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Workers Struggle Exposes Capitalism in Soviet Satellite

UPHEAVAL

IN POLAND



By August 21st more than 100,000 Polish workers were out on strike, including more than half of the labor force of the northern industrial region of Poland. As we go to press there are reports of a general strike breaking out in the nation's capital Warsaw. Shipyards have been occupied by workers for days, ports have been closed,

Striking workers in the Lublin region of Poland—among the first to go out in mid-July. By August 21 over 100,000 Polish workers were out on strike.

ed, railroads and other forms of transportation have been shut down. The city of Gdansk, Poland's second largest port and the site of some of the

largest shipyards in the world, has been completely paralyzed. As the strike continues to spread, almost every major industrial city in the country has been hit.

Even the huge "model" steel works of Nowa Huta in the southern part of the country near Cracow experienced at least temporary strikes this week. Every section of Polish society has been affected and there are reports of peasants, students and intellectuals joining the struggle. So far the Polish government

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Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind

by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Recently some very important articles have appeared in the *Revolutionary Worker* focusing on key targets and tasks that must be fulfilled, politically and (to meet these political requirements) organizationally, in order to fully build off the momentum established through May First and to make further leaps forward in the face of the rapidly developing situation—on the one hand, the deepening crisis and the accelerating motion toward world war and the intensifying preparations of the imperialists for this war, and on the other hand the growing restlessness, protests and

outbursts of rebellion among various sections of the masses. In particular I am referring to the all-important call in the August 1 *Revolutionary Worker* ("Wanted: 100,000 Co-Conspirators") to expand distribution of the paper to the 100,000 level, on a *sustained basis*, and to the reprints in the *RW* (June 20 and June 27) of very relevant excerpts from Lenin's landmark pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*, which shed further light on the need for greatly strengthening party organization in order to really carry out the kind of political work that, together with the development of the objective situation, can strengthen the development of a revolutionary movement, with the working class—and first and foremost the class-conscious workers—at the head, under the Party's leadership, a movement capable of actually accentuating the pro-

spects for revolution in the period ahead and of seizing the opportunity for revolution at whatever point it ripens. In connection with all this, and more broadly with the points raised in the talk (reprinted as a pamphlet) *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, I want to address here some crucial questions raised by Lenin (and included in the reprinted excerpts), first of all the problem he gives great emphasis to: that the conscious revolutionaries, the communists, are lagging behind the spontaneous upsurge of the masses.

Does this assessment Lenin made of the revolutionary movement in Russia in 1902 also apply to the situation in the U.S. today, and if so in what ways? In one way, looking at the surface of things and keeping in mind that Lenin was speaking in good part of the fact

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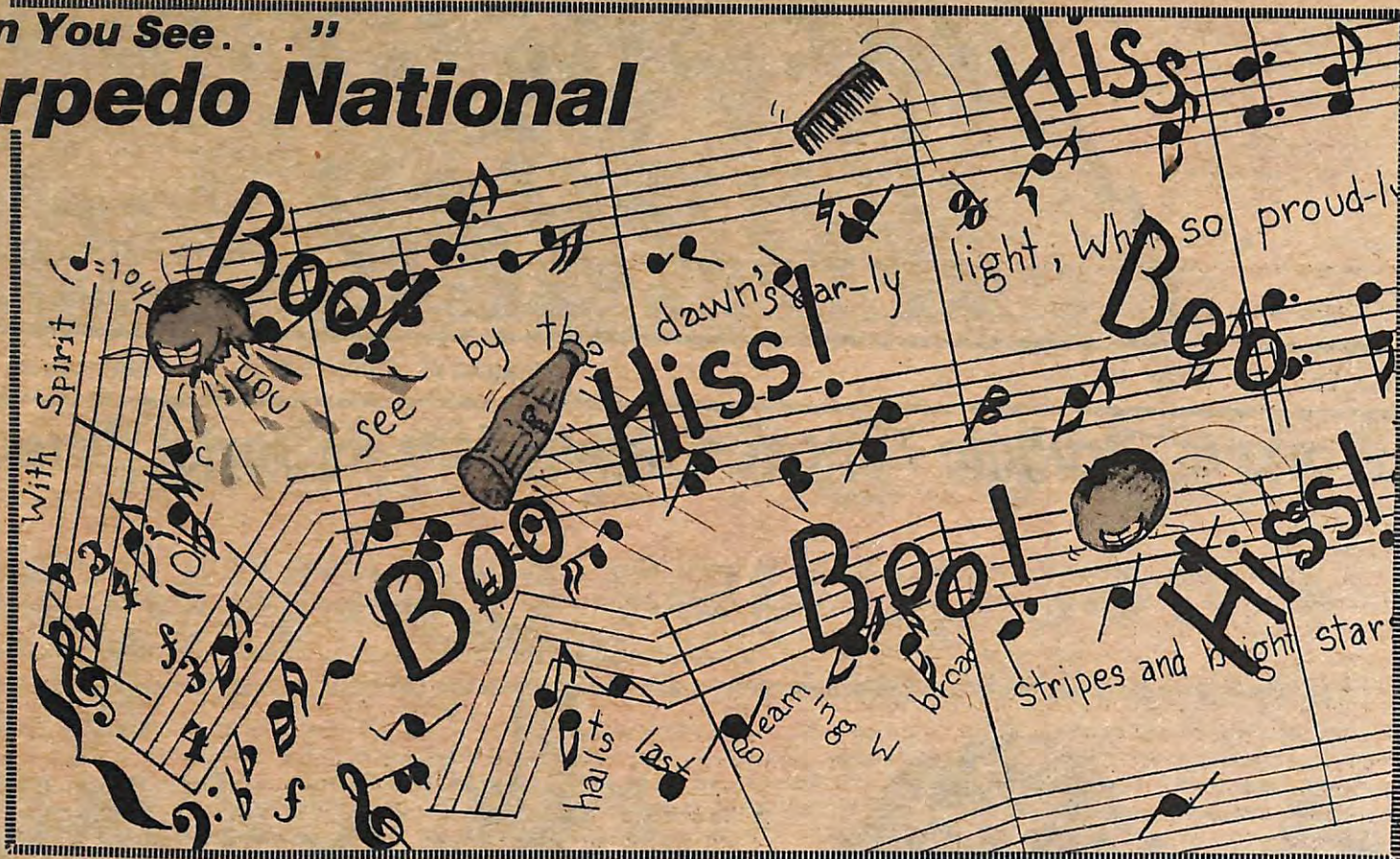
"Oh, oh . . . Say Can You See . . ." Sailors Torpedo National Anthem

The TV cameras were ready to roll, the reporters were assembled. The spotlights were trained on the recruits sitting in the audience of Great Lakes Naval Training Center's movie theatre. The Chief Petty Officers were stationed at their posts ready to apprehend any disrupters. There was a tense moment as everyone waited for the Star Spangled Banner, listening for the sailors' reaction. As the pompous strains blared over the loudspeaker, silence prevailed throughout the sparsely attended theatre. The newscaster breathed a sigh of relief.

This moment was the climax of a three-day national media build-up over the crisis at the Great Lakes Base. For two months a battle has raged with the base commander, Rear Admiral Charles Gurney III on one side, and rebellious recruits on the other. The admiral was caught in a dilemma that had him squirming underneath his Navy brass. Here were the young sailors he is in charge of—who are supposed to be prepared to fight for, and if necessary die for U.S. imperialism—refusing to stand for its national anthem. In fact for two months they had been loudly jeering, hissing, and in other ways showing the tune all the respect it deserves.

By Wednesday, August 20, it was front page news when the angry Admiral Gurney sputtered, "The punks win one, if you like to call such a thing winning. This is the end of the national anthem at Ross Auditorium Theatre for as long as I'm commander here." This was the second time Gurney had been forced the ban the tune. After removing the anthem in early August, he tried once again to bring it back pressured, he said, by complaints and letters of protest from patriotic personnel. The only condition Gurney laid down was that all patriots turn snitch, finger the catcallers and report to him immediately so they could be punished. The result? There were only more boos and hisses—and no one reported the offenders.

At first the whole thing was merely



an unpleasant blot on Admiral Gurney's career. Such things are not supposed to happen, especially not among Naval recruits who are, after all, supposed to be a cut above the army grunts. And the vast majority of the moviegoers at Ross Auditorium are supposed to be a cut above your average sailor, as well, having finished boot camp and been carefully screened to attend one of the technical schools on the base. But after two months of booing, the admiral was well aware that the whole thing smacked of a spit in the face of the imperialists' war preparations. Something had to be done to instill the proper discipline, obedience and Patriotism into these rebellious sailors who, only a year ago had staged an uprising on the base.

For two days last June 500-800 sailors stormed out of the base, fighting with the pigs who tried to stop them and refusing to be trained and packaged as the mindless war machines the Navy tries to produce. These trainees had awakened to the fact that the "great life of adventure" promised by the naval recruiting officer meant nothing but a deadend future, rotten barracks and sadistic petty officers—and they were

angry. The local ripoff business pimps on "the strip" near the base caught the brunt of the sailors' anger as they smashed windows right and left. The base itself was hit as rocks went flying through the credit union and barracks windows to shouts of "the Navy sucks!" The rioting was stopped only by an invasion of Marines who ringed the base with armed patrols; 30 sailors were sentenced to the brig for mob action and 25 others faced court martial.

Admiral Gurney knew very well that he was standing on shaky ground with these sailors. So, he appealed to the "public." The result was the laughable sight of Admiral Gurney complaining to reporters about how no one on base would perform their patriotic duty and tattle on the catcallers. "Not one irate person took a name, not one irate person lifted a finger. Where were all the patriotic people who abhor such behavior? Where was even one?" he asked despairingly—all a transparent call to VFW-types, American Legionnaires and other assorted flag-wavers to step forward and register their outrage. Media reports predictably focused exclusively on sailors who expressed their

support for the admiral and other red-blooded American types, all in an orchestrated attempt to portray the backlash of the patriotic majority. Talk show telephone wires hummed as reactionaries called in to report their personal indignation. And then, presto chango! The admiral happily reported he had received 300 telephone calls from individuals on and off the base whose patriotic sensibilities had been offended by the "punks." He had also returned from a one-day trip to D.C., beckoned there for unstated reasons, according to the press. But the point of the trip is not too difficult to imagine—Gurney no doubt got an ear full from the brass above him that may well have brought back his worst memories of boot camp. "The anthem is to be restored," he announced triumphantly on Thursday.

That night, the 10:00 news reported on the victory won by the Navy at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center: the national anthem had been played all the way through without any boos or catcalls—and without even one object being hurled at the film of the American flag on the screen!

"Ungrateful" Cubans Seek Escape

Now the "Flotilla" Is Flying Back

"Some Cubans had 'wrong idea' of U.S." ran the headline for a *New York Times* feature analyzing the recent "Back to Havana" wave of refugeesky-jackings. Certainly a safe statement to make. Early this year, 120,000 scrambled aboard the so-called "Freedom Flotilla," infatuated by the glittering of U.S. imperialist propaganda and petty bourgeois dreams of riches and a new life in pursuit of the American dream. The Carter administration thought they had pulled off a great propaganda coup, taking advantage of widespread disenchantment with Castro's revisionist regime and the severe economic crisis which has gripped Cuba's own Soviet imperialist-dominated economy. But this "coup" has gone sour for the U.S. imperialists almost from the beginning, and is now turned into a glaring and continuous exposure of the American nightmare.

The Cubans were greeted on arrival in Miami with the billowing smoke of the greatest mass rebellion in the United States in over a decade. They were herded into concentration camp style "relocation centers" at military bases across the country—and thousands remain there to this day. A number of major riots had to be suppressed by federal troops, national guardsmen and military police, as refugees staged "breakouts" in a desperate attempt to escape the new life they had braved the

Florida straits to find. Thousands of big talking Gusanos (pro-U.S. reactionary "worms" who left Cuba right after the Cuban revolution) and other reactionary "sponsors" who grandly pledged to take in refugees and find them jobs welched on their offers for the homeless and penniless when Cubans actually showed up on their doorsteps. There have been a number of instances of refugees' relatives throwing them out the door after putting up with them for a few weeks.

Meanwhile, the mass media churned up all kinds of national chauvinist hatred against the "ungrateful" refugees. The earlier propaganda shouts of gaunt and freedom loving refugees, clutching well-thumbed editions of Thomas Jefferson's writings, kissing American soil, soon gave way to diatribes against foreigners descending on America like a swarm of locusts. The Cubans were just a bunch of lazy loafers who came here looking for a handout. In one breath, "they don't want to work"; in the next breath, "they want to take away our jobs." The media, which at first derided Fidel Castro for his statements that those who wanted to leave Cuba were "parasites and antisocial scum" soon began not only to echo him but to accuse Castro of deliberately dumping every "habitual criminal, pervert and

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Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind

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that the communists were lagging behind the spontaneous developments within the working class itself, it might seem that what he says there is not really applicable to the U.S. at the present time. It is, after all, not the case that the masses of workers (or even a large minority, numbering in the millions) are engaging in political struggle against the system and demanding guidance from the communists in that struggle. And again, viewed from the surface of things, it might actually seem—and certainly it is being loudly declared by various and sundry forces—that, far from lagging behind the spontaneous movement of the masses, we are way too far out in advance of it. But the problem here is precisely that this kind of viewpoint represents looking only at the surface of things—that it is superficial, and along with that, static and one-sided (and often smugly conservative), not only in its analysis of the present situation in the U.S. but in its understanding of what Lenin is getting at.

It is true—and constitutes a significant difference from our situation today—that when Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?* the workers in Russia on the whole faced starker conditions of exploitation and oppression and had already been waging struggle on a broader scale and generally in a more militant way than the workers in the U.S. over the past period of time, and further that a good number of these Russian workers were both familiar with and basically supportive of the general idea of socialism. First of all, however, it must be stressed that at that time the majority of these Russian workers were by no means really or fully revolutionary in their consciousness—they did not grasp the necessity for the overthrow of the regime and did not have a clear understanding of the profound differences between the lines and political programs of the different and sharply opposed forces in Russia that made up the broad category of “socialist” tendencies, and only a relatively small minority of the workers then supported the one genuinely socialist (that is, communist) line represented by Lenin and others then associated with the newspaper *Iskra*. Further, in Russia then, as noted in *What Is To Be Done?*, “In recent years, even the enlightened workers have been ‘engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle.’”

Lenin did not deny or try to obscure this fact; on the contrary, he gave emphasis to it—but with the opposite viewpoint, drawing exactly the opposite conclusions as the Economists of his time, who wanted to keep the working class movement on the level of waging only the economic struggle and wanted furthermore to degrade the communist movement to the level of trade-unionist, reformist politics, attempting to smother the enlightened (advanced) workers, and the socialist organizations as well, beneath the sponta-

neous level of struggle and (bourgeois) consciousness that still characterized the majority of the workers. Lenin drove home over and over again the fundamental point that the workers cannot fully develop their political consciousness and political struggle against the system unless and until the communists carry out consistently Marxist propaganda and agitation, and in particular penetrating exposure of all manifestations of tyranny and oppression perpetrated by the ruling class, and all aspects of the life, the interests and outlook of the various classes and strata of society. Exactly because the workers, even the advanced workers, were still mainly waging economic struggle, Lenin insisted all the more that “the masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals; and such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically appraising all the everyday aspects of our political life, of all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of various classes and on various grounds.” It is in this light that Lenin insisted on the decisive role of the communist newspaper, as educator of the masses and as a collective organizer of the party itself and the revolutionary forces generally.

Do not these basic principles stressed by Lenin have broad application in all countries at all times, and more specifically does not his emphasis on Marxist agitation and propaganda, especially scientific, living exposure, and on the central role of the communist newspaper, have great relevance and importance for the present situation and its future prospects in the U.S.? Who will deny it?

Are there not already many different “protests and struggles on the part of various classes and on various grounds” in this country—such as the wave of anti-draft protests, anti-nuclear movements and, certainly not least important, the resurgence of Black rebellions in Miami, Chattanooga and other cities? And are not things of this kind bound to increase, even by leaps and bounds, in the period ahead? Is it not the case that all such things provide rich material for educating the masses, including the working class masses, and for training the advanced as revolutionary, communist leaders—and in an overall sense for building the revolutionary movement with the class-conscious proletariat at the forefront? Our enemy—the bourgeois ruling class and its agents—senses and more and more openly expresses concern over exactly this; should not we seize and build on it!

True, these protests and rebellions are mainly centered among and involve classes and strata other than the working class itself. But do they not arouse interest, debate and struggle among many workers, do they not play an important part—even “spontaneously” (that is, even if communists are not present or do

not carry out communist work)—in awakening workers to political life and broadening their political horizons? And more than that, are there not advanced, revolutionary-minded workers who desire not only to know more about these and all other major political questions and events but to act in a revolutionary way in relation to them? It is true, again, that such strivings on the part of advanced workers also tend spontaneously to be suffocated by the still backward atmosphere that generally prevails among the working class as a whole—and it is a further truth that communists can, if they wish, contribute to this by tailing behind the backward workers and attempting, at most, to degrade the level of proletarian politics to the “lowest common denominator” acceptable to the more backward workers (and ultimately to the bourgeoisie). But it is a far more profound and important truth that by fulfilling their duties as “tribunes of the people,” by conducting communist work, especially communist agitation and propaganda, communists can give much fuller and more systematic expression to the deeply-felt desires of the advanced workers to enter into and influence these struggles in a revolutionary way and undertake the task of raising the level of the mass of workers toward the class-conscious position. What indeed was May First 1980, if not a powerful demonstration of all this!

Often in the communist movement in this country over the last 10-15 years it has been said (in whispers at least) that Lenin's example in *What Is To Be Done?* of workers placing political demands on the communists does not apply to the U.S.—at least not this year. Lenin refers to the worker who impatiently tells the communists to quit boring him (and other workers) with the drab details of everyday economic struggle, with which they are already quite familiar, and instead insists that “we want to know everything that others know, we want to learn the details of all aspects of political life and to take part actively in every single political event. . . . Just devote more zeal to carrying out this duty, and talk less about ‘raising the activity the masses of workers!’ We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open, street fighting, demands that do not promise any ‘palpable results’ whatever!”

Where, some people demand, are such workers in the U.S. right now? The real problem is not at all that such workers do not exist, but that those who ask this question do not know where to look for them or how to recognize them—even though and even when they pass by them or perhaps bump into them every day. For what Lenin was referring to—and what we are calling attention to—are not the “average workers” but the advanced, revolutionary-minded workers. And who does not know—if he wants to or is at least willing

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

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Black Pitcher Feels Master's Whip

"Who shot J.R.'s arm?" The headlines screamed for blood as Houston sportswriters unleashed salvo after vicious salvo against J.R. Richard, the star pitcher of the league leading Houston Astros. And the silence in the highest levels of Astro management indicated official approval of the media lynching of this Black athlete. The papers, radio and prostitute sportscasters called him everything under the sun—short of openly branding him a "lazy, shiftless and arrogant nigger" in print. The only thing that stopped a rope from being tied to the upper deck of the Astrodome Stadium and figuratively thrown around J.R. Richard's neck was that he nearly dropped dead from a stroke on July 30.

It all started on June 17 when J.R. left a game against the Chicago Cubs complaining of "a deadness" in his pitching arm. From that moment on, Houston's reactionary media mouthpieces unmercifully opened fire. On June 28, J.R. again left a game with a "tired arm." Ed Fowler, of the *Houston Chronicle*, one of the leading cross-burners, led the shrill chorus: "James Rodney Richard's right arm got better Saturday night. It improved from 'dead' to 'tired'! If his convalescence continues at the current pace, his arm may be 'puny' by the next time he pitches." In other words—"We paid a lot of money for you, boy. Don't blow our chances for the pennant!"

Something was obviously wrong with J.R. Richard's arm. But the Astros continued to play him, pitching him again on July 3 and then in the All-Star game. Following the game he went to a specialist, Frank Jobe, in Los Angeles. He was told all he had was "muscle fatigue" and should only pitch 5 or 6 innings in his next couple of starts. On July 14, his final game, J.R. appeared lethargic, awkward, and unable to see the catcher's signals. In the fourth inning J.R. stayed sitting on the bench. Manager Virdon asked him—was he going to pitch or not? J.R. walked to the mound, feeling nauseous, his hands strangely cold. He was pulled after one out.

The next morning the wolves were howling again. Harry Shattuck of the *Houston Chronicle* wrote: "Phil Niekro (the opposing team's winning pitcher who ignored his own injury to play) doesn't have a dead arm. Or a tired arm. Or back stiffness. Or shoulder stiffness. Or a stomach ache." Since Niekro is white, the implication was clear: either J.R. was an ungrateful, lackadaisical slave, or just plain inferior.

Two days later, J.R. went on the Astros disabled list. On July 17 the team doctor Harold Bretford, gave him a physical. He found the circulation in J.R.'s arm "excellent." By what scientific method? He pressed on Richard's fingernails and then after relieving the pressure, watched how quickly they got red again! No x-rays were taken because "you only do it if you have a pretty good reason," explained the good doctor. Obviously there was a "pretty good reason," not to check Richard out too thoroughly—their star pitcher might end up getting sidelined for the rest of a season that looked like a possible World Series!

Finally J.R. ended up in the hospital for some serious testing. The doctors performed an arteriography—shooting opaque dye into the bloodstream—and found an occlusion (blockage) of arteries leading to the arm. That explained the tiredness in the arm. They also found a collateral system—a by-pass system that was allowing some blood to flow into the arm and did keep it functioning. So did they operate and remove the blockage? Not on your life. "Hell," they reasoned, "we still might be able to squeeze some victories out of the workhorse before he goes to the glue factory." So they told J.R. to keep throwing under supervision with hopes of playing out the rest of the season.

Four days later, during an easy workout, J.R. Richard dropped to all fours on the astroturf and nearly died.

Suddenly the public flogging of J.R. Richard stopped. In an editorial on August 2, Ed Fowler endeavored to defend his venomous columns written prior to J.R.'s stroke. He whined: "The situation involved an \$800,000-a-year athlete who is pivotal in his team's chances for a championship. No doctor who examined him, including Dr. Frank Jobe, an eminent physician in sports medicine and orthopedics, found anything *structurally* (emphasis ours—*RW*) wrong that might have been causing his problems." Exactly to the point. Good money had been paid for this slave to work the "field" and in a quick examination on the doctor's block everything that had appeared to be structurally ok—teeth strong, back straight and his muscles in good working order!

J.R.'s close friend and Astros third baseman, Enos Cabell, hit the nail on the head when he said J.R.'s situation was "true of a lot of Black athletes, especially those paid a lot of money. If he were white, maybe they would have checked him more thoroughly and maybe he wouldn't have been out there throwing. Most Black athletes play hurt, and he pitched when he was hurt." And J.R.'s wife Carolyn echoes the same sentiments: "Other guys had problems on the Astros. Ken Forsch (a white pitcher) had problems. He was out a whole half of a season. (Nolan) Ryan hasn't been pitching to his ability... It was like a wildfire. It took death, or nearly death, to get an apology. They should have believed him."

But it wasn't really a question of believing him or not. Professional sports after all, are just another business venture in which the amount of profit to be squeezed out of the performances of various players is all very carefully calculated. Sports is subordinate to the economic and political dictates of capitalism. All athletes are treated like meat on the hoof, bought and sold like pieces of property, and considered an investment on which is expected a certain rate of return. And the treatment of J.R. Richard particularly shows that far from transcending this system's vile oppression of Black people, sports—as part of the sphere of culture in society—plays a big part in perpetuating this oppression. And this is true even under an \$800,000-a-year contract. Even in the emergency room, the question of whether to operate on J.R. or not was still being debated by Astro management. It took nearly 8 hours while his fingernails turned blue to finally convince these vultures that they wouldn't be able to pitch him any more this season—and maybe not for the rest of his life.

"Even after all this time we still don't know. We really don't know what happened or why it happened. We've been over all the possibilities," said Dr. Charles McCollum, who operated on J.R. after the stroke. Perhaps the doctors really don't know—it wasn't "good business" to find out. But for anyone with a brain in their head, it's no secret what caused his heart attack. J.R. Richard was one of the best pitchers around and one of the few Blacks that supposedly "had it made"—but even this distinction was robbed from him after the Astro owners worked him into the ground. This year he was zeroing in on the coveted Cy Young Award, but to them all this award represented was so many profitable victories produced by their "boy", so many more receipts at the box office. That's how it works in capitalist America, sports included. As an angered Carolyn Richard perceived this: "Black and big, a big star... I've never seen a player dragged through the mud like this. I don't know why, in 1980, they chose to do it to Rodney. But they did. It's something we'll never forget. Never." □

Prisoner Writes

"Prison Censorship"

We recently received this letter from a revolutionary prisoner in the east.

My name is XX, at present I'm imprisoned in... Reading is a large part of almost every prisoner's routine and what he/she reads is important as it may affect how he/she views, him or herself, society, the world at large. The printed word can be very powerful depending on what "you choose" to read—if you are gaining knowledge be it political, social or how to bake a cake, you are advancing yourself, which is one of the greatest achievements in life. What happens when someone doesn't approve of the literature "you have chosen," so much so that he/she denies you the right to receive such literature, in my case because it's "Revolutionary"? His fear of the printed word (*RW*) is so great that he says I can't read this paper as well as certain books. The *RW* doesn't conform with "their" rehabilitation program, yet I can read smut that would turn U.S. Congressman Wayne Hayes red (excuse please) with embarrassment, what pig mentality or should I say morality do these "people" function under. So long as their system is secure and their lives are not threatened nothing else matters, as long as we are kept uneducated and politically dormant it doesn't matter what we do—so long as we stay high, disorganized and ignorant, commit acts of violence upon one another. We *can not* actively combat this system and the pig fuckers who capitalize off it.

If you now read the *RW*, continue. If you don't, start—the only ones who will suffer by gained knowledge is the system...

In Strength and Struggle

This note was recently sent of the *RW* from a foreign student who lives hundreds of miles from any area where the RCP is involved in concentrated work. The comrade has taken up distribution of the *RW* and regularly sells 50 newspapers a week. His reference to a letter he received from the RCP concerns our request that he set up meetings of students and others to discuss the draft New Programme and Constitution, a task he has set upon.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Dear Comrades:

With this letter I'm sending you \$90, \$27 is for 50 *RWs* and \$10 for the *Revolutions*, the rest of it is a small contribution for your great internationalist party. I got your letter and it really made me happy. We're to answer you when the school starts. We'll try our best to do our internationalist duty toward the oppressed in the U.S. and the world. It is not really much of a doing, but I'm proud to do this.

"Flotilla"

Continued from page 2

mental defective" on the island onto leaky rafts headed for Key West. It's quite possible that Fidel did dabble in some such unsporting conduct, perhaps out of revenge for the CIA's defoliation campaign against Castro's beard which was conducted in the early '60s; but Castro's main objective, amidst the wreckage of his revisionist economy, was to transfer 120,000 people from Cuba's unemployment rolls to those of the U.S.

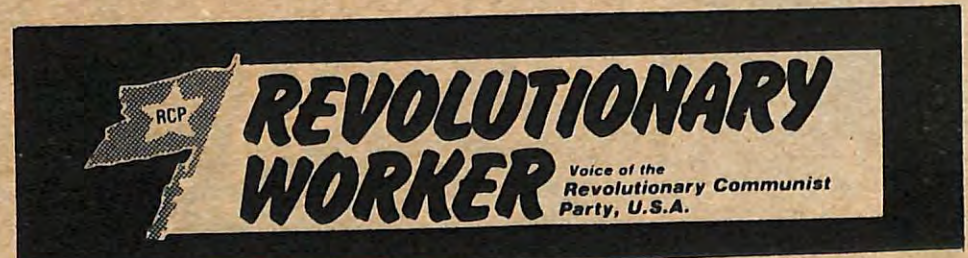
So that's the inspiring story of the freedom Flotilla. What catchy nickname will now be invented to describe the sequel that is currently gathering steam: the reverse migration which has seen 7 separate incidents of airplane hijackings by Cubans who "had the wrong idea"? It can at least be said of those who have had to resort to hijacking airplane flights in their desperation to get out of the U.S. that they have learned quickly about life in this country and want no part of it, regardless of the conditions in Cuba which they were trying to get away from.

Two Cubans recently arraigned in Miami on charges of an attempted hijacking, and now being held on \$1,000,000 bail, typify the conditions of thousands of refugees in the United States: they had no money, no friends, no housing, and no possessions aside from their clothes. Nearly a thousand refugees are living in a tent city built under a highway overpass near the Orange Bowl in Miami; homeless refugees had been quartered in the Orange Bowl until they were evicted. Why were they thrown out? Hey fans, it's football season! Some refugees are

attempting to support themselves by picking up discarded aluminum cans from garbage dumps to sell at recycling centers for 45 cents a pound. "I was a student in Cuba," said one man interviewed by the *New York Times*. "Look at me. I'm picking up garbage."

Obviously, there was a large measure of desperation mixed in with gullible swallowing of imperialist pipe dreams in the original mass exodus from Cuba to the United States. The recent rash of skyjackings, however, testifies to a desperation even more intense; those refugees who hijacked planes back to Cuba now have no expectation of anything but a stiff jail term. The desolation of life in an imperialist dominated revisionist neocolony coupled with some two-bit "hurray for the red, white and blue" huckstering proved a breeding ground for the illusion that the imperialist USA would shower the poor and unskilled refugees with riches—with anything but abuse and contempt, especially once their purpose as propaganda ploys was ended or fell flat.

Now, the United States has assigned top-level State Dept. "trouble shooter," William Bowdler, to negotiate hat-in-hand with Cuban officials to "devise an orderly method for repatriating Cuban refugees who wish to return home." So far their efforts have been singularly unsuccessful as this whole episode which the U.S. had expected to be a real propaganda coup has blown up in their faces. The desire of many Cubans to return is apparently very widespread. It's not that they didn't know that they had it so good in Cuba; it's just that they figured nothing could be worse. Rotten as things are in Cuba, that logic seemed ironclad—until they landed in the good old USA. □



Israelis Attack Palestinians in Lebanon

August 19, Israeli armed forces conducted their biggest raid into Lebanon since 1978, and their third attack within a week. Involving some 500 troops when marched in supported by artillery and air attacks, the attack was not justified by any of the usual talk about defense or retaliation. Rather, it was characterized by Israel's director of military intelligence as a "preventive measure" to keep the Palestine Liberation Organizations (PLO) "busy with their defense instead of planning attacks against us." And Israel further announced that it would continue to "take the initiative" and attack whenever it saw fit. This is not at all a new policy; what is new is simply their open admission—arrogant boasting, in fact—that they are pursuing a policy of aggression.

On the one hand, the U.S. expressed "concern" over the raid, with the U.S. embassy in Beirut denouncing it as "contrary to Israeli public assurance" that it would respect Lebanon's sovereignty, with an official in Washington cynically worrying over whether U.S.-supplied arms had been used.

On the other hand, the day after the raid Secretary of State Muskie broke off his vacation and rushed to the UN Security Council to express U.S. "concern about repeated Council actions condemning Israeli behavior." The point at issue this time was Israel's formal annexation of the Arab section of Jerusalem. The Council's censure of this action (which passed 14-0 with the U.S. abstaining), along with other resolutions condemning Israeli actions, "have failed the critical tests of reason, of balance," said Muskie.

So on the one hand, the U.S. has its embassy denouncing the Israeli action, and on the other the Secretary of State attacks those who denounce Israel. The U.S. has been playing this "good cop-bad cop" routine around Israel for some time now, trying to give the appearance of a more flexible and reasonable stance on the Palestinian question, while never for a moment

ceasing to maintain Israel as a military and political outpost of U.S. imperialism in the area. The idea is to make the Arab governments relate to Israel on these terms—as Egypt has already done—and to create the illusion that the Camp David accords, with their promise of "autonomy" for Palestinians on the West Bank, can resolve the underlying contradictions. In order to play the "good cop" role, the U.S. must express dismay at blatant Israeli aggression and intransigence—as it did when Israel first announced the annexation of east Jerusalem (see *RW* No. 66, p. 7), and as it did through its Beirut embassy in the case of the current raid.

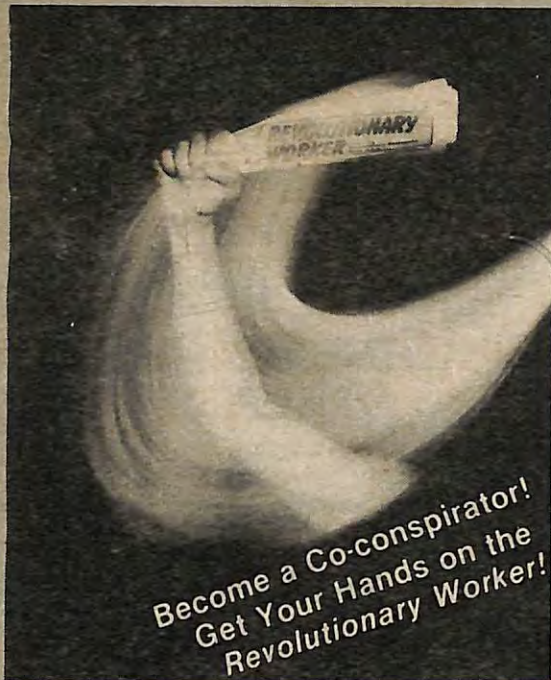
But in these recent events it is the "bad cop" role which is coming through more strongly. Muskie's tirade is a sign of this, and it certainly outweighed the remarks of an embassy official. But besides this, we have to ask what the meaning is of Israel's more openly aggressive posture, of its policy whereby, as Prime Minister Begin put it at the funeral of an officer killed in the Lebanon raid, "we shall not wait until the barbarian enemy comes to our cities... We go out to confront him and we hit him at any time and at any place..." There are definitely internal problems in Israel and the Arab territories it occupies with which this policy is an attempt to deal—a crumb-

ing economy, very steep inflation, increasing resistance by the Palestinians of the occupied territories and even with Israel proper. But Israel still has a role to play as terrorist thug and policeman for the U.S. in the Middle East. Isn't it possible that Israel is doing exactly what the U.S. wants it to do—putting the squeeze on, upping the ante, and perhaps showing that U.S. imperialism does not think that any sort of "Palestinian entity" on the West Bank would be safe just now?

The particular tactics of U.S. imperialism here are not crystal clear just now, but these are the sorts of questions that bear watching. □

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Bob Avakian to His Parents
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Government Rushes Railroad

Speaking Tour Planned for UN 2

The government is wasting no time in its efforts to put the UN2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, back into prison to serve out one year and one day of hard time for the political "crime" of exposing and opposing the war moves of the two superpowers. No sooner was the transcript of the trial completed than the appeals division notified defense lawyers to file their appeal brief by September 12th. U.S. attorneys have up to one month to respond and the Court of Appeals has indicated that it will begin to review the case during the week of October 27th.

This rush to the appeal is a continuation of the political railroad of the UN2 begun the instant the U.S. imperialists recovered from the shock of red paint splattering the faces of the American and Soviet representatives in the United Nations. On the eve of Revolutionary May Day 1980, these two brothers ripped the diplomatic shroud off the superpowers' war moves. Shouts of "Down with the U.S. and Soviet War Moves, Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue" rang out. This political exposure was an occasion of uplifting joy for millions of people around the world.

The UN2 were charged with outrageous felonies, slandered in the press as "terrorists," and convicted in short order. In sentencing the UN2, Judge Robert Ward layed down the bourgeoisie's gauntlet making it clear that the connection was "an intended message to others," that any and all opposition to World War 3 will not be

tolerated by the imperialists. And the gauntlet has been picked up.

The liberating act taken by the UN2 has already drawn forward thousands of people to their defense and the imperialists are paying dearly for their vicious crime. Over 9,000 people signed the statement of support, outraged at the political repression heaped upon the UN2. Letters of support for their action poured in from around the country and from other countries as well, and piled up on Judge Ward's bench. Active GIs, here and in Europe, political activists, workers, professionals and others expressed their solidarity with the UN2. Many throughout the country wore red armbands on the day of sentencing. \$10,000 was raised to place a half-page ad in the July 15 edition of the *New York Times* featuring some of the inspiring and striking letters that had been received.

One year's hard time, five years probation, and a suspended sentence on felony conspiracy—not only does this outrageous attack reveal the ruling class' desperate need to silence exposure of and opposition to their war moves, but it is also a serious challenge to all those who oppose the imperialists' plans to step forward and stand with the UN2.

To propel the struggle forward, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan will embark on an extended cross-country speaking tour soon. As the politicians race from one city to the next beating the war drums for the November elections, the UN2 will be issuing the call of the interna-

tional working class in revolutionary opposition.

Activists such as Flo Kennedy of the Black Women United for Political Action, Yuri Kochiyama, veteran activist of the Asian and Black peoples' movements, Betsy Olson West, president of the National Consumer Coalition in New York City, Toki Lumumba, the Afghan Support Committee in Boston and others have already endorsed and are sponsoring this tour. A call has been issued by the Committee to Free the UN2 for others to join in spon-

soring this tour.

A button and poster in support of the UN2 is being readied for national distribution. Funds to carry through the battle to free the UN2 are urgently needed.

Letters of support, financial contributions and inquiries about the speaking tour can be made to:

Committee to Free the UN2
c/o Revolution Books
16 E. 18th Street
New York City, NY 10013

I wish to state my support for the UN 2, Glenn Gan and Steven Yip, for their daring political act at the UN Security Council on April 30th to call attention to the warmongering and the weaponry building of the two superpowers, United States and the Soviet Union. At this crucial time when nuclear holocaust is becoming a possibility, these dangerous threats of war and transgressions must be exposed, challenged and halted.

Gann and Yip are no newcomers to the struggle, nor are they "left-wing loonies" or "free-lance terrorists" as called by the *Daily News*. They are dedicated community activists from the late '60s and early '70s who are aware of the consequences of political expression.

I salute the UN2 for risking their future in making such an indelible and overt statement!

Yuri Kochiyama
New York, N. Y.

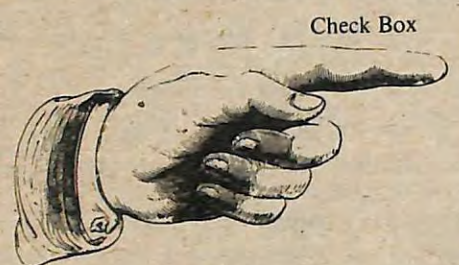
1980 ELECTION BALLOT

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.

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

What Did the "Counter Convention" Counter?



New York City. Fed up with what's going on in this country and the whole 4 year election farce, thousands took to the streets in New York to march on this year's meeting of the Democratic donkeys. A broad range of people and organizations from anti-draft and anti-nuke organizations to welfare rights organizations and numerous organizations built around fighting for various reforms participated in a march of 10,000 to the site of the convention on the Sunday before the convention began. A series of demonstrations and other activities took place through the week highlighted by an anti-war rally of several hundred on the night Carter was nominated. It is significant that broad numbers came out to participate in these activities. It is a real example of how the deepening crisis in this country and the rapid moves towards war are impelling people into motion to take this shit head on, even while there are many questions about how to do this and what the way forward is.

The Sunday march was sponsored by an umbrella organization called the Coalition for a People's Alternative in 1980 which had held a two-day "people's convention" in the devastated south Bronx in the days preceding the convention. While many had come to take some kind of stand against what was going down with the Democrats and the whole political system in general there were a number of forces in actual leadership of the Coalition for a People's Alternative who had quite the opposite intentions, however. They pushed at every turn to channel the sentiments of the thousands there back into the system, back into being a tail on

the Democratic Party donkey. Under the slogan "Too Many Years of Broken Promises, Now We Shall Be Heard" they had a number of speakers at the rally held in front of Madison Square Garden whose sole purpose was to pour water on the burning anger of many and channel it into the harmless path of electoral politics, pushing vain hopes of pressuring the politicians to act in the interest of the masses of people.

While some speakers denounced U.S. imperialism's domination of Puerto Rico and Palestine and other outrages of U.S. imperialism and called for the people themselves to challenge the U.S. rulers, others, hacks like "Wimpy" Winpinger of the International Association of Machinists, were working overtime to win people over to the idea that they should at least be content with gaining some kind of leverage, small as it was, in the 1980 election either by throwing in their lot with the likes of Teddy Kennedy or even possibly a "third party" (that is a second democratic party with a slight face lift). "Wimpy," a delegate to the Democratic Convention, put it this way in the classic string-'em-along routine, "While you are out here trying to change things, a few of us will be on the inside. Please forgive us if we fail, but we owe it this one last chance..." In addition to performances such as this, people were treated to a constant barrage of electoral politics with such exciting treats as constant introductions of this or that "people's candidate" who is running for office this year. Needless to say many were not too thrilled by this routine and had to settle for the few snatches of real opposition

to the ruling class that were able to penetrate the fog.

Certainly many who had come to the Alternative Convention on the days before the march drawn by the desire to discuss the way out of this mess and find some real answers did not know exactly what to make of the fact that the various sessions and workshops were tightly controlled and kept on the very narrow path of each person or group speaking about what particular issue they were into and how everybody should support what everybody else was into. This sort of interest group politics is in many ways reminiscent of the kind of stuff that goes on in the Democratic Party itself. In fact, Bronx Congressman Badillo, a Kennedy backer, had arranged for four buses to take delegates from the Democratic Convention past the site of the counter-convention and a real big deal was made about a letter of support to the counter-convention by Congressman John Conyers. Right in line with all this was the constant theme that people had to unite against the attacks of the "new right" and fight for any reforms that could be won in these "hard times."

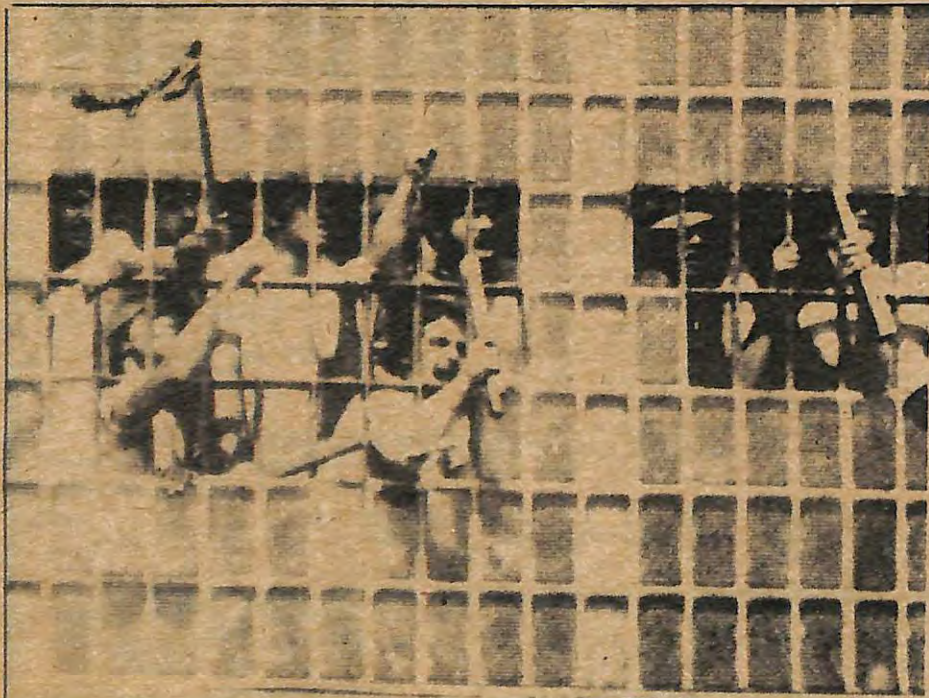
Implicit in this was that liberal candidates like Kennedy who may not be saying or doing enough are at least also opposed to "the right" like Reagan and are for improvement of the conditions for the masses of people. This type of thinking leads people right into the arms of the Democrats and their ilk and away from the understanding that the

heart of the problems we face today are from one ruling class and all of its political parties and candidates. This is really not one step removed from the old "lesser of two evils" mire. After the Sunday march, there were daily activities sponsored by a coalition called the Coalition for Direct Action and several rallies, most notably protesting nuclear power and war preparations and a Rock Against the Klan. These actions culminated in a militant demonstration against the draft and moves towards war. Even though the leaflet announcing these actions had the slogan "Open Carter's Convention", these actions gave voice to some of the more progressive and revolutionary sentiments of the people who gathered all week long.

While the bourgeois press tried to do a big trip on how nice things were at the convention and how friendly, bored and unobtrusive the police were, Wednesday evening showed just how quickly the velvet glove comes off when people begin to go up against the system. Long before the anti-war march even approached the Madison Square Garden, marchers were attacked by club-swinging cops when they stopped in the streets chanting anti-war slogans.

The rally itself was attended by hundreds of youth, including at least two AWOL GI's. Speakers who dared advocate voting this fall—for anybody—were roundly booed. One of the best received speeches was Steve

Continued on page 16



Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

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The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Victim Put On Trial In Police Shooting Case

"Officers Acquitted in Shooting," "Tatum Jury Clears Two, Deadlocks on Third," read the headlines as the carefully managed 8-day stage show wound down in L.A. Ballyhooed as "the first time in 8 years that LAPD officer had been prosecuted in a civilian shooting," the "trial" of three pigs who gunned down and crippled 42-year-old Cornelius Tatum was intended to sucker-bait the public into believing that the "system works." In fact, the trial did prove that the system works—it also proved *who* the system works for.

The shooting was more typical than unusual for the LAPD, the nation's foremost murderers in blue. Tatum worked at a gas station in Watts that had been robbed several times, including on the afternoon of January 27, 1979. So, that very night he decided to carry a shotgun at work for protection. As he crossed the gas station lot to the cashier's booth, two police cars carrying three cops each cruised by. Seeing a Black man with a gun, they came out of their cars blasting away. Of 11 shots fired, 4 struck Tatum, one of which pierced his spinal cord—leaving him in a wheelchair for the rest of his life.

For more than a year no charges were filed against the LAPD, but then the District Attorney's office filed felony assault with a deadly weapon charges against three of the cops involved. It's really no mystery why. Tatum lived to tell about the shooting—something the LAPD certainly regrets—and to file a multi-million dollar suit against the Ci-

ty of Los Angeles. It made it doubly important for the local authorities "to prove" the police innocent in order to defeat Tatum's suit. The charges were filed amidst a flurry of such cases nationwide under conditions of what the press calls "social unrest"—conditions particularly worrisome to our rulers since Miami. The filing of charges and resultant trial was designed to create the illusion of "controlling the police."

Of course, once the trial began—and especially after it concluded—such illusions bowed to the only reality possible when the authorities are entrusted to prosecute themselves. The trial itself was a sham from beginning to end. The cops who shot Tatum were narcs—with long hair, dressed in old clothes and driving unmarked cars. They jumped out of their cars and ran at Tatum, blasting away. Yet the defense attorney and more than obliging prosecutor hinged the whole case on whether Tatum had put down the shotgun before he was shot or whether he crouched and took aim at the pigs. It wasn't the police who were on trial—it was Tatum! And despite the fact that every civilian witness testified that not only did the cops fail to identify themselves, but that Tatum had put the shotgun down and was reaching for a pack of cigarettes from a rack when he was shot, the three accused pigs and their three cronies who'd been on the team all managed to get their stories to match; they said, they had clearly identified themselves as police officers and that Tatum had turned and aimed the

shotgun at them, forcing them to shoot out of "fear for their lives." The LAPD "ballistics expert" who only days earlier had testified that the bullets' path of entry proved that Tatum had been standing up and reaching when shot, returned to court to testify that no, the path of entry actually proved that Tatum had been crouched down when shot.

After three days of deliberation, the jury acquitted two of the cops. The third, Norman Nelson, whose four shots actually hit Tatum, got a mistrial—9 to 3 for acquittal. Nelson's superior accuracy may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the shooting of Tatum was the third "officer involved shooting incident" he'd been in over a 3-week period in January, 1979. Of course, Officer Nelson might have been working under stress at the time—there is currently a \$10 million lawsuit against the City of Los Angeles and the LAPD alleging that Nelson assaulted and raped a 25-year-old woman while on duty in November, 1978.

After the verdict had been announced, the jurors, in a very unusual move, called a press conference. It was evident that they had been frustrated by the

whole course of the proceedings and were compelled to issue a very naive but very revealing statement on the whole case: "We wish to unanimously express our concern and dismay with the actions of the officers. We do not believe that in the actions related to the shooting of Mr. Tatum, the police officers conducted themselves with due concern for the lives and welfare of persons who could have been injured... If the actions of these experienced officers are examples of the training they receive, then all citizens should be concerned." One juror interviewed by the press also said that he felt that a "stronger prosecution" would have made "a definite change in my mind and the mind of other jurors... my gut feeling is that they were guilty." What the jurors understood (a better description would actually be *sensed*) was that *something* was rotten. But they were prejudiced by the notion of "equality" in the courts and were thus constrained by the limits set on the issue by the prosecutor, defense attorney, judge, etc. The issue had become whether or not Tatum aimed the shotgun. The actions of the cops were never really in question. This is what the jurors did *not* see. □

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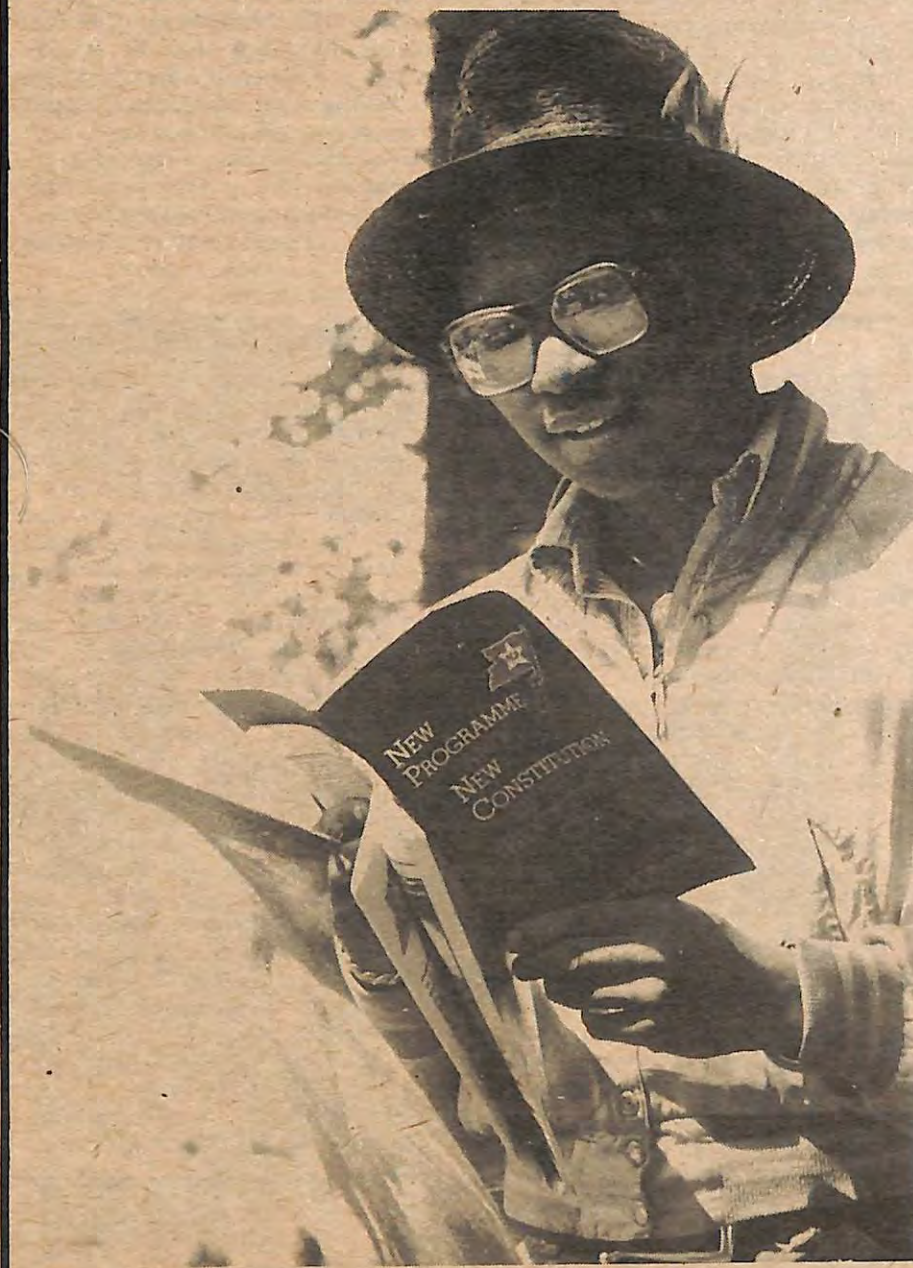
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This major analysis originally appeared in the Revolutionary Worker, issue no. 49, under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to Do with It?"

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

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Searching for the "Second Harvest"

Russell Means' Attack On Revolutionary Marxism

It is a sign of both the advances and the still remaining backwardness of the developing revolutionary movement in the U.S. that we are forced to reply to a recent speech made by Russell Means, for some time a well-known figure in the struggle of Native Americans. The occasion for his tirade was the 1980 Black Hills International Survival Gathering held from July 18-27 on a ranch outside the Black Hills of South Dakota which drew an estimated 10,000 people. Participants were mostly activists from the anti-nuke movement, but the event also drew some Indians and some local ranchers. This area, the location of the Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation, has been the focus of a great deal of struggle as reported in the *RW* in the past. It is a key source in the U.S. of uranium, the mining of which has left behind a lethal legacy of contaminated water, a rate of miscarriages on the reservation 6 1/2 times the national average, and an abominably high rate of birth defects, cancer and other causes of death and disease to the Indian people.

Means spoke on behalf of the Lakota American Indian Movement and his speech was billed as the keynote address. It disgusted literally hundreds, left thousands with a sour taste in their mouths, and in addition to certain strong-arm tactics pursued by some forces gathered around Means at the gathering, has been the source of widespread controversy within the Indian movement and more broadly since the event concluded.

The heart of Means' speech is an attack on revolution in general and revolutionary Marxism in particular. He attempts to trade on his reputation as an "American Indian leader" (despite the obligatory false disclaimers of "humility" to the contrary) to advocate a program of capitulation to the enemy for both the struggle of the American Indians—a struggle which is gaining in intensity and has been the object of vicious government reprisals—as well as the movement more broadly.

But beyond this, Means' speech is a sort of inadvertent admission of the truth time and again noted in various ways by

the great leaders of communism, from Karl Marx to Mao Tsetung: that for there to be a revolutionary movement, there must be revolutionary theory. Therefore, Means' speech is principally *ideological*. He is well aware that political activists from various spheres of social life are searching for answers, searching for a way out of this mad-dog capitalist system. He at least senses the renewal of revolutionary ripples in the social fabric of this country and senses that these may well develop into mighty waves in the not too distant future. But rather than welcoming these developments for the promise they hold, he fears getting washed away—like beach debris in the tides. He has thus assigned himself the task (and we are not yet prepared to say that he has *been assigned* the task) of concentrating the *most backward* ideas which have arisen particularly among some anti-nuke and Indian activists into a worked out polemic against the *most advanced* ideas represented in the political struggle in this and other countries, ideas which are today gaining a beginning but significant influence in the struggle of American Indians—the ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

To accomplish this task, Means adopts the pose of the "noble savage," fighting to resist the corruption of "European" or "industrial" society. His thesis is that the enemy of Native Americans is the *industrialization* to which Indians have been subjected by European civilization and culture. Industrialization—even material progress itself—is the enemy, independent of what class commands it. Means sees white everywhere, warning Indian youth to reject "European culture" and return to the "natural ways" of the Indians. He says: "It takes a strong effort on the part of each American Indian *not* to become Europeanized. The strength for this effort can only come from their traditional ways, the traditional values that our elders retained. It must come from the hoop, the four directions, the relations; it cannot come from the pages of a book or a thousand books; no European can ever teach a Lakota to be a Lakota, a Hopi to be a Hopi."

And further, notes Means, when we say European we mean *all* whites. In fact, his speech might appropriately be entitled "it's the same old song," a phrase he uses throughout. "I should be clear about something here, because there seems to be some confusion about it. When I speak of Europeans or mental Europeans, I'm not allowing for false distinctions. I'm not saying that on the one hand there are the byproducts of a few thousand years of genocidal, reactionary European intellectual development which is bad, and on the other hand there is some new revolutionary intellectual development which is good. I'm referring here to the so-called theories of Marxism and anarchism and 'leftism' in general. I don't believe these theories can be separated from the rest of the European intellectual tradition. It's really just the same old song."

Indeed, there is nothing all that new in a "song" which attacks Marxism, even in the ever-so-slightly adapted "natural" garb in which it is dressed here. And could the "confusion" noted by Means indicate that the general intent of his speech is a feeble but very "theoretical" attempt to drum revolutionary Marxist ideas out of the heads of any young activist, or for that matter, any other ideas with a revolutionary thrust? Evidently, this is his intent, because what follows these introductory comments is a tirade which insidiously tries to *lump together* capitalism and communism, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, reaction and revolution. And this is combined with demagogic but almost laughable appeals to quit fucking with mother nature. And while all this may well have had some influence among people who view the atom as the enemy, a fact that we certainly take into account, it is also important to note the widespread sentiment of many concerning Means' speech, concentrated in the words of one young activist in the Indian movement: "The fool is trying to take us back 250 years."

Actually, there is even more truth in that comment than this comrade may have realized. For this idea of the "noble savage," the supposedly *natural* man who has not been corrupted by the ar-

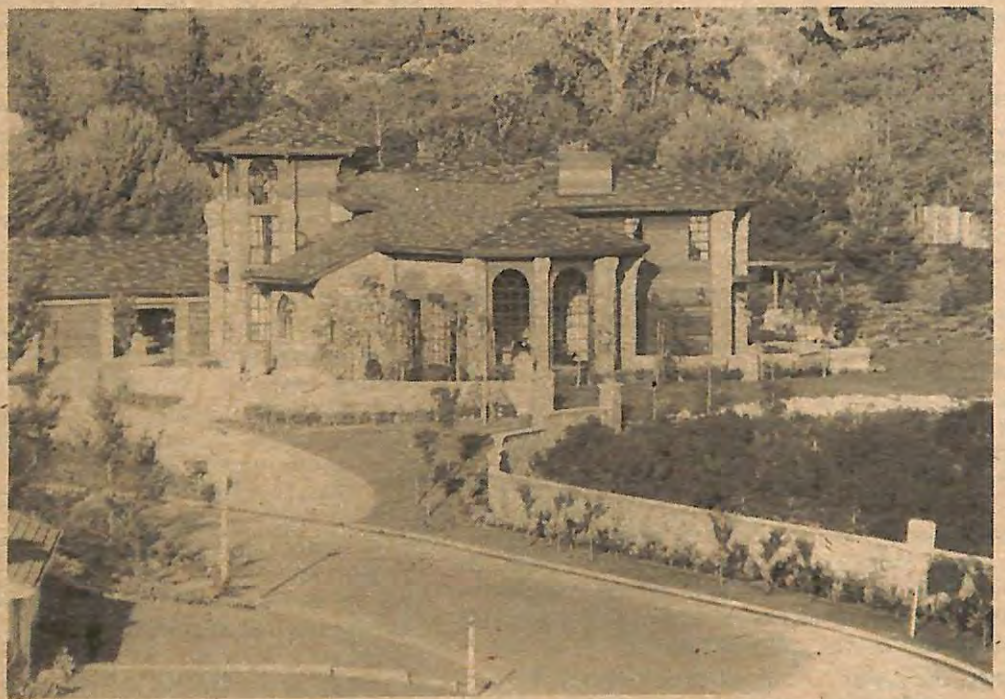
tificialities, hypocrisy and destructive spiritual emptiness of civilization—this idea is not the original creation of Russell Means or of the American Indians or of "primitive man," but rather has its origins in Europe some 250-300 years ago. The expanding bourgeoisie and their ideologists of that time idealized the American Indians and other indigenous peoples with whom they were aggressively coming in contact, purporting to find in them all the virtues which their own burgeoning civilization so obviously lacked. And as Marx pointed out, this particular ideological creation was not just accidental, nor was it what it appeared to be on the surface, but rather it had definite roots in the growing *bourgeois* relations of production:

"The individual and isolated hunter or fisherman, with whom Smith and Ricardo* begin, is one of the unimaginative fantasies of eighteenth-century romances à la Robinson Crusoe, which by no means express merely a reaction against over-refinement and a reversion to a misunderstood natural life, as cultural historians imagine...."

"This is an illusion and the merely aesthetic illusion of the Robinsonades, great and small. On the contrary, it is the anticipation of "civil society" [capitalism], which began to evolve in the sixteenth century and made giant strides towards maturity in the eighteenth. In this society of free competition the individual seems detached from the natural ties, etc., which in earlier historical epochs make him an appurtenance of a particular, limited human conglomeration. The prophets of the eighteenth century, on whose shoulders Smith and Ricardo were still standing with their whole weight, envisaged this eighteenth-century individual—the product of the dissolution of feudal society on the one hand and of the new productive forces evolved since the sixteenth century on the other—as an ideal whose existence belonged to the past. Not as a historical result, but as history's point of departure.

* Adam Smith and David Ricardo laid the basis of bourgeois political economy.

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Three years ago, hundreds of San Francisco riot cops carried out the eviction at the International Hotel. For nine years before that day, the mainly elderly Chinese and Filipino tenants had fought the developers' attempts to tear down their homes—a struggle that eventually embroiled the entire Bay Area and drew support across the country as thousands rallied to their side.

And what happened to the I-Hotel? It was demolished, but the bricks were pulled from the rubble, carefully cushioned in the banners that had flown from tenants' windows, and sold to a builder to use in his housing development in Orinda, Cal. Above is the result, now ready for occupancy—a mansion valued at \$1-1 1/2 million. (A one family home, of course!)

Questions

Continued from page 3

to know—that there are more than a few such workers right now, right here in the U.S.A.? Over this very same period of the last 10-15 years in the U.S. there have been literally millions of workers who were actively involved in or at least strongly influenced by political, even revolutionary struggle, including revolutionary organization among the workers, especially the Black and other minority workers but certainly not limited to them. And in the immediate period today, there are again many workers who, often “on their own”, not only take interest in but become involved in protests and rebellions.

That, of course, does not mean that such workers are spontaneously communist or develop a higher degree of class consciousness “all on their own.” Precisely this requires the leadership of the Party and the vigorous carrying out of its line and policies, most centrally with the *Revolutionary Worker*. And in this regard it is very important to emphasize again what Lenin insisted on, in *What Is To Be Done?* and elsewhere: these advanced workers have political needs of their own, as advanced workers, that distinguish them from the “average workers.” And as Lenin put it, only great harm can come to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat by “The ignoring of the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the workers, and the desire to descend to the level of understanding” of the less politically enlightened workers, instead of raising the level of the workers’ class-consciousness. (See Lenin’s article, “Apropos of the *Profession du Foi*,” Collected Works, Vol. 4).

It is both true and of great importance that today in the U.S. the work of our Party continues to seriously lag behind in its ability to give political guidance and leadership, not only to outbreaks of protest and rebellion among non-proletarian strata and social movements, but specifically to the interests and requirements of the advanced workers. As pointed out in the talk *Coming From Behind To Make Revolution*, these workers in particular have many profound political questions. This is because, in many cases at least, they do have much and varied political experience and have been exposed to many different political lines and tendencies, and they precisely require—and often directly demand—serious answers to profound political questions that have arisen on this basis. And it is also because in striving to influence and activate broader numbers of workers, they are consistently confronted with serious and often very sharp questions which they have difficulty in answering—and will continue to have difficulty in answering, unless and until they are systematically armed with the line and program of the Party and the Marxist-Leninist principles and method on which they are based, as well as an all-around view of society and its different class forces. What is or can be more important in meeting the interests and requirements of these workers than developing, strengthening—politically and organizationally—our ability to carry out comprehensive exposure and systematic agitation and propaganda, and to not only put this at the disposal of these workers but to train them (as well as others) in these spheres and functions as well? And what is or can be of more central importance in this than the wielding of our main political weapon—the *Revolutionary Worker*—greatly expanding the numbers who regularly read it and increasingly converting readers into distributors—more, into the pivots of the political life and struggle of which the paper is the guide and organizer?

This is also, as a matter of fact, the most important means for influencing much broader ranks of the working class. The “average workers” too have, of course, an objective need to develop their political awareness and class consciousness—and this objective fact asserts itself in various ways at various times even before these workers have begun to cast off much of the backwardness imposed on them by the bourgeoisie and its agents and the degrading, stultifying conditions of life in capitalist society in general. From time to time, even while they remain mainly politically dormant and unenlightened, such workers raise and are anxious to discuss many different political questions, especially in relation to a major event in society and the world, a sudden turn in political life and struggle, etc. And, increasingly, as the objective situation and the contradictions in this country and the world as a whole continue to intensify and find more and more acute expressions, these workers will be aroused, often jolted, awake more and more to political life, all of which will put increasing demands on the Party and the advanced workers who are already being drawn to and armed with its line and outlook.

Further, the actions of the advanced workers themselves—especially the more they are welded into a class-conscious force with the leadership of the Party—will increasingly have the effect of awakening, arousing and jolting broader ranks of the working class, as well as other strata, to political life and struggle and will lead them to ever more urgently question and challenge the Party and the advanced workers generally, to more seriously weigh the revolutionary road represented by the class-conscious forces against the reformist and reactionary schemes and maneuvers promoted by other forces in society, including especially the ruling class and its mouthpieces and front men. Here again the dividing line question—whether to pitch the level of the movement to the “average

workers” or to put emphasis first and foremost on meeting the political interests and requirements of the advanced workers—stands out very sharply. For a very important aspect of “coming from behind”—to catch up to the development of the objective situation and the events it will give rise to, including the growing outbreaks of protest and rebellion by various sections of the masses—is to strain to do so in the sphere of political action, especially the class-conscious action of the advanced workers.

Let’s illustrate this with a very important example from the immediate period—the Miami rebellion(s). While such rebellions are extremely important themselves as blows against the system and the ruling class and its dictatorship over the proletariat and masses of people, and while they are also extremely important in sparking political life and struggle among broader sections of the people, they also place very urgent demands before the Party and the advanced workers. It is of course crucial to support such rebellions and to explain broadly among the masses their significance for the struggle against the common enemy—the imperialist system and the bourgeois dictatorship. But it is also decisive to make concrete leaps forward in bringing the advanced workers into motion, to act in support of such rebellions and to infuse into political life the tremendous material force and influence of a class-conscious section of the proletariat, of all nationalities, struggling in a revolutionary way in unity with different sections of the masses rising up in revolt—doing what is insisted on by the advanced worker whose sentiments Lenin expresses in *What Is To Be Done?*—supporting “by open, street fighting, demands that do not promise any ‘palpable results’ whatever!”

When—or it should be said, as—things develop to the point where this is happening more and more, when in response to something such as the Miami rebellions workers take to the streets, even begin to lead strikes and organized political movements in solidarity and support, and raise up the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat as the standard for the oppressed in revolt to rally around... then tremendous progress will be made, and further positions occupied by the class-conscious proletariat in its preparation for the time when it can lead the all-out struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialism and continue marching with the international proletariat toward the final goal of communism. But such progress is not something only for the future, nor something to merely dream idly about—it is something to be worked and struggled for; and in this, as in everything, it is necessary to strain against the limits at every point. But the important thing to grasp is that there is already a basis for making such progress, that there are advanced workers who desire to, even strive to, act in this way, and that the foremost attention of the Party must be placed on giving systematic expression and leadership to this and in an overall way meeting the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the proletariat. And, once again, in doing this the strengthening of the Party’s ability, politically and organizationally, to carry out work of this type—and especially to wield the *Revolutionary Worker* to the fullest, in the hands not only of Party members but also broader and broader ranks of the workers and other oppressed masses—is overall the most decisive thing.

All this must be seen in light of the Party’s analysis of the objective situation and its development. Whether or not a revolutionary situation develops and fully ripens in the U.S. in the next period of time—which is a real possibility, if not a certainty—it will definitely be the case that there will be deepening crisis, heightening developments toward world war and tremendous upheaval, in this country as well as throughout the world. And there will certainly be both the possibility and the necessity for rising to tremendous challenges and perhaps unprecedented opportunities—for coming from behind, accentuating the developments toward revolution here, contributing the most to the revolutionary struggle internationally and actively preparing for the possibility of perhaps making the greatest contribution of all: proletarian revolution right in the U.S.A.

I am told that in one factory a member of an opportunist organization took aside a comrade and, commenting not only on that comrade’s revolutionary vigor but more broadly on the line and work of our Party, asked in all seriousness: “what is it that you guys see out there?” What, in other words, accounts for the fact that we are striving to carry out consistently revolutionary work when there is not only no revolutionary situation at this time but when many of the workers are still quite backward politically? This forlorn, demoralized person, following a pragmatic, opportunist line, was trying to figure out if, by applying the same method as he applies—that is, by looking at things metaphysically (viewing them superficially, statically and without penetrating beneath the surface to examine the essence of things, in their contradiction and motion and in their interconnection with other things)—we had discovered some mysterious element he had somehow missed. Part of the problem of this person (and organizations guided by opportunist lines in general) is that they do actually perceive some of what we do—what is becoming more obvious even on the surface—crisis, growing danger of world war and of a “heavy situation” in general. But with their outlook they shrink in fear from this and scramble to capitulate to and seek the protection of “their own” ruling class. And, in a fundamental sense, what this person failed to grasp is that our policies and work are

based on a scientific, materialist and dialectical, analysis of the objective situation and its contradiction and motion—the essence of which is hidden from the “naked eye” and can only be fully discovered, understood, and acted upon, by using the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and that therefore we are increasingly able to recognize, and to nurture and develop, seeds of the future revolutionary situation and revolutionary struggle for political power. Looking as this person does—only superficially and overall metaphysically (and without Marxist materialism)—we would not see anything different than is seen by him (and organizations such as the one he belongs to); but precisely by applying the scientific, Marxist-Leninist method, we are able to grasp what is otherwise obscured: the heightening possibilities for revolution in the period ahead and the urgent need to work and struggle to further heighten those possibilities and prepare to seize the opportunities to the fullest.

As we have said before, while the revolution has not yet begun here—in the basic sense that there is not a revolutionary situation, nor certainly is the time ripe yet for the mobilization of millions and tens of millions in the all-out armed battle for power—in one important sense, the revolution has begun—in the sense that the work and struggle we carry out now will play a crucial part in determining the outcome of the struggle for power when it does finally become the order of the day. This is vital for not only Party members but the advanced workers and other revolutionary-minded forces to grasp. It is crucial not only in a general way for carrying forward revolutionary work and struggle in preparation for the full ripening of the situation but particularly in avoiding the error of dragging behind, failing to strain to make the greatest advances toward the revolutionary goal at every point, and on the other hand the tendency (or temptation) to make premature attempts at all-out revolutionary struggle—which, in turn, will lead to defeat, demoralization and the failure to actually make the advances now that set the stage for and prepare the Party and the masses to undertake that historic struggle when the time is ripe for it. This understanding, and our line in general, provide the answer for those who sincerely say that they are for revolution but do not know how to work for it, and specifically for those who say that “when the revolution comes, I’ll be there.” They must be helped to understand that “being there” means being there now; because, while the revolutionary struggle for power has not yet begun, still, in the way mentioned, the revolution—the work of preparing for that day of reckoning (and the continuing struggle beyond that)—is already underway and has many decisive battles to wage, without which “the revolution” will never come, or at least never win victory.

Viewed in this light, the importance of the struggle to strengthen right now the Party’s political and organizational ability to carry out its central task—“create public opinion... seize power”—and in particular of the battle to meet the call for “100,000 Co-conspirators” around the *Revolutionary Worker*, stands out all the more clearly. As Lenin also stressed in *What Is To Be Done?* and elsewhere, the carrying out of revolutionary propaganda and agitation, and especially the latter, enables the Party to learn more deeply the mood and sentiments of the masses as well as to affect them in a revolutionary direction—to register and to quicken the political pulsebeat of the masses. And the organization of the work of the Party, and the revolutionary strivings of the advanced workers and other revolutionary forces, around the Party’s newspaper makes possible both clear direction and unified efforts on the basis of a common line and the necessary flexibility to deal with the ebbs and flows, the twists and turns and the advances and retreats that are necessarily and inevitably part of the process of building the revolutionary movement toward the aim of mass armed uprising. It is all this that can put the revolutionary movement, and its general staff—the Party—in the strongest position to gauge not only the development of the situation but the tempo of the mass struggle, to be prepared to the greatest degree for sudden and dramatic changes in society and to be able to unleash and lead the mass insurrection when the objective and subjective conditions have reached their ripest maturity—and not attempt to do so too early... or too late.

It must be really understood that we are involved in warfare with the enemy—a particular kind of warfare in which at the present time the main battles and campaigns are political and the main weapon the newspaper, but a kind of warfare in which the outcome of these campaigns and battles is no less decisive than when the form of struggle is literally, directly military. The present stage and form of the struggle is no less life-and-death in its significance and in determining what the final outcome will be when at last the time comes when it is possible and necessary to mobilize and lead the working class and its allies in their masses to settle the issue by force of arms. All who yearn for that day—and for the ultimate goal of communism and the abolition of all forms of enslavement and all class distinctions throughout the world, which that armed struggle must serve and contribute to—must yearn no less for, and act no less decisively in, the political struggles that build up to and strengthen the basis for victory when the call goes out and the instructions are given to launch and carry through the all-out assault on the fortress of the enemy. □

Correspondence Critical to Revolutionary Press

Lenin On Picking Up the Pen

Three weeks ago, our Party issued the call to all revolutionary-minded people to step up and join in a battle to distribute 100,000 Revolutionary Workers weekly by the end of September—a call for “100,000 co-conspirators”. This is a plan with a purpose—the most concrete possible step we can take today in preparing class-conscious workers and all others reached by this paper for revolution. This is a battle for distribution, alright, but this involves more than only selling the paper. It means building the Revolutionary Worker as the rich lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. To develop a newspaper in this way, as the key weapon we have now for revolution, a paper which, as the Russian revolutionary workers said of their revolutionary newspaper *Iskra*, “teaches us how to live and how to die”—all this too requires the active all-around political contributions of all Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and others who support the cause. In particular it means that, as we said in our call three weeks ago, all such people should write for and correspond with the RW and truly work to develop this newspaper, the Party’s voice, as their own revolutionary voice. Only in this way can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party and revolutionary movement with its finger on the pulse of the situation in this country and internationally.

Below we have printed some sections from three articles by the Rus-

... We now appeal to all comrades to give us all the support they can. We shall conduct the organ on the understanding that it is the organ of the movement in Russia, not of any émigré circle. This requires, first and foremost, the most vigorous “literary” support, or rather literary participation, from Russia. I have put the word “literary” in italics and inverted commas in order to draw attention from the first to its special sense and caution against a misconception that is very common and highly detrimental to the work. It is a misconception that writers and only writers (in the professional sense of the term) can successfully contribute to a publication; on the contrary, it will be vital and alive only if for five leading and regularly contributing writers there are five hundred or five thousand contributors who are not writers. One of the shortcomings of the old *Iskra*, one which I always tried to rid it of (and which has grown to monstrous proportions in the new *Iskra*) was that too little was done for it from Russia. We always used to print everything, practically without exception, that we received from Russia. A really live organ should print only a tenth of what it receives, using the rest as material for the information and guidance of the journalists. We must have as many Party workers as possible correspond with us, correspond in the ordinary, not the journalistic sense of the term.

Isolation from Russia, the engulfing atmosphere of the accursed émigré slough, weighs so heavily on one here that living contact with Russia is our only salvation. Let all remember that who want in fact, and not just in word, to consider (and to *make*) our organ the organ of the entire “majority”, the organ of the mass of Russian comrades. Let everyone who regards this organ as his own and who is conscious of the duties of a Social-Democratic Party member abandon once and for all the bourgeois habit of thinking and acting as is customary towards legally published papers—the habit of feeling: it is *their* business to write and ours to read. All Social-Democrats must work for the Social-Democratic paper. We ask everyone to contribute, and especially the workers. Give the workers the widest opportunity to write for our paper, to write about positively everything, to write as much as they possibly can about their daily lives, interests, and work—without such material a Social-Democratic organ will not be worth a brass farthing and will not deserve the name. In addition, please send us *private letters*, not intended as contributions to the paper, i.e., not for publication, but by way of comradesly intercourse with the editors and to keep them informed, and not only about facts and incidents, but about the prevailing sentiment and the everyday, “uninteresting”, humdrum routine side of the movement. People who have not lived abroad cannot imagine how much we need such letters (there is absolutely nothing secret about them either, and to write such an un-

coded letter once or twice a week is really something the busiest person can do).

So write to us about the discussions at the workers’ study circles, the nature of these discussions, the subjects of study, and the things the workers ask about; about the state of propaganda and agitational work, and about contacts among the general public, in the army, and among the youth; above all write about any dissatisfaction the workers feel with us Social-Democrats, about the things that trouble them, about their suggestions, criticisms, etc. Matters relating to the practical organization of the work are particularly interesting now, and there is no way of acquainting the editors with them except by a lively correspondence not of a journalistic nature, but simply of a comradesly kind.

Of course, not everyone has the ability or inclination to write, but... don’t say “I can’t”, say “I don’t want to”; given the desire, one or two comrades who could write can be found in any circle, any group, even the smallest, even the most minor (the minor groups are often especially interesting, for they sometimes do the most important, though inconspicuous, part of the work).

We here have from the start placed the secretarial work on a broad footing, drawing on the experience of the old *Iskra*; and you for your part should know that *anybody*, absolutely anybody who sets about it with patience and determination can without much difficulty make sure that all his letters, or nine-tenths of them, reach their destination. I say this on the basis of the three years’ experience of the old *Iskra*, which had many such an informal correspondent (often unacquainted with any of the editors) who wrote with the utmost regularity. The police have long been quite unequal to the task of intercepting all foreign correspondence (they only seize a letter occasionally, if the writer has been unusually careless); and the great bulk of the old *Iskra*’s material always used to arrive in the most usual way, in ordinary letters sent to our addresses.

A special word of warning against the practice of concentrating correspondence only in the hands of the committee and the secretaries. Nothing could be more harmful than such a monopoly. Essential as unity is in actions and decisions, in the matter of general information, of correspondence, it is quite wrong. It very often happens that the most interesting letters are from comparative “outsiders” (people more remote from the committees), who perceive more *freshly* much that old experienced workers overlook because they are too used to it. Give every opportunity to the younger people to write to us—to the youth, to Party workers, to “centralists”, to organisers, and to ordinary rank-and-file at impromptu meetings and mass rallies.

Only given such a wide correspondence can we, by our joint efforts, make our paper a real organ of the

sian revolutionary leader Lenin in which he dealt with the importance of broad correspondence with the revolutionary newspaper. While through all his work Lenin emphasizes the importance of specialization, professionalization, and division of labor within the revolutionary ranks, he points out that the purpose of this specialization is exactly to enable broad participation of the masses in the movement to overthrow the government. As one expression of this, while professional writers were developed for the Bolshevik paper, Lenin was calling for everyone to correspond with the paper. In the first article reprinted below, written when Lenin started a newspaper after *Iskra* was taken over by opportunists, this correspondence assumes special importance because the paper and its editorial board had to be abroad, and they needed information on the revolutionary movement. Although these are not our conditions, who could say that the same burning need for information on the pulse of the movement does not exist here?

The beginnings of this kind of revolutionary correspondence came to life during the battle for May First, when a significant number of revolutionaries wrote, sent tapes, and otherwise communicated with the Revolutionary Worker about their beliefs and questions not only about May First, but the overall revolutionary struggle. This beginning, this seed of the future must grow rapidly now. We need to hear from you.

working class movement in Russia. We earnestly request, to have this letter read to every kind of meeting, study circle, subgroup, etc., etc.—as widely as possible—and to be informed how the workers receive this appeal. As to the idea of publishing a separate workers’ (“popular”) organ and a general—guiding—intellectual organ, we are very sceptical about it; we should like to see the Social-Democratic newspaper the organ of the whole movement, to see the workers’ paper and the Social-Democratic paper fused in one. This can be achieved only if we have the most active support of the working class.

With comradesly greetings, *N. Lenin* from “A Letter to the Comrades (With Reference to the Forthcoming Publication of the Organ of the Party Majority)”, Volume 7, pp 526-28, November, 1904.

*** *** ***

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

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V.I. Lenin

Poland

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division of labor," by which they mean that the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and elsewhere are exploited for the benefit of the needs of the Soviet Union. This takes the form of plans for "economic integration and joint investment projects," for example. In a joint investment project Poland agrees with the Soviet Union (and often a number of other Eastern European countries) to aid in the construction of industrial and raw material plants in remote areas of the Soviet Union. This aid consists in sending capital, machinery and labor to the Soviets. Poland built the Ustilinsk Paper Pulp Combine in Siberia in conjunction with four other Eastern European countries at a cost of \$300 million rubles from 1973 to 1978. And in 1976 Poland joined with 5 Eastern European countries to build the Ohrandburg Natural Gas pipeline and agreed to build at its own expense 500 kilometers of the pipeline. In this joint investment project, Poland and 5 other countries provided more than 20,000 technicians and workers, as well as capital. Poland has also been involved in the development of Soviet phosphorous mines, the construction of the Byelorussia-Lithuania oil pipeline and the Western Siberia-Byelorussia pipeline.

For the Soviet Union these joint investment projects are a very good deal. Not only do they get to appropriate the profit for the labor of the "COMECON workers" but they also get industrial development in the outer regions of the Soviet Union at very little cost to themselves, thereby freeing their capital for investment elsewhere. For Poland and the other COMECON members, however, it means that surplus capital in their own countries is plundered by the Soviets and invested to meet the needs of the Soviet Union. Over the course of the 1970s this "economic cooperation" has increased between Poland and the Soviets. In fact, in a joint meeting of Soviet and Polish government and Party leaders in late 1976, Poland promised to increase its participation in these joint investment projects in exchange for a \$1.3 billion loan from the Soviets, earmarked for immediate use to cool out worker discontent in the wake of the June 1976 rebellion. This agreement prompted the Soviet news agency, Tass, to state, "Soviet-Polish relations have entered into a qualitatively new stage... of cooperation in policy, the economy and culture."

The Soviets are Poland's largest trade partner (West Germany is second) accounting for about 32% of its total trade. The Soviets supplies 80% of Poland's petroleum and natural gas. Because of their dominant position, the Soviets have largely dictated the terms of the trade agreements, basically telling the Poles what exports they need and thus forcing a certain structuring of the Polish economy based principally on benefit to the Soviet Union. In addition the skyrocketing oil costs for the petroleum the Soviets pump to Poland, while still at a somewhat lower price than the world market, has put severe pressures on the economy. And Soviet moves to limit oil and natural gas export have forced Poland along with other countries of COMECON to begin purchasing on the world spot market, at even greater cost.

Poland's backward agricultural sector plays into the overall economic havoc that now stalks the country; it is also linked to the negative effects of Soviet domination and trade on Poland's economy. 80% of agriculture is still privately owned, mostly by peasants in small plots. This is in contrast to even most other revisionist countries which emphasize so-called state farms, a euphemism for a state capitalist monopoly in agriculture. Poland's backward agricultural base is far behind the capitalist development elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The inefficiency of Polish agriculture, which is still not even completely mechanized, involves over 35% of the population, an enormous percentage by the standards of the industrialized nations. The backwardness and inefficiency of the

agriculture sector has been an important factor in the food shortages and rationing that have affected the industrial workers. But further, the weakness in agriculture has required that Poland import large quantities of its grain. Since 1973 it has spent nearly all of its revenues from the export of coal (which accounts for its largest foreign exchange earnings) to do so. Of course the rampant inflation in the West has meant the ever increasing cost of these grain imports and hence the inflation of the costs of food in Poland. The food shortages in the country are then aggravated by the fact that the Soviets require the import of a significant proportion of Poland's agricultural products, which are used to offset increases in Soviet oil charges.

Poland's Capitalists Try to Buy Development from the West

Following the standard laws of capitalist logic, Poland's leaders have tried to extricate themselves from their economic morass through increasing the productivity of the country's workforce, particularly in export commodity sectors, and trying to implement a series of austerity measures, particularly the reduction of government subsidies that have kept down prices for key food items. But every time in the last decade they have tried to carry through with these austerity measures, they have met with the wrath of the working class. In 1970 in response to a food price increase, as well as shortages in food and housing, violent strikes and anti-government riots erupted for more than a week. Numerous party headquarters were burned down and the government was forced to call in tanks and the army. Over 55 workers were killed.

In the wake of the 1970 upheaval the new party leadership launched a massive effort to develop Poland's industrial production, by purchasing plant and technology from the West. In terms of procuring this plant and technology, they were very successful. More than 51% of Poland's industrial capacity has been developed since 1971. But this development was built on a foundation of sand, financed mainly by huge foreign, mainly western, credits and loans. This is what has been mainly responsible for Poland's gigantic \$20 billion western debt. But the fruits of such industrial development, the typical get rich quick schemes of capitalists from Teng's China to Gierek's Poland, have been not only disappointing to the Polish leadership—they have been down right disastrous. The production that results from this industrialization has been nowhere near enough to offset Poland's debts and continued import requirements. The servicing of Poland's annual debt to the West alone requires the proceeds of 60% of its exports.

By 1976 Poland was again in deep economic trouble. Gierek announced new "labor reforms" (to increase labor productivity) and price increases on food and basic necessities. Once again the Polish workers rebelled with massive strikes and demonstrations throughout the country. Within 24 hours the government backed down. Since 1976 the Polish ruling class has been able to maintain some semblance of "stability" only by relying on further massive injections of foreign credits and loans. In addition, in 1976 Poland adopted a new investment code that allowed foreign investors to set up and manage wholly owned businesses.

All these economic moves—both by East and West—have an important relation to the war plans of both sides.

For the U.S. and its bloc the openings for financial penetration of Poland offered important economic, but mainly political opportunities. Here was a chance to drive a wedge into the Soviet bloc, in a country which the U.S. imperialists figured to be the Soviets' weak link in war. By tying Poland financially to the West, the U.S. hoped to wean it slightly away from the Soviets and increase its opportunity to intensify anti-Soviet sentiments within the country.

Poland's dependence on Western credit, coupled with its impending financial crisis, led to a startling move in January of 1979. The Polish government agreed to permit a consortium of Western banks, led by the Bank of

America and Citibank, to monitor its economy—in essence not only throwing open its books to the Soviets, but to the U.S. as well. These Western bankers insisted on a new austerity budget that would curb imports and reduce the amount of government revenues expended in subsidies. The western bankers also insisted on another startling provision in the Polish budget: the freezing of military expenditures! In a Warsaw Pact nation!

The emphasis that the U.S. bloc puts on finding ways to increase its influence in Poland and undermining the Soviets was only underscored by the election of the Polish pope after the sudden demise of his predecessor.

The Soviets, for their part, do not necessarily oppose this Western economic investment inside their bloc, even in the Soviet Union itself. They just have opposite aims from the U.S., hoping it will aid *their* side in their war strategy. They hope to get large amounts of technological assistance, and further build their economic base using Western capital. As for the massive debts incurred, while they do cause some real problems—the ultimate Soviet strategy is to cancel them through the "financial device" of war.

U.S. Response to Polish Strikes

While the U.S. government has taken an officially "low key" stance on the turmoil in Poland, refusing public comment on an "internal affair of Poland (other than to express some disapproval at the arrest of some of the dissidents on August 20th) it has unleashed its mouthpieces to grab whatever propaganda points they could from the situation. Some of this posturing has been absolutely preposterous. On the one hand there is the example of International Longshoremen's Association Teddy Gleason, a long time bootlicker of imperialism declaring a boycott of Polish shipping and denouncing the government controlled trade unions in Poland and giving support to the workers' demands for a "free trade union." In fact, there is little substantive difference between the government controlled trade unions imposed on the workers of Poland and the unions of the U.S., which while not administered directly by the government are controlled by the bourgeoisie nonetheless. In "communist" Poland as well as "free" America, the unions serve as vehicles for bourgeois control and suppression of the working class. The only time the likes of Teddy Gleason stirs himself from the routine of collecting graft and dining with the shipowners is when he is called upon by the U.S. imperialists to make some reactionary move on behalf of the U.S. government, like his attack on the Iranian revolution.

Then there is the ridiculous comment of the *New York Times* editorial which had the gall to proclaim that "the propaganda points of the Polish crisis are obvious... It draws attention to the economic failures of a country with an abysmal growth rate and a foreign indebtedness that has climbed to \$30 billion." Of course the U.S. imperialists and its bloc are the principal beneficiaries of this foreign indebtedness. And in light of the recent second quarter summation of the U.S. economy—commonly described as dismal—a characterization of the growth rate of Poland as "abysmal" is laughable.

Overall, however, the U.S. has proceeded somewhat cautiously in trying to further exploit the current turmoil in Poland. This was reflected in the statement of its Pope, John Paul II. in his prayer before the faithful in St. Peter's Square on August 20 the pontiff expressed his personal solidarity with the church and people of Poland and called for the freedom of both. If the words were guarded the intent was obvious.

The cautious U.S. response reflects the tender position of the U.S. imperialists in this matter. First off, Western, including U.S. bankers, have been and continue to advise the Polish government to resist the strikers' demands and to persist in austerity measure. But, as important as the Western economic interests are in Poland, these are not dictating their tactics. Politics are in command, and Western imperialist politics mean

welcoming trouble for the Soviets, but even here cautious maneuvering is required. For one thing, the very fact that the U.S. imperialists have influence in Poland, especially through the Pope, means that they have to be careful about going on the record supporting the resistance. There would be no easier way for the revisionist government to discredit the strikers than to be able to point to evidence that they are U.S. inspired. But even more significant than this in the U.S. response are the mixed feelings that the U.S. bourgeoisie have about possible Soviet military intervention in the crisis. While Soviet intervention would bring more resistance (and perhaps revolutionary resistance) inside Poland, still the U.S. overall would not welcome action in Poland by Soviet troops, and doesn't want to provide the Soviets with an excuse to step in.

The significance of Poland in the deadly serious war preparations of both the Soviets and the U.S. is not hard to see. It is a key member of the Warsaw Pact, the centerpiece of the Soviet bloc. Straddling Central Europe, Poland is the direct route of march for Soviet troops into East and then West Germany. The importance of Poland and the seriousness with which the Soviets view internal rebellions and U.S. efforts to exploit such turmoil was underscored in the remarkable (and reactionary) book that rode the top of the best seller charts this year called *The Third World War, August 1985*, by Sir General John Hackett and other top ranking NATO Generals and Advisors. Purporting to be the scenario for World War III (a scenario in which the Western bloc wins the war), Hackett and his co-authors obviously base a lot of their plot development on the actual military and political assessments of Western military leaders, although their dream for victory is clearly based more on wishful thinking than political and military reality.

In an intriguing chapter entitled, "Unrest in Poland", the General says: "the Third World War was said by many to have broken out in the same country as the Second, in Poland, on 11 November, 1984, the sixty-sixth anniversary of the end of the First World War. It did not seem like an outbreak of world war at the time... The political police and the army tried to arrest workers' leaders on 11 November, and met with resistance. By 12 November factories in several provincial cities of Poland were under workers' control... Dramatic visual evidence of these events was provided by a group of dissidents working in Polish television. In Gdansk, the television station was taken over and held for some hours by technicians whose sympathies were with the strikers."

Of course in Hackett's not so far fetched scenario, the workers who seized the factories flew "a prewar Polish flag with the communist insignia ripped off." And his purpose is not to hail workers' control, but to demonstrate how the actions of the Polish workers contributed to a series of events that escalated into World War III and subsequent U.S. victory.

What Hackett and the rest of his kind cannot see is that the development of the working class movement in any country can contribute to something entirely different—a common revolutionary struggle of the international working class against their capitalist exploiters, East and West.

True, the workers of the contending blocs are the cannon fodder each set of slavemasters intends to send off to kill and die for their respective masters. But within the powerful workers struggles in Poland, just like the Miami rebellion and other powerful struggles in the West, are the seeds of an entirely different army which can come into being—an army of the international proletariat fighting in revolutionary struggle against their own masters and all their reactionary plans. □

REVOLUTIONARY
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Teng and Hua Duke It Out

Revisionist Infighting: How Best To Attack Mao?

As the *RW* reported in July (issue No. 62) Hu Yaobang, who is Chinese CP General Secretary and Deng Xiao-ping's (Teng Hsiao-ping) right hand man, blazed open new paths for the Chinese revisionist rulers by attacking Mao by name. This was the first public statement by the Chinese revisionists (four years after the 1976 coup) in which Mao is so openly blasted. You could almost see Teng pulling Hu's strings as he declared: "Mao made mistakes especially in his later years. These mistakes brought great misfortune to the Chinese Party and the people." As for Mao Tsetung Thought, "Some of his writings on socialist construction and economic theories were not so rich in content and some theoretical points are no longer applicable." What this means in concrete terms as Hu revealed, is that Volume 5 of Mao's *Selected Works*—already edited once by the revisionists when it appeared in 1977—will be withdrawn and further revised in the near future. And in a thinly disguised attack on Mao and the tremendous prestige and influence he commanded, Hu said, "China is now developing a system of collective leadership, so that future leaders cannot exercise so much power like the late Chairman Mao." In a further slander on Mao, Hu said this was to avoid "a hall where one man's word rules." Since Hu made these remarks in late June, there has been a virtual torrent of abuse aimed directly at Mao.

July 26—In an interview with a *NY Times* reporter, Li Xiannian (Li Hsiennien, old spelling), vice premier and vice chairman of the CCP, "put the blame for the Cultural Revolution on Mao and, by implication, blamed him for having put his radical associates (the so-called "Gang of Four"—*RW*) in power."

Early August—In a highly publicized move, authorities take down four large portraits of Mao from Peking's Great Hall of the People and one from the Museum of Chinese and Party History. This was followed by a Central Committee directive, splashed across the August 12 front page of the official *People's Daily*, which reads in part: "In the past, too many of Chairman Mao's portraits, quotations and poems were displayed at public places. This is politically improper and should be gradually reduced to necessary levels." And they're not stopping with Mao either. Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have also been taken down from Tiananmen Square. They couldn't have thought of a more graphic way to show why attacking Mao means unravelling the whole fabric of Marxism-Leninism.

August 10—Chinese Premier and Chairman of the CCP Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), breaking his silence on the subject, tells Yugoslav reporters that "since Mao was the chairman, he must bear responsibility" for the mistakes made during the Cultural Revolution.

The revisionists are also pulling an old trick out of the hat by comparing Mao to a feudal emperor. An August 4th *People's Daily* article titled "Feudal Authoritarian System and Dictatorship of Eunuchs" describes how in feudal China eunuchs controlled emperors who were old, sick or plain dumb. Anyone even slightly familiar with how historical analogy is used in Chinese politics can see that the picture they want to give is that of a sick and feeble Mao being manipulated by the Four. This is part of a recent series of articles in the *People's Daily* which claim that remnants of feudalism are now the main obstacle in China, and that the term "capitalist restoration" is not an accurate formulation. By implication, capitalism is no longer something to be struggled against, in fact it's progressive. Of course, this goes straight up against Mao's analysis that in socialist China, the fundamental contradiction is between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Again, proving that

this attack on Mao is not just on the individual but on Marxism-Leninism as a whole, the article that attacks the concept of capitalist restoration (*People's Daily*, July 17) flagrantly distorts, even attacks, Lenin's thesis that throughout the whole historical period from capitalism to communism exploiters hope to restore their rule and transform this hope into action. The article says that Lenin only meant this to apply to the period right after the October Revolution and that he could not foresee the conditions after the completion of socialist transformation.

Perhaps even more far-reaching is a document now being prepared by the Central Committee—a balance sheet on the Cultural Revolution and Mao's role. This document promises to clarify point by point exactly what were Mao's "mistakes", including his connections with the "Gang of Four." No doubt, this balance sheet will be overloaded on the red column—and to the revisionists red definitely means minus points.

This recent gearing up of attacks on Mao comes at a time when the revisionists are planning a series of important meetings: a session of the National People's Congress in late August, the trial of the Four in September, a plenary session of the Central Committee, and finally, the 12th Party Congress slated for next spring. Each of these steps will bring fresh and deeper attacks on Mao, culminating in the 12th Congress which will make a complete and open break with the line of revolutionary China under Mao. On the agenda is a revision of the Party programme and constitution and a reassessment of Party history.

It's not hard to see the reason behind this flurry of activity. The Chinese rulers are feeling the heat from the increasing world contradictions, and they are stepping up from a jog to a full run to prepare ideologically, politically and economically. In doing this, dealing with the question of Mao is of primary importance.

Splits Appearing

But as the revisionists get more brazen in their attempts to attack Mao, some deep rifts within the ruling clique over tactical questions are surfacing. This was most apparent in Hua's Aug. 10 in-

terview, published in *Peking Review* No. 33. Of course, the main thrust of Hua's windy nonsense was still an attack on Mao. "Mao," Hua said, "was a human being, not a god, and therefore could hardly avoid making mistakes." But whereas Hu Yaobang blamed Mao directly for the "mistakes" ("Mao made mistakes, especially in his later years. These mistakes brought misfortune to the Party and the people."), Hua, on the other hand, lays the blame mainly on the Four ("Mao was very ill in his later years... the 'Gang of Four' used this to carry on conspiratory activities... Mao was deceived by the 'Gang of Four' and in his later years he was not the primary force behind the Cultural Revolution."). And in a jab at Deng's old hero, that recently politically revived corpse Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi), Hua said that "Liu also made mistakes." That two top officials came out with such opposing views on a cardinal question like Mao reveals the serious nature of the struggle between the opposing forces. In an apparent counterattack from Deng on Hua, the above-mentioned Aug. 12 Central Committee directive also says there should be "less propagating (in the newspapers) of an individual leader's unimportant activities and speeches."

From the marked contrast in tone between Hu and Hua's approaches to attacking Mao, we can get a picture of the struggle among the revisionists, especially around the drafting of the "balance sheet." Hu, representing Deng, wants to make it very clear that the "Gang of Four" was actually the "Gang of Five" with Mao as the ring-leader. Hua would rather imply this, while maintaining the public fairy tale that Mao was too sick and feeble to do anything in his later years, and that the Four "duped" Mao into supporting them. While the forces led by Deng, who was twice overthrown from seats of power by mass struggles initiated by Mao, has everything to gain from stamping out Mao's legacy as quickly as possible, Hua wants to keep the outer shell of Mao's legacy as intact as possible: after all his source of power comes from his bogus claim that he is Mao's chosen successor and true upholder of his Thought.

Overall at this time, Deng's forces are on the offensive and Hua is being forced to retreat. Hua's forced retirement from the premier post has been rumored for months and is now almost certain to happen. Although Deng announced that he too, will retire from his post as vice-premier, he will still exercise great power through his understudies Zhao Ziyang, Hua's replacement as premier, and Hu, in charge of the Party's day to day affairs. One question here is: since it is really Deng who is pushing for speeding up attacks against Mao, why hasn't he come out himself? For one thing, he doesn't have to. Hu is Teng's star pupil, and it's clear Hu is voicing Teng's sentiments in his blast at Mao. But also, being a slick political escape artist, Deng also wants a little cushion in case a reaction from the Hua forces, or from the masses, seems too strong.

Meanwhile Dazhai (Tachai), a commune upheld by Mao as a model of class struggle and made famous by his call "In agriculture learn from Tachai," is now under renewed attack, one of the charges being that the commune has been falsifying production figures for years. There was already a campaign against Dazhai last year (see *RW* No. 35). Dragging it through the mud again is not only a further attack on Mao, but is also a dig at Hua. Hua, while tearing the revolutionary heart out of Dazhai's lessons, promoted the commune as a model even after the coup. Hua is not yet mentioned by name in this campaign, but the heat is coming down on Chen Yong Gui (Chen Yung-guei) who is not so lucky. Chen, a former Dazhai leader and now a Politburo member, is associated with Hua. In an Aug. 13th *People's Daily* article, Chen, referred to as the former main responsible person in Xiyang County (where Dazhai is located), is accused of carrying out an ultra-left line and being the cause of 141 unjust deaths.

And in another sneak attack, the New China News Agency, in an early August article about developments in Shanghai, slipped in a remark that the Cultural Revolution lasted from 1966 to 1977 (previously, the Cultural Revolution had been put to an "official end" in 1976, immediately after the coup).

Continued on page 17

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Russell Means' Attack

Continued from page 9

Not as arising historically but as posited by nature, because this individual was in conformity with nature, in keeping with their idea of human nature." (Karl Marx, "Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy*," *Grundrisse*.)

Thus, as we shall see increasingly, far from repudiating, escaping or combating capitalism and European civilization, Means has in fact adopted some of the insipid fantasies of the bourgeoisie and has capitulated to them. Further, the total backwardness of Means' adoption of this mythical "noble savage" stance leads to more than a bit of hypocrisy as he attempts to carry it through.

His assault against theory ("theory is an abstract, our knowledge is real") as a "European" development somehow hasn't prevented him from attempting to make his own "theoretical" contributions to the times in which we live. And while he complains early in his speech that "writing... is one of the white world's ways of destroying the cultures of non-European peoples, the imposing of an abstraction over the spoken relationship of a people," it was apparently within the scope of the "natural" philosophy of Russell Means to have someone write out, reproduce and distribute this speech so that people at the Survival Gathering could read it.

Considering Means' incessant chatter about Marxism being a "continuation of European intellectual tradition," he obviously feels it is best to have his own intellectual roots left underground. But Marxists have no need for such obfuscation. The philosophy of dialectical materialism did indeed develop out of the philosophies of the radical bourgeoisies of Europe, most immediately from the dialectics of Hegel and the materialism of Feuerbach. With the development of the modern proletariat, Marx and Engels were able to leap beyond the idealism of the former and the metaphysics of the latter to discover the true nature of material reality in historical society unhindered by the bourgeois viewpoint, which like that of all previous ruling classes, have the need to view its system as the culmination of all human development, eternal, unchanging, etc. As Bob Avakian pointed out in his book *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*; "...this philosophy was not simply, or fundamentally, the product of the brains of Marx and Engels. It was the result of the development of capitalism, of natural science and of the class struggle. And it was the product of a dialectical process of development of philosophy itself, reflecting these changes and upheavals in society and in man's comprehension and mastery of the natural world. Nor did dialectical and historical materialism represent Marx and Engels and a few others alone; it was, and is, the revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat, both objective and partisan, reflecting both the objective laws of natural and historical development and the interests and historic mission of the proletariat, which are fully in accord with these laws. For, unlike all other classes in human history which have previously risen to the ruling position and remolded society in their image, the proletariat aims not merely to seize power; its mission is not to establish an 'eternal' unchanging system representing the 'end point' of human development, but to abolish all class distinctions and enable mankind to continuously overcome barriers to development of human society and its transformation of nature." (page 139.)

We don't feel there's something shameful about the fact that Marxism has its roots in capitalism, that it developed out of the contradictions of bourgeois society. The proletariat itself is obviously a product of capitalism, and in fact everything develops out of the contradictions of what already exists. If Means finds it necessary to pretend that his ideas come from outside of the world of capitalism and imperialism, it is only because he has something to hide.

Shortly after the passage by Marx quoted above, he further notes, "The

point need not have been mentioned at all, if this nonsense, which had rhyme and reason for the people of the eighteenth century, had not again been pulled back in all seriousness into modern political economy by Bastiat, Carey, Proudhon, etc." The same can be said about Russell Means. And the fact that he would go several centuries backward to fish up aspects of a bourgeois myth which has lost whatever feeble justification it may once have had, and which has by now become both hackneyed and reactionary, and that he dredges it up in order to attack revolutionary Marxism—well, all this should be a clue as to what he has to hide and what he is actually up to.

And, sure enough, we find that Means does after all draw a certain distinction between capitalists and Marxists: "Capitalists, at least can be relied upon only to develop uranium as fuel at the rate at which they can show a good profit. That's their ethic, and maybe that will buy some time. Marxists on the other hand, can be relied upon to develop uranium fuel as rapidly as possible simply because it's the most 'efficient' production fuel available. That's their ethic and I fail to see where its preferable." This thinly disguised defense of bourgeois class rule is followed by a program of total capitulation to imperialism in crisis. Now we are told: "...The European arrogance of acting as though they were beyond the nature of all related things, can only result in a total disharmony and a readjustment which cuts arrogant humans down to size, gives them a taste of that reality beyond their grasp or control and restores the harmony... Mother Earth will retaliate, the whole environment will retaliate and the abusers will be eliminated... It's only a matter of time until what Europeans call 'a major catastrophe of global proportions' will occur. It is the role of American Indian peoples, the role of all natural beings to survive. A part of our survival is to resist. We resist, not to overthrow the government or to take political power, but because it is natural to resist extermination... American Indians are still in touch with these realities. We learned from the elders, from nature, from the powers. And when the catastrophe is over, we indigenous peoples will still be here to inhabit the hemisphere. I don't care if it's only a handful of Red people living high in the Andes, indigenous people will survive and harmony will be reestablished. That's revolution."

Sorry, Russell Means, but that's capitulation—to the hilt. Here is a program for withdrawal until some never-never time off in the future, after the "catastrophe," clearly referring to the possibilities of nuclear weapons in the coming showdown between the U.S. and Soviet Union. As for any funny ideas about trying to prevent inter-imperialist war through revolution, any attempts to turn this around on the imperialists if they are able to start it—forget it, just wait around passively for the new savior, this time Mother Earth instead of the old, discredited Jesus Christ to take care of it all for you. Means has adopted an old plan to let the real "powers" that today threaten the world's people with world war completely off the hook. Everything will work out, as long as some "survive"—even if it's somewhere in the Andes. And just in case anyone might not realize through all this that he is really quite comfortable with the way things are, Means let it all hang out at a later point in the Gathering when he said, "Part of the consumption society, the industrial society which they've laid on us, is impatience... we have to acknowledge that resistance is going to take generations, it's a process of education... I see no reason to stop it or hurry it up."

Anyone who has any sense of the dung heap that is this society, anyone who has come into political struggle against any of the atrocities of the capitalist system—from the wholesale slaughter and continuing degradation and oppression of the Native American people, to the massive threat of disease

and death posed by the capitalist nuclear industry, and especially to the war feverishly being prepared by the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals—anyone who wants to do something about all this shit should by now be going through a "process of education" themselves concerning the stand, the politics—and yes, the philosophy—of Russell Means!

* * * * *

Russell Means' speech is bogus. He has no more intention of leading a back-to-nature movement than the U.S. has of abandoning plans to mine uranium in the Black Hills. His ideological offensive against Marxism—and revolution in general—is serving an important function for the rulers of the U.S. at a crucial time in the history of this country. Just the same, while it is true that his speech, his "natural" path forward so to speak, has invoked hostility on the part of many activists, it is also true that the general ideology on which his speech was based, one rooted in a basic idealist and metaphysical world outlook, is still widespread in the U.S. today including among those active in struggle against various aspects of imperialism, and that in particular, the spiritualism of the "revenger of Mother Earth" and the romanticized notion of an earlier, pre-industrial time is a widely held viewpoint among those active in the struggle against the oppression of Native Americans. In other words, many of both the particular and general ideas Means puts forward are shared by many who are friends and allies in the revolutionary fight. This is inevitable and will be true up to, during and after a revolution, for resistance, struggle, and even revolutions do not come about because everyone has come to think just alike. People are drawn into struggle and revolution out of many different necessities and with many different ideas in their heads. But at the same time, revolutionary struggle will cease to go forward at some point, and will ultimately fail, if the guiding ideology of the struggle does not consist of—and in the case of this historical epoch, this means Marxism—the most advanced and scientific ideas available and if this ideology doesn't increasingly become the property of the masses of people themselves.

Therefore, first, we recognize a clear and sharp difference between friends and enemies—between those who may have confused or backward ideas but fight against imperialism on the one hand, and those who are trying to use reactionary ideas to derail the fight and lead it in a counter-revolutionary direction, on the other. And second, we struggle against the incorrect ideas that confuse and mislead people.

Specifically, in this case we must talk about both a scientific world view in general and about a correct understanding of the history of American Indians in particular. The struggle for a scientific understanding of the historical development and present situation of Native Americans is an important task, but not because Indians are somehow innately superior to other people, as Means would have us believe. It is because such an understanding is an important prerequisite for the correct programme of the proletarian revolution in this country, and will also make great contributions to man's understanding of the overall development of society. Actually, one of the big problems involved in such an undertaking is that the vast majority of the studies done so far have been colored by the bourgeois prejudices and viewpoints of many anthropologists—ideas which in essence are little different from those of Russell Means. For example, the rampant idealism of Means' theories abounds in numerous studies of Indian cultural forms, separated off from and in fact raised above the development of the productive forces of the period being discussed. This is also true of bourgeois anthropologists. (Incidentally, this state of affairs will itself be transformed one day. It is truly inspiring to consider the fact that once the proletariat has seized power and ended the bourgeoisie's monopoly over much of the knowledge of man's development, the class-conscious proletariat will be able to unite with American Indians to discover the

actual process of development. Such discoveries are impossible under the rule of the bourgeoisie, which aside from its overall metaphysical and idealist viewpoint also has the particular necessity of justifying its continuing national oppression of Native Americans.)

Still, there is much that has already been proven which is useful today. We know, for example, that at the time of the first lasting European contact in the 1500s the Native American population of what is now the U.S. was made up of a wide diversity of tribes, some of which were mainly nomadic hunters and gatherers, while others were more agricultural and many relied on a combination of the two for their subsistence. Generally speaking, while there existed the beginnings of class divisions among some tribes, notably in the southeastern part of the U.S., overwhelmingly development had not gone beyond the upper stages of primitive communalism—that is, the initial stage of human society prior to the development of classes and private property. The low level of the productive forces meant that people lived at a subsistence level characterized by scarcity: there was no surplus to allow for the existence of a class that lived off the labor of others or for private ownership of the means of production. People were obliged to work together to avoid starvation or attack from animals and neighboring tribes.

Further, the level of society existing at that time was itself a product of development from earlier times. The first Native Americans were not really "native" at all, but came to this continent from Asia, most likely across a land bridge that formerly connected Alaska and Siberia. Archeological findings have shown that by about 10,000 B.C. at the end of the Pleistocene Period (also known as the ice age) man in this hemisphere was primarily a big game hunter, traveling in small bands and killing animals like the mammoth and bison antiquus for his food. Perhaps the fact that these animals no longer exist explains Means' reluctance to cite this particular pre-tribal period as part of the "traditional" ways he claims to want to return to; anyone who depended on the mammoth for food today would be in big trouble. In any case, early man's supposed "natural harmony with all related things" did not prevent him from unconsciously contributing to the disappearance of those animals with such inefficient slaughtering methods as the *jumpkill*—with this method a band of hunters armed only with spears would surround a herd of these much larger animals and drive them off a cliff to their death. (And here, where this society was able to create a momentary surplus value above subsistence needs, it couldn't be used and most of the meat had to be left to rot.)

Another way of life was developing as the big game hunting period was coming to a close—bands of hunters and gatherers moving around different regions, with somewhat different levels of subsistence based on the amount of small game and natural vegetation in the area. This was still marked by extreme scarcity. Perhaps Means would like to be transported back some 7,000 years to the days of the desert bands of the great basin of Nevada and western Utah to live in the ways of "the ancestors" of that period. Anthropologists recently examined a cave in the area and the results of their findings were summed up in the *New York Times* on Tuesday, August 12: "In one of the middens [refuse heaps] the scientists found large deposits of coprolites, desiccated human feces. Since it seemed strange that the ancient people would use a storage cave as a latrine, Dr. Thomas said, it is possible that the feces were stored there for what archeologists call the 'second harvest.' Other primitive people were known to have saved their feces so that, in time of famine, they could extract undigested seeds and other products for food. Analysis of the coprolites showed that the heads of cattails and other marsh plants were a substantial part of the lakeside people's diet."

And while we are on the subject of the supposed glories of earlier times, we wonder if Means would advocate a return to a part of the tribal traditions of the Chippewyans of Canada, who on

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Imperialism in Focus in S.F. Hotel Strike

Three days after the month-long strike of San Francisco hotel workers was over, everything at the swank Fairmont Hotel on Nob Hill looked like it was back to business as usual. As usual was the regal pattern on the carpet, the ornate red and black lobby where uniformed bellboys, doormen, waitresses and clerks work. As usual were the pretentious demands of patrons for the workers' services. But beyond the double doors which mark the end of the plush carpet and hushed atmosphere, "business" was anything but usual. There, basement steam, noise and grime begin. Past a winding passageway, the cafeteria was jammed with workers from all over the world discussing the strike.

It had been the first strike in 40 years. On July 17, six thousand workers in Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union walked out of San Francisco's luxury hotels—vital links in the city's billion dollar a year tourist trade. Union officials had been signing five year contracts with the Hotel Employers Association (HEA) for decades. But this summer was different. Workers struck 36 hotels, demanding seniority for promotions, an end to discrimination, lower quotas of rooms for maids, sick leave, pay increases, and a rejection of the 59 take-away provisions demanded by the HEA.

The strike was hard fought. Picket lines were made up of Chinese, Latinos, Filipinos, Koreans, West Indians, Blacks and whites. On the fifth day of the strike, 46 workers were busted by the San Francisco Police Department Tactical Squad outside the Hyatt Regency Hotel at a mass rally defying police orders to "stop noise and swearing." By the end of the strike nearly 70 workers faced charges. And San Francisco was out nearly \$10 million from its biggest industry, with several conventions cancelling, including the 12,000 delegate American Chemical Society that switched reservations to Las Vegas.

Two weeks into the strike, someone else made travel plans: union leadership secretly slinked off to the Los Angeles Century City District to clinch the deal with their buddies in the HEA—without the 33 member rank and file negotiating committee that had voted 16 to 8 to reject the proposed contract.

The story of this strike really started in Kingston, Jamaica, in the West Indies islands of Granada and Saint Lucia, in Mexico and El Salvador, in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Manila. It is the story of thousands of workers driven from their homeland by the boot of U.S. imperialism—driven into the very bottom of the working class in this country, as maids, dishwashers and bellboys.

Most of the immigrants came here knowing U.S. imperialism first hand and knowing they weren't headed for any heaven on earth—but still hoping to make it in a way they never could at home. Many planned to return after "making it"—but they've run smack into the reality of the USA in 1980. Discrimination and economic crisis has pushed people into struggle. A West Indian maintenance worker in one hotel said: "The U.S. companies come and set up their factories on my island because the labor is very cheap there. They bring in all these things, boxes of parts, and the workers just assemble them there. Then they export the stuff. They say they give us money because we get the jobs, but all we are left with is the few dollars they pay you a day, all the rest goes out. But I thought I could come here and get a little job like I had at home. I was an electrician. Now when I tell people where I'm from, they ask me, 'What are you doing here?' I tell them 'give me some money—and I'll go home!'"

The hotels run on raw, undisguised national oppression—a central issue of

the strike. On the bottom are the maids, immigrants and minorities who scrub toilets and make beds for a little more than \$2 a room—rooms which bring in more than \$100 a night. Of course, there are also the specialty rooms, formal dining rooms for top executives and other VIPs. There, the prerequisite for waiting on tables is simple—you have to be white. Then there is the Tonga Room at the Fairmont Hotel where the qualification is being Asian and male—to fit in with the tropical surroundings. This is the kind of degradation and discrimination that workers rebelled against reflected by the key demand for hotel-wide seniority for promotion. And many of the relatively more privileged, higher paid workers saw the fight against the op-

pression heaped on maids and others as pivotal to this strike. Said one: "I came out of the hotel on account of the maids, and I'm willing to stay out."

Ultimately, the contract demands of the workers were defeated. For many the struggle had brought into focus the experience of people under the heel of U.S. imperialism around the world, including here. One Black man, an activist in the strike, said "The people, they understood what was happening, they understood very well—but they didn't realize that it could happen in America. But like I told them, I said, 'this is the worst, this is the pits. You think you come here to be free, but there ain't a damn thing free here. Nothing.' And a Korean girl told me: 'I thought I had left all of this stuff back

home, I thought I came here to be free—but we go through the same thing.'"

One maitre'd pointed to what led him to support this strike: "My country has been under U.S. imperialism for as far back as I can remember—since I was a little kid. Because conditions are bad there, they force you to come here. But a lot of people find they are squeezed as much as they were at home." And it was clear that he had been thinking beyond the strike as well when he added: "If there was ever a revolution here, it would have a tremendous influence and the shock waves would carry across the world, because this is the base of capitalism." □

Scenes from the strike.



Grand Illusions Film & Video



Grand Illusions Film & Video

“Counter Convention”

Continued from page 7

Yip, one of the UN2, who denounced the war moves of the two superpowers and read a section of the Pledge of Internationalism authored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

When an addle-brained army recruit came up waving an American flag, the crowd pulled him in, grabbed his flag and smashed his pole. He had to be rescued and escorted to safety by a ring of cops. Then a second flag was produced and put to more fitting use as people ripped it into little pieces and set them afire. People spit on it, stepped on it, and a steady resounding chant broke out, “Revolution, revolution.”

Faced with a real political challenge to the system, it was no more Officer Friendly. Out came the helmets, horses and other riot gear as the reinforced pigs began attaching a hose to the nearest fire hydrant. Fearing that things were getting a little out of hand or that burning the flag was going beyond the bounds of respectable protest, some of the rally leaders tried to calm things down. One speaker said, “We don’t

want anybody to get hurt. If you want to do civil disobedience, that’s okay, but...”

But as someone at the rally put in, “There’s no time to bullshit around. Not with what’s coming up in this decade.” He was part of a group that sat down in front of the Garden, blocking the whole intersection of 33rd and 7th Avenues. Twenty of this group were arrested.

It is precisely this growing sentiment that must be brought forward and developed a thousand fold and it is exactly this sentiment which certain people are trying to grab onto in order to pull it back, deflect it, or turn it around all serving to prolong the rule of the bourgeoisie.

That such opportunist forces can take a number of guises was aptly demonstrated by the Communist Workers Party throughout the Democratic Convention. While they made a big show on the final night of the proceedings with a “heroic charge” on the convention with such grandiose



Noel Patterson



Noel Patterson

In sharp contrast to the “make the system work” line pushed by some of the leadership of the People’s Alternative Convention stood actions like this one:

August 13—a patriotic flag waver waded into the midst of an anti-draft demonstration being held across the street from the Democratic convention. The crowd tried to rip the flag from his hands, but police managed to rescue him and his rag while it was still in one piece. While police guarded the lone fool (top) another American flag was found and torn to pieces to the cheers and chants of the crowd. Once in shreds the trash was burned (bottom).

pretensions as “stopping the elections” and other such demagogic rantings, the great bulk of their activity during the four days was to circulate a leaflet and other literature calling on people to unite behind the supremely patriotic goal of uniting with them to save the country. CWP’s antics will be analyzed more in the *RW* in the near future. But it can be said that in true fashion their outward militance on the final night was a mere cover for their real message expressed in the headline of their leaflet: “extreme times require extreme measures to save the country.” □



HOW CAPITALISM HAS BEEN RESTORED IN THE SOVIET UNION AND WHAT THIS MEANS FOR THE WORLD STRUGGLE

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Noel Patterson

Revisionist Infighting: How Best To Attack Mao?

Continued from page 13

Why 1977? For a year after the coup, Hua built himself up as the "true upholder" of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. It wasn't until 1977 that Deng was officially rehabilitated and named vice-chairman and vice-premier. Get the connection?

However, Hua is certainly not alone. There are forces within the revisionist circles allied with him, or at least in contradiction to various degrees with Deng. Deng himself has blurred out publicly on several occasions that there are significant forces within the Party who don't go along with his version of the revisionist program. Hua, with his claim to be a "true upholder" of Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought, represents certain forces in the Right who went through the Cultural Revolution unscathed or even got into higher positions of power by maneuvering and making some self-criticisms (like Hua). But as the Cultural Revolution developed, it became apparent these people had not changed their outlook at all. In fact they went right along with the 1976 coup. These are forces Hua is counting on in a showdown with Deng. Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying), head of the National People's Congress, is known to be in disagreement with the hastiness of the anti-Mao activities, fearing this might upset "unity and stability." Even more striking is an unconfirmed report that Xu Shiyu (Hsu Shih-yu), former commander of the Guangdong Military Region, is organizing an anti-Deng coalition among the military and issued a call to "Uphold the red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, tightly unite under the leadership of the Communist Party."

All in Basic Unity

Of course to all these revisionists, including Xu, Mao Tsetung Thought now means something quite different from its real revolutionary meaning. Now any fool can claim that he upholds Mao Tsetung Thought, as Deng proved when, in his eulogy to Liu, he said that Liu's ideas "were a component of the

scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought." It would be dead wrong and downright dangerous to assume that people like Hua, Ye or Xu hold any kernel of revolutionary line because they have contradictions with Deng or hypocritically uphold Mao. These rightists are all in basic unity around opposition to Mao's revolutionary line and his greatest contribution to revolutionary practice, the Cultural Revolution. Xu, for instance, gave protection to Deng in Canton when he was under attack from Mao, and went right along with the revisionist coup and invasion of Vietnam. Last year, Xu said that he's not opposed to criticizing Mao but doesn't want it to be like "what Khrushchev did to Stalin." When some people suggested earlier this year that Mao's body should be removed from the mausoleum, Ye is reported to have said he doesn't object but please do it after he dies.

The essence of the dispute over Mao among these revisionists is not whether or not to uphold him but how best to attack him. Deng and his bunch, who have the upper hand, feel that all-out and open attacks on Mao are required to really push through the revisionists' programme. Hua, Ye, Xu and some others owe some of their positions to Mao's prestige but even more than that they feel that hiding their revisionism behind a mask of Mao is necessary to preserve order and unity—in other words, ultimately, to keep the Chinese masses from overthrowing these revisionists altogether. Hua & Co.'s strategy is a time-worn one, well described by Lenin while writing *The State and Revolution* about the capitalists' treatment of Marx: "During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to say, and to hallow their

names to a certain extent for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it."

As Bob Avakian pointed out in 1977: "...the Four themselves, before their arrest, made clear (by analogy) in a number of articles that these rightists were not all one solid bloc, but had formed an opportunist alliance in opposition to the continuation of the Chinese revolution... there is no doubt opposition among them, based on personal ambition and different notions of how to carry out the revisionist line—after all, while there is only one correct line, there are many different ways to carry out an incorrect line. But these differences among these revisionist leaders are, to borrow from Engels, opposite poles of the same stupidity." (*Revolution & Counter Revolution*, p. 79)

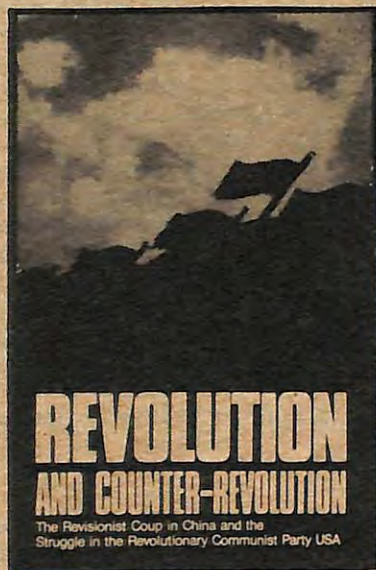
Attacks on Zhou Enlai

Exactly because it is an unprincipled alliance between opportunists, there is bound to be backstabbing and double-crossings. An indication of just how far this can go is a report in the July 28 *Christian Science Monitor* of "widespread" campaign now taking place against none other than Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai). The fact that the *People's Daily* has not carried any major articles on Zhou for quite some time (while articles for Liu abound) tends to support the validity of this report. At first glance, it might seem rather odd that Zhou is under attack by the same revisionists who gushed over "our beloved premier" and claimed to be his successors while scorning Mao. In his later years, Zhou was closely associated with Deng and provided cover and respectability for the Right. It's clear that by the time of Zhou's death, he was on opposite sides from Mao. A certain Chinese official remarked to a group of American China scholars who

went to China recently, "it was shocking to us that Mao never once visited Zhou Enlai while the premier was sick and dying or wrote a message when Zhou died or even went to Zhou's funeral, though he was fit enough to receive Nixon's daughter at that time." (*NY Times*) But the trouble with Zhou is that Mao, after a fierce struggle, did manage to win Zhou over to go along with the Cultural Revolution to a certain extent against the bloc headed by Liu. Now that Liu has become the revisionists' new Confucius and the Cultural Revolution is reviled as "ten years of disaster," it's no wonder Zhou's role is being questioned.

What makes this question of Zhou one of great importance, besides giving an idea of the depth of the anti-Mao campaign, is what this might reveal about China's attitude toward the Soviet Union. Zhou, although sharing much of the same rightist outlook of the Soviet-style revisionists like Liu (a.k.a. China's Khrushchev), always leaned toward the West. For example, just prior to nationwide communist victory in 1949, Zhou, acting on his own, sent a secret cable to the U.S. asking for aid. Can the criticism of Zhou indicate another move providing a basis for reconciliation with the Russians? This development is possibly of great significance and bears watching.

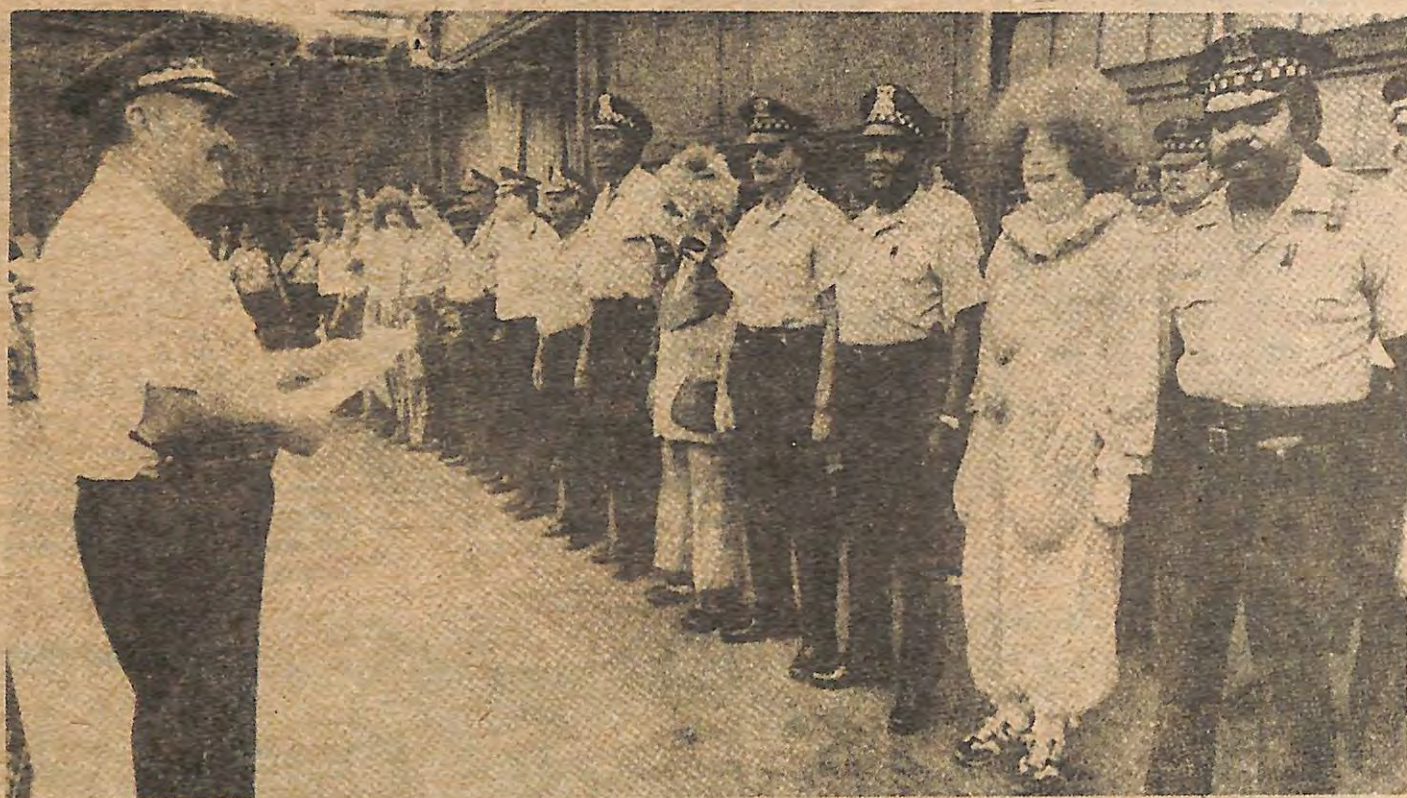
The revisionists, whether of the Hua or the Deng variety, all share a deep hatred of Mao's line and utter fear that this line will become a material force among the masses of people and blow them away from their thrones of power. With the quickening pace of world events leading toward world war, they have no choice but to speed up their attacks on Mao and get on with their revisionist program. But the risks involved in doing this means that the contradictions within their camp are bound to sharpen up—and infighting, double dealing, backstabbing—and self-exposure—will be the order of the day. □



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

The revolutionaries in the RCP ruthlessly exposed exactly how the revisionists in China were reversing the socialist revolution, restoring capitalism and moving inevitably towards capitulation to imperialism. On the basis of its Marxist-Leninist line, the Party analyzed exactly what the developments in China would be—an analysis confirmed a thousand times over in the last year and more. But more, this book provides a continuing basis for going yet more deeply into the course of capitalist restoration in China and its international implications.

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Chicago—In an effort to ease "strained community relations," the Chicago Police Dept. this week announced the initiation of "Operation Bulbnose". According to Dist. Commander Armor Starr, (above, second from right) the familiar blue uniforms and checkered caps have "unexplainedly provoked some rather, ah, unfortunate responses lately from certain unstable citizens", referring possibly to recent occurrences of police officers finding themselves staring down people's shotgun barrels at a number of the City's housing projects. Consequently, a Chicago Police Department study reported that policemen costumed as clowns would help to "assuage the feelings of anger and rebelliousness commonly asso-

ciated with soaring unemployment, racial discrimination, and substandard housing," and "the unfortunate occasional shooting of handcuffed Negroes." Commander Starr indicated that if Operation Bulbnose is a success, the CPD would consider instituting similar programs, with officers performing their duties clad as 600 lb. gorillas, Artoo Detoo, Attila the Hun, and Laura Ingalls (from Little House on the Prairie). Commander Starr stated that these updated uniforms would help to alter "distorted public perception of the police as paid hitmen of the State" and project an image of "concerned helpers, ya know, like the Keebler elves, or something." □

UPHEAVAL

Continued from page 1

has emphasized negotiations with the strikers and restrained any use of force. But there are reports of Polish army troops being sent to strategic positions in the country, and nobody has forgotten the two Soviet armored divisions that are stationed in Poland.

One thing is for certain: the upheaval of hundreds of thousands of workers that has erupted across Poland in the last month has significance far beyond the demands of the strikers. The spreading strikes and growing militancy of the Polish workers has riveted the attention of the world in a way never done by general strikes in most other countries. The reasons are not hard to find.

Even more than the strikes of Polish workers in 1970, which brought down party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka, and 1976, which forced revisionist party secretary Edward Gierek to rescind food price increases, the current wave of unrest takes place as the U.S. and the USSR are impelled with daily increasing velocity towards World War III. In the U.S. the news of the Polish strikes has competed for front page headlines with stories about the new U.S. nuclear war strategy and the comparative state of the two superpowers' war-making abilities. The question that seems foremost in the minds of many is whether the confrontation between the Polish workers and state will develop to the point of actually threatening the Soviet satellite government and precipitate a Russian invasion—obviously a highly volatile prospect given the current international situation.

Of course the Western media coverage, especially in the U.S., has focused attention on the strikes as an exposure of the failure of "communism" in Eastern Europe. The rebellion of the workers against the self-styled Polish Workers' State is used as testimony to the claim that Western-style capitalism is indeed the best of all possible worlds for the masses of workers—and something U.S. workers should be ready to fight to defend from the Soviet threat.

Actually, the struggle of the Polish workers against their government is a vivid exposure of the so-called Polish Workers' State, the state-capitalists, phony "communist" Party, and the Soviet imperialists. But not in the way the U.S. makes it seem. It is an exposure of the fact that the form of government and economy that exists in Poland is not socialism, but state capitalism, deformed in its own development by its domination by the Soviet Union. The rebellion of the Polish working class, objectively, is not against a socialist state or "communism" but against the exploitation and oppression suffered by the working class of every capitalist country—East and West—at the hands of their own bourgeoisie and, in the case of dependent countries, of their imperialist overlords as well.

This rebellion of workers in the heart of the Soviet imperialists' empire also has great significance for the international proletariat. Any actions of the working class and masses of people that weaken their own capitalist class or the imperialist superpowers, and in any way bring closer the day of their overthrow and destruction, serve the interest of the international proletariat. But even more concretely, this rebellion of the Polish workers has to be seen as a sign of the potential ability of the workers of the East or the West, and even in the superpowers themselves, to rise in revolution and thus prevent an imperialist sponsored nuclear war, or to accomplish this revolutionary goal in the course of such a war.

It is these factors that give the Polish workers' strikes their progressive character and call for the support of progressive and revolutionary people everywhere, despite the fact that some of their most disgusting mouthpieces and servants of U.S. imperialism are also proclaiming their support, while the imperialists look on silently but approvingly hoping to take advantage of their Soviet rival's troubles.

Price Hikes Spark Strikes

The current turmoil began when the government announced hikes of from 30% to 90% in the price of meat on July 1st. Edward Gierek, Secretary of the United Polish Workers Party (PUWP) also announced that other food and consumer prices would have to be raised. The response of the workers was almost immediate. On July 2nd 17,000 struck the huge tractor factory at Ursus, near Warsaw, a center of the workers' strikes against government attempts to raise food prices in 1976. In the following days the strikes spread to other cities. 20,000 auto workers shut down the huge Zeran auto plant near Warsaw. Electronic workers at the Rosa Luxemburg factory in Warsaw struck. By mid-July the strike spread to the Lublin region. Trains were paralyzed, bus service disrupted, milk deliveries cut off. There were work stoppages in the construction industry and in the public utilities.

The strikers' demands were for wage increases and the retraction of the price hikes. The government stated its determination to stick with the new prices, but moved quickly to negotiate the wage increases. So far they have granted at least \$1.1 billion in wage demands. But while the Polish ruling class offered the carrot, they also prepared the stick by strengthening troop displacements and police forces. Yet fearful of an escalation of the struggle that could be sparked by trying to use force against the strikes, the government maintained a conciliatory attitude towards the economic demands of the strikers. Government and party newspapers even conceded that the people had some legitimate complaints. The party daily *Trybuna Ludu* admitted that the social discontent was based on "real

IN POLAND



Strikers occupy the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, armed with s

frustrations." Among the causes for the frustration, it listed "poor supplies available in stores and factories, long waiting lines, increases in the cost of living, bureaucratic slowness, in certain cases the predominance of private interests, and the existence of a class of nouveau riche who can get everything."

The government was forced to admit to some of the most obvious gripes of the masses. Among many workers the constant shortages are a particular irritant. For steel workers and others, although they have relatively high wages, there just

aren't the consumer goods. This is compounded by the fact that there are stores that generally have full supplies: the special stores where only police and party officials can shop, and the stores that can only be used by those with hard foreign currency. Both of these increasingly became objects of hatred for the strikers. In most cities there are breadlines because of the shortages. Women line up at 5:00 and wait sometimes up to two hours for the daily bread ration. They jokingly refer to the "communist fast" on Monday and the "Catholic fast" on Friday.

People line up to buy meat in Warsaw. Price hikes of 30% to 90% for meat provided the spark for strikes that have thrown the country into turmoil.



LAND



and anti-socialist elements.”

On August 16th the government said it would compromise on the demands of the Lenin Shipyard workers, hoping to isolate them from the other strikers in the area and take the wind out of their sails. When the workers rejected the compromise, the government went ahead anyway and announced that the strike at the shipyards was over. This proved to be a self-defeating move by the government.

Political Demands

Responding to the call of workers throughout the region, angry about the false announcement, the Lenin Shipyard workers announced that they were remaining on strike and would continue to occupy the yards. In addition, 21 factories from the Gdansk-Sopot region declared that they had formed a joint strike committee, which they announced would be the only voice of the striking workers and that “the end of the strike would only be announced by this committee.” The joint committee issued a list of 16 demands that had to be met before the strike would end. The demands included: the guarantee of the right to strike, the abolition of censorship, the release of all political prisoners, the end of special privileges for the police, and, most outrageous as far as the government was concerned, the formation of “free and independent trade unions” instead of the government established trade union councils.

The government immediately cut all lines of communication between Gdansk and the rest of the country. Gierek cancelled a planned visit to West Germany and delivered an “appeal to the Polish workers and people” over nationwide television and radio. Radio Gdansk declared that “the climate of discussion in certain plants had become alarming.” On August 18, Gierek warned “There are limits that must not be stepped over by anyone!” The next day the Soviets made their first public response to the month of upheaval, backing up Gierek’s warning that “Poland can only be an independent country under socialism!” Of course, since neither Gierek nor the Soviets were talking about real socialism, these remarks could be more accurately translated as “Poland can only be independent under *our* social-imperialist domination.” Soviet press reports also sought to add strength to Gierek’s stand that “actions that are aimed against the

basic foundation of the socialist system will not be tolerated and nobody can count on compromise on this issue!” In addition to the Soviet announcement that Warsaw Pact troops, 40,000 strong, would hold exercises in neighboring East Germany in September, travelers recently arriving in Sweden from Poland have reported that Soviet as well as Polish troop movements have been sighted in northern Poland.

Despite the toughened stance, however, it seems that the government is still trying to negotiate its way out of its crisis. Calling in Polish army troops could only worsen the situation as they see it now. As one recent visitor to Poland told the *RW*, neither the Soviets or Gierek’s government can be sure which way the bullets will fly if they try to mobilize the Polish army against the strikers.

Behind the Current Crisis

Behind the current events in Poland is the crisis of that country’s capitalist economy, and its relation to the big imperialists—mainly the Soviets, but also those of the West. While there has been expansion in recent years, chickens are coming home to roost. Poland’s national income, agricultural production and capital investment have all shown a negative growth rate for 1979 and prospects look worse for 1980. Its industrial

production has declined to an annual growth rate of 2.8%. Since 1971, Poland has fallen more than \$30 billion into debt, \$20 billion of which is its hard currency debt to Western European and U.S. banks, and it is forced to continue borrowing just to make the yearly service charges on the outstanding loans. Currently Poland has to come up with \$7.8 billion, \$5 billion of which is for repayment of the principal and the rest for the interest.

There is only one way to understand Poland’s sorry plight: the capitalist economic development enforced by its revisionist rulers and the thorough economic, political and military domination of Poland by the social-imperialist Soviet Union. For the most part, the Soviets’ economic and political exploitation of Poland has been carried out under the cloak of “mutual socialist aid,” “international division of labor,” “economic integration” and a host of similar sweet sounding phrases. Their main instrument in this plunder has been the Community for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

For Poland, membership in COMECON has contributed heavily to the devastation of its economy. The basic operating principle of COMECON is the Soviets’ infamous “international

Continued on page 12



In 1970, widespread strikes throughout Poland (above: shipyard workers) were met by fierce repression including intervention by the Soviet army (left) in which over a hundred workers were killed. Today’s rebellion, even more than the events of ten years ago, takes on great significance in the light of the superpowers’ push towards World War III.



On Monday no meat is available at all.

But the government’s concessions on the wage demands did not buy the peace it had hoped for. By August 12 more than 150 factories and tens of thousands of workers had been struck. The list read like a list of the major cities in the country: 10,000 textile workers in Lodz, 20,000 helicopter factory workers in Wroclaw, 30,000 steel workers in southeastern Poland. All this time Gierek was on the Soviet Crimea, visiting with Soviet president Breshnev and discussing the situation in Poland. Government officials continued to call the strike movement a “bubbling unrest” and emphasized its “non-political nature.” One government official explained the government’s position by stating “The Polish government will not use force unless its vital interests are at stake and the hourly wage is not a vital interest.”

On August 14th, however, the situation took a leap when 16,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyards in the Baltic seaport of Gdansk joined the strikes and occupied the shipyards. Within days the strike spread to neighboring shipyards and the dry docks as well as to other cities in the region, including the shipyard *Paris Commune* in Gdynia and to the cities of Sopot and Szczecian. With the entry of this Baltic region into the rebellion the government became much more concerned. Gierek immediately returned from his “vacation” and began talking about how the situation “is beginning to worry our friends to the East,” a veiled threat of Soviet intervention if things didn’t cool out. A special government commission was set up to investigate the workers’ demands and to take part in the negotiations at the Lenin Shipyards. Meanwhile the government press began official coverage of the strikes with a less conciliatory tone, declaring that all the “trouble was being caused by anarchists

sticks against police.

Russell Means' Attack

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occasion allowed their female infants to die—a practice viewed by some of the adult women as a kindness. Women were beaten frequently, and although it was a crime to kill a Chippewyan man, a husband was permitted to beat his wife to death with no punishment at all. The point here is not to lapse into some ridiculous argument that people now are better than people then, or that one area of the world produced better people than another—after all, most Europeans (themselves not indigenous) went through similar stages of development. (In the case of the question of treatment of women, the stage of development still exists to a great degree.) The point is to understand what is at the basis of the development of society and on what society itself is based.

As Marx put it in the course of a polemic against Proudhon (who has several points in common with Means) describing how the struggle of man against nature determines the overall course of human history: "what he has not understood is that these definite social relations are just as much produced by men as linen, flax, etc. Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing their way of earning their living, they change all their social relations... The same men who establish their social relations in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas and categories, in conformity with their social relations." (*The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 109.)

Contrast this analysis of the development of society with Means' idealist childish attempts to demolish Marxist materialism by vulgarly terming it "gaining." Marxist materialism, says Means, is something "(seen by) American Indians... as still more of that some old European conflict between being and gaining... being is a spiritual proposition. Gaining is a material act. Traditionally American Indians have always attempted to be the best people they could. Part of that spiritual process was and is to give away wealth, to discard wealth in order not gain. Material gain is an indicator of false status among traditional people while it is 'proof that the system works' to Europeans. Clearly, there are two completely opposing views at issue here, and Marxism is very far over to the other side of the American Indian view."

Where, even in the most primitive society that Means could invoke, is it not true that society's basis is the procurement ("gaining") of the means of subsistence? Certainly not in the previous example cited, whose "traditional way" somehow gets left out of the "being vs. gaining" fantasy. And beyond this, society is constantly in motion—nothing in Means' maternal friend nature, including mankind, is unchangeable. The productive forces develop as a result of the struggle of man against nature—and this is independent of anyone's subjective desires. The Hopi tribe, whose "traditional ways" Means continually upholds as an example of the type of society to which we all should return, have themselves gone through this process of development, attaining higher levels of production of the necessities of life with new developments in the productive forces. Their ancestors hunted deer and mountain sheep by throwing wood and later spears; they lived in caves and rock shelters. With the invention of both the bow and arrow and certain agricultural implements, their society advanced to a higher level. There was now more certainty of meat and produce in their diet. The formation of village communities developed where maize and beans were cultivated. The later invention of the hoe led to greater domestication of plant life, including cotton (which now resulted in new apparel) and a much more complex, mainly agricultural society. Clearly, there was a great deal of "gaining" going on here.

Means' claim that Indians gave away wealth, "in order not to gain," while true within many communal, that is

classless tribes, certainly doesn't apply to relations between tribes. He conveniently ignores the numerous nomadic tribes that went to war with each other over the "richest" hunting areas, as well as those that raided the agricultural settlements of others for their produce and implements. It is quite true that primitive communalism was very egalitarian—and it is just such equality, of classlessness, that communism of the future will reproduce, but on a much higher and qualitatively different level. For in primitive society this equality is quite restricted both in the sense that it applies only within each tribe, and in the sense that it is based on a very restricted level of material-productive development. And because of these facts, it also restricted human development. In order to move beyond this level, it was necessary to negate equality, to move through an epoch of class society, with all its brutal oppression, in order to develop the productive forces of humanity and make possible a far higher equality. As Engels explains in *Anti-Dühring*, in a passage which is worth quoting at some length:

"The division of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary outcome of the low development of production hitherto. So long as the sum of social labor yielded a product which only slightly exceeded what was necessary for the bare existence of all; so long, therefore, as all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society was absorbed in labor, so long was society necessarily divided into classes. Alongside of this great majority exclusively absorbed in labor there developed a class, freed from direct productive labor, which managed the general business of society; the direction of labor, affairs of state, justice, science, art, and so forth. It is therefore the law of the division of labor which lies at the root of the division into classes. But this does not mean that this division into classes was not established by violence and robbery, by deception and fraud, or that the ruling class, once in the saddle, has ever failed to strengthen its domination at the cost of the working class and to convert its social management into the exploitation of the masses.

"But if, on these grounds, the division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period of time, for given social conditions. It was based on the insufficiency of production; it will be swept away by the full development of the modern productive forces. And in fact the abolition of social classes has as its presupposition a stage of historical development at which the existence not merely of some particular ruling class or other but of any ruling class at all, that is to say, of class difference itself, has become an anachronism, is out of date. It therefore presupposes that the development of production has reached a level at which the appropriation of means of production and of products, and with these, of political supremacy, the monopoly of education and intellectual leadership by a special class of society, has become not only superfluous but also economically, politically and intellectually a hindrance to development.

"This point has now been reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is hardly still a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves, and their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. * In each crisis society is smothered under the weight of its own productive forces and products of which it can make no use, and stands helpless in face of the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume because there are no consumers. The expanding force of the means of production bursts asunder the bonds imposed upon them by the capitalist mode of production. Their release from these bonds is the sole con-

* The nature of the cycle of capital, referred to here by Engels, has changed since his lifetime and is now conditioned by inter-imperialist wars.

dition necessary for an unbroken and constantly more rapidly progressing development of the productive forces, and therewith of a practically limitless growth of production itself. Nor is this all. The appropriation by society of the means of production puts an end not only to the artificial restraints on production which exist today, but also to the positive waste and destruction of productive forces and products which is now the inevitable accompaniment of production and reaches its zenith in crises. Further, it sets free for society as a whole a mass of means of production and products by putting an end to the senseless luxury and extravagance of the present ruling class and its political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, through social production, an existence which is not only fully sufficient from a material standpoint and becoming richer from day to day, but also guarantees to them the completely unrestricted development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility now exists for the first time, but it *does exist*."

Engels continues with a discussion of the future communist society:

"The seizure of the means of production by society puts an end to commodity production, and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by conscious organization on a planned basis. The struggle for individual existence comes to an end. And at this point, in a certain sense, man finally cuts himself off from the animal world, leaves the conditions of animal existence behind him and enters conditions which are really human. The conditions of existence forming man's environment, which up to now have dominated man, at this point pass under the domination and control of man, who now for the first time becomes the real conscious master of nature, because and in so far as he has become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social activity, which have hitherto confronted him as external, dominating laws of nature, will then be applied by man with complete understanding, and hence will be dominated by man. Men's own social organization which has hitherto stood in opposition to them as if arbitrarily decreed by nature and history, will then become the voluntary act of men themselves. The objective, external forces which have hitherto dominated history, will then pass under the control of men themselves. It is only from this point that men, with full consciousness, will fashion their own history; it is only from this point that the social causes set in motion by men will have, predominantly and in constantly increasing measure, the effects willed by men. It is humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom.

"To carry through this world-emancipating act is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. And it is the task of scientific socialism, the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, to establish the historical conditions and, with these, the nature of this act, and thus to bring to the consciousness of the now oppressed class the conditions and nature of the act which it is its destiny to accomplish."

At this point in history, when the leap of mankind into the realm of freedom is actually on the horizon, to preach instead the necessity for a "second harvest" of primitive life is an expression either of despair or of counter-revolution and reaction.

With Means, it comes down more to reaction. Here he is extolling primitiveness and telling how Indians like to give away their material goods—which fits in pretty well with the old capitalist tradition of stealing from the Indians all they have and forcing them to live in abject poverty.

Of course, Means might argue that his main beef is against machinery and industry, that machines pollute the water, that machines will destroy the world, etc. But really isn't this more than a little pragmatic, a "theory" based on the appearance of things and not their essence? Would Means argue, to take a notable example from the history of the capitalists' oppression of Indians,

that instead of blaming the U.S. government for intentionally infesting blankets sold to the Indians with smallpox virus, that one should instead blame the blankets for the deaths caused by the disease?

There was, in the development of capitalism, a period in which the class struggle between workers and capitalists focused on the introduction of machinery. When new machines were introduced, vast numbers of people were thrown out of work, and as a means of gaining back their jobs, large crowds would destroy the machinery. The machines, on the other hand, were often consciously introduced by the capitalists as a means of repressing strikes. Marx, in recounting this historical period, remarks, "It took both time and experience before the workpeople learnt to distinguish between machinery and its employment by capital, and to direct their attacks, not against the material instruments of production, but against the mode in which they were used." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 429.)

Here as elsewhere, we see a sentiment or idea which once had some historical justification, but which has long since been by-passed—and which Means now proposes to raise to a principle! What he cannot and will not understand is something Engels pointed out over 100 years ago (to quote again from *Anti-Dühring*):

"The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in nature—blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when once we have recognized them and understood how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depend entirely upon ourselves. And this is quite especially true of the mighty productive forces of the present day. So long as we obstinately refuse to understand their nature and their character—and the capitalist mode of production and its defenders set themselves against any such attempt—so long do these forces operate in spite of us, against us, and so long do they control us, as we have shown in detail. But once their nature is grasped, in the hands of the producers working in association they can be transformed from demonic masters into willing servants. It is the difference between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of a thunderstorm and the tamed electricity of the telegraph and the arc light; the difference between a conflagration and fire in the service of man. This treatment of the productive forces of the present day, on the basis of their real nature at last recognized by society, opens the way to the replacement of the anarchy of social production by a socially planned regulation of production in accordance with the needs both of society as a whole and of each individual. The capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer, and then also the appropriator, will thereby be replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products based on the nature of the modern means of production themselves; on the one hand direct social appropriation as a means to the maintenance and extension of production, and on the other hand direct individual appropriation as a means to life and pleasure."

Russell Means bills himself as the exponent of nature and the natural, but in fact he never strays outside the bounds of capitalism and bourgeois ideology. As we saw above, the romantic longing for the supposed simpler and nobler life of primitive man is a product and an expression of capitalist social relations, as is the view that history will never advance beyond capitalism. As Marx sums this up: "It is as ridiculous to yearn for a return to that original fullness as it is to believe that with this complete emptiness history has come to a standstill. The bourgeois viewpoint has never advanced beyond this antithesis between itself and this romantic viewpoint, and therefore the latter will accompany it as legitimate antithesis up to its blessed end." (*Grundrisse*, p. 162.)

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Russell Means' Attack

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Well, if Russell Means wishes to return to the days of the "second harvest"—either economically or politically or both—he is free to do so; in fact, we are quite willing to help him in his quest. We only plead that he not take everyone else along with him. His "being" is a head-long flight into fantasy over reality, spirit over nature, ideas over matter—all with the end result of keeping man perpetually helpless before forces he would obstinately have us refuse to understand or control. His idealism reminds us of an incident which took place in a college classroom in the early '70s. A professor, ideologically in the same camp as Means, theorized that even if one could not swim, but one *thought* one could swim, then one could swim. A rebellious Chicano student raised the point in the discussion: "Well, I had a friend who reasoned the same way. So one day he walked to the end of a pier and jumped in the ocean—even though he couldn't swim." The professor anxiously asked, "Yes, and then what happened?" Anticipating the professor's scholarly (and foolish) inquiry, the student moved in for the kill: "The damn fool drowned to death, what the hell do you think happened?"

In the interests of staying afloat, professor Means, we would hasten to inform you that even the religious ideas of the American Indians, which have themselves undergone a great deal of change and development with the corresponding changes in Indian material reality, have a material basis which can be explained by applying Marxism. Like the rest of the superstructure of any society, they correspond to that society's material development. In particular, since the Indian people were so much at the mercy of the forces of nature for their survival, it was thought that these forces commanded supernatural powers. However, the religious ceremonies and customs varied depending upon the manner in which they gained their subsistence. The Hopi for example, being an agricultural tribe living in the semi-arid environs of the Southwest, held a religious belief that after people died, they turned into clouds which brought rain to irrigate the crops. The fishermen of the Northwest, on the other hand, put great stress on praying to Sea Spirits to bring them an abundance of fish, and the nomadic hunters developed ceremonies around gaining strength for the hunt or to do battle with other tribes. But more to the point of Mean's particular argument, even the "revenge of Mother Earth" philosophy he promotes is a fairly recent development in the religion of many tribes in the U.S., having been adopted after the conquest and subsequent oppression by the forces of capitalism, as the Indians saw the world—as they had known it—being destroyed by the invaders. The use of the messiah who had come back to save those who were lost after the apocalypse was, in many cases, borrowed from the Christianity of the Europeans.

(Communists are opposed to the whole idea of *spirits* but not to the spirit, if this is understood to mean the advancing consciousness of mankind, based on the material world. In fact, we even write about it in our songs: "...To make the thief disgorge his booty, to free the spirit from its cell..." goes the famous line from the *Internationale*. But this is the opposite of what Means is talking about. We understand that it is only by correctly grasping the objective laws of nature and society, and thereby being able to change the material world, that man's "spirit" is truly unleashed—think of the difference if the would-be swimmer in the story above had simply done a little investigation into how to avoid sinking to the bottom like a stone. But Means would condemn us all to a "being"—in fact a "drowning"—of backwardness, ignorance, and servility to the bourgeoisie and—despite protestations to the contrary—to productive relations characteristic of its rule. No thanks, Russell! We'll take communism and the elimination of classes altogether.)

As with religion, so with other aspects of the cultures of the American Indians—not only was it a historical creation, but many aspects which have come down as "traditional" were created out of the historical conflict between capitalist expansion and the primitive communal society of the Indians.

In fact, the tribes that were most successful in resisting and delaying their eventual defeat, like the Lakota tribe of which Means is a member, were those that adopted the more advanced technology of the invader. Actually, the entire Lakota way of life was conditioned by European contact. Originally, the tribe had been semi-sedentary farmers in what is now Minnesota. They were attacked by Canadian tribes like the Cree and Ojibwa who had gotten guns from French traders, forcing them westward into the Great Plains. There they first came into contact with horses which had been brought to the western hemisphere by the early Spanish colonists and subsequently slowly spread northward. (The indigenous horse had become extinct at the same time as the mammoth and big bison.) They quickly became known among all the tribes of the Great Plains as the finest buffalo hunters and warriors in the area. When they recognized that their bows and arrows were no match for the U.S. Cavalry's more advanced weaponry, they began to conduct raids to obtain the more modern weapons. They adopted the method of fighting involving a field commander giving tactical direction to the troops, as opposed to their "traditional" way of every man for himself that they had used in their previous fights with other tribes. In this way, they were able to inflict some of the most devastating defeats, if only temporary ones, on the westward expansion of the U.S. capitalists.

Generally speaking, all the tribes that existed adopted aspects of the invaders into their culture, or they were totally wiped out. The Navajos took not only horses and guns, but also developed their "traditional" sheepherding culture by raiding Spanish settlements for sheep. The Hopi expanded their agricultural complex many times over by adding domesticated plant strains from both the Spanish and the Americans.

Of course, not only was much of what is today considered "traditional" Indian culture a product of the clash of primitive communal society with capitalist expansion, but that culture was also then suppressed by the inexorable capitalist drive for total supremacy. In addition, genocide through disease and massacre reduced the Indian population from 10 million to 500,000 in the area north of Mexico within 300 years. As capitalism expanded westward, treaties were signed only to be broken a few years later, and Indians were repeatedly forced into concentration camps called "reservations," only to be moved once again if valuable minerals were found, where the land was potentially productive for agriculture or where the railroad needed the right of way. As capitalism consolidated its victory over Native Americans, laws were passed mandating "forced assimilation" and Indian lands were broken up into smaller parcels to open them up for settlement. At one point, Indian lands were given to Christian missionaries to exercise trusteeship over them, while bringing "religion to the heathens." Of course, there was always fierce resistance to this repression and particularly to the attempts to make the Indian tribes disappear. In fact, the resistance was so fierce that by 1934 the imperialists amended their "forced assimilation" schemes. They passed the Indian Reorganization Act, setting up their own puppet tribal councils under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to facilitate the continued armed robbery of Indian land—a robbery that is intensifying today with tribal council sanctions, such as that offered by Navajo tribal chairman Peter McDonald. At the same time, political repression and outright murder is offered to all those

who dare to resist.

A history of brutal oppression; a history of attempted genocide. In the face of this imperialist attempt to wipe Indians off the face of the earth there has been resistance, rebellion, and the reaffirmation by Native Americans of their own culture against the onslaught of imperialism. As we've seen, Indian traditions are not capable of guiding the struggle on the path to real liberation, even though they have played a part in providing a "culture of resistance" in the Indian movement. But in Means' hands this culture of resistance turns into its opposite—into a theory of capitulation. From a fight against capitalism and imperialism, he tries to turn it into a fight against the future. He reiterates: "I do not believe that capitalism itself is really responsible for the situation in which we have been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition; the European culture itself is responsible. Marxism is just the latest continuation of this tradition, not a solution to it. To ally with Marxism is to ally with the very same forces which declare us an acceptable 'cost.'" But we think in the final analysis that you do understand the difference between capitalism and Marxism, between the revolutionary science of the working class and the reactionary theories of its enemy. The point is that you have adopted a reactionary theory yourself—the idealist and metaphysical theory of the bourgeoisie!

There is one last charge made by Means in his speech to which we must respond. "Look beneath the surface of revolutionary Marxism and what do you find?... a commitment to guaranteeing the Lakota and other American Indian people real control over the land and resources they have left? No, not unless the industrial process is to be reversed as part of their doctrine. A commitment to our rights, as peoples, to maintaining our values and traditions? No, not as long as they need the uranium within our land to seize the industrial system of this society, the culture of which the Marxists are still a part."

For the position of the proletariat on this matter—once it has seized power—we will let the draft of the *New Programme and New Constitution* of the Revolutionary Communist Party speak for itself:

"...[Native Americans] have been repeatedly forced off their land into concentration camps which are euphemistically called 'reservations.' In undoing this long-standing atrocity the proletariat will, through consultation with the masses of the Indian peoples, establish large areas of land where they can live and work and will provide special assistance to the Indian peoples in developing these areas. Here autonomy will be the policy of the proletarian state—the various Indian peoples will have the right to self-

government within the larger socialist state, under certain overall guiding principles. The overall guiding principles referred to are that practices and customs must tend to promote equality, not inequality, unity not division between different peoples, and eliminate not foster, exploitation. The Indian peoples themselves will be mobilized and relied on to struggle through and enforce these principles. This will mean that policies related to local affairs as well as customs, culture and language will be under autonomous control, while at the same time the Indian peoples will be encouraged as well to take a full part in the overall affairs of society as a whole. Local customs and practices—such as medicine... will be studied for those aspects that have an underlying scientific content and these aspects will be promoted and applied generally by the proletariat... This will not be done because the proletariat has the impossible and undesirable dream of going backward in time, but rather because it is a crucial part of moving forward to classless society. "In particular, this will most definitely not be a new chapter in the history of oppression of the Indian peoples—forcing them onto reservations and treating them like special 'wards of the state' when they move off them. Instead the new proletarian state, while favoring and encouraging unity and integration, will ensure these formerly oppressed peoples' right to autonomy as part of the policy of promoting real equality between nations and peoples." (*New Draft Programme and New Constitution*, Drafts for Discussion, pp. 62-63).

This great historical advance can only come about through the overthrow of the existing social order and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat—a period still marked by the existence of classes and class struggle, but with one important distinction from previous revolutions. The proletariat, the class whose ultimate goal is the elimination of all classes including itself, holds the reins of state power and exercises that power to consciously wage the struggle for the attainment of classless society. It is inevitable that this revolution will take place, and further that humanity will move beyond it to that new era where all mankind consciously grasps and applies the laws of nature to continuously transform it in the interests of mankind. But until that occurs, and the ultimate basis for the exploitation of man by man is eliminated, there will also inevitably be those—like Russell Means—who jump out to oppose the revolutionary forward march of history under the signboard of a retrograde retreat into the past—and whose "theories" are worth less than those specimens of the crop of the "second harvest" discovered in the Nevada desert. □

Lenin On Picking Up the Pen

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from "An Urgent Question", Volume 4, p 223, 1899.

IVAN VASILYEVICH BABUSHKIN

AN OBITUARY

The name of Ivan Vasilyevich [Babushkin] is near and dear not only to Social-Democrats. All who knew him loved and respected him for his energy, his avoidance of phrase-mongering, his profound and staunch revolutionary spirit and fervent devotion to the cause. A St. Petersburg worker, in 1895 with a group of other class-conscious workers, he was very active in the district beyond the Nevskaya Zastava among the workers of the Semyannikov and Alexandrov factories and the Glass Works, forming circles, organising libraries and studying very hard himself all the time.

All his thoughts were fixed on one thing—how to widen the scope of the work. He took an active part in drawing up the first *agitational leaflet* put out in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1894, a leaflet addressed to the Semyannikov workers, and he distributed it himself. When the League of Struggle for the

Emancipation of the Working Class was formed in St. Petersburg, Ivan Vasilyevich became one of its most active members and worked in it until he was arrested. The idea of starting a political newspaper abroad to promote the unification and consolidation of the Social-Democratic Party was discussed with him by his old comrades who had worked with him in St. Petersburg, the founders of *Iskra*, and received his warmest support. While Ivan Vasilyevich was at liberty *Iskra* never went short of genuine workers' correspondence. Look through the first twenty issues of *Iskra*, all these letters from Shuya, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo and other places in Central Russia: they nearly all passed through the hands of Ivan Vasilyevich, who made every effort to establish the closest contact between *Iskra* and the workers. Ivan Vasilyevich was *Iskra's* most assiduous correspondent and its ardent supporter...

from "Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, An Obituary" Volume 16, pp 361-2, December 1910.