce them to petty activities, in the failure to understand that unless Social-Democrats take the leadership of the general democratic movement in *their own hands*, they will never be able to overthrow the

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Lenin

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autocracy; with respect to tactics, in utter instability (last spring *Rabocheye Dyelo* stood in amazement before the "new" question of terror, and only six months later, after considerable wavering and, as always, dragging along at the tail-end of the movement, did express itself against terror, in a very ambiguous resolution); and with respect to organisation, in the failure to understand that the mass character of the movement does not diminish, but increases, our obligation to establish a strong and centralised organisation of revolutionaries capable of leading the preparatory struggle, every unexpected outbreak, and, finally, the decisive assault.

Against this trend we have conducted and will continue to conduct an irreconcilable struggle. The authors of the letter apparently belong to this trend. They tell us that the economic struggle prepared the ground for the workers' participation in the demonstrations. True enough; but we appreciated sooner and more profoundly than all others the importance of this preparation, when, as early as December 1900, in our first issue, we opposed the stages theory,* and when, in February, in our second issue, immediately after the drafting of the students into the army, and prior to the demonstrations, we called upon the workers to come to the aid of the students.** The February and March events did not "refute the fears and alarms of *Iskra*" (as Martynov, who thereby displays his utter failure to understand the question, thinks—*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10, p. 53), but wholly confirmed them, for the leaders lagged behind the spontaneous rise of the masses and proved to be unprepared for the fulfilment of their duties as leaders. Even at the present time the preparations are far from adequate, and for that reason all talk about "exaggerating the role of ideology" or the role of the conscious element as compared with the spontaneous element, etc., continues to exer-

* Refers to "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement", V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 366

** Refers to "The Drafting of 183 Students into the Army", V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 414.

cise a most baneful influence upon our Party.

No less harmful is the influence exerted by the talk, allegedly in defence of the class point of view, about the need to lay less stress on the general character of discontent manifested by the various strata of the population against the government. On the contrary, we are proud of the fact that *Iskra* rouses political discontent among all strata of the population, and the only thing we regret is that we are unable to do this on a much wider scale. It is not true to say that in doing so, we obscure the class point of view; the authors of the letter have not pointed to a single concrete instance in evidence of this, nor can they do so. Social-Democracy, as the vanguard in the struggle for democracy, must (notwithstanding the opinion expressed in *Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10, p. 41) lead the activities of the various oppositional strata, explain to them the general political significance of their partial and professional conflicts with the government, rally them to the support of the revolutionary party, and train from its own ranks leaders capable of exercising political influence upon all oppositional strata. Any renunciation of this function, however florid the phrases about close, organic contact with the proletarian struggle, etc., with which it may deck itself, is tantamount to a fresh "defence of lagging", the defence of lagging behind the nation-wide democratic movement on the part of Social-Democrats; it is tantamount to a surrender of the leadership to bourgeois democracy. Let the authors of the letter ponder over the question as to why the events of last spring served so strongly to stimulate non-Social-Democratic revolutionary tendencies, instead of raising the authority and prestige of Social-Democracy.

Nor can we refrain from protesting against the astonishing short-sightedness displayed by the authors of the letter in regard to the controversies and internecine squabbles among the political exiles. They repeat the stale nonsense about the "indecent" of devoting to *Rabochaya Mysl* an article on Zubatov. Do they wish to deny that the spreading of Economism facilitates the tasks of the Zubatovs? In asserting this, however, we do not in the slightest "identify" the tactics of the Economists with those of Zubatov. As for the "political exiles" (if the authors of the letter were not so unpardonably careless concerning the continuity of ideas in the Russian Social-Democratic movement, they would have known that the warning about

Economism sounded by the "political exiles", to be precise, by the Emancipation of Labour group, has been strikingly confirmed!), note the manner in which Lassalle, who was active among the Rhine workers in 1852, judged the controversies of the exiles in London. Writing to Marx, he said:

"... The publication of your work against the 'big men', Kinkel, Ruge, etc., should hardly meet with any difficulties on the part of the police... For, in my opinion, the government is not averse to the publication of such works, because it thinks that 'the revolutionaries will cut one another's throats'. Their bureaucratic logic neither suspects nor fears the fact that it is precisely internal Party struggles that lend a party strength and vitality; that the greatest proof of a party's weakness is its diffuseness and the blurring of clear demarcations; and that a party becomes stronger by purging itself" (letter from Lassalle to Marx, June 24, 1852).

Let the numerous complacent opponents of severity, irreconcilability, and fervent polemics, etc., take note!

In conclusion, we shall observe that in these remarks we have been able to deal only briefly with the questions in dispute. We intend to devote a special pamphlet to the analysis of these questions, which we hope will appear in the course of six weeks.

Iskra, No. 12, December 6, 1901
Published according to the *Iskra* text

Footnotes

1. *Yuzhny Rabochy (Southern Worker)*—a Social-Democratic newspaper published illegally by a group of the same name from January 1900 to April 1903; altogether 12 issues appeared. The newspaper circulated chiefly among Social-Democratic organisations in the south of Russia. Lenin said of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group that it was one of those organisations "which in words accepted *Iskra* as the guiding organ but in deeds followed their own particular plans and were distinguished for their instability on questions of principle". The group existed until the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Subsequently the majority of the leading members of the group became Mensheviks.
2. *Zubatov*—Colonel of the Gendarmes, tried to introduce "police socialism". He set up fake workers' organisations under the protection of the gendarmerie and the police in an effort to divert the workers from the revolutionary movement.

FREE THE U.N. 2!

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The trial and the further abuse of the UN 2 is a typical example of how the establishment has consistently over the years attempted to oppress the voice and struggle of those that they have oppressed for so many years, "The Working Class."

The September 5th article carried my mind back to a statement by John Brown, that "You might kill the actor, but you cannot kill the thing that he is acting for." This statement was made just before he was hanged in his attempt to free slaves in the United States.

It was very stimulating to read of the UN 2 being so courageous and believing so much in their commitment to the Party and to the struggle of the "working class" and the survival of mankind, that they emphatically chose to remain in jail rather than succumb to the whims and dictates of a racist and imperialist judge.

His request, that they clean up the paint off of the Courthouse which he knew they didn't put there, and his statement that it was put there by their comrades without having any personal knowledge that their comrades did so, violates all rules of law. It takes away from his comrades the presumption of innocence until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt and it also punishes the defendants without due process of law. Bond is only to be imposed for the purpose of assuring that at the end of the final litigation any defendant would be present to accept his punishment. It never was intended to be used as a means of obtaining janitorial services for the government, "The Oppressor."

A great victory was won at this bond hearing for the Party when the U.S. attorney stated: "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." This statement shows the two were not afraid of jail and even the government's attorney realized that they were dedicated revolutionaries and nothing would make them otherwise.

This should be a challenge to all freedom loving people to come forward and stand behind the UN 2 and join in the struggle for freedom and the elimination of our oppressors.

Let's continue the struggle to make the world more aware that the Party exists and we shall destroy imperialism and capitalism and make freedom for all people.

LONG LIVE THE UN 2 AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY!

Bobby H. Caldwell
Attorney, Houston, Texas

Combat

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nounced the Army's new plans, the *New York Times* announced on its front page: "Six Divisions of Army 'Not Combat Ready'." This article was a blatant attempt to conceal the actual reason for U.S. war preparations. And, such methods as those used in concocting this article have long become standard operating procedure in "alerting" the public to the "shocking state of readiness" of U.S. troops. Check it out: a supposedly secret report is "leaked" to a most trusted mouthpiece, in this case, *New York Times* Pentagon correspondent, Richard Halloran. This particular report was written by the Pentagon last December, but only after the new steps to increase the Army's combat readiness were announced was this report "leaked" to the press. Of course, subsequently, this "leak" became an element in election haggling, the result of which has been to show even more how little Carter and Reagan differ on the bourgeoisie's need to go to war.

In any case, this report was a study in the combat readiness of U.S.-based Army units, and it claimed that it would take from two to six weeks to prepare 6 of the 10 U.S.-based Army divisions for combat. The *New York Times* article was supposed to alarm its readers, to convince us that the U.S. was not preparing to wage a war to further its empire of plunder and oppression, but only moving to strengthen its seriously weakened military posture. This is why the *New York Times* article made almost no mention of the four divisions in Germany and the one in Korea, which are certainly "combat ready."

Nor did the report on which the article was based count the massive stocks of equipment pre-positioned in Europe, to be used by U.S.-based divisions when they are sent to war. Instead, only equipment that U.S.-based divisions have at their bases was considered in determining their "combat readiness." And the article also did not point out that a division considered "not combat-ready" could still send two full-strength brigades of its three brigades into combat immediately.

Far from being "shocking" or "alarming" as the *New York Times* would have us believe, this report didn't discover anything that the Pentagon didn't already know. In fact, the Pentagon planned it this way, that the divisions close to potential flash points would be kept at a high state of combat readiness, while other divisions would take longer to prepare for war. The Soviet imperialists have a similar system, keeping troops near the NATO-Warsaw Pact border on an immediate war footing, while units further back are below wartime strength in numbers and in other ways.

A few days later, after the leak, Assistant Secretary of Defense Thomas Ross said, "It's a common practice amongst all our armed forces to man units in peacetime at lower levels than would be required in wartime." What was more revealing was that the Pentagon officials went on to point out that the U.S. did not plan to continue this "common peacetime" practice. Officials said that the combat readiness of U.S. divisions would be significantly increased within the next six months. Obviously, Pentagon officials do not plan for it to be peacetime much longer. □

To label the throwing of non-toxic paint as a terrorist act is a dangerous precedent; especially since the act was performed on international ground where U.S. jurisdiction is seriously questionable.

Remember that peace is not merely the absence of war, but the constant effort to maintain harmonious existence among people, as well as between humans and other life with whom we share this planet. It is our duty as human beings to protect this Earth for generations yet unborn.

Signed, N.Y.C.R.A.I.N., Inc.
New York City Rights for American Indians Now

N.Y.C.R.A.I.N. wishes to express support and solidarity with all men and women who are held prisoners throughout the world because of their resistance to the tyranny of imperialistic powers. We view the policy of U.S. industry and government as policies of genocide directed at traditional Native Peoples of North America. These same policies are being carried out against all peoples who dare to resist their militaristic and oppressive methods.

Specifically, the UN 2 in committing a non-violent civil disobedience has fallen under the full weight of this system, and this is an affront to all peace-loving people who are horrified by the constant threat of world war.

FROM POX BLANKETS

CAPITALISM'S THE NAVAJO

An RW correspondent recently visited the Navajo reservation in the Four Corners area of the Southwest. The following is his report.

Most, if not all, of our readers are no doubt bitterly aware of the history of U.S. capitalism's brutal oppression of Native Americans—from the genocide of smallpox infested blankets and wanton massacre by cavalry troops to the forced herding and re-herding onto concentration camp reservations on what was thought to be the worst land around. Some are also undoubtedly aware of the mutilation of Indian culture, of the numerous kidnappings and beatings of Native American children by Christian missionaries and "educators" aimed at stomping out any use of the Indians' traditional language or cultural and religious practices and thereby facilitate their removal from land that railroads or farmers wanted. But American Indians were not only targets for a 19th century expanding American capitalism. The rapidly declining imperialism of 1980 is also zeroing in on the Native American land and people. And the Navajo people and the Navajo reservation, for one, is sitting squarely in the middle of their bloody cross-hair sights.

The heart of the question is once again the land, as it has been from the beginning. But you have to get beneath the surface—literally—to understand why the imperialists covet the land—land on which for centuries the Navajos could barely eke out a living. Traveling through the reservation, we passed miles and miles of arid soil, much of it covered with sage brush, unirrigated and undeveloped by modern farming standards. The land has served as grazing area for the small herds of scrawny Churro sheep and even fewer cattle and horses that provide the barest level of subsistence for the overwhelming majority of Navajos. But underneath the

trampling hoofs, underneath the isolated, one-room hogans often housing families of eight or more, underneath the dirt roads that in some areas are totally unnavigable in winter, lie millions of tons of uranium and coal, the target of a vicious search for a more profitable—and more secure—energy source. The reservation is a goldmine for the modern mining operations of Pittsburgh-Midway, Kerr-McGhee, Gulf and Western, United Nuclear, Peabody Coal etc. And, the rush is on.

For a correspondent trying to learn and write about the struggle of the Navajos (or Dine which means "the people") against these intensified corporate land grabs, the task is nearly overwhelming. The Navajo reservation encompasses 14 million acres and it seems like every acre is chock full of both vivid exposures of capitalism's oppression of Native Americans and new continuing struggles against it. Example: we decided to drive out to Burnham, New Mexico, in the northeastern part of the reservation to find out more about the resistance to Consolidation Coal's ripoff of the LaMone family land (see RW No. 31). While we were there, court hearings were in process in Sante Fe over Gulf's attempt to build a new uranium mill at Mount Taylor, one of the four sacred mountains to the Dine (and also sacred to other tribes in New Mexico). Gulf has already sunk the deepest uranium mine in the world there. And already, nearly 50 Navajo uranium miners have died or

are dying from cancer. (The particular Gulf site is only about 50 miles from the worst nuclear waste accident in history. In July of 1979, one hundred million gallons of radioactive water and 100 tons of solids spilled into the Rio Puerco at Churchrock, contaminating the water supply and devastating the Navajo economy). As the court hearings proceeded in Sante Fe four women at Big Mountain, Arizona—on the western side of the reservation—were being arrested for trying to stop the government from building a fence that will pave the way for the mass eviction of 6,000 Dine and 100 Hopi. Peabody Coal Co., anxious to expand its strip mining operations wants the land.

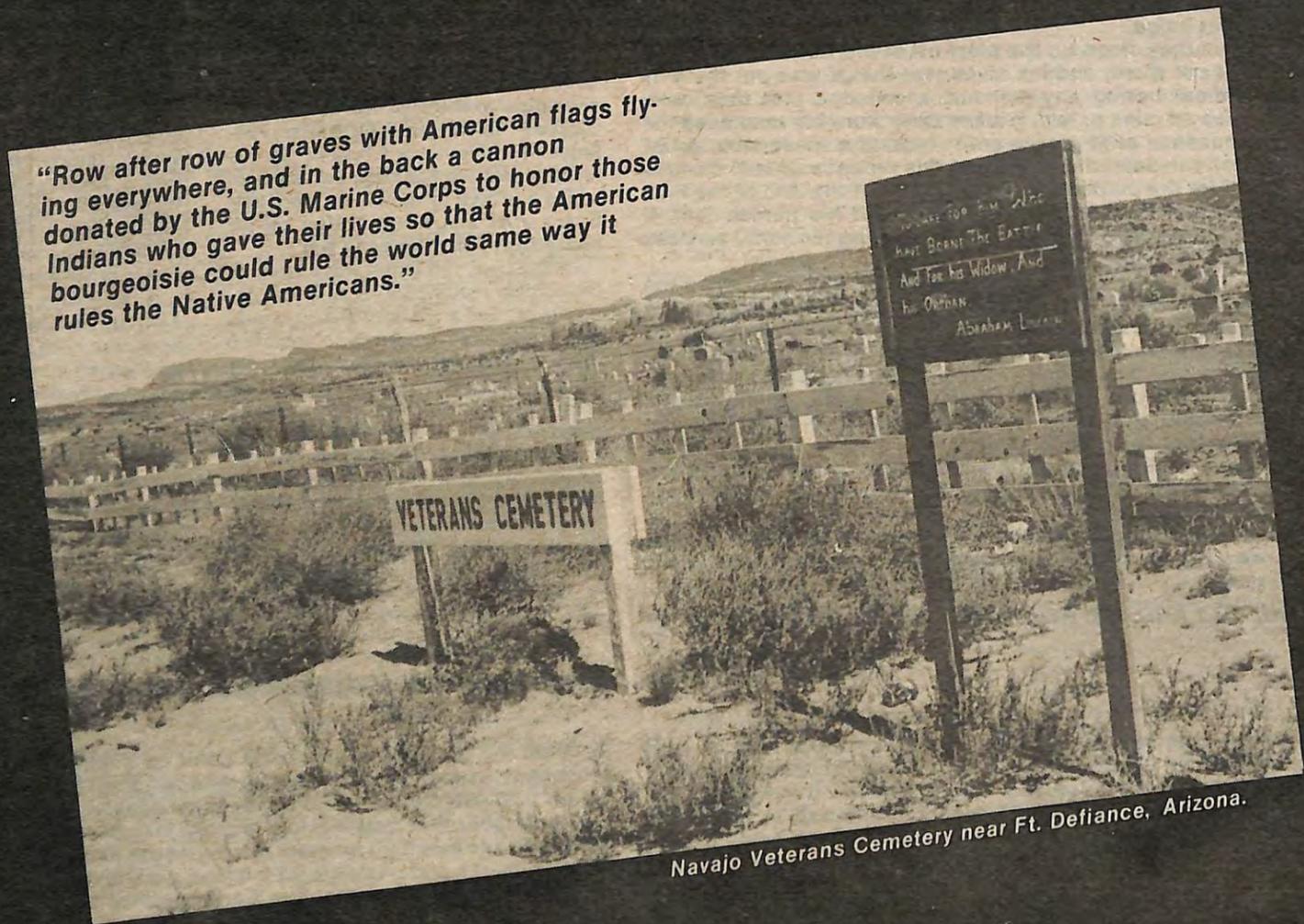
Of course, the government and energy corporations have been assisted in all this by the boundless energy of the Tribal Council on the reservation. We interviewed Larry Anderson, an American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, who has been arrested and jailed five times by the tribal police for fighting against the operations of the corporation, government and Tribal Council. We asked Larry about the role of the Tribal Council in all this. He told us that, "the tribal system here is supposedly representing the people from the reservation. The reservation is broken down into districts, it's broken down into communities, and representatives are elected from these areas here to represent the people in the Tribal Council in Window Rock. Of course, they say they are the governing body of the reservation. A lot of things

they do are more or less what the U.S. government is doing. They are using the same tactics, they are using the same type of system to control the people here on the reservation. And a lot of things, a lot of the resolutions and litigations that go through the Tribal Council have to be approved by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) which is an apparatus of the U.S. government, the Congress and the President himself. So, it's just another way of oppressing the people here on the Navajo reservation...."

With capitalists and cronies seemingly on the attack everywhere at once, the challenge to the struggling Navajo masses is very great indeed.

In his 60-year-old mother's one-room hogan overlooking the Consolidation Coal Co. strip mine, Harrison LaMone told us that the Navajo word for capitalism means "a shadow that runs over you and won't let you get up." The interview took place in the dim light of a small kerosene lamp. Despite the fact that the huge Four Corners power plant is only 25 miles from Burnham, the LaMones have no electricity, like 85% of the Navajo reservation. The only light in the area, other than the moon, came from the powerful Klieg lights run by Consolidation's generators so that the drag lining could go on into the night. Consol also has something around "its" land that nobody else in Burnham has—fences. The LaMones have spearheaded the

"Row after row of graves with American flags flying everywhere, and in the back a cannon donated by the U.S. Marine Corps to honor those Indians who gave their lives so that the American bourgeoisie could rule the world same way it rules the Native Americans."



Navajo Veterans Cemetery near Ft. Defiance, Arizona.

TO URANIUM MINES

WAR AGAINST JOS—1980

struggle at Burnham, and they've been the first family targeted for "relocation"—which Mrs. LaMone told us (with Harrison interpreting, for like most Navajo elders, she speaks no English) means "being fenced off and starved out—just like the Long Walk my grandmother told me about." (In 1864, the U.S. government rounded up all the Navajos they could capture—about half the then existing tribes—and forcibly marched them 400 miles away from their homeland to a concentration camp at Bosque Redondo in central New Mexico. Many Navajo died from disease and starvation, either along the way or at the camp, and a large number were taken as slaves by ranchers in the area. The reason for the forced migration? The governor of the territory wanted the mineral wealth on Navajo land. But continued Navajo resistance forced the U.S. government to temporarily abandon the plan and repatriate the Navajos four years later.)

All the people of the Burnham area originally protested the Tribal Council's deal with Consolidation, even getting their heads beaten by tribal police when they demonstrated at Council headquarters in Window Rock. But the company hired a couple of Navajo PR-types to alternately threaten and sweet-talk most of the families into signing away their grazing area permits for peanuts. Eugene LaMone, Harrison's brother and a leader of the struggle, told us that the company agents would come up on an isolated hogan when only a Navajo-speaking elder was there. Using their own interpreters, they would promise them the moon, while reminding them that even if they didn't sign, the company would go ahead and mine anyway. Most of them signed, but "a lot are regretting what they did," Eugene said.

The company promised the people of Burnham jobs in the mine—in fact, they like to brag about the 2000+ job applications they got from Navajos—but only one Burnham resident works there. In the arid area of which Burnham is a part, there is only one drinking water well for the 200 people of the community; the well, pumped by a windmill, sits on a plateau. But Consolidation got a lease from the Tribal Council to sink its own well, equipped with a modern pump, about 11 miles from the Burnham well and below it, draining the underground water away. Consolidation has plenty of water for its coal operations, but the Burnham well ran dry for 3 months this summer, while the temperature often reached 110 degrees.

The LaMones have made it clear that they intend to oppose the thievery of the land. Mrs. LaMone says they have lived there for at least seven generations—she's not sure about the period prior to that. Last July, after the company's drag line destroyed a number of the family gravesites, Eugene led a takeover of the strip mine. He was charged with "trespassing" (on LaMone land), "kidnapping" (a frame-up by a woman security guard), and "unauthorized use of a company vehicle." He was also slapped with a judicial order requiring him to stay off his own land and out of his home. He tore it up, and the judge, while threatening to find him in contempt of court, eventually backed down and rescinded the order, hoping to cool things out. Meanwhile, there are

reports that Consolidation is having trouble finding a buyer for its coal in the area. The LaMones think that's because all the power plants are afraid they'll become a focus of the struggle if they buy the controversial coal.

The situation at Burnham is typical—in a way, a concentration of the scene all over "Navajoland" (as the Tribal Council's tourist guide newspaper likes to call it). The much touted "benefits" of capitalist mineral development are in fact threatening to destroy the Navajo people. There are now three major power plants on the reservation and a fourth just outside it—but almost all Navajos are without electric power. There has always been a shortage of water on the reservation, but now 35 million tons of radioactive uranium tailings lie unstabilized in the Colorado River basin—most within a mile of major tributaries of the river.

But it is capitalism's armed robbery of the land that strikes at the very heart of Native Americans. Can there be a more powerful indictment of the "progress" that this system brings the people than that of a young Hopi in Hotevilla, who told us that he opposes the proposed introduction of sewer lines and running water into his village. "It's not that I'm against those things... But once they get that in, it's just a first step. Then they'll come and take our land."

Of course, Native Americans are expected to sacrifice more than their land for the greater exploits of U.S. imperialism. This hit us especially hard when we stopped at the Navajo Veterans Cemetery near Ft. Defiance, Arizona. Row after row of graves with American flags flying everywhere, and in the back, a cannon donated by the U.S. Marine Corps to honor those Indians who gave their lives so that the

American bourgeoisie could rule the world the same way it rules the Native Americans. And off to the side—a huge field with only a few graves in it; plenty of potential room for the World War 3 Navajo cannonfodder.

But from what we were told, there seems to be some different ideas among many young Navajos and a lot of their elders as well. Despite ROTC programs pushed in all the schools, despite constant reminders from the Tribal Council about Navajo soldiers patriotically providing the military with an unbreakable code in World War 2 (the Navajo language), despite free concerts in Gallup (a New Mexico town of almost all Indians, just outside the reservation) by the U.S. Army band advertised in the "official" tribal newspaper, the *Navajo Times*, there is a great deal of opposition to draft registration on the reservation, and a strong feeling that "our fight is here, against this country." Even Tribal Council Chairman Peter MacDonald had to issue a statement basically opposing registration, while at the same time leaving the door wide open for future U.S. needs by demanding the fulfillment of previous "promises" from the U.S. government in exchange for Navajo participation in the imperialist war effort; undoubtedly, *new* promises will suffice for him.

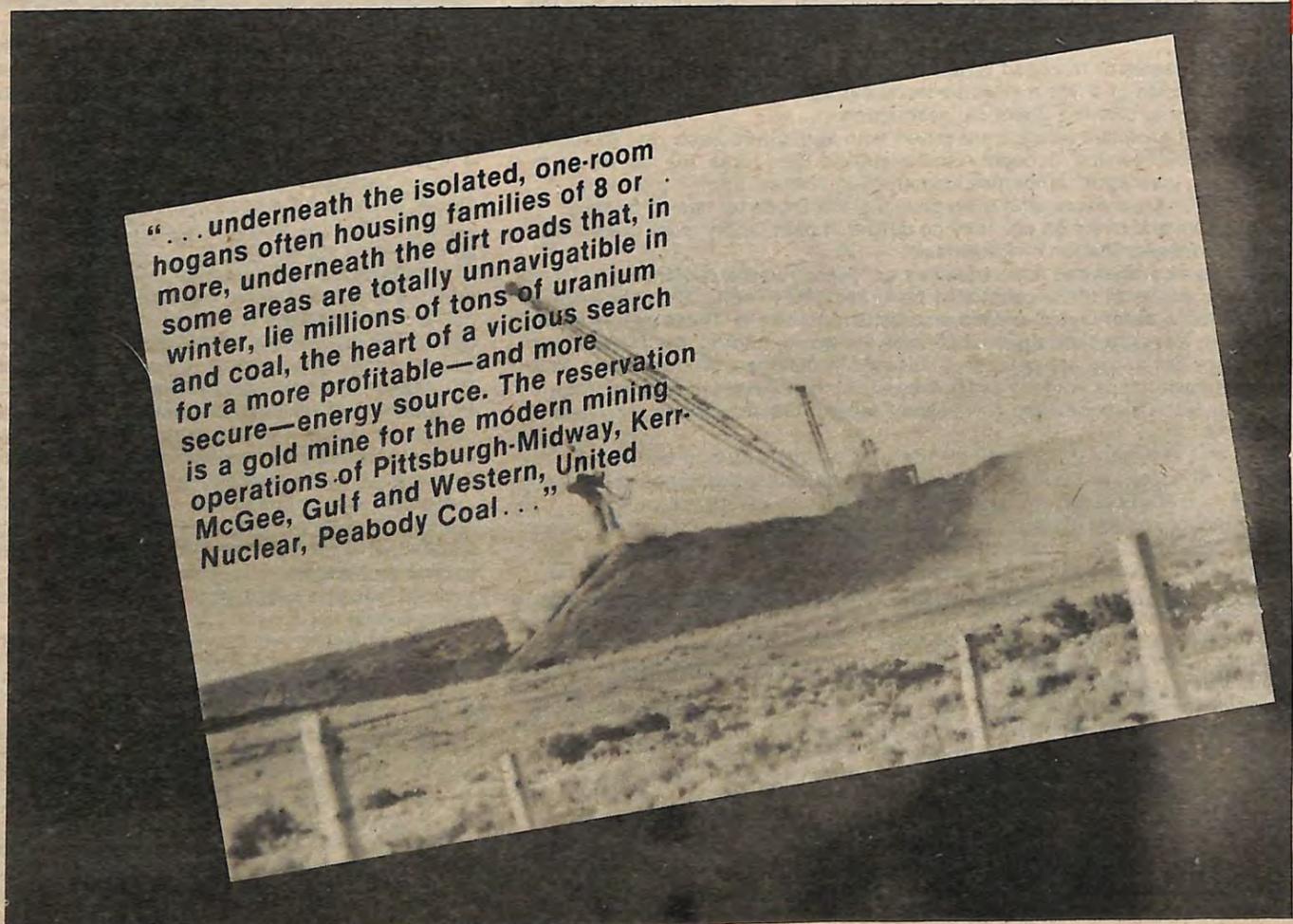
We asked Larry Anderson to comment on the mounting resistance to the draft. "Well, I shouldn't say there's a lot of resistance. But there is resistance to the draft. The Big Mountain people have stated in a letter that they would not be drafted into the armed services... I want to go back to (and talking about) the U.S. government... the severing of treaties... the ripping off of the Indian people's land and their traditional ways. Many things have been promised by the government, especially through the state legislature, but people

don't see it today. We all think that it stops in Window Rock (with the Tribal Council), and it never gets out to the people. That is why we are resisting. We are not gonna fight for this system; we are not gonna fight for any type of system that rips us off..."

Throughout the reservation, organizations combining old and young Navajos have been springing up spontaneously wherever the struggle has sharpened, making the capitalist drive for a *more secure* energy source look a lot less secure than they had thought. Most of the young freedom fighters on the reservation have turned to traditional Indian spiritualism, since it is based so strongly on ties to the land and nature. In doing this, they have forged tighter links with many of the elders, who tell them that they are "caretakers of the land" while they are on earth, that no man can own the land, that it is there for everyone to use. The Navajo spiritualism, in particular, also stresses the equality of all peoples, using the four colors of the races (red, black, yellow and white) in its ceremonies to promote that equality.

Spiritualism of the Navajos has often been used by the people to resist the capitalists. Because of this, the ruling class has spared no expense in attempting to stamp it out, particularly through its great "civilizer," Christianity. There are 175 missions on the Navajo reservation (for 150,000 people). When we asked Mrs. LaMone why she had rejected Christianity and insisted on bringing her children up in the traditional Navajo religion, she joked, "We might have considered it (Christianity) once a week, but 24 hours a day is too much." Then she got serious. She told us that 23 years ago her sister had died in childbirth, and she had adopted the infant, a Navajo custom. But while she was in deep mourning, a Christian missionary had come and offered to take care of the baby. She agreed, but only after the missionary promised to keep the baby girl in the area, so she could come back to Burnham when the time was right. But the missionary spirited the baby off the reservation, and she was brought up to reject her In-

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"... underneath the isolated, one-room hogans often housing families of 8 or more, underneath the dirt roads that, in winter, lie millions of tons of uranium and coal, the heart of a vicious search for a more profitable—and more secure—energy source. The reservation is a gold mine for the modern mining operations of Pittsburgh-Midway, Kerr-McGee, Gulf and Western, United Nuclear, Peabody Coal..."

Letters

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5. Farmers in America out-produce the rest of the world by using more herbicides and chemical fertilizers.
6. American farmers have more access to capital for development than even their closest rivals.
7. The U.S. exports more agricultural products than any other country, attesting to its agricultural wealth.
8. So affluent are we that some American farmers are even paid not to grow crops!
9. Agricultural land has an average value much greater than elsewhere.
10. American farmers have always complained. They may have problems, but, in fact, they really "live better" than any other farmers.
11. Farmers can get petroleum energy even when people in the city cannot.
12. The rural way of life is much healthier than urban living.
13. If you work hard enough, you will succeed at farming and make substantial profits.
14. University educated farmers using computers are more effective than the "old timer."
15. The soil in most regions will "last forever" with high fertility under the present methods of exploitation.
16. Many people are leaving farming either because they want to or are so inefficient they cannot compete.
17. The export of American capitalist agricultural technology, ideology and products has helped the rest of the world to "improve" its farming practices.
18. The "market place" is the best way to set farm commodity prices.
19. Government subsidies are necessary for price stability and production control.

20. Americans are the world's most healthy people, in part due to the quality of the food they eat.
21. Morale amongst farmers is generally high even though there are a few chronic complainers.
22. Capitalism has proved to be the best system for effective agricultural production.

23. The farm question is unique and really has nothing to do with socio-economic-political problems facing the rest of society.

24. Just as in industry, all that is needed to right the "errors" under today's conditions is less government, higher productive labor, cheaper oil for the farmer and better weather.

All of these statements are untrue. They are all myths. Those who really control capitalism by their propaganda want us, as their slaves, to think that we may have a few problems, but:

- 1) there is no better place to live;
- 2) a new or re-vitalized administration in Washington will make everything okay, and
- 3) there is nothing basically wrong with this system.

These thieves and monsters who are the real profit takers of the system continue to throw us a few crumbs. Most farmers have barely kept from starving off of what little is available. It's time we woke up and did to our system what the Russians did in 1917, the Chinese in 1949, and the Iranians in 1979—overthrow it and rid it of the root cause of the problems: capitalism.

Before offering some concrete proposals for re-structuring the society, I would like to comment on the above myths. Each of my comments forms an *assumption* upon which the proposals which follow are based. However, these assumptions and proposals are theoretical, to be tested in practice when we have taken power. We can discuss their *logical* validity now in the light of current objective conditions and scientific Marxist ideology, adding here, subtracting there. But then we must scientifically test these and other measures through class struggle against capitalism and by carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To expose the above myths, we need truth. The truth lies in the experience of those now farming; those who have left farming, those who are the consumers of farm products, and those who can use scientific Marxism to see through the lies produced by the bourgeoisie for their own ends.

Please keep in mind that there is more to the over-all picture of agriculture than gross product per acre. Quality of product, percentage of products actually reaching consumer, tenure of land use, real cost to consumer and producer are all embodied in the efficiency, productivity and effectiveness of agriculture.

Our fruit and vegetables may be convenient, available and look good, but realize that "green picked" items, fresh much of the year, processed with preservatives, coated with chemical or wax and flawless appearance are not necessarily nutritious or cheap! In fact, the amount of "poisons" we ingest yearly from fresh (even when washed) and preserved fruits and vegetables is shocking (just look at increased heart attack and cancer rates). In some fields, over 50% of the product is left behind in the field, either because it did not ripen on time, was the wrong size, or was "damaged" or "flawed." For this practice the consumer is blamed!

Millions of acres of farmland is *lost* each year to uncontrolled urbanization (capital exploitation of a non-renewable resource), wind and water erosion, "low" productivity, wrong plowing, chemical destruction.

Thousands of skilled farmers are driven from agriculture each year through malicious and self-serving monopoly capitalists and their tools, the real estate interests, banks, insurance companies, construction bosses, planning commissions, boards of supervisors, and town councils. For those remaining farmers, profits go down and costs go up. They go deeper in debt, apply more chemicals and daily face extermination or foreclosure.

Farm workers' (many of them transient or "guest" workers) standard of living and certainly quality of life is constantly being reduced in spite of higher wages, "fringe" benefits, safety rules, unions, and better equipment. These people are little more than slaves to capitalism. Their lives are worth nothing. No one seems to care if they live or die, are poisoned, diseased or disabled. Who gives a "damn" if human minds are lost and bodies are broken before their years. They are the ultimate in disposability. A "cheaper" labor replacement is just as near as the phone.

All of this and more is increasingly the style of agriculture in both technologically developed nations and less technologically developed countries as the evil cancer of capitalism subjugates peoples throughout the world.

Even though, on the average, every U.S. farmer feeds over 100 people, "How well" and "at what price" must be asked. Already I have alluded to the cost in people and land of this policy. How much longer can it go on? Not much, thank goodness! People throughout the world will not stand for these crimes. Already they are overthrowing capitalism! So what if the American farmer has the most modern machinery in the world. At what cost? Who benefits? Mechanization alone cannot produce worthwhile, safe and tasty products. Who controls the machines? How are they used?

Consumers who live in America pay, on the average, the lowest percentage of their budget for food. Who can eat that garbage! What quality of food is presented for what price? Is it really fresh, safe and nutritious? What about 40 million people who are "below average" in income? What can they afford?

Yes, our farmers have so far produced more yield per acre per farmer consistently by using machines, chemicals, "super strains" of seed, and so forth. But farm efficiency has not increased since 1950 as measured by yields reaching the market per acre. This says nothing about quality, cost to people and loss of the richest farm land in the world. What about biological viability of food and hence people by narrowing the number of basic plant foods we eat to six or

seven through limited selection of seed stock? What about putting precious grain into cattle, pig and sheep production at an energy efficient ratio of 10 to 1, compared to rabbits at 3 to 1 and chickens at 2 to 1? How about people starving throughout the world through capitalist policy. There is enough food in the world for each person to have 3000 calories per day! It's just distributed wrongly. What about the health value of grains compared to meat, especially the so-called "red" meats? Why waste human food on animals?

"More is better" certainly does not apply to chemicals. Many farmers are "trapped" into believing that if they stopped using chemicals, or changed the usage, they would lose their crops. Certainly, pure "organic" growing does take some re-learning and causes reduced productivity for a couple of years during changeover. But what about the savings? What about the future? Many farmers are experiencing 40-50% crop loss *with* heavy pesticide use! Hundreds of pesticides are *no longer* effective because of insect adaptation and natural selection. You cannot change the basic rules of evolution, but you can learn from them.

Capital is quite available to some farmers, usually the bigger ones and those who will give over basic control and choice to either the bank or government. These farmers owe all but their soul. They are as mortgaged as city people are to the slaveowners. These farmers have no fundamental choices or rights. Along with price "fixing" (not setting) out of their control and weather variability, their whole operation is subject to ownership by capitalists! Funny, huh!

Some farmers are wealthy "on paper," but cash flow is nil and freedom of choice is less. We export a lot of food, but mostly we export exploitation and control of profits. Most farmers in America do not get much for their products (for example, 7¢/pound for potatoes which end up processed at \$3.00/lb. in the store!). Many farmers manage to survive by working at a salaried job outside the farm, playing the commodity "futures" markets, exploiting others' labor or using the farm as a tax write-off against other investments. Some of the biggest farmers (or rather agricultural industry businessmen), with Washington connections, don't want to grow crops. They make more on huge government subsidies.

Land trading is basic to some agricultural practice. Farmers wanting to "make a killing" off of land will not care for it in the same way as those who do not think of land as a commodity for profit. Products grown on this investment property have questionable quality, to say the least. Of course, many farmers are simply the victims, not the perpetrators of this crime.

Even though land in the United States is not necessarily the most expensive (Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong may be many thousands more per acre) in the world, it is the most vulnerable to sale. Most of it is up for grabs to the highest bidder, foreign or domestic. Farm land is legislated and taxed out of production at an extraordinary rate! What human can eat concrete or asphalt? Of course, the "big boys" have their hideaways and "safe havens." Why should they care about us? If they are willing to sacrifice hundreds of millions in world war, why should they be any different in their attitude toward working people today?

The average farmer who is squeezed has just grievances, but too often they target the wrong source. These farmers are quite individualistic, "independent," and profit oriented to begin with. Under stress they often want to return to the "freedom" of the past under a "correct" interpretation of the Constitution. They do not see that the source of their trauma is and always has been intrinsically woven into the rules of capitalism.

At times the agricultural industry has been high on petroleum and other energy allocation lists. But how long? Governments can give their "drug" to any of the "addicted" it wants, in any amounts, and at any time. As long as farmers "behave," they may be in for privileged treatment. Under capitalism *any* sector or person is expendable! Even the insanity of turning corn into "gasohol" will not protect the farmer forever. There is *no* place to hide from the rule of capitalism or the crisis it perpetrates. The only freedom comes from its overthrow and establishment of a better, more egalitarian way.

Rural living may sometimes be quieter, with cleaner air, but it certainly is no healthier. Farmers are amongst the *least* healthy group in America! There are few medical facilities in rural America and less education for prevention, nutrition and exercise. Life expectancy for rural America is as much as 5 years less than the average. Of course, rural poverty has a lot to do with the overall data, but still at the medical and educational level, farm America is way behind. Alluded to above is the fact that Americans as a *whole* are *not* the most healthy people in the world or as they could be. Health can be measured by mortality rates, quality of nutrition, quality and availability of medical care, educational facilities, and so forth. Most Americans "enjoy" substandard health.

One of the biggest misconceptions is that hard work automatically results in success. Thousands of hard working farmers change their way of life yearly (hundreds of millions since 1930!), not because of poor work habits or inadequate knowledge, but because "the system" did not need them anymore as farmers. In fact, the system was using them all along. Even "hard working," well educated, dedicated sons and daughters cannot make a go of a family inherited farm in spite of skills, and sometimes because of them (that is, "educated" decisions can be even more wrong than "uneducated" decisions). Simply changing tax and inheritance laws is not the solution. Under capitalism you can change one element only to be confronted with a worse one!

America as a whole has been naturally endowed with frost free, water laden, deep and viable soil in "abundance." Over the years agricultural exploiters have wasted more land than they have used. They have assumed an infinite supply of good land. (Would God let us down?) Of course, there is not an infinite supply. All societies have sooner or later learned this. But there is plenty for a long future if it is taken care of. That is, "feed the soil and not the plant." Put more natural nutrient back into the soil than you remove from it. It is no accident that many places in China have been continuously and successfully farmed for the last 6000 years and that the Mayan society collapsed within 300 years because it did not adhere to the above rules.

Subsidizing agriculture (or indeed any control by a government whose sole purpose is in maintaining capitalism) is not in the best interest of farmers. So called "free" markets are not either. Agriculture must be "planned" and developed just like any sector of the economy. Prices of products and labor must be set rationally, according to needs, not according to privilege.

Morale amongst farmers and farm laborers is at an all-time low. Why shouldn't it be! What do they have to look forward to, except more slavery. The number of strikes and demonstrations have increased as a measure of their disenchantment with current policy. Increasingly, farmers are *not* voting, unheard of in the past! Increasingly, they are withholding products from the market. Increasingly, they are rebelling against past practices. The farmer and farm worker are beginning to see that their plight is the plight of all peoples under capitalism. Capitalism is the problem, not the solution! Agriculture as a whole has nothing to gain and everything to lose under capitalism. The solution is the same in farming and industry: revolution leading to socialism; continuous revolution leading to communism!

The following are a summary of the refuted myths. They form the basic agricultural assumptions for a socialist program.

1. Agriculture under capitalism is not the most effective, efficient, productive or advanced in the world.
2. Agriculture is a vital sector to all of our short and long term interests.
3. Agricultural land is being destroyed or denigrated at an unconscionable and unacceptable rate.
4. Products of agriculture are becoming less and less palatable, nutritious and fresh each year.
5. Costs in agriculture are increasing beyond return to the farmer, causing many talented people to leave farming.
6. Millions of people who want to be full participants in agriculture cannot.

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7. All out mechanization, especially "more and bigger," needs to be evaluated.
8. Profit motive and "expand or die" cannot be the driving forces behind agricultural development.
9. Use of chemical fertilizers, non-natural pesticides, "super" plant strains, "animal factories" are the results of capitalist patterns.
10. We in America have the obligation to be vanguards in leadership in an international agricultural revolution to right the wrongs perpetrated under imperialism.
11. We must replace plant nutrients and organic materials in the soil at a rate greater than we remove it as the basis for a sensible land agricultural policy.
12. Agricultural worker productivity and morale is now very low.
13. Those who benefit most from agriculture should be the American people and actual farm workers and producers, not capitalists.
14. Subsidies, if needed, should be used for productive development.
15. Farm decisions and production should be controlled by the people, not by banks, capitalists, profit or a few individuals.
16. The farm question is not exclusive of other socio-political-economic questions and changes.
17. Commodity markets or arbitrary governments should not price agricultural products.
18. Amount of capital available for farmers is not the most critical element in production.
19. Farmers should produce, not be paid not to produce.
20. Farm land and labor cannot be commodities to be exploited.
21. Most farmer's grievances reflect real problems. Often the target is not correct.
22. Health in rural America must be improved. Healthy workers are more productive workers.
23. Experience, hard work, "good" weather, fertile soil are all important for farm production. The productive relations in labor is the key element.
24. Only revolution by the working class and the use of scientific socialism can save American agriculture.

If only socialism can save agriculture, how will these changes come about? What effects will they have?

As a reminder to whom is directly involved in today's agriculture, the following is given:

1. Large land holders not living on a farm who hire managers and workers (part and full time) to produce, as in industry, food in the most capital and machine intensive method possible, regardless of effect on land and people. These farms are often a tax write-off.
2. Large land holders, living on the land who hire workers. This system has no more regard for the land or laborers than number 1 above, but may operate at huge profits.
3. A small percentage of the "farmers," but over 50% of the product (in some states) comes from the first two types of operation under monopoly capitalism.
4. Small land holders who hire labor depending on the job, crop or season—may rent or lease some additional land. Many of these farmers have a petit bourgeois outlook.
5. Small land holders who hire few laborers and who must work part or full time themselves to make ends meet. Many of these farmers have a semi-proletariat outlook.
6. Tenant farmers who do not own land, but must rent and give a substantial portion of the production in cash and/or kind to the landlord. Many of these farmers have a semi-proletariat outlook.
7. Full-time, sedentary laborers are part of the agriculture proletariat. Often these people are highly skilled and perform a whole range of changing tasks throughout the year.
8. Part-time, transient workers are part of the agriculture proletariat. They are skilled and semi-skilled workers who participate in usually one phase of farming, whether pipe moving, harvesting, plowing and so forth.
9. Farm managers are usually of the petit bourgeoisie who do not own the means of production, but are the agents of capitalism's exploitation of workers. Sometimes these people are technically skilled and sometimes not.
10. During and after the first round of revolution to establish the proletariat in power, the following must be done in the agricultural sector.
11. Large corporate and individual farm holdings which are effectively industrial operations hiring many laborers will be nationalized without compensation. Rough lower limits on size and laborers hired would be 500 acres and 5 laborers respectively. The land, means of production and housing would become communally owned, and in some cases, turned into state farms. Communes may develop out of collectives as education, consolidation and production proceed. Which holdings will become what type of production unit will depend on size, needs, political consciousness and group solidarity of farm workers, availability of Party workers and so forth.
12. Transient labor will be eliminated. They can return to country of origin or become sedentary workers. Surplus labor from cities can be incorporated into large farms on a "desire and needs" basis. Building decent housing, health care, educational and recreational facilities will be some of the first priorities of these units. Political struggles, social needs, and scientific practices will replace arbitrary, privileged, dogmatic decision making. "Three in one" leadership will be chosen democratically. Everyone will have their say in regular group meetings. This type of farm unit will form the basic rural political-socio-economic structure. Bi-lingual, multicultural, multidimensional education will be offered as well as preventative health, nutrition and skills development.

Most surplus value from the unit will stay with the unit to cover salaries, welfare costs, maintenance, growth investment and so forth. All debts will be cancelled and no deficit financing will be allowed. Farm commodity prices will be raised to align with the labor and products of other industries. A beginning value may equal 30% of an average salaried worker's income.

The main thrust of this unit is to provide a socialist production base for agriculture and an environment conducive to political, social (including cultural), and economic growth of the farm workers and country as a whole. These units will provide enough quality food to adequately feed Americans and urgent food needs overseas. They will export agricultural knowledge to improve the style of farming in other countries and to right the wrongs of the past. Units will exchange experiences regularly with other units and individual farmers. Through research and skills development, improvements to soil and productivity will be made. Quality of farm product (freshness, nutritional value, availability) will all undergo analysis. Correct standard, rather than profit, will be in command. The role of so-called "organic" agriculture will be increased with reduced use of chemicals of all kinds. Slight reduction in short-term productivity can be expected since political, material and social re-building will take precedence. Mechanization of all types will be questioned and analyzed. Only those practices found beneficial to long-term agricultural development will be kept.

For the most part "agricultural agents" and "university extension units" will be closed down as a part of the re-thinking and restructuring of society. These people's role in "selling" capitalist policy will be eliminated. Some coordination of effort and dissemination of knowledge will be needed, but will be under the direction of the Party. Agricultural marketing and research development units can be set up under state authority to help in re-structuring farming and providing some capital for certain needed developments.

Land can no longer be a commodity to be exchanged or profited from (neither can labor). Eventually all productive land must be group or state owned. Factories, for example, can use open land which is viable for agriculture to provide fresh food for their workers and other city dwellers. (Some factory operations

may move, where suitable, to the country thus helping to reduce the urban-rural gap.) Any way to reduce transportation costs and increase quality of farm product should be made! Aesthetic and cultural value of crop production within cities needs to be assessed. Useful or potentially useful agricultural land *must not* be covered indiscriminately with factories or houses! Agricultural land as well as socialism is our long-term insurance policy.

Cultural exchange amongst farm units and between farms and factories must be encouraged. Cultural development is necessary for the educational, political, social and economic well being of the community.

These changes and others will deal a crushing blow to capitalism in the agricultural sector. They will help establish a growing scientific-socialist system. Reversal of destructive trends will be insured. Production will be aligned to the people's needs and the potential of the production unit. Quality of life, quality of food and the relationship of people to land must be paramount in these changes. In other words, "socialist people power," not machines, are the decisive element to agricultural survival and progress.

After seizing power, the old owners may be thrown into jail for open public trial to pay for their crimes and to resolve grievances. (This fate is also in store for those who attempt to sabotage socialism.) With the help of Party workers and the class conscious proletariat on the farm, meetings and discussion will be set up. Leadership democratically chosen will be responsible for organizing work tasks, direction of production, political discussion, cultural and educational development, research and exchange policy. Regular, open meetings must be held with "criticism-self-criticism," "unity-struggle-unity" and "continuous revolution" through the study of scientific Marxism prevailing.

Why should workers go along with these changes? What reasons do we have to believe they will work more productively? Workers are the most exploited under capitalism. They will be ready to support change, especially a change in which they control their welfare and future direction. Personal needs for social relations, cultural development and material well being can be met for the first time. Hope for a better life will become a reality. Workers have always shown they are willing to labor for a better life if productive relations are in their hands and they can direct them toward the overall welfare of society. Stability of living situation and a stake in their own lives is basic to farm worker commitment. (The Party needs to practice democratic centralism when working with these units.) Job security will be theirs (at a living wage) for the first time. A life of productivity, without pollution or poisoning is theirs to be had. Access to the educational, material and cultural gains of society will become reality. Regular paid vacations can be part of their lives! In other words, only socialism can bring them the material base and objective conditions out of which can be developed the things they have previously dreamt about.

Finally, what about the other farms and farmers, the "small" holders? These people must be respected, but must not be allowed to agitate against collective measures. Often these people live close by large units and can be incorporated within them. Education must go on to show them that their future lies within the group.

Several contiguous small farms, but isolated from larger units, can become collectivized (and later communized) through sharing means of production, product marketing, and struggle-education meetings. The unification of small units is clearly secondary to the larger unit consolidation. However, many of these farmers, through other changes in society, will come to their own conclusions about collective effort. They may need less struggle and more support by the Party and larger units. Can a unit be self-sustaining and productive? These and other standards should be applied to any suggestions for change. Isolated, individual, small farms may be the last to develop. Sometimes adding additional dwellers and/or laborers to that unit will "turn them around."

What reasons do these smaller farmers have to change? First cooperation in labor (plowing, planting, harvesting, building, marketing, organizing, education, housing) is desirable, possible and rewarding. Under socialism it will be encouraged. Its benefits are quickly seen and felt. Additional farm workers of equal status make less work, a more productive unit and allow farmers to use the methods they know are best for agriculture without worrying about profit. Security through the "hard" times and freedom from banks and debt are rewards in themselves. Some control, for the first time, of marketing procedures and farm policy is important to farmers. Regular vacations will be a new and often sought for product of the new agricultural policy.

Shared, cooperative farming will allow for the pooling of resources for building up large scale water or other development projects, as well as the buying of certain machines for more productivity.

Education, adequate health care (perhaps by visiting rural health workers), culture will become widely available. We must insure that the economic and social needs of this group are provided for to offset their tendency to escapism and individuality. True independence and freedom are only available when life decisions can be made and welfare is directly associated with the benefit of the group. "As the group is raised, so therefore is the individual."

Over-all imports of agricultural products will be on "urgent needs" basis only. We will no longer use agriculture as a tool of imperialism at home or abroad. We will use product substitution wherever we can, help other countries where possible, and destroy American capitalistic ownership of the means of production in other countries.

There are no guarantees in this process of change. There is no assurance except in struggle that socialism will take hold here. We all need to:

- 1) educate ourselves to the system we live under and to its decline
- 2) become aware of what we can do and when
- 3) unite with others for change; struggle with them constantly
- 4) use scientific Marxism (theory building and dialectics) to "question all—analyze all"
- 5) make revolution
- 6) work hard to put socialism into practice
- 7) encourage others to put forward guidelines and analyses for debate and experiment

Our promise is this: Much of theory has been developed and tried in the Soviet Union (1917-1955) and China (1949-1976). Our gain is from them. It is up to us to forge new ground for the benefit of the rest of humankind. □

CUBA

Continued from page 3

has proven such a disaster that the Cuba they fled only months ago is beginning to look like a bargain by comparison. This has led to the first major wave of air hijackings since the early '70s. Several weeks ago, Castro received favorable notice in the U.S. press for his widely publicized pronouncement that all Cubans that hijack planes to Havana would be thrown into jail as common criminals. Even despite this, however, the hijackings have continued; these desperate refugees currently prefer life in the Cuban jail to "freedom" in the most advanced and most democratic of all countries, the U.S.

The immigration phenomenon, which

in 1980 has become an economic convulsion, is the direct result of the imperialist exploitation and oppression of the Caribbean peoples, as well as a glaring exposure of the moribund nature and the terminal crisis of imperialism itself. It is not only Cuba that bleeds refugees; 1,000 a month from Haiti, and thousands more flooded from elsewhere. But, that the U.S. is now attempting to forcibly expel Cuban refugees to a "processing center" in Puerto Rico, and to deflect all future refugees to its colonial 'Devil's Island,' serves not only as a commentary on the U.S. as the "land of opportunity," it also illustrates the results of imperialist exploitation and domination—the identical "bottom line" of living under the thumb of either the U.S. or the Soviet Union. □

NAVAJOS

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dian heritage. Mrs. LaMone tried numerous times to get her back, but the Christians were too "civilized" to tell her where the little girl was. By chance, she was discovered at age 17 by one of the LaMones in a school in Farmington, a New Mexico city just outside the reservation, and when she was told what had happened, she fought to return to Burnham and her people.

The 1-2 punch of corporation and Christianity has resulted in a fierce determination on the part of many Navajos to uphold and defend their culture and the religion that is part of it. Larry Anderson invited us to participate in a sweat ceremony in his sweat lodge next to his home. Before we went in, he made a point of telling us, "We'll never let go of this, no matter what the system." The sweat ceremony is actually very healthful but it is also accompanied by much praying to the Great Spirit—including saying prayers for the "decision makers," in other words, the enemy. During a break in the ceremony, I asked Larry why he prayed for the oppressors. He answered, "Because that is the traditional way my elders have taught me... but when I get out of here (the sweat lodge), I'm a different person."

He was very emphatic in stating that this does not mean that he feels spiritualism is any less important to the Navajos and the whole Native American struggle. But he also made it

clear that he has sharp differences with those who use aspects of spiritual ideology to promote capitulation to the capitalists and oppose revolutionary struggle. The same point was made by Eugene and Harrison LaMone.

Larry Anderson clearly recognized the difference between communist ideology on the question of spiritualism and that of the Navajos and other Indians. He told us: "The struggle of the people, of many classes of people in this world today, comes under many titles or organizations or programs which these people have—these different ideas of government. We understand that the people, the virgin people, should be left the way it is... (The RCP has) a very good program, set up to see what the people's ideas are (and) the defense of what their (the RCP's) direction is. Their belief in spirituality is very much different than ours, from we as Indian people. Yes, we need changes, we understand that. Yes we need these ways to get new leadership. But the spirituality is very strong among Indian people. It will always stay with us, no matter under what system we live..."

For our part, we would continue to struggle for proletarian ideology including on this important question. At the same time, we recognized the protracted nature of such a struggle, spanning a period into the future, and certainly beyond the time when the people of this country overthrow the bourgeoisie. It's the struggle against the common enemy that fundamentally unites us. This is something that Larry Anderson recognized as well, and for

his part, he would continue to struggle for his ideas.

As we drove out toward Farmington, we couldn't help noticing that as soon as you cross the border of the reservation, everything seems a lot different. The fields are green and irrigated, the homes are lit up, there are no more outhouses. You pass between two huge power plants, belching their black smoke into the sky—they are on reservation land, but the highway is not. We tried to find a motel room in Farming-

ton, but there was literally none available. A waitress in a cafe explained: "The power plants and mines are running full tilt now. A lot of people come here from all over to get jobs... This is the only place in the country where there isn't a recession." While even she felt that this was probably just a temporary boom, I couldn't help thinking that less than a mile away was a land where there was permanent bust. Or rather, only as permanent as the capitalist system. It made me feel even more impatient.

IRAQ — IRAN

Continued from page 16

the Soviets risk losing the influence they have had in each country. Thus, at present they appear to be concentrating on exposing what their equally cutthroat U.S. rivals are up to, and on trying to offer their services as mediators in order to maximize their chances of coming out of the fighting with some gains.

Just how seriously the U.S. takes the possibility that the Soviets will be able to come out of the fighting with stronger ties to either Iran or Iraq—or possibly both—can be seen by a recent well-timed "leak" from inside the U.S. government that appeared in Jack Anderson's nationwide syndicated columns on September 24. This "leak"—really a not too subtle threat—reveals that in the last few months President Carter has issued secret orders to the Pentagon, "Presidential Directive Memorandum No. 51", to prepare a "limited strategic option" for use against Soviet forces in the Middle East. In simple language, the "peace-loving" U.S. imperialists are telling their Soviet counterparts, if you cross the border into "our" territory in Iran, or if you even threaten to, we're ready to nuke you!

This is also a lesson to those who think that the superpowers won't really go to war—even nuclear war—because of "all the destruction it would cause." Here they are setting off a war that has already destroyed one of the largest refineries in the world and much of Iran's and Iraq's oil facilities. This points out that everything hangs on military and political control. Control of Iran for them is more important than the oil supplies they'll lose for now;

they are being driven by forces beyond their control to do whatever is necessary, in fact to risk everything in order to have a grab at crushing their imperialist rivals and gaining world domination.

As the world situation is sharpening, the imperialists are taking more desperate gambles. They're unleashing forces beyond their control and much more is going up for grabs. This not only means far greater dangers of war, especially world war, but new possibilities for revolutionary advances. □

MANEUVERS

Continued from page 17

which, they claim, is the biggest threat to world peace and the main source of war. This is exactly the method that the imperialist gangsters themselves use, each accusing the other of being the warmonger and the cause of their imperialist rivalry, when in fact it is the imperialists of every country who are all responsible.

All three of these social-chauvinists agree, too, that broad sections of the American people must be brought into the united front with their tormentors and the tormentors of a large section of the world's peoples, but here there are certain differences on tactics. The CUO

and those like Larry Harris believe that people can be convinced to enlist in the war effort with a straight-up call to "defend the fatherland." The CPML, however, chooses another, slicker and more spontaneous path. First hook people into the struggle for trade union reforms and into movements like the anti-draft struggle, draw them in a little, and then try to grab the tiger by the tail and put its power fully to use for U.S. imperialism at some later date. The existence of these tactical differences does not cause much concern for the CPML, which finds the *Sooner or Later* line a useful foil. This is why they have been so enthusiastically participating in this "debate" and promoting it wherever possible. □

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