As Superpowers Move Towards War

POLISH STRIKERS JOLTED WORLD

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

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

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Despite a government ordered news blackout, the strike spread from workplace to workplace, city to city—eventually reaching into the Sile-

sian coal mines. Above, strikers from the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk

march across the waterfront to the docks to support the walkout there.

Four Years Since Mao Tsetung's Death

Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

September 9 marks the fourth anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time—and in fact since the time of Lenin. Today the question of Mao's contributions to the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism has become a crucial dividing-line question internationally. Mao Tsetung has the particular revolutionary virtue, even in his death, of being hated by the enemy. And, as Mao himself put it, "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing" for it shows we are doing our work right. And, as Mao himself put it, "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing" for it shows we are doing our work right.

Today Mao is under attack, not only from the U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, but even within China from the small bunch of capitalist rulers who seized power after Mao's death. But all this has led to the great responsi-

bility, and necessity, for revolutionary communists internationally to uphold Mao's great contributions, and on that basis learn from history to serve the pres-

ents and the future. This task is one that our Party and others internationally are today taking up with even greater vigor, and making it up against those in the in-

ternational movement who would cast all those achievements into the dust, and with them the revolutionary science of the working class and its ability to forge a road ahead.

On this occasion, we are reprinting a section of a book by Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee, Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions. This book, published on May First 1979, examines and sums up Mao's contributions in many fields: revolution in colonial countries, revolutionary war, political economy, philosophy, culture and, most importantly, continuing the revolution under the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat. This chapter, the conclu-
sion, originally published in January 1979 in our Part-
y's magazine Revolution, is an important contribu-
tion to the international struggle to forge ahead on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Mao: A Great Helmsman in Uncharted Waters

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

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Robert Garwood was one of the first U.S. Marines to be captured in Vietnem. He was also the last to return to the United States, in March, 1979. His trial, scheduled for later this year at Camp LeLone, North Carolina, promises to be one of the most publicized military trials since Lt. William Calley’s in 1971. In fact, this trial promises to be even more widely covered and publicized than the Calley trial because of the political unrest in South Vietnam. That was in 1965. Garwood was captured in 1968, put it: “There’s no doubt that he crossed over, but I wouldn’t use the word ‘traitor’ like some people are doing. I think people have a misconception about what is or isn’t the case on the other side, because a lot of people collaborated with the enemy. Bobby just went further than the rest of us.”

But it’s that little bit of difference that makes a contrast of Garwood useful for the bourgeoisie. As the Marines’ prosecutor put it, “This case is different. Garwood didn’t just make statements against the U.S., he took up arms against his fellow countrymen.”

The judge in Garwood’s pre-trial hearing recommended that he be officially court-martialed and be tried under the death penalty, stating that Garwood should be “placed at the same risk (fac ing death at the hands of his captors—AW) as those from whom he is trying to distinguish himself.” As a matter of fact, Garwood’s line of defense is that he initially faced similar charges of desertion, “collaboration with the enemy,” “soliciting others to refuse to fight,” and “aiding and abetting other prisoners of war” (POW’s)—in effect, switching sides to join with the Vietnamese in a war of liberation from U.S. imperialism, and urging others to do so as well. He faces a lifetime sentence, and even the life imprisonment that he is convicted with. And the bourgeoisie’s need to provoke war with every new bit of the drums of war that are being heard to beat increasingly loud.

Garwood’s line of defense is that he is only cooperated with the Vietnamese to make the world a safer place for all people, and that the world’s current thinking is putting the world on the verge of war. The judge in Garwood’s court-martialing the day before stated the frightening vision of U.S. soldiers in the coming imperialist war deserting the cause of U.S. imperialism, and turning their guns around against their own people. Garwood’s line of defense is that he was a POW of the Vietnamese Army (another Marine base), also under the rules governing POW’s (POW’s)—in effect, switching sides to join with the Vietnamese in a war of liberation from U.S. imperialism, and urging others to do so as well. He faces a lifetime sentence, and even the life imprisonment that he is convicted with. And the bourgeoisie’s need to provoke war with every new bit of the drums of war that are being heard to beat increasingly loud.

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

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

Ask yourself where are things heading? Events are moving quickly—not only in deepening and worldwide war between the two top imperialist gangsters—the U.S. and Soviet Union—but also along with it to momentous opportunities for revolution and new possibilities, including the real possibility of a revolutionary situation here. The working class in the U.S., in the millions and millions seeking a way out of the nightmare, the powerful outbreaks of rebellion like Miami, thousands of proletarians marching down the streets of the U.S. on the First of May, 1980, International Workers Day—does this indicate a continued and growing future for the proletariat here? The possibility for revolution is real, but when the situation becomes ripe, when all of society is thrown up for grabs by the capitalists, there will be a class-conscious force capable of leading revolution to victory. Unfortunately, there can be no way to build the organization capable of raising the consciousness of the masses and together with the ripening situation will be able to seize power from the capitalists. As the great revolutionary Mao Tsetung put it: “First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power.”

Today, this paper reaches those who read English, Spanish and Chinese. But this is far behind what today’s situation demands. In each of these languages it needs further contributions—in content and in distribution. And it must appear in more languages. For example, there are millions of foreign born who have an important role to play in transforming the world. You have rich experience fighting imperialism, driven here by the criminal acts of imperialism in the countries of the world. Yet the capitalists point to you as examples of those who yearn for the liberty and freedom of the U.S. It is time—long past time—that this be turned into its opposite: that the victims of capitalism use their knowledge and experience and the fact that they have been driven here to become a force for imperialism’s destruction, right here, in its own backyard. A newspaper in many languages will link this force with others. You who understand the murderous and criminal nature of U.S. imperialism, must act on that understanding and join with others in this country in arousing and shifting the broader numbers who still have illusions about this system and who have been kept ignorant of imperialism’s role. Dare to take history into your hands!

The RCP has called for a bold and determined step to make a leap in the distribution of the RW to 100,000 copies weekly by the end of September. Beyond that, we are calling on you to step forward now and become co-conspirators by translating, writing and distributing the RW in more languages. To bring together others who know the language of revolution, not just to reach them, but also to assist them in influencing broad masses of native born workers. As part of the international army of the working class, become a co-conspirator.
Former Panther Speaks Out on Marxism and the RW

As an article in the August 14 issue of The New England Journal of Medicine demonstrates, it is the policy of the U.S. government to already reaching into every sphere of society and economy, including the health care system, in order to ensure that military medicine will benefit from this process. The report was written by John H. Moss, the first director of the Department of Defense's Medical Corps, and is based on interviews with physicians and other health care professionals. It is a major contribution to the ongoing debate about the role of the military in health care, and it raises important questions about the future of medical care in the United States.

While the report does not address specific policy recommendations, it does identify some key areas for potential reform. These include:

- A need for more effective mechanisms for recruiting and retaining physicians in the military
- The need for better pay and benefits for military physicians
- The need for improved training and support for military physicians
- The need for better coordination between the military and civilian health care systems

The report also highlights some of the challenges facing the military health care system, including:

- The shortage of physicians in certain specialties
- The high turnover rate among military physicians
- The difficulty of maintaining a stable workforce

These issues are particularly relevant in light of the ongoing debate about the role of the military in health care. As the report notes, the military health care system is facing significant challenges, including a shortage of physicians, high turnover rates, and difficulty in maintaining a stable workforce. These challenges are likely to be exacerbated by the ongoing debate about the role of the military in health care, and they highlight the need for more effective mechanisms for recruiting and retaining physicians in the military.

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This "Top Secret" cable from General Robert Huyser, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Government, was released by the New York Times in January 1979. The cable details U.S. efforts to install a pro-Allahabad government in Iran, driven out of the country by the Shah. The Shah's last-gasp measure to derail the revolution was the release of the hostage Ayatollah Khomeini. This was a time of great uncertainty, with the U.S. government denying any role in Iran's affairs, while the Shah's hated regime was on the verge of defeat. However, the counterrevolution was still menacing.

Throughout 1979, the U.S. government worked to prevent Bakhtiar's government from falling, and to maintain control over Iran. This was achieved through a combination of military and economic pressure. The U.S. was providing military assistance to the Shah's government, and also sending in military personnel to support it. At the same time, the U.S. was shipping weapons to Iranian opposition groups, including the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

The cable reveals that U.S. arms, ammunition, and even gas were being shipped to Iran in crates labeled "food and medicine." This was a clear attempt to support the Shah's government, which was on the verge of collapse. The U.S. was also providing economic assistance, including loans and investments in Iranian oil and banking. These actions were designed to prevent the Shah's government from falling, and to maintain control over Iran.

The cable also provides evidence of U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs, and of the Shah's efforts to undermine the Islamic Revolution. This evidence has been widely publicized, and has contributed to a growing understanding of U.S. intervention in Iran.
This poem was submitted to the RW by a reader. September 9 marks the ninth anniversary of the Attica prison rebellion.

Cold grey walls
Men in cages
Animals guard the cells
Until the day came
The day you waited for
The day you knew would come
When the waters boil and the pressure builds
And the dam is shattered and
The mighty river pours out to
Reassert its dignity

Attica

Thousand arms fly in the air
Thousand fists clenched
Black to white to brown
One another
The many merge into
A single living defiant
Rebel

Hold the hopes!
Reach for the sky!
Scale the peaks!
Taste the future!

In a moment
Fleeting
In a moment
Precious

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

Pride
Admiration
Love
Pain and too few words to
give expression
To the feeling one has between
Slaves
The feeling of
Attica
Laughing/shouting
Eyes tearing/months grinning
Skins slapping/hands gripping tight
Backs straighten up
While others stand even taller

Expressions
Passing from one to the next
Different yet all the same
Burning an age old image
Into our minds

Pain and despair lay broken at their feet
While together we stand atop the mountain
Taste the future

In a moment
Fleeting
In a moment
Precious

Snakes and vermin, finely attired vultures
Atop their perch issuing edicts
Droppings
Perfumed for display in the white marble
Halls of history
Drool trickles down their jaws
In anticipation
Chuckles of glee
Hollow empty noise
Not loud enough to cover
The quaking
Of their stone hearts
The shaking
Of their red stained Pucci slippers

Chalk white blank expressions
Of those who saw their fate waiting
In D Yard
Of those who saw their fate waiting
In the burning cities of Amerikkka
Of those who saw their fate waiting
In the jungles of man
Of those who see their fate waiting
Behind the embassy walls in Tehran
In the icy stare of the tortured
In the laughing of the slave who knows
Of those who'll see their fate
One day
No longer waiting

The phone call comes
A long distance killer
Johnny D's vile offspring
Would have made his grandad proud
With the
Actions of cowards
Tin star stormtroopers of the state
Press forward
A gas mask resembling a
Grotesque goalie
Guarding the sanctity of
Human bondage

Their shotguns spraying death in the yard
From atop the walls
A torrent of pain descends
Ripping the flesh from the body
Tearing life from the living

"X" marks the spot
For the ones that they missed
Taken round back
To be sure
A carnage of law and order
A brilliant display of justice for all
Make the survivors drink mud
In your false bravado
Wash away your fear in a
River of blood

The flame burns stronger
The cry echoes
Attica
Explores

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

The flame burns stronger
A moment
Precious
A moment
Not so fleeting
A taste of the future
The Court: The bail must clearly be increased in view of the fact that the defendants have been convicted and face an aggregate fine of $15,000. The counsel wish to make a motion in respect of the matter of bail. At this time, if my recollection is correct, the defendant Yip is at liberty on a $5,000 personal recognizance bond and may reasonably be considered in the same position as the defendant Gan. I would ask counsel to submit their arguments on this matter to me within 24 hours, so that I may consider it. Bail is revoked, the defendants are remanded. If their adherents get out of the mess that appears on the side of the courthouse, I will consider their release. That is it.

Mr. Gordon: Mr. Yip did not.

The Court: I join with Mr. Gordon. Mr. Gan didn't—

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

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

I will free these two young men when the same adherents, who moved up this courthouse, clean it up.

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

Accordingly, bail is revoked, the defendants are remanded until that occurs.

Mr. Scheck: No.

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

But the defendants are remanded until that occurs.

Then I will listen and see where we go from there.

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

The Court: I didn't make that mess.

Mr. Gordon: Neither did Mr. Yip.

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

These vandals—Mr. Gordon, I have listened to you for a change. I have listened to you long enough.

These vandals have defaced this courthouse with red paint. Perhaps they think that it is up to them and their adherents to clean this place up.

I want to hear what any counsel wish to make any further statements to the Court?

Mr. Scheck: Your Honor, the Court should like the record to reflect that speakers who were numerous have left the courthouse and we are here together with counsel and the defendants.

I would ask counsel wish to make any further statements to the Court?

Mr. Scheck: Neither.

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

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

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

That is why I have the court record in view of the fact that their adherents, who have been here a long time, must have been one among them who would be able to remove the assistance in removing the graffiti.

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

The Court: Let me hear from Mr. Scheck.

Mr. Scheck: Mr. Yip doesn't own either.

Mr. Gordon: Mr. Yip didn't do this, he didn't authorize it.

The Court: Does he know who did it?

Mr. Scheck: No.

The Court: Yip doesn't know either.

Mr. Gordon: No.

Mr. Scheck: The problem, Judge is that these two young men are being put in a very difficult position.

The Court: What is more difficult, cleaning it up like a decent citizen of the world? I don't think that is going to mean anything.

I think all that is required is that we increase the cash security in each case, I will hear counsel.

The Court: What is more, difficult, the Court will have to deal with the matter of freeing them. That is the Court's determination.

But the defendants are remanded until that occurs.

As soon as the mess that has been made on the side of the courthouse before I can say that is going to change matters and the thought that I have of letting the defendants out very promptly may suddenly evaporate.

I have been patient with cleaning it up like a decent citizen of the world. I have not looked on with banners, and I didn't say a word at any point in the proceedings.

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

The court is adjourned. I will be available as soon as counsel can report and on admitting the defendants to bail, pending appeal.

Court is adjourned.

Mr. Scheck: Bail is revoked.

The Court: The bail must clearly be increased in view of the fact that the defendants have been convicted and face an aggregate fine of $15,000. I hereby revoke bail, the defendants are remanded. If their adherents get out of the mess that appears on the side of the courthouse, I will consider their release. That is it.
Not available.
This is an excerpt from Lenin's article "An Urgent Question" (Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 220), written at the end of 1882. A new phase of historical development relating to the importance of correspondence with the newspaper, was registered two weeks ago in the history of the party under the title "Lenin on Picking Up the Pen." This section, and the article as a whole, deals mainly with the question of distribution of the newspapers.

The Russian socialists and the Russian working class...have shown their heroic qualities, and in general, it would be a sin to complain of a shortage of people. There is to be observed among the working youth an impenitent, unquenchable enthusiasm for the ideas of democracy and socialism, and helpers for the workers still continue to arise from among the intelligentsia, despite the fact that the prisons and places of exile are overcrowded. If the idea of the necessity for a stricter organisation is made widely known among all these districts, and if the "killed and wounded" was not the danger involved) will become considerably less and, on the other hand, the deviation, or various aspects of revolutionary work as special functions, will provide greater opportunities to inarch on the newspaper.
The Polish workers’ strikes had international significance far beyond the workplaces that were shut down. Above, people gathered at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk eagerly grab up leaflets containing news of strike developments that were tossed over the gates by strikers.

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The following is the second of a two-part series of selections from a book by Miklos Haraszti, Piece Rates in Hungary (published by Penguin Books under the title A Worker in a Worker's State) which is an on-going and disengaged approach of "the brutal manifestations of the famous relations of production," as the author says—"the catastrophic relations of production, which produce the torments with which every worker in the world is familiar."

While writing today in the revisionist, capitalist, conservative editorial office of a "socialist" paper of the Soviet Union and its bloc, including not only Hungary, but of course Poland as well, it helps make it clear that workers in both the U.S. and Soviet bloc and their brothers of exploitation, with common dreams of escaping the misery and a common, international revolutionary mission.

There is a collective agreement, almost everyone knows that. But nobody knows what it is. "That sort of nonsense has nothing to do with me." It is the general opinion. To start with, there are very few who know what is meant by this "collective"—that is, the joint elaboration of the trade union and the management of "mutual rights and obligations." Those who do know put it rather differently, as if we have to put up with, except for what it states, I was informed.

How long is it since the collective agreement was drawn up for this factory? It seems different: "It has been there, it has been around for several years," the full details were published for the first time last year; last year, they drew a new one.

Some could remember that the collective was read out during a production meeting last year. "But that was only a draft for comment," someone explained. "Was there a vote?" They look at me in amazement. They are the kind of person who replied to my naive question, "collective," is read out during a production meeting; the legal advice columns in the daily papers have to write: "The collective convention of your factory will certainly contain instructions to the management about the legitimacy or otherwise of the decision against which you are protesting." That's what they always say to workers who write in with complaints.

My neighbours got wind of my little dispute, and my friend the turner mocked me once again. "Now you've really done it," they said. "You don't expect anything, do you?" And my friend the turner, who is a real socialist, said: "Take a look in the collective, if you don't believe me. He left me standing there.

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

Within a couple of minutes I regretted not having taken the head foreman at his word. I would have liked to find the appropriate clause. There were a dozen entries in the index under the word 'leave', each with long sub-titles, but not one of them seemed to apply to me.

I asked for help, and the clerk in-
Comrades,

I recently had the opportunity to read the new Programme put out by the RCP. I was very impressed with what the Programme had to say about farm workers.

First of all I would like to say that my background is that of a farmer. I have witnessed US imperialism first hand. As a youth I participated in the struggle for the farmworkers, because I like many others was seeking better working conditions and higher wages for them. I was an active participant in the UFW and have supported Cesar Chavez and believed that through his leadership the struggles of the workers could be won.

Thousands of us who marched and raised the flag of the UFW are living the same with the exception that our wages were boosted to a decent level.

Just recently I visited with my parents who are seasonal farmworkers. All three of them have been through a sea of blood. In fact, Bakhtiar was already a US-directed military government. During the same time, the UFW had made a impact in particular. A youth from the Bay Area

For the few short weeks that he was prime minister, Bakhtiar demagogically “agreed” to meet the people’s demands on just about everything. Further negotiations were taking place between the US and Bakhtiar through a number of “disinterested” generals in order to avert the revolution in Iran.

This cable reveals the desperation of the US military to crush the Iranian revolution. The US government pursued every avenue it could, Hüseyin’s job of holding the Iranian military together was the key element in the US effort to quell this revolutionary forces in Tehran had already begun and the Shah’s elite army units were collapsing rapidly. The Iranian army, intensifying splits that were spreading mutinies as thousands of soldiers, women,- boys, it was definitely a real struggle. It was tragic. I had never witnessed anything like it.

I am sure that it is not just myself who is shocked by the madness. There are many others and I am one of them. I feel how after revolution once we’ve entered socialism the conditions of the farm workers will be the same as the UFW righteously in this sentence. They shouldn’t have said it any more clear.

I’m sure that this is a very dangerous situation that this is a very dangerous situation. He predicted that Khomeini, if he returns to Iran, “would be a big upheaval, then things would go to hell in a handbasket.” Hüseyin’s superior officers knew that if an insurrection or civil war started, the masses could move very rapidly from the United States to Khomeini and the vacillating forces could be used to the benefit of the US. Which the imperialists feared much more. And rightly so, for the US had consistently advocated appeasement as the only way to bring the Iranian people from the grasp of Shah’s regime and imperialist domination.

Still, Hüseyin, like the rest of his comrades, is blind to their historical fate—cannot see what is happening. But here’s his words, he had already attempted to stage a coup and joined the popular forces. Down to the final dying moments of the Shah’s regime, “All around the world the socialist forces, those who oppose the military coup the only reason it couldn’t do so was that there was no longer an army to launch the Iranian masses were taking care of that!”

The military coup behind the imperialists’ repeated attempts to quell this revolution that has rocked the Middle East, that has spread the flames of revolution to millions of other oppressed peoples worldwide, and has thrown a big monkey wrench into the plans of the imperialists rivals in the USSR. Their efforts to crush the Iranian Revolution were under their boot through updated versions of plans “A” and “B,” and this time with a penalty with the taken to improve the conditions of the farm workers. “Along with providing employment for the agricultural population as a whole, an immediate step of the proletariat, upon seizing power, will be to abolish the miserable conditions in which farm workers are forced to live and labor under capitalism. Special priority will be given to constructing decent housing and other facilities for farm workers and to providing them with the basic necessities, including health care. This will include so-called ‘illegal’ many of whom are employed in agriculture. They will be immediately granted citizenship in the new revolutionary state and not only provided employment but fully involved in every aspect of ruling and remaking society.”

Ruling and remaking society is our goal that in our revolutionary struggle!

Long Live the RCP!
Cowboy Myth Rides Again for Imperialism

"Bang the drums slowly, play the life lowing, the death march as you carry me by/take me to the grave; there lay the sod on me. I'm a young cowboy, I know I must die."—Streets of Laredo.

"For I'm a young cowboy, I know I must die." The haunting refrain from this classic cowboy ballad is worth recalling today, in an odd way: it says a lot about the current concerted effort by the international fashion industry to sell the cowboy image as the first class culture craze of the 1990s. The type of the "Street of Laredo" were a puzzle to the early folklorists and musicologists who roamed the west in the early 1900s collecting songs and cowboy tales—because there was no trace of life and death "death marches" on the plains of West Texas. Finally, some enterprising scholar traced the room of the song back to an Irish army funeral march of the 17th century. This is a small piece of historical irony. For when we analyze the contemporary cowboy revival, being spearheaded by the film "Urban Cowboy," it becomes clear that the promotion of this trend is directly related to promoting national chauvinism and preparing mass public opinion for the coming war.

The relationship between the revival of the cowboy symbol and the war preparations of the imperialists finds its open and obvious expressions in the relationship between cowboy styles and the war. The American cattlemen who developed the techniques of riding, roping, trailing and branding that became part of the cowboy mystique. The term "buckaroo," which was developed in the early 1800s. Following the Mexican War, the American cattleman would most likely have been a slower, and certainly a less well prepared army than the Mexican vaquero. The term reflecting the existence of a thriving cattle industry in the southwest for hundreds of years before the U.S. began to establish colonies there in the early 1800s. Following the Mexican War, Mexico opened the doors wide to U.S. immigration in the mistaken belief that its democracy would be a source of friendly support. But it was the native vaqueros who trained the newcomers in the cattle trade.

The first cowboys were Texan cattle rustlers in the 1830s. Among other things, they raided Mexican ranches, driving off the vaqueros and capturing their cattle. The "vaqueros"—Mexican cattlemen who developed the techniques of riding, roping, trailing and branding that became part of the cowboy mystique. The term was Americanized as "buckaroo.

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SOVIET BLOC

Continued from page 11

know full well that a 'perfect' combination, which allows us to double productivity, is impossible. They count on the fact that we will not be able to carry out in practice the system of work composition which we would have earned on one machine alone.

Obviously, we have no standard for comparison, as the two-machine system has come about in the most unusual conditions of work. Everyone could make calculations on a scrap of paper, as we would be able to perceive the disadvantages of working two machines, and (even evaluate ourselves—we would compare a long abandonment of work. But he would have to take into account the many other factors that are often involved.

The two-machine norm can appear so commonplace that one's perception of it is not connected with the current situation. It is not only the two-machine system, but also the entire factory, that is presented as seemingly 'natural,' and the illusion is based on the fact that the worker is presented with a norm that is objectively a product of work.

In the final analysis, the intermingling of 'paid' and 'unpaid' work stems from the very fact that workers have a supplementary wage. 'I suppose they make calculations on a scrap of paper, as we would be able to perceive the disadvantages of working two machines, and (even evaluate ourselves—we would compare a long abandonment of work. But he would have to take into account the many other factors that are often involved.

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![Image: Factory interior with workers and machinery.]

**NOTE:** I myself can only write about work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory. They all have to work for the time being, for the entire factory.
"Free Thinkers" Expel Marx from Kentucky Campus

POLISH STRIKERS

Continued from page 10

take advantage of the rival's weakness.

Despite the desire of the U.S. impe-
rialists to subordinate Poland to a new
slave state—I.e., themselves—and de-
spite the fact that the U.S. bloc already
has a stronghold in the workers and
bourgeoisie of Poland, the Polish peo-
ple are directing at the imperialists who
dominate and must directly exploit and
oppress them, the Soviet Union. Nor
is it surprising that the U.S. bloc would
try to exploit this situation, to use those
who come forward as leaders of the resis-
tance to Soviet domination in their cri-
sis moments to bear the blows of the
bourgeoisie.

That the Polish working class for an independent role and a
role in society were an exposure of the
bourgeoisie and fascists of neither the Soviet
nor the Polish side.

But more, they indicate the underlying
capitalist nature of the Polish regime.

The demands of the Polish working
class for an independent role and a
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Cowboy

Texas. The lore of his native soil was his religion, and the lore of the cowboy was his church. The lore of his native soil spoke of the frontier as a kind of Promised Land, a land of opportunity, a land where one could make a new start and build a new life. The lore of the cowboy, on the other hand, spoke of a land of adventure, a land where one could ride the range and experience the thrill of the open road.

The American frontier was a place of opportunity, a place where one could make a new start and build a new life. The frontier was a land of adventure, a land where one could ride the range and experience the thrill of the open road. The American frontier was a place of opportunity, a place where one could make a new start and build a new life. The frontier was a land of adventure, a land where one could ride the range and experience the thrill of the open road.

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"Hey, is that the paper those people were arrested for? Let me see it!" "How can they get away with that? Are you really revolutionary?"

More and more people are asking sellers of the Revolutionary Worker newspaper these kinds of questions on the streets of Atlanta. Two weeks ago two revolutionaries, busted for posting the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power!" poster, charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," were free on $50,000 bond. Twenty and 20 years behind bars, is becoming widely known in the area. Many people are following the developments of this case very closely, recognizing it as a serious political attack on one of the main distributors. Others have stepped forward to take it up in their own fight.

One person, a regular RW distributor, was so outraged by his attack that he decided to try to help the poster. He got a new occupation, a Black Vietnam veteran donated $75 to the bail fund and decided that he would become an RW distributor. A professor wrote a statement of support and is struggling to sell them to a local army recruiting post to bring hope of a new beginning. The media hit from another angle. Channel 11 television, in its news spot, showed a picture of the poster, concentrating on the top half, while photographs of a revolutionary armisted with bayonets matches just above a list holding a rolled up copy of the RW. The newspaper commented on the news while reading the news of the bail reduction. And the local papers ran a quote from the District Attorney lambasting that, "Successful prosecution would be more likely if the defendants had actually committed some violent acts." And a local commentator on the most popular radio station in Atlanta spread the false rumor that the two defendants had been let out of jail and that he was "outraged that the revolutionary communists are walking the streets." He even challenged one defendant (who is also a Mao Tseung Defender) by name, to call him up on the air to debate.

The fact remains that the two defendants are still in jail and no moves whatever have been made to drop the charges. At the same time, the open cries in the media that the RCP and its supporters are "terrorists" or "violenta crime crazies" (a tactic the government has been using against the Party nationwide) are designed to unleash reactionary sentiments in support of prosecution. And the bourgeoisie is consciously stepping up their harassment of the defendants by holding them hostage. When one man went to jail, with the full amount of cash in hand, to bail out one of the defendants he got told; "He's not here, she's already been bailed out."

The first time he believed them. But when he found out different he returned. He got the same story again in the piggie refused to turn over their prisoner—even with the bail right in front of their faces.

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

Former Panther Speaks Out

Continued from page 4

It makes a prejudicial remark. So we stop right there and struggle over this. The people said, "Hey, man, you don't mean to say that Joe Average can just move forward, we can really put out our real potential..."

The question is, how to eliminate these things by eliminating classes. We can't sit around and talk about how everyone can just move forward, we really can put out our real potential...

"Hey, that's what we're working to eliminate," I feel once they eliminate this prejudice and get it into the system, blacks can move forward. They can't sit around and talk about each other. They have to get the system down. The system gets into a political organization that he is affiliated with for to take us all together. The American Civil Liberties Union had an emergency meeting to decide how they would respond, and several other organizations in Atlanta are debating the same question.

In the growing public opinion against this outrage, State Rep. Willard "Bill" Ensor, was forced to lower the bond on the felony charge from $3,000 to $500 each, or face further charges. This means the total amount of bail down to $1500, since the defendants are still appealing their convictions on criminal trespass charges in city court. (Since our article last week we have learned that on these convictions are $100 and 90 days in jail for each—category—they are he fined $100 each and have $500 bail apiece—RW). Outside the court-room, the "first paragraph at the bottom of the poster was part of a drive to increase the circulation of the RW.

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

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Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

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

Cuba, which despite all this has become a haven of Soviet socialimperialism, is, preceding for example, the disastrous ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

Cuba's economic crisis is a direct result of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism."

Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make a clear road to libertarian socialism.

Second printing

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Cowboy

Continued from page 16

ed it was more illusion than opportunity.

The failed Homestead Act of 1862, for example, which was supposed to provide free land for the asking to any able-bodied man, was a farce and a bustle for many speculators. The mass of poor rural crews or urban day laborers in the East could not even afford to get to the west to stake a claim; could not afford to even engage in such an enterprise. As one progressive historian has pointed out, "The free lands of the west were not the creation of a 'unique American spirit' but of thorough dishonesty. It was to set the U.S. apart from European experience through all time—and because their quick settlement and utilization for the extensive cultivation of foodstuffs furnished exactly those conditions with which the West, a debtor nation, could balance its international payments. It would be worth some monetary factors of European capital in order to develop a native industrial enterprise. Furthermore, the Civil War to the end of the century, American history is the history of agriculture. It is the story of urbanism, or the west, the Jim Crow system in the South, chaotic and violent, the negative role of industrialization and exploitation in the factories—and the extremely rapid concentration, unification and monopolization of the hands of a small circle of financiers, the development of a system of competitive capitalism, and the emergence of the United States as a major power in the world. . ." he study of imperialism that "in the United States of America, of capitalist development, the rate of reproduction is still greater. In 1904, almost half the total productive activity of all the enter-
prises of the country was carried on by one-hundred part of these enterprises! These 3000 giant enterprises were no less than 298 branches of industry. From this it can be seen that, a certain stage of its development, concentration itself, as it were, leads right up to monopoly; a core of top giant enterprises can easily arrive at an agreement, while on the other hand, hindrance to concentration, the tendency toward monopoly, arises from the very dimensions of the enterprises. The transformation of competition into monopoly is one of the most important—if not the most important—phenomena of modern capitalism. . ."

In 1894, the Spanish-American War, an imperialist war for the conquest of the Philippines, clearly marked the beginnings of U.S. imperialist contention with the other powers for domination of the world. And, as one historian, who according to legend led his Rough Riders in the charge up San Juan Hill in the war against Spain, very consciously adopted the role of the cowboy president. He led the development of the American army. And, against this background (so the legend goes), far from all the fuss and bother, placing a gun, and sleeping under a blanket of stars out on the peaceful prairie—the cowboy reigns supreme.

The Facts and the Legend

"If the facts conflict with the legend, print the legend," advised the small-town owner in John Ford's western, "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance." Ford, the reactionary director of many a western film, freely admitted that this was his own philosophy. And the cowboy legend is of great importance to the rulers of this country today, as it has been for decades, especially, because, to quote an IAS observer whose comments remain apropos, "The name 'cowboy' was even—and still more emotionally—a synonym for many of the worst crimes and bloodiest out west. The history of the growth of huge, slinking barons who themselves were in the grip of financial monopolies and were robbed of their last sizeable inheritances and other financial interests.

Westernized agricultural immigration to the west was far exceeded by the phenomenon of the latter half of the 19th Century. The flood of ruined farmers and immigrants into the cities. "Undoubtedly more immigrants were地说 than the number of homesteaders patented to native and the foreign-born combined. The Settlements and Alien Compatriots, together with a far greater number who were originally looking for industrial occupations, furnished many applicants for each job vacated by any city worker proved up. It is a fair estimate that for every industrial worker who made good on the land there were 20 farmers' sons who moved hopefully and a few successfully, into the city in search of work. The so-called "free land out," 43% of the agricultural population were wage laborers, and 39% of the total agricultural population increased by only 9 million, while the urban population increased from 20 million in 1850 to 48 million. By 1885, when the Indians were driven off the plains, the largest cotton crop was in the Oklahoma land rush. U.S. agriculture was already tightly in the grip of a powerful and ever-growing class of wage laborers who had to seek their livelihoods in cities and of bloody strikes—some of the bloodiest out west.

The spread of the rail in the 19th Century was not the expansion of a democratic and pastoral commonwealth—it was the end of the era of capitalism, and the passing over of the so-called "free land era," into the grip of a handful of powerful cattle barons who themselves were in the grip of financial monopolies and other financial interests. The surplus of land-seeking aliens, together with a far greater number who were originally looking for industrial occupations, furnished many applicants for each job vacated by any city worker proved up.

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

The PDID is a highly secretive police unit (even the members of the city council are uninformed of its budget). It's clearly connected with the highest reaches of the U.S. "intelligence" agencies. The PDID was directly involved in the attacks on the May Day Brigade in L.A. and on the May Day demonstration itself. More recently it has initiated a series of arrests attempting to keep the RM out of Watts. After an incredible 1 1/2 years of pretrial hearings in the case of the five RCYB members, whose name of Detective Slagle of PDID was discovered in an otherwise innocuous report of "the incident" on February 28th, Slagle was called in to testify. As soon as PDID was brought into the case, so too came two high-powered additions to the prosecutors' team. The whole atmosphere in the courtroom changed as the prosecutors objected to virtually every defense question (with the judge sustaining about 90% of the objections). And while Slagle evaded most of the questions defense attorneys managed to get beyond the prosecutors' objections, a few of his responses were very revealing. It turns out that Slagle had "an ongoing relationship" with the CSLA cops' chief investigating officer (who was directly involved in the busts on the 28th), that the two of them "talked about the RCYB" and that he had met with chief cop Patrick Connally a number of times. All this directly contradicted the testimony of a whole string of campus cops. Slagle also admitted that he had made a number of reports on "the incident." The fact that the only report he had been turned over to the defense (and that they had no intention of turning over the others), was in blatant contradiction to a previous court order and resulted in the dismissal of all the charges.

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

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

As for the willing role of the Moonies, anyone who has read issues of their student paper, World Student Times, can readily see that their main objectives on the campuses is to stop any progressive political activity, especially communist, and that the RCP and RCYB are two of their main targets. In the month following the busts on the 28th, the CSLA administration revealed official recognition of the RCYB while, with great fanfare, they gave it to the Moonies, even making public statements supporting the contributions the Moonies could make to the campus. The CSLA administration magnified all along that they had made no special plans to deal with the RCYB rally ahead of time. But one of their lower level shills had temporarily admitted knowing of at least two meetings involving top campus administrators and Chief Connolly that took place on the two days prior to the 28th, where they discussed "plans for the rally" and arranged to have extra cops on duty that day.

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

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.
Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

Continued from page 1

and many times, Mao had to wage a fierce, battle against opportunists within the Chinese Communist Party who, for the most part, opposed and attacked the correct line of advance which he was fighting for. But beyond that, and as a decisive factor of formative and substantial importance, the leadership, Mao also had to challenge and break with the thinking of the international communist movement. Specifically, he had to fight against the mechanical approach which meant that the revolutionary line must proceed exactly the same way as it did in the Soviet Union. He described this as a holy cannot be treated as an enemy rather than as a possible ally, that that the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism—especially in the for developing China’s own national economic and cultural revolution, this is right to rebel against reaction and that the future of com- nation in the socialist stage, after the People’s Republic was est the Chinese Communist Party defended the revolutionary experience and the achievements of the Soviet people in building soviet socialism before Khrushchev & Co.’s coup? Because they defended Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union against the completely un- refuted slander and denunciations of the Soviet revisionists? Because they insisted that the basic lessons of the October Revolution and the banner of leader, Lenin, were still valid and must be followed. No, all of these are very important and part of the reason, but they were not the main thing. It was because Mao led the revolutionaries in China in summing up the positive experience and the shortcomings the Communist Party who, from the right and the “left,” op- and the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism, specifically in the case with the greatest of Mao’s immortal contribu- revolutionaries? Because it was the accepted rule and had the word, applying the method, of Marx and Lenin. The Soviet now had been developed as the foreign policy and this was actually its rule in that country—in fact there would have been no Soviet Union and no socialism in the country, it goes without saying what a loss that would have been to the international proletariat. And so it was that Mao consistently argued that the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism must be applied and that the basic lessons of the October Revolution must be studied—especially the need for the seizure of power through the armed struggle of the masses, the defense of the Party, the full lead, among the revolutionary party of the proletariat—but that these had to find different application in China’s concrete conditions than they had in Russia. It was on this basis that, as a part of leading the struggle for the seizure of nationwide political power in China, Mao made some of his important contributions which enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism—especially in the formulation of the strategy of the new democratic revolution leading to socialism, in military line and thought, and in laying the basic groundwork of his development of Marxist philosophy.

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

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class and their adversaries are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later.'

In discussing, and defending, the contributions of Mao Tsetung, that they not only forged their way forward through tremendous struggle to take China on the socialist road, but also gained new ground in building socialism, as for example in the Great Leap Forward, and continued in the new development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement under socialism, the Chinese people and their revolutionaries could not but profoundly respect Mao Tsetung, that they not only forged their way forward through tremendous struggle to take China on the socialist road, but also gained new ground in building socialism, as for example in the Great Leap Forward, and continued in the new development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement under socialism, and therefore have, in fact, failed to even win complete liberation from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism but not so keen on carrying out the struggle against the bourgeoisie to bring about the victory of socialism over capitalism and the continued advance toward communism. And the further the revolution progressed in the socialist stage, the more that many of these leading people came into opposition to—not all of them, but not only a few either. What is involved here is the phenomenon of bourgeois-democrats turning into capitalist-rulers in the socialist stage, which has been dealt with several times in this book.

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

For these bourgeois democrats, the goal of the revolution was to overcome China's backwardness and the new total domination of China by the imperialist powers. Therefore they turned to 'socialism'—public ownership—as the most efficient and rapid means of turning China into a highly industrialized, modern country. As the socialist revolution advanced, they fought for this development to take place along increasingly bourgeois lines—which under China's conditions would not only reverse capitalism but would also lead to bringing China back under the domination of one imperialist power or another. Further, as also noted several times in this book, such people and the revisionists in general had a social base which, under certain conditions, could be mobilized as a powerful force for the overthrow of the proletariat dictatorship—as indeed happened in 1976.

Again, in light of all this, it can be seen what a remarkable accomplishment it was of the Chinese masses and their revolutionary leaders, led by Mao Tsetung, that they not only forged their way forward through tremendous struggle to take China on the socialist road, but also gained new ground in building socialism, as for example in the Great Leap Forward, but continued in the new development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement under socialism, and therefore have, in fact, failed to even win complete liberation from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism but not so keen on carrying out the struggle against the bourgeoisie to bring about the victory of socialism over capitalism and the continued advance toward communism. And the further the revolution progressed in the socialist stage, the more that many of these leading people came into opposition to—not all of them, but not only a few either. What is involved here is the phenomenon of bourgeois-democrats turning into capitalist-rulers in the socialist stage, which has been dealt with several times in this book.

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and selling out the revolution in China itself in the name of "modernizing" the country and "strengthening" the international revolutionary situation. Leaders do, in turn, play a very significant role in the revolutionary struggle of the masses. But they can only go so far, and their actions can only be of any real significance, if they continue to stand with the masses in the sharp struggle of the struggle of the masses and on that basis lead it forward. In this era, in this most thoroughgoing and radical revolutionary movement in history, the question of biography, that means they play their role by applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in which they find themselves and to guide the struggle. In this way they can and do exert a tremendous influence on the movements of the masses and can actually accelerate the inevitable revolutionary process (just as they can retard it through errors and deviations from Marxism-Leninism). Furthermore, the struggle that workers carry on the normal functions of life in the same way as the rest of us, they also struggle to free themselves from the conditions of exploitation that the same basic way as all class conscious fighters make their contributions to the revolutionary movement.

This struggle cannot be detached from any other movement, from any other sphere in any other place, in a living way, the science of Marxism-Leninism lends understanding and experience to the masses. The point, then, in focusing on the role and great contributions of such leaders is precisely to show the tremendous potential of the masses and the capacity, ability, of all in the revolutionary movement to master and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism, and to make in this way their greatest contribution to the historic mission of the proletariat.

It is understood that no one, no matter how great his or her contribution, can be free of mistakes. This, of course, applies to great leaders themselves. But it is also understood that while understanding and learning from their tremendous contributions, and developments in China, and learning from their mistakes, it is also necessary to understand and learn from their errors. Specifically, in the last few years of Mao's life, which the Soviet Union posed the main danger to China, and especially to the masses, it developed a profound interest toward the Soviet Union, and we're in the Sino-Soviet war, the U.S., the Soviet Union was very likely to take the stand of subordinating everything to the defense of China. Most especially, they recognized the importance of the huge socialist China as a counterweight to the bourgeois in China and continuing the revolution underground. Mao's conception of the relationship of the U.S.S.R. to a correct line for defending China. But, more than that, they also continued, as stated, to fight for support from the people and those struggles in other countries, even those within the U.S. bloc.

Thus, despite certain disagreements our Party has with the Chinese leadership on some very specific questions relating to the international situation, the character of the revolutionary movements in the imperialist countries and the relationship of this to the defense of China, overall we recognize their fundamentally revolutionary role. Mao has a great influence on the masses, and the need to learn from his contributions to internationalism and certain errors he made in this sphere is of the utmost importance. Most fundamental, however, as stated, is the need to more thoroughly turn not merely the line and actions of Mao and the revolutionary leadership of China as the history of the international communist movement around this question, is its potential for masses to push back and to destroy the imperialist system, especially capitalist and imperialist countries which do not pose the main danger to the socialist country at a particular historical moment but are headed by that imperialist state which does throw up such a challenge. This was the case precisely when the situation where war between imperialist states is approaching and the likelihood of an attack on a socialist state, particularly by one imperialist power is very great.

As part of this, it must be understood that no one, no matter how great his or her contribution, can be free of mistakes. This, of course, applies to great leaders themselves. But it is also understood that while understanding and learning from their tremendous contributions, and developments in China, and learning from their mistakes, it is also necessary to understand and learn from their errors. Specifically, in the last few years of Mao's life, which the Soviet Union posed the main danger to China, and especially to the masses, it developed a profound interest toward the Soviet Union, and we're in the Sino-Soviet war, the U.S., the Soviet Union was very likely to take the stand of subordinating everything to the defense of China. Most especially, they recognized the importance of the huge socialist China as a counterweight to the bourgeois in China and continuing the revolution underground. Mao's conception of the relationship of the U.S.S.R. to a correct line for defending China. But, more than that, they also continued, as stated, to fight for support from the people and those struggles in other countries, even those within the U.S. bloc.

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It related to the social origins of many cowboys was the semi-mercenary character of their work for the cattle bosses. While there doubtst were cow- 
boys who last day a day’s pay, digging poshales or branding steers, got paid and minded their own business, the anybody who was forced to work to survive, a lot of the “shoved hands” were people and those who performed such services for the boss as killing Indians, stringing up rustlers, terrorizing and driving out prospective rivals, and even intimidating or burning out “noebust- ers!”—traditional farmers who the cattle 
men feared would encroach upon their grazing land and “close off the range.” One writer observes, taking a western film as an example, “The at-
titude of the cowboy to the sodbuster is articularly expressed by one of the characters in Riders West. “I never had any use for a nester, missus far as I’m concerned, you ain’t even people.” And a barn is fired. A sign is left: “Notice to all settlers: Leave the valley by daybreak of the 14th of this month. No excep-
tions and no excuses.” By the 1860s, various cattle barons had their own private armies, and full-scale range wars were being waged against each other and against encroaching sheep-
herders; the cowboy plays a role about as romantic as a Pinkerton guard or a company gun.

One aspect of the traditional view of the cowboy—the mob of drunken cowboys descending on a cattle town for a wild night on the town, six guns blazing and horses rearing and nay-
ing—has considerable foundation in fact. Towns such as Abilene and Dodge City were pretty much the pits of gambling, prostitution, and drunken violence that legend holds them to have been. A contemporary observation: “Cowboy spends his money recklessly...he will make a way with the wages of a half year in a few weeks, —gambling, prostitution, and drunken recklessly. . .he will make a way with 
child’s image is clouded with accretions from the whole broader bourgeois integration of American history during the “golden age” of ris-
ing capitalism. “The name ‘cowboy’ is no longer the name for a man of crimes.” This is the key to understanding the place of the cowboy in 20th-
century American popular culture and specifically the current orchestrated at-
tempt at renewal of “Cowboy Fever”—a subject we will take up in next week’s article.

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**Footnotes**

14. C. W. Webber, Tales of the Southern Border (Philadelphia 1855). Quoted in The Power of the Pen, America’s Western Front-
back Vols, I, p. 7.
16. Quoted in Merk, p. 122.
17. Quoted in Merk, p. 158.
18. Quoted in Merk, p. 162.
19. Max, Capital, New World Paper-
backs Vol, I, p. 35.
22. Fred A. Shannon, The Farmer’s Last From-