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GLOVES OFF IN D.C. TRIAL

**Mao Defendants
Take On
Multiplying
Felonies**

Tuesday morning, July 3, Washington D.C., Superior Courthouse. This day was the first of two separate arraignments for the 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants. The ruling class had thrown down the gauntlet. The defendants were originally slapped with four indictments each, adding up to a possible 35 years in jail, but on this day the outrage was increased. The government stretched the four felony charges to twelve separate felony counts, adding up to a total of over 100 prison years' worth of charges for each revolutionary. All are charged with 11 different varieties of assault on a cop plus felony rioting, stemming from the demonstration protesting Chinese vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping's U.S. visit. Their trial is scheduled for November 19.

In particular the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Bob Avakian, was to be indicted on this day

even though not one cop had even identified him in the line-up. Comrade Avakian had been singled out ever since the arrest in January because as the prosecution said, "He is a revolutionary leader." Even the *Washington Post* noted after the arrests that the "tough stance taken by the prosecution is a departure from the traditional policy here of charging minor offenses in mass demonstration arrests."

The charges had tripled inside of two weeks—the time from written notification of the indictments until the July 3 arraignments. Often, some charges are dropped during the pre-trial period. But this is no ordinary trial. Felony charges are piled on top of felony charges. Phony incidents are cooked up and then milked ten times over from every conceivable angle for ridiculous new charges. The government is making

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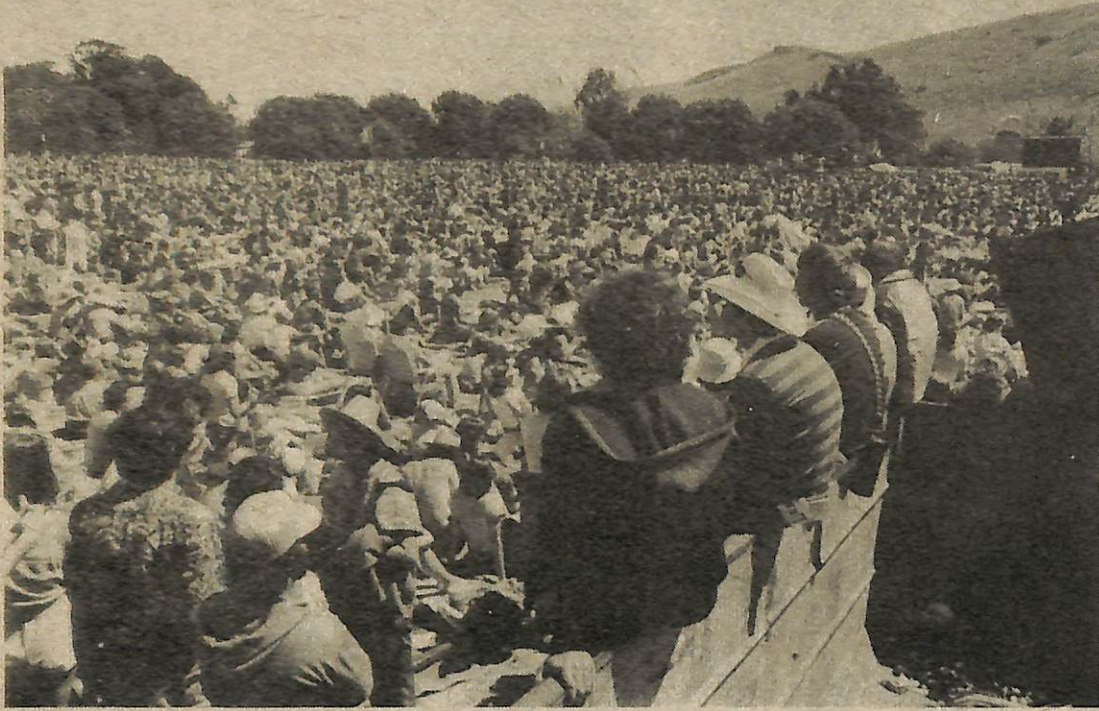
Sandinista Offensive Rips Up U.S. Political Plots

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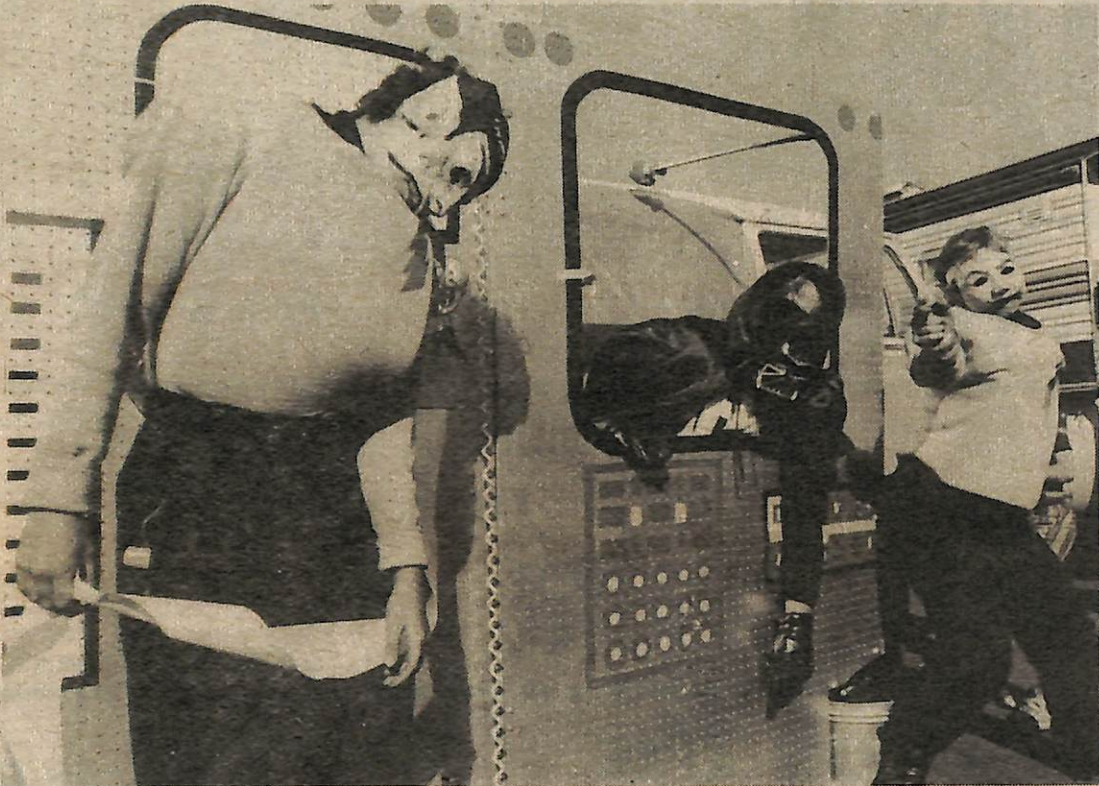


Sandinistas in Managua, Somoza's last stand.

A part of the crowd of 40,000 at the Stop Diablo Rally held near San Luis Obispo, CA. on June 30th. The RCP and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade carried banners reading—"Nuclear Power, Nuclear War, Capitalism is at the Core. Melt the Profit System Down."



The Red Flag Theatre, a revolutionary theatre troupe from the S.F. Bay Area, doing guerrilla theater among the crowd at the Diablo rally. Aboard the Starship Free Enterprise, Commander Skunk, Wealth Vader and Commander Quirk get shorted out by Peons who refuse to fight the Kremloons. The Peons turn the Phasers around.



Massive Protest Hits Diablo Nuke

On June 30, 40,000 people rallied near the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Plant demanding "Stop Diablo Canyon," the biggest anti-nuke rally ever held in California. The reactor is scheduled to open in August despite the fact that it is built squarely on an active earthquake fault that is capable of creating a force ten times greater than the plant is built to withstand. If such an earthquake occurred, the radiation released would kill nearly 50,000 people and injure 100,000 according to the government's own studies. People came from all over the west coast as far away as Colorado in a steady stream of cars, vans, and buses, many decorated with anti-nuke slogans.

In the face of massive and growing opposition to the Diablo plant and their whole "Nuclear Strategy," the capitalists are scrambling to find ways to put a lid on the upsurge. From the get they worked to sabotage the rally but could not stop a powerful blow being dealt to their "the people be damned" plans. They denied permits for any site closer than 20 miles from the plant and relied on their representatives to try to steer the rally down the dead end "the system is the solution" road. Foremost of these worms was Jerry Brown, governor of the state, presidential candidate, and general man for all seasons. However, many people opposed Brown speaking and it took an hour of back and forth among the organizers of the rally before he was allowed to speak.

Among the speakers at the rally, which included a number of television and movie personalities and other well known figures, were: Michael Grey, a writer of the *China Syndrome* and the director of *Murder of Fred Hampton*, who ended his speech by saying, "if Fred Hampton could have been here he would have said 'All Power to the People!'" ; Daniel Ellsberg, who put it differently, "It's mutiny time in Jonestown"; and Bill Wahpehah of the American Indian Movement, who spoke of "the long hard road of liberation" and supported a statement from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War that was read from the stage even though VVAW was prevented from actually addressing the crowd by some of the rally coordinators who said it could create "problems of crowd control" if the VVAW spoke.

Juana Morales Frame-up Begins

Houston

Juana Morales goes to trial July 9 facing 20 years in jail because she fearlessly stood with the RCP, the Moody Park 3, and the Houston Rebellion. She had lived for years in a hell-hole of a federal housing project called Irvington Courts in the northside barrio of Houston. But she never accepted the conditions where the rats are so bad in some apartments the tenants have to move to others, where elderly tenants are left to die, lacking a daily check by the management while the flunkies for the FHA are busy trying to figure out how to divide up the household necessities that are supposed to be for the tenants.

Juana always relied on the tenants to stand up to the luxury apartment-type rent. (She was paying \$311 a month for her apartment) and the indiscriminate evictions and daily police harassment.

For several years, the authorities tried to get rid of this troublemaker with eviction threats and rent increases. But they knew it would be less heat on them to keep her living there than what they would face if she were kicked out.

After the Moody Park rebellion in May 1978, (which took place by the Irvington Courts which border on Moody Park) harassment of people in the projects was stepped up. Some were evicted. Instead of evicting Juana, a well-known supporter of the Moody Park rebellion and the Moody Park 3, they offered her a job in the office of the project, hopefully to keep her quiet.

The rebellion changed the situation on the North Side, and Juana stepped to the forefront to point to revolution as the only way out for the people. With the capitalists trying to isolate the RCP

and the Moody Park 3, with slanders in their media and arrests of some 60 activists for even leafletting and selling the *Revolutionary Worker* in Irvington Courts, Juana would sell over 50 *Revolutionary Workers* an issue and a dozen *Revolutions* to the tenants. After people were arrested in the Courts for selling the *Revolutionary Worker*, Juana helped organize tenants to go to the city council to tell the mayor to keep his hands off the newspaper.

It became very clear to the authorities that this woman was more than a "troublemaker"—she was a revolutionary fighter who must be stopped. Juana became too dangerous when she helped people to lift their heads to question "Why the hell do we have to live like this in the first place?"

The Gestapo apartment manager, Martha Pearson, was chosen to get rid of Juana. Pig-lover Pearson had a well-worked out snitches system that would keep tenants in fear of even leaving their apartments.

Juana and Pearson were longstanding enemies. Not 10 days after Juana had gone to wave the *Revolutionary Worker* in the Mayor's face, Pearson stormed into Juana's apartment and picked up a knife. Juana defended herself and was jailed on a misdemeanor assault charge. But it didn't take 24 hours before the D.A.'s office learned who she was and the misdemeanor became felony attempted murder.

To make their desire to jail her as an example even clearer, the D.A. will offer no plea bargain deal, though Juana has no record at all.

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OPEC: Scapegoat for Imperialist Crisis

At the Economic Summit Conference in Tokyo last week, the chieftains of the U.S. bloc declared, "We deplore the decision taken by the recent OPEC conference... The unwarranted rise in oil prices... is bound to have very serious economic and social consequences." Headlines blared, "Western Leaders Blast OPEC" and "The World Over a Barrel." Upon returning to the U.S., Carter said, "I think the OPEC decisions will make a recession much more likely than it was before." He repeated predictions of a loss of 800,000 jobs and a 2.5% rise in the inflation rate. He continued, "I don't see how the rest of the world can sit back in a quiescent state and accept unrestrained and unwarranted increases in OPEC oil prices." And of course the job wouldn't be complete without the mock concern for the American people. As one newspaper wrote, "In stark human terms, what does a low income family or retired couple in New England do this winter when fuel oil—already about 80 cents per gallon—may jump to \$1 or more?" They were back again with the old "blame it on OPEC" line, "greedy Arab sheiks" and all.

But even a superficial look at their own statements shows that their claims that OPEC is causing the recession in the Western bloc countries are a crock of bull—a cynical public relations con. In fact it has been a widely held belief for quite some time that recession was on the horizon. Even in the weeks leading up to the Tokyo summit there was widespread talk of general weakness of the economy and a "world recession" among the corporate executives and economists as well as the government flunkey "experts." The *New York Times*, one of the major capitalist mouthpieces, commented on June 17, "At the moment, the Administration seems to have the worst of all worlds: an economy that is slowing down faster than the White House expected a few weeks back, inflation running at an annual rate close to 14%... The omens of contraction are accumulating... Many private economists think that a recession has already begun." And in an article titled "The Direction is Down, But How Far", dated May 27, the *New York Times* reports, "the 8.7% plunge in durable goods orders last month—brought the word 'recession' to the lips of Government officials and economic forecasters last week."

Last November after Carter's Phase II speech, the debate was more around when and how bad the recession would be rather than if there was going to be one soon. *Newsweek* reported in its Nov. 6, 1978 issue, "The real question seems to be when the recession will hit—and whether trying to forestall it may only make it worse in the end." "A recession in 1980? It's already baked in the cake," said the chairman



of New York's Citibank. Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors to the President, admitted, "In my judgment, that is a scenario for recession. Whether it occurs in 1980 or 1979, I'm still uncertain, but I think the probability that one will occur before, say, the spring of 1980 is well in excess of 50-50." One Swiss banker, not to be outdone, went way out saying, "President Carter is not trying to avoid or postpone a recession any longer, but to precipitate one because he now knows it's unavoidable in order to avoid something far worse later on." In all the comments (directed toward fellow capitalists) at that time you couldn't find a single mention of "the greedy OPEC countries."

In all the Phase II talk and wage (and price) guidelines the main blame for the

shaky economy was placed on the "greedy" American workers and their "outrageous demands" to be able to keep their heads above the rapidly rising muck. But the old "blame it on OPEC" ruse that they've been running around the whole phony gas shortage crap is a welcome and much needed chunk of garbage to be spewed out by their propaganda machine. Not only does it provide them with a convenient scapegoat to blame their economic crisis on, but it promotes the shameless "keep America number 1" patriotic hysteria they hope to whip up to get support for their increasing moves toward imperialist war. "Our country is at the mercy of those nasty Arab sheiks—we can't let them do this to America," they shriek. While at the same time they push their "people will just have to bite the bullet and tighten their belts" line to the hilt.

One thing is true. It is their country alright—they own it lock, stock and barrel. But it's standing reality on its head to say that they are at the mercy of the OPEC countries—which include countries in Africa and Latin America as well as the Middle East). The OPEC ministers and the rulers of these countries have for some time been mainly loyal servants of the U.S. corporations—junior partners sharing in the rip-off of the natural resources and labor of the people of their countries. In the past they have been forced by the growing struggle of the people of the Middle East to take certain stands that the U.S. didn't like, but was able to adapt to. Most notable among these was the 1973 oil embargo and price hike that the U.S. squealed so much about as being the cause of the 1974-75 recession.

The oil companies actually liked the 1973 price rises since their profits skyrocketed and they were able to use the embargo as an excuse to jack up pump prices in the U.S. Their phony gas shortage at that time helped this along. However, this price hike did ag-

gravate the economic problems for the capitalists as a whole to some extent. But it should be pointed out that the OPEC price increases since 1974 haven't even kept up with inflation and the vast majority of U.S. dollars shelled out to OPEC countries wind up back in the imperialists' pockets when they sell U.S. goods and services at inflated prices back to these countries.

Actually the latest price hike is only a recognition of the already rising world price of oil. It could even be argued that without OPEC, the price would even go higher. For example, the current spot market price (oil sold through the open market, not through direct contract with oil producers) is over \$30 a barrel compared to a maximum of \$23.50 a barrel under the price agreement just announced, and many companies will probably pay even less than this maximum price.

As time has passed and the U.S. economy has sunk deeper into the mire, even what used to be an unpleasant but necessary bother has become a plague. Things are so shaky, the economy so riddled with crisis that even a contradiction with their underlings is stinging the U.S. imperialists. This is a reflection of the real decline of U.S. imperialism and has made it all the more desperate and ready to lash out to preserve itself and expand its empire.

So while the latest OPEC price increase is in no way the fundamental cause of the impending recession (more on the real causes in future issues), it along with many other things has certainly aggravated an already deteriorating situation. And so Carter and the rest are running around squealing like stuck pigs, "blame OPEC!" They repeat the same refrain they sang about the gas shortage that they have so coldly and calculatingly created and the high gas and heating fuel prices they have extorted out of the people. And of course, they are only too happy to raise the price of gas 10¢ a gallon "as a result of this latest price hike."

And in fact they are already planning on even greater rises, with Energy Czar Schlesinger talking about "\$2 a gallon by next summer," far beyond rises in OPEC prices.

The standard of living of the people in this country is going down and a recession will cause greater hardship and suffering and also greater and more widespread struggle as people's outrage busts out. It's exactly in the face of this reality that this "blame OPEC, blame the foreigners, blame anyone and anything except capitalism" crap is being churned out. The capitalists hope to channel as much of the fire as they can away from their rule and, if possible, into outright support for their growing war moves. As for the interests of the American people, the more people fall for their cheap propaganda and fail to take on the real enemy, the longer the rotting carcass of imperialism will remain alive.

CALIFORNIA—MEXICO BORDER

Flag Burning Hits KKK at Border

What could be more appropriate on the 4th of July than a Klan rally at the Mexican border that called on white Americans who "wanted to see wetbacks put in their place" to come to their beach party-rally—and bring their baseball bats. About 20 of these scum showed up, decked up in stormtrooper uniforms, a few sporting white power T-shirts. They came prepared, not just with bats, but with helmets, shields, rifles, pistols, mace, and police dogs.

But their white supremacy rally wouldn't have been complete without the American flag which they clung to like flies to cow pies. It was one of patriotism's finer moments.

The police for appearance's sake had confiscated some of the Klan's more obvious weapons and now stood guarding them from the jeering crowd. "White trash," yelled a group of white teenagers in unison. "They sure as hell

don't speak for us," a white woman said angrily. Picnicking Chicano families stood and glared at these vermin.

From the other side of the border hands stretched out through the chain-linked fence to buy copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*. One older Mexican man turned to his companion and in Spanish said, "See, I told you, the seeds of revolution are possible."

Closer to the ocean, on the few feet of sand where there is no fence, Mexicans and Americans came together despite the watchful eye of La Migra. Supporters of the RCP set an American flag on fire; cheers went up from both sides of the border. The red, white and blue remains were still smoldering when the park police scurried over. "This is an illegal fire and you're littering. Would you please put that in the trash can?" Gladly.

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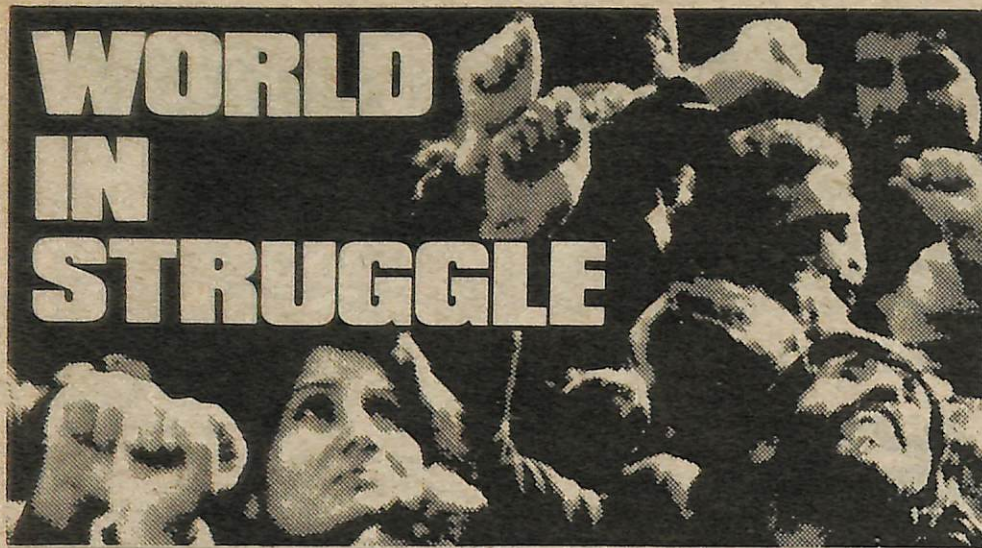
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"Defensive" F-14s Bomb Refugee Camps Shoot Down Syrian Planes

On June 27 a squadron of Israeli planes embarked on a typical mission—bombing Palestinian refugee camps and villages in Lebanon. What made the news, however, was not the wanton killing of civilians, which is an almost daily event and hardly newsworthy in the bourgeois press. What did make headlines was the shooting down of as many as six Syrian fighter planes.

It was the first time that the F-15, the top-of-the-line U.S. fighter plane, had been used in combat—and the U.S. ruling class was gleeful over the results. The Soviet-built MiG 21s (vintage 1955) were no match for the sophisticated fighter and, according to the Israelis and the Pentagon, were unable to knock out a single Israeli plane.

When the F-15s were sent to Israel—the first shipment to any foreign country—both the U.S. and the Israeli governments made pious proclamations that they would only be used for "defensive" purposes. This, said Carter, was guaranteed. What the news reports failed to make clear at the time was that every action Israel takes is "self-defense," be it invading new territory, carrying out kidnappings or assassinations with their special commando squads, or bombing refugee camps.

In fact, the Israeli jets were just back from their cowardly murderous mission when Israeli Prime Minister Begin called it an "act of legitimate national defense." The U.S. government has remained officially silent on the incident, although various Pentagon sources have told reporters there are no particular restrictions on the use of the F-15s other than a general provision signed by all recipients of U.S. military equipment to use it for "defense." U.S. officials have expressed "concern" about the Israeli actions, meanwhile they continue to ship more hardware to the Zionist state.

Zaire: Moroccan Troops Replaced by French "Godfathers"

Since last year, 1500 Moroccan troops have been doing guard duty for the U.S. and other Western powers in Zaire's Shaba province, where some of the world's richest copper, cobalt and uranium deposits are located. At the beginning of July, U.S. C-130 transports flew them back to Morocco, where they will be thrown into King Hassan's floundering war to suppress the Polisario independence movement (which is fighting against Morocco's annexation of the Western Sahara).

However, the mineral wealth of Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo) will not be left "unprotected," or—what amounts to the same thing—left in the hands of General Mobutu's notoriously unreliable and mercenary army. French and Belgian officers and NCO's are being attached to each battalion of Zairean troops. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, these parrains (or "godfathers") will be "responsible for the battalion payroll and for ensuring that supplies and equipment are not stolen and sold by senior officers." Thus, 19 years after winning "independence" Zaire is as much under the domination of the Western imperialist powers as ever. And the stationing of foreign officers and NCOs, like last year's outright invasion by the French Foreign Legion, shows that the imperialist powers intend to keep it that way.

At Kenner—The Dust Bites

Cincinnati—Kenner Toy Co., a subsidiary of General Mills ("The Big G Stands for Goodness") is notorious as a "giant melting pot" for bugs. It has European cockroaches on the assembly line, American cockroaches (water-bugs) on the floor, flies, mosquitoes, gnats, moths and other flying insects in the air, spiders all over (especially in the work gloves), fleas in some of the cartons, and "little red bugs" in the Star Wars parts. But, according to Kenner, there have never been lice in the plant.

In an interview with some of the assembly line workers it was learned that a woman on line 3 collapsed with what was believed to be an asthmatic attack. She was taken to an area hospital where it was discovered that she was choking on an inhaled louse. Also there were live lice found on her body. When the other workers on line 3 learned the real cause of the woman's attack, they refused to return to work on that line until it was disinfected. Although the management insisted that lice can only be "transmitted through body contact", lice can live for thirty days

off the host, so it's pretty likely that the affected worker contracted her crop of cooties somewhere inside the factory.

When the workers continued to balk at returning to line 3, they were reassigned to other lines throughout the plant. It became apparent that more people were infested than just one lady. Amid the mass complaints of itching, there was humorous speculation that perhaps because Kenner doesn't have a profit-sharing plan, maybe they were instituting a share-the-vermin program instead. It became obvious that the workers weren't going to produce until something was done about the lice.

A doctor was dispatched from Cincinnati General Hospital. Upon examining several women, he recommended that they be sent home with prescriptions for "Quell", a lotion that kills lice and their eggs. At this point, management announced that the plant would be closed for four days for fumigation. The workers were advised to go to their family doctors for treatment of lice infestation. The workers were assured that even though they all

contracted lice "outside the plant" the company would not penalize them for time lost. Of course, since they were hourly workers, they were not paid for those days off. The workers also had to pay their own medical bills.

Further investigation indicates that there probably was no fumigation. The workers reported that when they returned to work the following Monday, the factory was remarkably free of the odor of insecticides. And there were no dead bugs lying around. There were, however, plenty of live bugs. Many of the workers began to gather live bugs, sticking them to pieces of tape. After they had collected half a boxful, they gave them to their union steward and then to the company management.

The County Health Department has no record of the factory being fumigated, though it did provide information on lice and their habits. It seems that body lice are the healthiest breed of human parasites. They can live ten days off the host. The eggs can live up to thirty days off the body without adverse effects, and it was also noted that the

Vicious Attacks on Immigrants in France

The government of France recently proposed "reforms" aimed at reducing the immigrant population by 200,000 per year. France's current 4.5 million immigrant workers, who have immigrated mainly from the former French colonies such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, are welcomed by the French capitalists in times of relative prosperity to perform the most menial and low-paying jobs. France's continued domination of these North African countries has created the conditions forcing hundreds of thousands of North African workers to immigrate to the imperialist "motherland" in search of work.

These new anti-immigrant laws are especially meant to facilitate the French government's attempt to deport and repress the most politically conscious of the immigrant workers who have waged many militant struggles against their super-exploitation and who constitute an advanced section of the French working class. The laws are also designed to subject immigrant workers overall to the continual threat of deportation, while using the growing level of unemployment (currently at 1.5 million) to stir up national chauvinism and racial divisions among the French people.

These reforms are merely the legal proposals the French rulers have in mind. In obviously related incidents, two Senegalese workers were locked up and burned to death by "unknown" French attackers in Orange (Southern France), a 42-year-old Moroccan worker was shot and killed by French youth in a Paris suburb and in Nice, three Algerians were deliberately run over by a car.

The response of the French Communist Party, a large revisionist party which not only gave up the fight for revolution long ago, but swallows whole the schemes of the French bourgeoisie, has tried to prettify the increased repression, calling for more "nice" cops to "walk the beat" in immigrant neighborhoods.

French Marxist-Leninists have exposed the national chauvinist attacks behind these new laws, and the reactionary stand of the French CP. They have called for an "end to racist repression," for the real independence of countries under the heel of French imperialism, and for the revolutionary unity of the French and immigrant workers.

Detroit? Los Angeles? No, it's cops in Paris, France harassing North African immigrants.



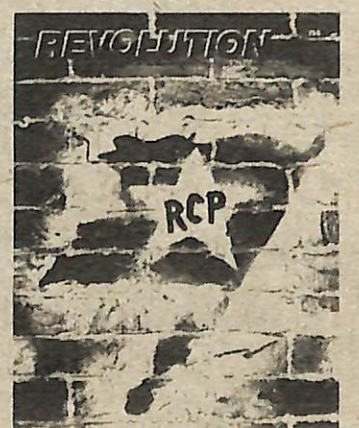
Panama Rioting Protests Gasoline Price Increase

On June 19, thousands of students and other demonstrators took to the streets of Panama City to protest a recent 30% increase in gasoline prices to \$1.36 a gallon. When National Guard troops fired tear gas and shotguns into the crowds, the people destroyed dozens of government vehicles, ripped out parking meters and looted downtown stores.

According to news reports, the students said they were also protesting the Panamanian government's coverup of the deaths of three students gunned down last year in demonstrations denouncing the new Panama Canal treaties. (As the *Revolutionary Worker* reported then, these treaties do not "return" the canal to the Panamanian people. Instead, they allow the U.S. government to hold onto the canal until the year 2000 and give it the right to send in the marines to "defend" the canal under any pretext.)

body lice will, if the occasion arises, travel short distances in search of a host. Obviously, Kenner doesn't know about how lice are contracted, so kiddies and adults of America, beware—your cootie games may have live cooties.

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Bloody Intrigue in Kurdistan

Mass Murder on the Imperialist Express

Since the victorious popular insurrection in February that brought down the hated regime of the Shah, the U.S. press has made Iran out to be a huge mess. Story after story describes "a reign of terror and executions... the army has fallen apart... the economy is at a standstill... ethnic warfare is spreading among the Kurds, Arabs and other minorities..." The message: the revolution has only led to continual turmoil and made things worse for the people.

What they are hiding, however, is that there is an intense and complicated struggle raging from one end of Iran to the other over the future course of the revolution. And what is being hidden most of all is the role of the U.S. imperialists themselves in supporting the reactionary forces that are attacking the revolutionary gains of the masses of people and defending the power of the big landlords and Iranian capitalists.

This struggle between the people's forces and the reactionaries has been especially sharp among the Kurdish people, who have had a rich tradition of fierce and armed resistance to their oppressors. For years, the more than 2 million Kurds stood at the forefront of the struggle against the Shah. Even before the February insurrection in Tehran, Kurdish armed detachments had overrun many army barracks and liberated large areas of Kurdistan. Then, in March, when the new Islamic government attempted to militarily suppress the growing demands for autonomy and democratic rights throughout Kurdistan, tens of thousands of armed Kurdish fighters stood firm and forced the government to back down.

In recent months, the peasant movement in Kurdistan has grown by leaps and bounds. Peasants in hundreds of villages have formed local associations and unions, kicked the landlords off the land, and are running their own affairs. But this hasn't gone unopposed. The feudal landlords have formed their own organizations and local armies to seize back the land, attack the peasant associations and especially suppress and murder the progressive forces, including Marxist-Leninist groups, that have been active among the peasants. This is literally a life-and-death struggle. A demonstration called in early April by the peasant associations of several villages stated: "We ourselves must attack these masters (landlords). Either they destroy us or we destroy them."

It is exactly because of these flames of revolution spreading in the towns and countryside of Kurdistan that various reactionary organizations have turned to increasingly desperate methods to break up the growing unity of the masses of people. The following is an account of one such reactionary incident, the fighting instigated at the end of April between the Kurdish and Turkish minorities in Naghadeh (located in the northern part of Kurdistan that borders on the Turkish-speaking area of Iran). This fighting, which left 600 people dead and thousands wounded and homeless, was reported in the U.S. simply as "ethnic warfare". But the true story sheds much light on the strategy of the Iranian reactionaries and their imperialist backers to attempt to block the forward advance of the revolution.

Imperialist Intrigue

In the early part of April, a minor fight broke out at a girls' school in Naghadeh between Kurdish and Turkish students. Instead of being settled and forgotten, reactionaries among



Rebel Kurdish Tribesmen.

the Kurds and Turks began working feverishly to set the stage for open warfare. The *Komiteh* (the local "revolutionary committee" set up by the Islamic government) of the city's Turkish population immediately started up anti-Kurdish agitation. This *Komiteh* had been heavily infiltrated by ex-SAVAK agents and landlords, and it enlisted the assistance of the head of the *Komiteh* in a neighboring Turkish town, Hassani, a well-known former SAVAK agent. Several of Hassani's men were sent to bring a large arms cache to Naghadeh, where they killed several Kurds.

Meanwhile, the U.S.-backed *Provisional Ghiadeh* started sending some of its armed members into the city to "defend" the Kurdish people. This is the most treacherous of the right-wing organizations operating in Kurdistan. It was originally set up under the Shah's regime by the U.S. government in order to monitor and attack the struggles of the Kurdish minorities in Iran, Iraq and Turkey, and today it continues to play this role. The *Provisional Ghiadeh's* highly trained SAVAK and CIA agents (as well as reactionary goons) are commanded by Massoud and Odrice Barazani, sons of Gen. Mustasa Barazani. The elder Barazani got a well-deserved reactionary reputation in the early 1970s as the leader of a Kurdish "liberation army" that was openly bankrolled by the CIA and whose job was to weaken the pro-Soviet Iraqi regime, as well as to attack revolutionaries. When he outlived his usefulness, he was whisked away to retirement in the U.S.

Barazani's sons are now carrying forward this tradition of service to U.S. imperialism by recruiting armed bands to defend the big landlords in Kurdistan and terrorize the masses of people. In many instances, these reactionaries posing as "Kurdish nationalists" have received the blessings of the central government (which hasn't been able to establish its control over much of Kurdistan) to attack the peasant movement and especially its revolutionary leaders.

Like their counterparts in the local Turkish *Komiteh*, the *Provisional Ghiadeh* bombarded the city's Kurdish population with chauvinist, anti-Turkish propaganda. The atmosphere grew tense. The whole city was a tinderbox. Enter a third reactionary organization, the *Democrat Party of Kurdistan*, to set off the spark. Rushing to out-do the Barazanis as great fighters for the Kurds, the *Democrat Party* quickly scheduled a rally in Naghadeh to open up a new party branch in the city. A progressive Kurdish organization in the city, the *Association in Defense of the Toilers of Naghadeh*, warned them against holding the event, especially not to hold it in the city's stadium located in a Turkish neighborhood, as this would play right into the hands of the Turkish reactionaries. The *Democrat Party* ignored these warnings and met with the *Provisional Ghiadeh* to develop a "united Kurdish position"—a meeting which Kurdistan's progressive religious leader, Ayatollah Hosseini, as well as all other revolutionary and democratic organizations refused to have anything to do with.

Though the *Democrat Party* claims to be "revolutionary," these actions were not out of the ordinary—for it is the Kurdistan branch of the *Tudeh Party*, the Soviet imperialists' main tool for extending its influence in Iran. Just like the *Tudeh*, the *Democrat Party* has given its uncritical support to the new Islamic government and has time and again called on all the Kurdish people—landowner and peasant, reactionaries and progressives alike—to put aside their "minor differences" and unite behind the government. On the other hand, they have tried to build up a reputation as militant nationalists in order to build up their own power base and force concessions from the government. Thus, while the *Democrat Party* often works with the *Provisional Ghiadeh*, its role is mainly to sabotage the Kurdish people's struggle from within.

On Friday, April 20, the *Democrat Party* went ahead with its rally at the

stadium in Naghadeh. Outside, several people started shooting into the air. Shots were fired inside. People panicked, and started running out of the stadium. Hassani's reactionary Turkish forces had already set up barricades and gunned down dozens of people. As planned, Hassani's goons launched a full-scale attack on the Kurdish neighborhood shooting everyone on sight.

The *Democrat Party* countered with anti-tank artillery, which they fired indiscriminately into the Turkish residential areas, killing hundreds and destroying many houses. For several days the *Democrat Party's* radio issued call after call for the Kurds to fight the Turks. For a while, they got help from some unknowing villagers who later denounced the *Democrat Party* and the whole reactionary incident. After a couple of days, the *Democrat Party* realized there was not support for this reactionary fighting and retreated from the city, while the Turkish *Komiteh* drove tanks through the Kurdish neighborhoods, slaughtering hundreds more. The *Provisional Ghiadeh* then got in on the action. They massacred the entire population of two Turkish villages and spread destruction throughout the area.

Up to now, the central government had officially taken a neutral position, but large numbers of troops were sent in to Naghadeh and jets started strafing unarmed Kurdish refugees fleeing the city in an effort to send a brutal warning to the people of Kurdistan: If you dare to defy the government, *this* is what you will get.

In the face of all this, all the revolutionary and progressive Kurdish forces, including Ayatollah Hosseini (branded as a renegade by the Islamic government because of his strong stand with the Kurdish masses) condemned this fratricidal fighting. While the reactionaries have sought to turn the people at each other's throats, thousands of Kurds and Turks fled the city together, sharing their belongings and helping each other to get out of the area safely.

Soon afterwards, Ayatollah Hosseini travelled first to Tehran and then to Qum to meet with Khomeini as a good will gesture. The central government had done its best to portray the incident simply as fighting between the two national minorities and to claim that the Kurdish people were trying to separate from Iran. Hosseini's trip was meant to counteract these lies and to dramatize the unity between the Kurdish people and the struggle of all the Iranian people. There was a complete news blackout of his trip. Throughout Kurdistan, tens of thousands of people led by revolutionaries and progressives held mass rallies in order to demonstrate solidarity with the Iranian revolution and to condemn the news blackout of Hosseini's trip. In addition, these rallies demanded that the *Provisional Ghiadeh* be disbanded and its leaders be thrown out of the country.

The incident at Naghadeh was undoubtedly the most blatant and criminal plot yet carried out by the reactionary forces in Kurdistan. Still, the flames of revolution are shooting even higher among the Kurdish people, particularly among tens of thousands of peasants who are organizing and arming themselves to break free of the oppressive yoke of the landlords and their armed thugs. The stakes are higher than ever, but the masses of Kurdish people are demonstrating their willingness to fight to the death to keep the imperialists and reactionaries from ruling over them and to unite in revolutionary struggle with all the peoples of Iran. ■

Baez Sings "Battle Hymn" for U.S. Imperialists

A controversy is raging among many people who opposed the war in Vietnam, especially those from among the petty bourgeoisie (middle class). It all began when worn-out folksinger Joan Baez authored a reactionary full-page "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" which was published on May 30 in the *New York Times* and several other major newspapers. The letter was signed by a number of dogooders, liberals and social democrats. It criticizes the Vietnamese government for "human rights violations" and expresses horror that "thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only 'crimes' are those of conscience, are being arrested, detained and tortured in prisons and re-education camps." It calls for an investigation by an international team of "neutral" observers.

But the majority of the "peace community" liberals approached by Baez refused to sign the letter. Immediately the controversy erupted. Noted jazz critic Nat Hentoff wrote a series of articles for the *Village Voice* supporting Baez's goals. In turn, the Baez forces were blasted in the pages of the *Voice* by well known attorney William Kunstler, who said he would "never join in the public denunciation of a socialist country," especially one "struggling to rebuild itself" after years of American occupation.

Soon celebrity Jane Fonda had jumped into the act, publicly lambasting Baez for deserting the anti-war cause and adopting an attitude that "communism is worse than death." And lo and behold, leaping into the fray alongside these establishment liberals have been a number of opportunist groups—notably the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML)—seizing on one side or the other in this debate to drum up support for whichever superpower they happen to prefer, the U.S. or the Soviets.

In short, the Baez letter stinks—it is made to order for the U.S. imperialists. It comes at a time when the U.S. rulers are increasingly trying to spread the notion that they were right all along in Vietnam, that their barbaric aggression was certainly justified. This "Open Letter" seizes on the confusion created by the role that Vietnam is now playing, which is that of a pawn of the Soviets in Southeast Asia. It objectively aids our rulers in their efforts to reverse the verdict on the Vietnam War and to whip up opposition to their superpower rival—the force that lurks behind what is happening in Vietnam.

That the betrayal of the struggle for socialism by Vietnam's revisionist leaders has led to actions and policies that deserve condemnation is beyond question. But it is one thing to expose the Vietnamese traitors on the basis that the revolution has not gone *far enough* and in fact has been betrayed. It is quite another thing to join, as Baez and her co-signers have done, with a host of imperialist spokesmen in a time-worn chorus that outdoes even Jimmy Carter on the bogus issue of "human rights."

"Human Rights" Bogey

The U.S. imperialists' "human rights" cry is nothing but a tattered ploy. While the U.S. rulers can afford a few feeble potshots at their own fascist puppet regimes (like the one they installed in Chile) to cover their ass, the main purpose of their "rights crusade" is to embarrass and make trouble for their Soviet social-imperialist rivals and governments dominated by them.

Far from being concerned about the masses of workers and peasants in these countries, the U.S. is only interested in championing the "human rights" of those who are decidedly anti-communist and pro-U.S. Forces like Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the Soviet dissidents who would prefer U.S.-style capitalism to the state capitalism of the

Soviet brand. And in these efforts, the U.S. rulers have received valuable aid from people like Baez and groups like Amnesty International who are avid supporters of the dissidents' cause.

At the same time, the "human rights" bogey is used as a weapon to discredit progressive actions being taken in other countries like Iran where the masses are opposing U.S. domination. And here the "human rights" advocates are equally at home. They are just as comfortable condemning progressive or revolutionary forces for political repression of enemies of the people as they are with criticizing fascist regimes.

As Jack Newfield, a noted liberal who supported the Baez letter in the pages of the *Voice*, said: "There has to be one international standard of human rights in the world. If we opposed summary executions by the Shah, then we must oppose them by the Ayatollah." This falls right in line with the U.S. Senate resolution condemning "human rights violations" against the Shah's former henchmen who are being justly suppressed for their horrible crimes. To this way of thinking, there is no difference between the "human rights" of proven murderers and exploiters and those of the masses of people.

This classless view of "human rights" ends up serving the bourgeoisie. It is feverishly promoted by Joan Baez, who recently said: "To the torturee, whether it is imperialistic torture or socialistic torture, it really doesn't make any difference." Aside from the fact that this is a gross slander of socialism, in the context of the current debate it ends up promoting the illusions spread by the U.S. imperialists that Vietnamese Soviet-style revisionism is what socialism is all about, and bolsters their arguments that the war in Vietnam wasn't so wrong after all. It also certainly gives the lie to Baez's claim that "I don't have any

ideological yoke around my neck that blinds me to human rights violations."

CPML Sucks Up to Baez

Not surprisingly, the CPML is again parroting the line of the U.S. ruling class—this time the "human rights" garbage. An article in the June 18 issue of their newspaper, *The Call*, hails the Baez letter, saying: "While the political outlook of the appeal's signatories is varied, the thrust of their statement is a progressive one." This has landed them in unity with such straight-out front men for the bourgeoisie as UAW President Doug Fraser and former California governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, who are among the letter's signers. Anything is apparently low enough for these phony "communists" as they demonstrate their willingness to leap into bed with anyone who takes the side of the U.S. imperialists in opposing the Soviet bloc.

What followed in a subsequent issue of *The Call* was not, as many CPML'ers had hoped, the lyrics and music to "We Shall Overcome." Better yet, a full-page interview with Baez herself defending her "human rights" crusade and peddling her pathetic brand of non-violence. The interview provides some insight into the class outlook of Joan Baez. And the fact that it was printed in *The Call* without so much as a word of critical comment provides an equally penetrating insight into the class outlook of the CPML.

When asked if there was any inconsistency between her present stand and her opposition to the Vietnam War, Baez said: "I see absolutely no inconsistency. I'm an anti-war person, and I'm anti-any war. I'm a Gandhian non-violent person, and I'm against any violence. During the '60s it was the U.S. that was doing the victimizing in Vietnam. We really were, more so than anyone else." (emphasis ours) Pray tell, who else but the U.S. was doing the victimizing in Vietnam? Could it be that the nasty Vietnamese dared to "victimize" the U.S. aggressors?

It is easy to see how the pious concern for "human rights" in the abstract is linked to the pacifism preached by Baez and others like her which refuses to recognize the distinction between the violence of the oppressor and the righteous revolutionary violence of the oppressed. Her opposition to the Vietnam War was based solely on her horror of violence in general, not on any

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NEW WORLD PATRIOTIC CIRCUS

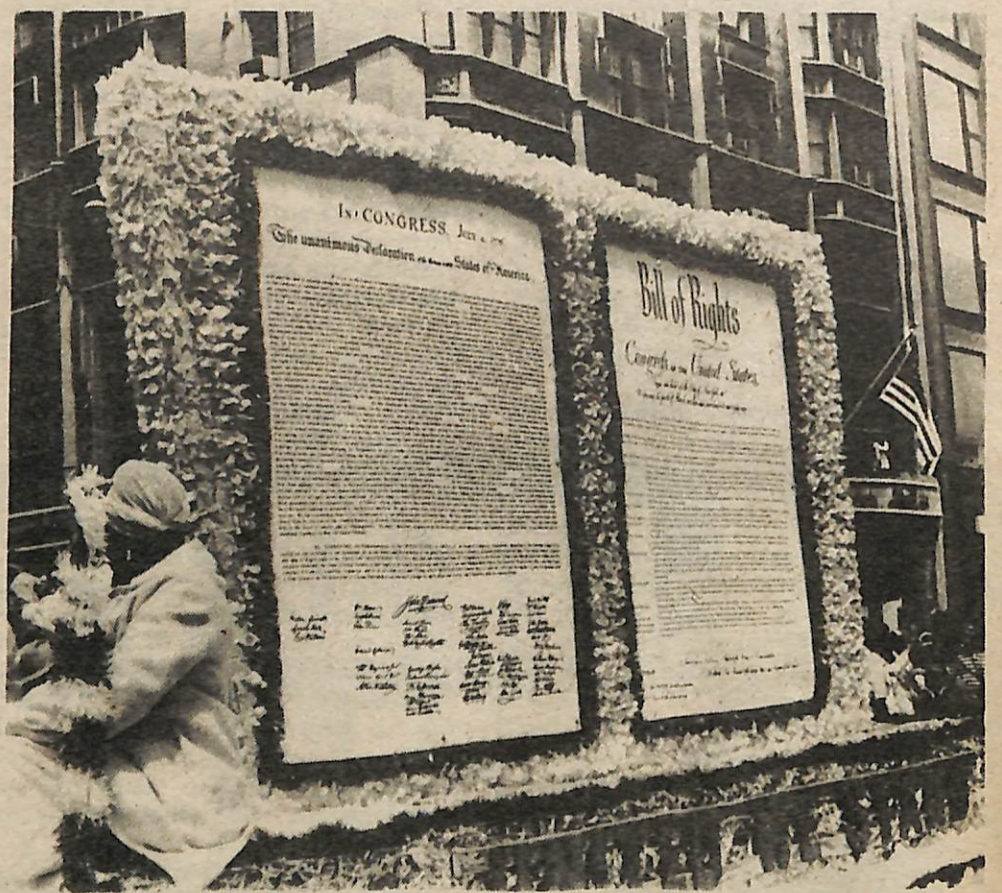
"White is for moral virtue; blue is for human weaknesses; red is for courage. It used to be said that red is for the blood we shed. I say that red is for courage." What kind of courage? The "courage to praise the white man after the way we have been treated... to run away when we know we can't win... this is the kind of courage we need." So spoke the Honorable Wallace Dean Muhammad, leader of the World Community of Al-Islam (more commonly known as the Black Muslims), and new-found flag waver.

This cowardly call for the Black masses to kneel before their oppressors was issued at the Fourth of July New World Patriotism Day Parade in Chicago. Designed to restore faith in the system "which allows the disenfranchised to participate," all the parade really showed is that the disenfranchised are just that—disenfranchised.

They had promised a parade that "rivals this city's largest parade ever." What they got was the smallest turnout for a 4th of July parade in the city's history, with less than 10,000 spectators lining the streets. While Wallace Dean Muhammad praised Jane Byrne and the Carter administration for keeping the spirit of "sacred respect for human dignity" alive and "opening the way for Blacks to be patriotic citizens again," the mayor and Rosalyn Carter did not see fit to make their promised appearances. Flanking Muhammad Ali on the reviewing stand was a motley crew of Muslims and two-bit local politicians, a white revivalist from the South Side, and Ralph Abernathy, out-of-office reformist "leader" from Alabama now looking for a new niche.

While Wallace Muhammad waxed eloquent with promises that Black people are coming into a "New World... that world that the Founding Fathers anticipated, the New World that is suggested in the lines of the Preamble to the Constitution that says that 'All men are created equal and are endowed with inalienable rights...,' the parade itself reflected all the inequality and discrimination that have always been synonymous with "America".

Marching bands from the city's Black high schools, with no uniforms except mismatched T-shirts and not enough instruments and batons to go around. Instead of the elaborate floats from U.S. Steel and other capitalists that characterize Chicago's parades, there were cars and trucks entered by Black "capitalists"—an ambulance, a moving van, a contingent of Black security guards, a tractor from the Muslims' egg farm. An astro-turfed float from the Chicago Park District, looking better than most of the parks in the Black communities which the city has allowed to fall into total disrepair. A



van from the Chicago Housing Authority, landlord to thousands of Blacks who are crowded into the roach-infested high-rise projects that line Chicago's South Side. A van and trailer dedicated to Fred Hampton—"a great American in his own right"—when what made him great was that he fought against everything the American flag stands for.

And throughout it all Wallace Muhammad, in crass hypocrisy, called on people not to "turn their eyes away from the advances America has made." One thing is certain. Muhammad will need all the courage he claims to find in Old Glory to try to sell this line of bull to the masses of Black people. Whatever definition he tries to provide for the red, white and blue, it still stands for misery, oppression, exploitation and inequality, and millions more will come to recognize it despite disgusting patriotic circuses.

Black Man Beaten to Death in the Bronx

“NEVER FORGIVE

& NEVER FORGET”

New York City—On Saturday, June 23, Peter Funches, a Black Vietnam veteran, left his wife and family in their Harlem apartment and took a drive to the Bronx. Peter never came home again. He was murdered.

5 a.m. Sunday morning, June 24, a sharp knock pierces the early morning quiet. One of Gracie Funches' children answered the door, “Who is it?” “The police.” “What do you want?” “There's been an accident—Peter Funches is dead.” The child was stunned—he led the cop into his mother's bedroom. Gracie couldn't believe it so the cop laid it out again, “There's been an auto accident—Peter Funches was killed. The accident completely crushed his chest, he didn't have a chance.”

Later in the day, Gracie Funches went to the hospital to identify the body and found the hospital had no records of the death. In fact, it was only through a worker who had carried the body down to the morgue and remembered the name that she was able to see her husband's body.

Gracie sensed that something was wrong and when she saw the body she was sure. “One whole half of his head was covered with blood. That damned hospital hadn't done a thing for him. There were big old knots all over his head, holes punched in it and a gash like he'd been hit with something sharp. There wasn't an inch of his body that wasn't covered with cuts and bruises.”

When Gracie returned home, the calls started coming in. First the pigs called. Detective Davison, who said he was sorry, but after the accident Peter had jumped out at the pigs with a 12-inch knife and they “may have used excessive force to subdue him.” Gracie exploded. “Peter never carried a knife, he just wasn't any kind of violent, that man wouldn't even curse. I told that to the cop and he said I better check and make sure that I'm not missing any 12-inch kitchen knives. I told him I didn't even own any 12-inch knives.”

The pigs' stories started to shift. First they said Peter was crushed in the accident, then they said he jumped out of the car after the accident and attacked them. “I just don't understand how a man could be both dead and attacking

someone.” “Besides,” Gracie demanded, “how much force is needed to subdue a 125-lb. man on 10% disability from the Vietnam war—a man who had been sick for days and was too weak to have a decent fight with a 10-year-old.”

On Monday morning the major newspapers carried the story. But they attempted to whitewash the whole murder. Yes, the coroner had said, the cause of death was blows to the head and body, but after all there was an accident and he did attack the cops, so there's a reason they used some excessive force. They even pointed to the fact the death certificate says “resisting arrest” on the bottom of it.

Later Monday afternoon Detective Davison called back and said it wasn't a 12-inch knife after all—it was a 12-inch screwdriver and Peter had cut two cops with it. Of course, Davison couldn't locate the cops or the weapon.

By Monday night, the real story came out as outraged residents of the Bronx community where Peter was killed called up Gracie to make sure the truth came out. Gracie said, “There never was an accident, in fact the wall our big old car was supposed to have hit hard enough to crush Peter was freshly painted. It didn't even have a dent in it.”

“People said they saw two pig cars chase Peter the wrong way down a one-way street, shoot out his tires and then force him to stop. A lot of people heard the brakes screech but they didn't hear any crash so they got up to check it out. They saw six pig cars empty out and a whole herd of pigs start smashing out all the windows in our car with crowbars. They saw those cops beat Peter while he was still in the car and then drag him out and beat him mercilessly with crowbars and blackjacks. When people tried to stop them, the cops attacked them with their blackjacks. Then they handcuffed Peter, after he was dead, and dragged him half a block back to their car and threw him in.”

Two weeks after Peter's murder, dur-



ing an interview with the *Revolutionary Worker*, Gracie Funches sits in her Harlem apartment, an outraged woman, a woman who will “Never forgive and never forget.” The press has dropped the case, the city is trying to buy her off. (All of a sudden they found an immediate job opening for her daughter.) The pigs refused to release the names of the killer cops, they still haven't returned her car or her husband's personal belongings.

Gracie Funches is outraged and she knows why. She knows her husband's murder was no accident and she knows there's more to it than a few crazy cops. “Two weeks ago it was Peter—it could be my 14-year-old son tonight. Just look at how Black people been murdered by New York cops. I asked myself, why Peter? He never hurt anybody. There was a man who went off to fight that war in Vietnam—he didn't even want to go, they had to drag him off after they caught up with him. He went over there and didn't even know what he was fighting about. He didn't get killed there but he came back sick. He came back sick and got

murdered by the cops here. He got killed worse than they would kill a dog. And why? Because he was Black and poor. If Peter was rich he wouldn't even have gotten a ticket. That's the way Black people always been treated.

“I remember my grandfather being beaten and dying because he wouldn't turn his son in for winking at a white woman. Look at what happens, when a cop gets killed they all go about setting up a fund for his family, but I haven't heard anyone say anything about setting up a fund for the wife of six children that Black man left behind...”

Gracie is determined that these murdering swine will pay for their crime. “They tell us the cops need to be protected. They have a big deal to buy those bullet-proof vests—they even tell you where to send the money. Hell, it's us that has to be protected from the cops, we should get those vests. But those murderers will pay—if I ever see them they're gonna have to kill me or give them up for dead. But if I don't get them, then my kids will. And if they don't our people will!”

Revolutionary Denied Bar Exam CINCY WITCH HUNT

June 13, 1979. Officers of the Cincinnati Bar Association. The smiling secretary behind the gleaming desk. *Travel* and *Leisure* magazines on the coffee table. A young attorney pleasantly greets the young lady in the waiting room, a recent graduate of the University of Cincinnati College of Law, leading her into a back office, introducing her to two other attorneys. They sit down together.

All very nice. But under this hypocritical veneer of professionalism, a most disgusting and reactionary event is taking place—a witch hunt—straight-up, just like the 1950s and Joe McCarthy. The law student is Martha Kociolek who has worked closely with the Revolutionary Communist Party, fighting in an uncompromising way in the struggles of the people and striving to mobilize lawyers and law students as a progressive social force. The Bar Association, upholder of the status quo and bourgeois justice and law, headed by a vice-president of Proctor and Gamble, the giant soap monopoly, is trying to stop Kociolek from becoming a lawyer by refusing to allow her so far to take the bar exam.

As the plaster smiles fade, the questions come hot and heavy. Are you a member of the RCP? Do you believe in violent overthrow of the government? Your husband believes in violent overthrow, doesn't he? You're married to him, aren't you, so you must believe in it too? Do you associate with the RCP? You pass out their leaflets? Isn't it true you took communist literature into the Cincinnati Correctional Institute (The Workhouse's own rules read there will be no censorship of reading material.

When Kociolek pointed this out to the Workhouse pigs they were incensed and contacted the Bar Association. To this day CCI officials have refused inmates their *Revolutionary Workers*.) Do you understand we have questions about your moral fitness? They bring up her disorderly conduct conviction for talking back to some cops arresting members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade for leafletting against the Shah of Iran. They also bring up a petty infraction of a little-enforced rule concerning visitation at the Workhouse.

Can they keep Kociolek from taking the bar? The campaign on her behalf is underway. As the word spreads it's clear they'll pay a high political price if they exclude her. Many fellow law students and attorneys are outraged. Others are thoroughly shocked and shaken up. “Things like this aren't supposed to happen.” The Bar asked, does she uphold the constitution?! “I thought free speech was part of the constitution!” she retorted sarcastically.

The capitalists and their Bar Association chieftains have far more in mind than simply preventing Martha Kociolek from becoming a lawyer. They want to spread an atmosphere of fear and intimidation among other lawyers and law students, telling them that if they take a stand with the revolutionary struggles of the people, and especially if they work with communists, they can be hounded and even driven from their profession.

In the 1950s many progressive people fell into the trap of trying to “play it cool” and “be careful” during Senator McCarthy's witchhunts. The result was



As the *Chicago Tribune* reported (above) high fashion designer Ms. Von Furstenburg is a real philanthropist—indeed one might say, a model of her class. What she “can't help feeling” is the irrepressible urge to exploit others. What a waste of labor power. They could be working for me! The sight of the “boat people” drifting about has obviously made her recall the old saying that “charity begins at home.” In her home. On your knees. On her kitchen floor. Who says “feelings” have no class character?

that the atmosphere of fear and repression went, to a large degree, unchallenged. Kociolek and her supporters are stressing the need to take up this fight straight-up, without apologizing for or trying to “tone down” her politics. They are continuing to call on lawyers and other professionals to take their stand with the masses of people—whether it pleases the Bar Association or not.

Review of Kociolek's application for the exam will be held July 10. Send letters and telegrams of support to:
Milton Thurman, Jr.
Chairman, Committee on Admissions and Legal Education
Cincinnati Bar Association
26 East 6th Street, 4th Floor
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Defendants

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clear they are out to get these revolutionaries—no ifs, ands or buts about it.

Why such outrageous trumped-up charges? Early this year, speaking about this question in the context of Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S., Bob Avakian gave the analysis that explains why they are doing it. The ruling class was parading Teng, that traitor to revolution, before the people to convince the masses that revolution was dead. Comrade Avakian said, "There are storms gathering. There are going to be upheavals and they know it and they want to strike down and wipe out the banner of revolution. They want to go into this situation with nobody able to lead the masses in opposing them because they know the hatred of people for this system, the hatred that already burns in the hearts of millions, is going to spread and deepen in tens of millions of people in this country. . . . They know big things are on the horizon. They want to prevent people from being able to have a leadership, able to have a revolutionary banner they can rally around."

So the gauntlet was thrown down in the courtroom July 3. The battle was shaping up. At 8:15 that morning at the courthouse some representatives from Committees to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants from around the east coast formed a picketline in front of the courthouse. Chants blared out like a trumpet, "It's a railroad. We're not mistaken. Get your bloody hands off Bob Avakian." "It's right to fight, it's right to rebel. Capitalist justice can go to hell. Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants."

Then the defendants came marching down the street to join the picketline before going into court. There they were, heads held high, fists raised, chanting defiantly and carrying forward the same spirit and message that was delivered by 500 revolutionaries in the demonstration on January 29 in Washington D.C.

500 people had seized the hour and the day to protest Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S.; to protest the sale of the Chinese people into the U.S. war bloc; to hold high the banner of revolution, of Mao Tsetung. This, in the face of the treachery of Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and Co. who are reversing all the advances in once-revolutionary China. This militant march and demonstration was too much for the U.S. ruling class to stomach. They unleashed hundreds of cops who attacked the demonstration, beating and clubbing anyone they could get their hands on. Most got away but 78 were arrested and further brutalized in jail. Of those 78, 17 had been indicted by the grand jury on serious felony charges.

Face Off With Cops

July 3 was the beginning of the battle against these frameups. The defendants

went into the courthouse. Right behind them the picketline broke up and supporters formed a contingent. Lined up in 2's with fists in the air, people marched into the courthouse.

As soon as they were all inside they were stopped. The cops were frantic. "You ain't going nowhere," they barked. They grabbed the cameras of the *Revolutionary Worker* photographer and confiscated his film though he had only taken pictures outside the courthouse.

Defendants along with others were being stopped from going to the courtroom. The pigs were out for blood but their knees were shaking. The people were outraged that they were being kept from the courtroom. One of the people attracted by the demonstration blurred out, "I can't wait for the day when we cut your heads off." Finally everyone was allowed into the room on the condition they would be silent. The courtroom was packed. In blazing red shirts, the Mao Tsetung Defendants and their supporters stood before the judge.

During the arraignment each defendant was presented with a copy of their formal indictment for the first time; 12 felonies against all 9 defendants, including the following (and more); allegedly hitting an "unidentified" (how convenient) police officer in the back "while he was performing his duties" (which on the evening in question included beating, macing and arresting anyone he could at this march); allegedly "assaulting with a deadly and dangerous weapon, that is, by throwing hard objects" at unidentified members of a police force and on, and on.

After each defendant responded "Not guilty" to each and every charge, Assistant U.S. Attorney Mary Ellen Abrecht raised a new issue which once again demonstrated how desperate the government remains to manufacture a case against the defendants. She asked the court to order 3 of the defendants to submit to a handwriting analysis that afternoon. "Objection, your honor, what relevance has this to the charges before the court." "Your honor these defendants all rented cars to come to Washington on the date of this incident. The order is crucial to proving this." "Objection overruled."

Government's Big Contribution

At 2 that afternoon the 3 women defendants each were forced to take part in the handwriting analysis. It began by asking them to write their names over and over but there was clearly more to it than this. Each was ordered to fill out a form which included detailed questions about friends and family, about employment histories and educational background. All refused to fill the form out and were threatened with being held in contempt of court if they refused. The 3 stood their ground until the order was dropped. Finally each was told to fill out a phony blank check and each did. Now the government is the proud possessor of three checks payable to the order of the

Thursday, July 5. The eight remaining Mao Tsetung Defendants were brought up for arraignment before D.C. Judge Braman. Each had 15 felony charges against them. Citing the vague wording of the indictments, Judge Braman dismissed those charges which did not link a specific defendant to a specific crime—more than 80 out of 120. The judge talked tough saying he was "putting the government on notice" that such vaguely worded indictments posed a threat to the "liberties of the defendants."

The U.S. Attorney protested. The other nine Mao Tsetung defendants had had similar indictments handed down against them, and when they went for arraignment (before a different judge) none of their charges had been dropped. But Judge Braman's ruling was no more a rebuke of the prosecution than it was a defense of the "liberties" of the defendants. The Judge was merely putting the government on notice to clean up its act so that the remaining charges could stick and any new indictments would be more carefully prepared so as not to instantly expose the bankruptcy of the government's case.

As it stands now, these eight defendants still face three to five felony charges each, and the prosecution is intent on going back to court and getting additional, more "acceptable" indictments against them to replace the ones thrown out. The defendants' next scheduled court appearance is on November 19.

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Revolutionary Communist Party all in the amount of \$1 million—in honor of the Party's fund drive.

When the arraignment was over everyone regrouped outside for the main rally. Three huge red satin banners bearing the slogans of the campaign were unfurled. One of the defendants took the microphone, "Why is it that they are coming down so hard on the Mao Tsetung Defendants? Why is it that we face so many years in jail? Did they think we were going to seize state power, 500 of us marching down Pennsylvania Avenue? They knew we weren't going to do it then, but they could see a glimpse of the future. They charge in the indictments that we assaulted a police officer with a dangerous weapon. I'll show you the dangerous weapon." And she pulled Mao Tsetung's Redbook out of her back pocket and held it high.

People started to gather around to hear the speeches and listen to revolutionary culture. An old man who spent 38 years working on the railroad was visibly moved, clapping and nodding in agreement. He raised his fist and said, "Hang in there. You're right. Hang in there. The word 'can't' isn't in my dictionary. You gotta keep it going."

As Bob Avakian was speaking, other people stopped, calling their friends over to listen. Avakian said, "Yes, they are going to shoot down some people. They may railroad some of us to jail but we're going to fight not to be killed. We're going to fight not to go to jail, not just for ourselves. We have a lot of work to do. We got a revolution to prepare for. We got masses of people to educate and get united to see who our real enemy is and get organized to deal with it. We got to channel the hatred that people have so that whenever one is

cut down ten more, a hundred more, a thousand more will come forward.

"We know what you're about. We saw you shoot down Fred Hampton. We saw how you assassinated Malcolm X. We saw you shoot students at Kent State but we're not afraid, as the song says, 'Life is too short to be afraid to die.' We gotta get out here and deal with this situation. You're going to die any damn way. Nobody lives forever. The question is what are you going to do with your life. Are you gonna learn not to walk, are you gonna learn to live on your knees, or worse than that are you gonna learn to like it or are you gonna do what people all around the world are starting to do and more and more people in this country are starting to do? Are you gonna get up off your knees?"

"We had this demonstration here in D.C. They took and they beat this one woman down and they beat her with billy clubs. They beat her while she was on her knees. She rose up and straightened her back and she said right in the pig's face, 'You beat us but when the time comes we're gonna shoot you down and bury you.' That's the kind of stand we have to take."

The outrageous and vicious attacks on the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party and other Mao Tsetung Defendants will not go down unanswered. The ruling class has lashed out. Now it is an urgent task that all revolutionary-minded people come forward and unite actively to turn this attack around, deepen and intensify our work and drive the stake into the reactionary heart of the ruling class. *Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian!*

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

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

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Pictures of Life and Death Under Somoza

Interview with
Nicaraguan Woman

For the past 42 years the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua has been one of misery and poverty for the masses of people, including brutal repression of all those who opposed it and the domination of U.S. imperialism. The following are excerpts of an interview with a Nicaraguan woman, Nohemy, who came to the U.S. at age 12. They bring to life intense verbal "photos" of the horror of Somoza's rule.

"Somoza has a strategy with people's brains, he would make people feel that he is doing them a favor by belonging to his party. But in reality it wasn't that way. You see my mother worked for the Campo de Marti which is something like we have here at Fort Dix. My mother worked there as a tailor, sewing, making the clothes for the soldiers. . . . In Nicaragua many women will go there and work because financial conditions are just terrible. Our community was just completely impoverished. . . . You know what sweatshops are. Well, in Nicaragua, in the Campo de Marte it is like a big shop with all these machines. The machines are not electrical. They are manual, that means the women had to peddle on it which makes it physically harder. They give you the work, let's say, 6 pants per day and you do them good, or if not, you don't get paid for them at the end of the week. . . . The pay was depending on how much you made. Basically my mother made less than 100 córdobas which came out to almost \$15 a week.

"Somoza made a new rule, he did all the women a great favor by allowing them to bring all their children with them and have them work with them. And that was a great favor that he was doing to all of us."

Did the children get paid for their work?

"No, you helped your mother, your mother earned more, the children are working, they are exposed to all this dust. We would be coming to the Campo de Marte with my sister, we would eat right there next to my mother while she was sewing. We would lie on top of the clothes, fool around with all the material, do a lot of sweeping and help carry things to other parts of the plant that she couldn't do on her sewing machine. And in fact, I took the full responsibility when I was 8 on the machine. I couldn't even reach the peddles, but I got a chair where I could put myself. One or two times a needle went through my fingers because as a child I was sewing and looking somewhere else. I almost had my fingers amputated two times.

"If you belonged to his [Somoza's] party, you would probably get a lot of goods, and if you didn't you'd be impoverished. But in order to get a lot of these goods, you would have to do certain things, like if you hear someone talking about him. They called them *orejas* [ears]. You have to be very careful because within your neighborhood, you have someone, like I could be talking to you right now and you could be a Somoza *oreja*. I might belong to his party but then if I get turned down from his party then I don't get the goods. Like on the 6th of January he used to give toys to the women of the Campo de Marti. They have a store within the Campo de Marte where a few are a member and have a card. And you go there and could get things in it at a cheaper price than if you were to go outside and get it from a store. . . . But at the time you would look at this and say, 'Gee, a great man,' doing us a favor because you didn't see anything better than that.

"The U.S. helps Somoza a great deal, but it hasn't helped the people. I went back there [on New Year's Eve of 1978, just after Chamorro, owner of *La Prensa*, an opposition newspaper, was killed]. And he built all these beautiful things for tourists to come and see but when you go down to the barrios, which is like the ghettos, you see all the ruins. . . . After the earthquake he got so many things he could have built housing projects. People didn't even have a toilet. They dig into the earth and they make a little sink and that is where you do whatever you have to do. . . . I can still see it in my mind and I would like the whole world to know that there are children out there that are 3 years old walking barefooted under a hot sun on those streets that are not paved and they are selling gum. They are getting on buses and they



Sign displayed at demonstration held outside of OAS meeting in New York.

are screaming, their faces are dirty and they may not have eaten any food. They are working, 3 years old, they may not even speak well, but they are there. They almost put gum in your mouth so you can buy it because they need the money so desperately. . . . Yes, the U.S. has provided help, but where do you see it, only where the rich people go around."

The National Guard is now doing the fighting that the U.S. Marines used to do. Tell us what you know of the recent activities of the National Guard.

"What's happening there now is that they [the National Guard] are just killing every civilian and saying you are a Sandinista. One of my mother's nephews was hanged, a 9-year-old child. These National Guards come along and tell the kids, 'Where are you going?' and he says, 'I'm going to get some bread.' They just took him and then the lady [his mother] wanted to go and her husband held her because they couldn't go against the National Guard with its rifles and all these weapons. They killed that child. They whipped him. They have something like a knife that comes out of the rifle and they pinched him all over the place, in front of everybody and they almost cut off his penis. They strapped the child and hanged him and wrote in blood on his skin 'This is a Sandinista,' and afterwards they blew his head off and just left him hanging there with all the blood coming out of him. This is something the whole neighborhood witnessed." ■

Sandinista Offensive Rips Up U.S. Political Plots

Breathtaking new victories by the Sandinista Popular Armed Forces (FSLN) have brought the blood-soaked Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua to the brink of extinction. On Friday, July 6, it was announced Somoza would soon resign. Sandinista forces had seized the strategic southwestern city of Rivas and were continuing to advance throughout the country. Meanwhile, U.S. diplomats were scrambling in panic, seeking, according to the *New York Times*, "strong guarantees against any future radicalism" in the imminent post-Somoza Nicaragua.

On July 2, the south-central province of Matagalpa was liberated and the "definite and total reduction" of the National Guard's garrisons were announced. On July 4 the FSLN seized most major government, postal and communication facilities in Nicaragua's second-largest city of Rivas, which lies near the border of Costa Rica. It is expected that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of National Reconstruction, now based in Costa Rica, will for the first time establish itself on Nicaraguan soil.

With the predominantly rural north already in rebel hands, and with steady advances by the popular forces in the south, with the capital city in ruins and industry and agriculture virtually at a standstill, the desperation of Somoza's position grows greater daily. He has only been able to hang on this long because he has thus far been able to avoid the final disintegration of the National Guard, which has literally stopped at nothing in its efforts to destroy the revolution by the simple technique of mass murder. Slowly, however, this gruesome weapon, too, is slipping from Somoza's hands; defections from both the enlisted and the officer ranks are increasing rapidly.

But even as the hour of his doom approaches, Somoza's methodical vengeance against the revolutionary masses continues. Refugees report that "it is a crime to be a male between the ages of 12 and 30 in Nicaragua." According to the *New York Times*, the Red Cross has reported finding piles of bodies in and around Managua, many of them young boys, who have had their eyes torn out, genitals cut off, and their bellies slit.

Mass electrocutions have taken place by stringing bodies up on electrified fences.

These fascist atrocities, which are nothing new under the Somoza regime, are designed to exterminate the revolutionary fighters and to terrorize the rest of the population into submission; but they have only intensified the implacable hatred of the Nicaraguan people for Somoza and for his imperialist-sponsors in the United States—who are currently fretting that "there might be dozens of executions" of their henchmen as the Sandinistas seize power, and expressing their concern for "avoiding such bloodshed."

U.S. diplomacy is now focused on insuring the government following Somoza's certain downfall is as amenable to its imperialist interests as possible. To accomplish this, the U.S. has been using its "friends" in other Central American governments to "pass the word" to the bourgeois anti-Somoza forces within Nicaragua; unless the new regime is up to U.S. standards of "moderation" there will be no U.S. aid to rebuild Nicaragua's destroyed in-

dustrial base.

"One United States official," the *New York Times* states, "said Washington wanted to help Nicaragua 'but can't be seen helping a bunch of radicals.'" In other words, the U.S. wants to continue the same kind of "help" it has been dishing out to the people of Nicaragua for over 50 years: helping Somoza (or someone like him) help the U.S. to help itself. The people of Nicaragua have had enough of such "help" from the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. threats to "withhold economic aid" and to make the new leaders bow and scrape in the Somoza tradition may frighten a few Nicaraguan capitalists, but can hardly be expected to cause panic among the masses who have starved during the years when U.S. "aid" flowed most freely. The people of Nicaragua have written a brilliant chapter in the history of revolution with their courage and their blood; they have no interest in trading their liberation for a promise of charity from the very enemy they have fought so heroically against. ■

Part 3: Military Strategy— A Protracted Search for a Short-Cut to Victory

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH VIETNAM?

In the first two articles in this series, the *Revolutionary Worker* described the general characteristics of Soviet domination of Vietnam and examined the revisionist political line of the Vietnamese leaders, particularly in relation to the all-important struggle that erupted in the international communist movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s between the counter-revolutionary traitors led by Khrushchev and the revolutionary communists led by Mao Tsetung. These articles analyzed the elements in the outlook and politics of the Vietnamese leaders, including Ho Chi Minh, that laid the basis for their betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. This article will examine the politics of the Vietnamese leaders as it was expressed in the military line and strategy they pursued in the course of the many years of fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression.

How was it possible for the people of Vietnam to win their war against the vastly superior military might of the U.S. imperialists? This was the question that the U.S. ruling class and all their military masterminds could never figure out. The imperialists will never really understand how a small country fighting a just war of liberation can defeat a large country fighting a war of aggression; how counter-revolutionary violence can be met and overcome with revolutionary violence; how imperialist powers with highly advanced military technology and weaponry can be defeated by people's war. Yet this is precisely what happened in Vietnam, and Laos and Cambodia as well.

But there is also another question that must be answered here. How is it that a country that fought so long and so valiantly to drive out Japanese, French and American imperialism could fall so quickly into the clutches of Soviet imperialism? And how could leaders who are responsible for this rotten betrayal have led the victorious struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors?

People's War

In Vietnam military line was decisive—that is, it was the concentrated expression of ideological and political line in the concrete conditions of the struggle in Vietnam over several decades. For the greater part of the last 50 years war was the main form of the Vietnamese revolution. Overall the Vietnamese used the military strategy of people's war against U.S. imperialism. But to the extent they deviated from this course, sought shortcuts and relied on others, they not only suffered losses in battle but also politically deviated more and more from mobilizing and relying on the Vietnamese people. This is the only guarantee that victory would mean a genuine people's revolutionary victory, not the replacement of one imperialist power by another.

It was Mao Tsetung who first developed and implemented the theory of people's war in the course of the Chinese revolution. Mao argued that even when, as is almost always the case, the enemy has initial military

superiority, the revolutionary forces have a resource of incomparable value: the people themselves, aroused and mobilized to fight the enemy. And this, simply put, is the essence of people's war: a war waged by the masses of people consciously fighting in their own interests.

Mao developed the theory and practice of people's war in the context of the concrete conditions in China and the revolutionary war to throw out the imperialists and their domestic lackeys headed by Chiang Kai-shek. But the basic principles of people's war were also shown to be generally applicable in the colonial and neo-colonial countries which shared many of China's characteristics: an overwhelmingly rural peasant population, extremely underdeveloped and backward economy, the existence of semi-feudal relations in the countryside, and the control of the cities by the overwhelmingly superior force of the reactionaries.

Protracted People's War

Mao said that there were two incorrect views that could be taken in regard to these conditions. The first was to capitulate to the strength of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries and be subjugated. The second was to think that the popular forces could win quick victory over the imperialists. The war of liberation, he said, must of necessity be a protracted one, given the initial balance of forces, but it would ultimately be a successful one.

He described the protracted people's war as overall a war of attrition. But within this overall war of attrition, it was key to fight battles of annihilation, to wipe out the enemy's forces bit by bit and gradually change the balance of forces. He did not argue for protracted war for the sake of dragging it out. His point was, given the balance of forces at the various stages of people's war, the struggle must be waged in a way that deals the heaviest blows to the enemy while conserving and strengthening the people's forces.

Of course Mao did not look at the strategy of people's war from a purely military standpoint either. It was important in weakening the enemy politically and politically strengthening the people's forces, both to win military victory and to carry through and build on that victory so that, having driven out the imperialists and their domestic lackeys, the masses of people could move forward to construct a socialist society.

Mao stressed the importance of the "strategic defensive" in waging revolutionary war. "In every just war the defensive not only has a lulling effect on politically alien elements, it also makes possible the rallying of the backward sections of the masses to join in the war." This was a policy of luring the enemy in deep, surrounding it with the masses, cutting off its forces into various parts and annihilating them bit by bit. At the same time he insisted on the principle of concentrating a superior force against a numerically inferior force to wipe it out in any particular battle or campaign.

The Chinese revolution had great influence on Vietnam and the leadership of the Vietnamese resistance. Early in their struggle against French colonial domination, the Vietnamese leadership adopted the strategy of people's war. At least from the standpoint of their own pragmatism they had to admit that it worked. But while they made use of the Chinese experience as summed up by Mao and adopted people's war, out of necessity if nothing else, the Vietnamese leaders also expressed sharp disagreement with key aspects of it, and this was openly stated particularly in the mid-1960s.

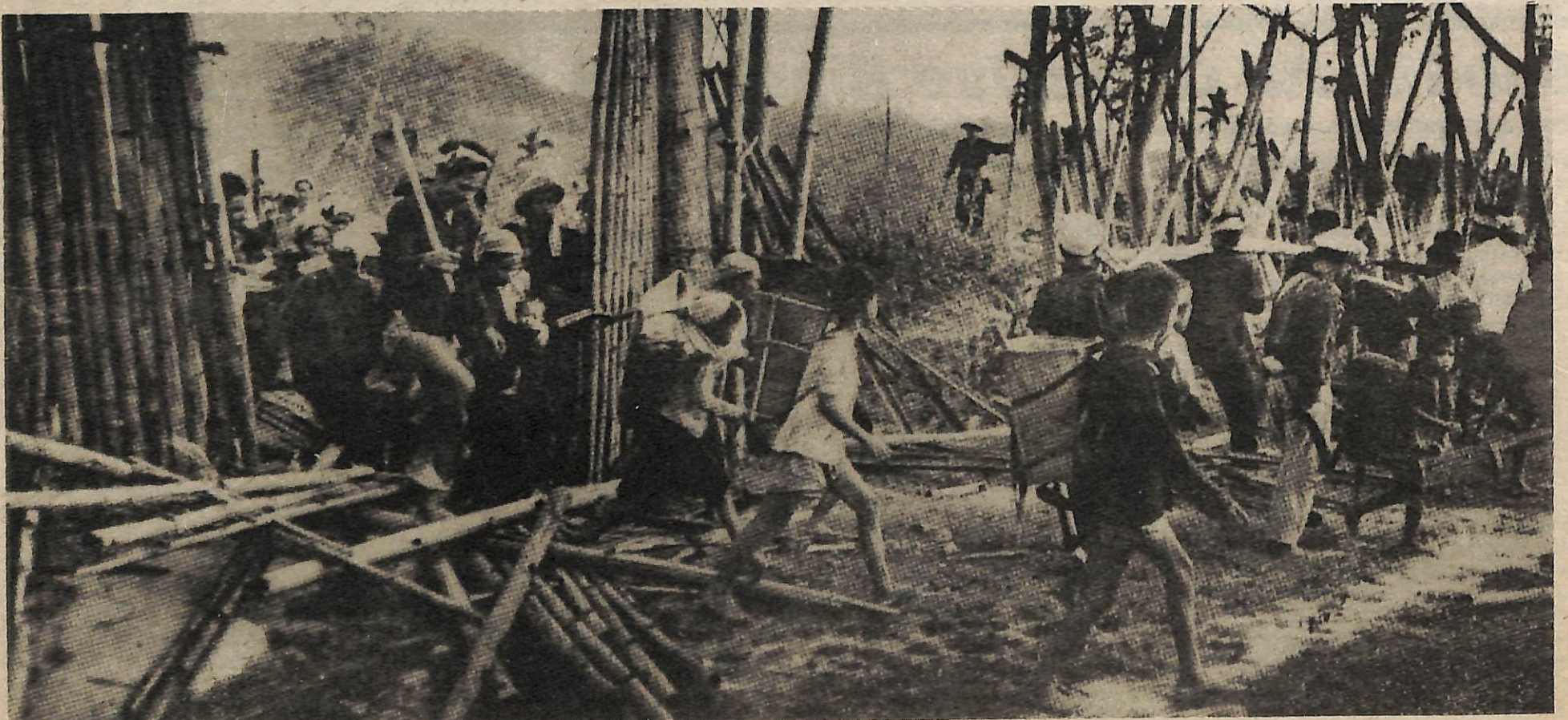
At a military conference in 1966, for example, Le Duan, Secretary General of the Vietnam Workers Party, spoke out in opposition to the idea of strategic defensive. "Taking the offensive is a strategy, while taking the defensive is only a strategem. Since the day the South Vietnamese people rose up, they have continually taken the offensive." And regarding the principle of concentrating a superior force to defeat an inferior enemy force, he said: "...our troops and people have invented unique tactical methods which enable a lesser force to attack a larger force." Other disagreements with Mao's military line were continually voiced.

Of course, it is not the case that the revolutionary struggle in one country must mechanically and slavishly follow the example and experiences of another country, nor is it that one country should not creatively adopt a generally correct strategy to the particularities of its own situation. Neither is it a matter of looking at differences in military strategy and tactics and saying the Vietnamese leadership must be revisionist because they deviated at this point or that point from Mao's policies. What has to be assessed is how the Vietnamese leadership looked at the struggle and the military strategy and tactics overall, and what orientation and political line was expressed in their military policies.

The War in Vietnam

When John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960 the U.S. faced a major crisis in its efforts to maintain its stranglehold on south Vietnam. From the end of the French Indochina war in 1954 the U.S. had pursued a policy of trying to legitimize and prop up its puppet government in Saigon, headed by Ngo Dinh Diem. Despite all its efforts, the Diem regime was in a shambles. His ruthless and bloody measures to reimpose landlord rule and feudal conditions on the people in the regions that had been liberated by the Vietminh during the war against the French, and the overall rampant decay and degeneration, corruption and oppressiveness of the regime with its U.S.-trained and supplied police and military, had given rise to an intense wave of popular resistance and struggle.

In December of 1960 the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam had been formed, uniting and galvanizing many nationalist forces and the masses of



The U.S. imperialists tried to turn the Vietnamese countryside into a giant concentration camp with their "strategic hamlet" and pacification programs. But here, as in every other aspect of their 15 year war to control south Vietnam, they met defeat at the hands of the people. (Above) Villagers stream through the walls of a "strategic hamlet" broken down when the area was liberated.



The leaders of north Vietnam continually sought to find a shortcut to quick and decisive victory through reliance on Soviet style military aid (heavy weapons, tanks, rockets, etc.), which served to tie them to the "fight big conventional battles" military strategy and drew them more tightly into the Soviet's net. But in fact it was the mobilization of the masses of people in support of the guerrillas and mobile war of the liberation forces that established the basis for victory over the U.S.

people in growing political struggle and open guerrilla warfare against the U.S. and its puppet. The U.S. ruling class called for new measures to reassert its control, and Kennedy responded with his "special war" in south Vietnam, headed by General Maxwell Taylor.

This special war brought a drastic increase in the number of U.S. "military advisors" in the south and greatly increased military and economic aid to Diem. One of the "special features" of this special war was the U.S. imperialists' "strategic hamlet" plan, a forerunner of Johnson's pacification program for the countryside, which boiled down to turning villages in the rural areas where the liberation forces were strong and active into concentration camps.

By the time LBJ took over, Kennedy's special war was a proven flop, defeated by people's war. Diem had shown himself increasingly useless to U.S. objectives, so the U.S. imperialists had him murdered and installed another puppet in his place. Johnson replaced the "special war" with his own first escalation, termed a "limited war."

During this period the Vietnamese leadership in the north made decisions on political and military line which in effect backed off from pouring resources into the war in the south. While asserting that the time had come to begin the task of "liberating the south... to struggle heroically and perseveringly to smash the southern regime," and supporting the formation of the NLF and the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) in the south, they took the position, as General Giap stated at the Third Congress of the Vietnam Workers Party in 1960, that "At present, economic construction in the North has become the central task of the Party. That is why our defense budget must be reduced and military effectiveness cut."

The practical effect of this decision, which was strongly influenced by the fear of Khrushchev and the Soviet revisionists that an outbreak of full scale war in Southeast Asia could touch off a "conflagration" between the Soviets and the U.S.—i.e. would endanger the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to conciliate with the U.S.—was that the struggle waged by the NLF in the south against the U.S. and its puppets developed as a people's war, and principally at this stage a guerrilla war. And this people's war in the south ripped apart U.S. dreams of stabilizing the situation and consolidating its grip through "limited war."

By 1964 the U.S. faced the decision of accepting a defeat in the south or escalating the war. Needless to say, the imperialists chose escalation. Using the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August of 1964 as the pretext, Johnson soon ordered the bombing of north Vietnam and by early 1965 had begun "Americanizing" the war in Vietnam by sending in the first large waves of U.S. troops that would eventually reach a troop strength of over half a million men.

Temporary Shift Toward Chinese Line

The developments in the struggle in the south and the U.S. escalation and bombing of the north forced a change in the priorities and military line of the Vietnamese leaders and, at least temporarily, in their public stance regarding the political and ideological struggle between China and the Soviet Union.

The Chinese revolutionaries had continued to stress to the Vietnamese the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and the fact that it would stop at no end to maintain and extend its domination of Indochina. They

bitterly exposed and attacked Khrushchev's line on peaceful coexistence and the idea, echoed by Pham Van Dong, the Prime Minister of north Vietnam, at the 3rd Congress, that "along with peace-loving people all over the world [the Soviet Union] are able to prevent war, to check the bloodstained hands of the imperialists, preserve peace and save mankind from a new World War, a nuclear war." Clearly, what Khrushchev meant by this was that peace could be achieved by capitulating to the U.S. imperialists and stamping out the flames of revolution around the world.

As it became more and more apparent to the Vietnamese leaders in Hanoi that the policy set at the Third Party Congress could not work in the way they had envisioned, they began to tilt back towards the Chinese. Party officials even made public statements condemning revisionism in the international communist movement.

While not fundamentally changing their position of conciliation with the U.S. and their efforts to keep the lid on the struggle in Indochina, the Soviets, now under the leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin (Khrushchev was thrown out in 1964) recognized that unless they jacked up their support for the military struggle in Vietnam, the Vietnamese leadership, by force of necessity (i.e., pragmatism, not proletarian ideology and politics) would be pushed into closer alliance with China. Kosygin visited Hanoi in 1965 and promised new military aid to counter the U.S. escalation. But it would be Soviet-style aid on Soviet terms.

With the fullscale entry of north Vietnamese forces into the war after 1964, the military strategy began to shift from protracted people's war (although there was continued characterization of the struggle in these terms in official pronouncements). This was reflected in the Vietnamese decision to send regular north Vietnamese army units into the south for the first time with the orientation of fighting conventional battles and in statements by Vietnamese leaders rather openly countering Mao's line on people's war. General Nguyen Chi Thanh, head of the north Vietnamese forces in the south and a major exponent of offensive attacks involving main force units, and going for quick decisive victory, attacked military leaders who tried to copy the "experiences of foreign countries in a mechanical manner."

In the face of U.S. attacks on the north and the big American troop build-up, the initial response of at least a majority of the north Vietnamese leadership was towards the type of conventional warfare pushed by the Soviets: slugging it out with the U.S. with regular forces—and of course relying on the type of Soviet aid that would push them in this direction.

Behind the new Soviet willingness to supply military aid for the Vietnamese, there was no intention of seeing the struggle through to military victory. The aid was coupled with renewed Soviet pressure for a negotiated settlement with the U.S. The Soviets and their Eastern European satellites floated the idea of reconvening the 1954 Geneva Conference, of which Russia was a co-chairman.

But despite their search for a shortcut to victory, it was quite apparent to the north Vietnamese leadership that conditions were unfavorable for negotiations at the time. With the U.S. troop build-up in the south in full stride in 1966 and '67, the military struggle was far from resolved, and negotiations could only lead to consolidation of the U.S. grip on the south. In March

of 1966 the Vietnamese leadership also seems to have summed up that—Le Duan's statement in July that Vietnam had evolved techniques enabling a small force to attack a much larger one notwithstanding—a policy of attempting to meet U.S. forces head on with regular army units would not work.

But although they were forced to make a turn again more to the people's war strategy of combining guerrilla and mobile warfare, their inclinations to look for the quick and decisive victory remained and were manifested in the eclectic policy enunciated by General Giap, Minister of Defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Commander of the Vietnamese army—a policy of combining guerrilla and mobile war with efforts to fight large scale conventional battles. But here again, their orientation was more in harmony with Soviet attempts to force negotiations than the Vietnamese leaders admitted.

Tet Offensive and Negotiations

However the Vietnamese leaders actually viewed the balance of forces in 1966 and most of 1967, by the end of 1967 they began to say that the conditions were favorable for launching an all-out offensive that would spark a general uprising in the south and lead to final victory in a very short period of time. On January 29, during the Tet Lunar holiday, such a coordinated general offensive was launched throughout south Vietnam. Liberation forces attacked every major city in the south. In Saigon they hit the Military High Command headquarters and the U.S. Embassy itself. NLF and DRV forces occupied the old capital city of Hue for 25 days. But if the military leadership expected a general popular uprising to follow, such did not occur.

The Tet offensive was a political defeat for the U.S. imperialists and their puppet regime in the south. It exploded the garbage that the U.S. rulers had been pumping through the American media that the Saigon regime had the support of the masses of people, that the NLF was virtually defeated and incapable of mounting an offensive. In the U.S., Tet was really the turning point for the growing anti-war movement, giving it tremendous momentum.

In Vietnam itself Tet had a significant demoralizing effect on U.S. troops and marked a galvanizing of ever growing resistance inside the military to the war. And it was a severe blow to the puppet regime. During the Tet offensive large numbers of Saigon government agents and lackeys were executed, which had a decisively chilling effect on those who might have considered following the same line of work. The 45-day Tet spring offensive led to the recall of General Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, and forced the resignation of LBJ, whose whole Vietnam strategy, with its "pacification" and "search and destroy" campaigns, was thoroughly discredited. And finally, it pushed the U.S. to make an effort to open up negotiations.

But the liberation army also suffered heavy losses and in the end was unable to hold any of the cities. Much of their infrastructure of underground cadres in the cities of the south was either forced to withdraw with the PLAF troops or, if they remained in the cities, now exposed, were wiped out by the U.S. and its puppet forces.

Seen in its best light, the Tet offensive was a shining testimony to the power of the struggle of the masses

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Napa Pigs Mourn Fallen Brother

There's an old adage to the effect that if you set a million monkeys at a million typewriters for a million years, they would manage to recreate all of Shakespeare's plays. Well, in the small northern California town of Napa, the laws of chance have struck again—this time in a startling development that even Jimmy the Greek wouldn't book: an entire police department has suddenly developed near-humanoid intelligence levels!

It turns out that they set one of their dogs on a fleeing vandal who turned and slashed its throat. As Vem the German Shepherd lay wounded, the shocked pigs went swiftly into action. The suspect was hauled downtown and booked, not for cruelty to animals (in

fact, this is where the true brilliance lies), but for felony assault on a police officer and assault with intent to kill! After all, as a lot of us have known for years, Vem was one of them—just another animal on the loose.

When Vem passed away the next day, and the bleeding-heart judge, instead of raising the charge to at least pigslaughter decided to O.R. the crazed killer, the entire police force had a 12-hour walk-out. After attending his funeral at Bubbling Wells cemetery, where his epitaph read, "Died in the line of duty" and one officer summed it all up with the words "He was my partner and my friend", they returned to work. Well, like they say, it takes one to know one...

Baez

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fundamental support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. This she readily admitted in a recent issue of *People* magazine: "I was never pro-Viet Cong."

Had the revolution in Vietnam advanced instead of being betrayed, no doubt the revolutionary suppression by the masses of their class enemies would have invoked the wrath of a Joan Baez "human rights" crusade surpassing that of even her "open letter."

As for the CPML, one can hardly accuse them of being pacifists. After all,

they supported China's invasion of Vietnam. Their rote repetition of Baez's garbage is mainly an attempt to promote anything that furthers their goal of helping line people up behind U.S. imperialism and opposing the "main enemy"—the Soviet Union. No doubt they also consider their *Call* interview quite a feather in their cap in carrying out their "new" policy of breaking out of a "small circle outlook" of shameless reformism into an even bigger circle of shameless reformism.

Opposite Pole of Same Stupidity

In the heat of the controversy, there are naturally a number of forces who have used the chance to promote a different but nevertheless equally contorted view of the events in Vietnam. Among them are Kunstler and Fonda

who, in their haste to oppose the Baez letter and confirm their status in the "peace movement," have been suckered into portraying Vietnam as "socialist." But most notable is the CPUSA, which has been opposing the Baez letter on the basis of their worked-out ideological line of support for the Soviet and Vietnamese revisionists.

On June 24, a full-page reply to Baez, titled "The Truth About Vietnam," appeared in the *New York Times*, blasting the Baez letter for the "ignorance it displays" and lauding Vietnam to the skies, saying "Vietnam now enjoys human rights as it has never known in history." The reply is signed by a number of individuals in or close to the CPUSA (including the editor of the *People's World*).

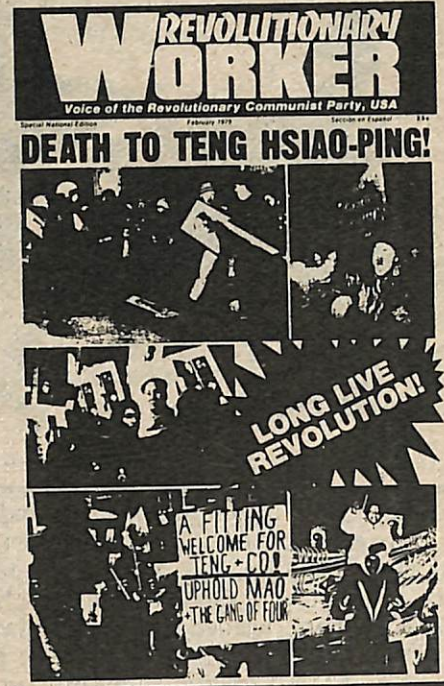
The "Truth" letter advances the ridiculous idea that Vietnam is presently "united, independent and free of foreign occupation." No mention, of course, of the fact that Vietnam has become a colony dictated to by the Soviet Union. And apparently these people didn't notice the invasion of Kampuchea (Cambodia) by 150,000 Vietnamese troops early this year at the behest of their Soviet masters, nor the continuing occupation of that country under the "leadership" of a puppet installed by the Vietnamese. No doubt this is all fine and is being carried out because of the former revolutionary Kampuchean government's "violations of human rights"!

The debate among these liberals in the "peace movement" and the opportunist "left" groups who have latched onto it is very revealing. It is a reflection of the turmoil among these strata over what has happened in Vietnam since the U.S. war of aggression there. Indicative of all this confusion is the amusing fact that San Francisco attorney, Terrence Hallinan, who with his family has long been tied in with the Communist Party, ended up signing

both the Baez and the "Truth" letters! The CP, intent on tailing all the most backward elements of the petty bourgeoisie really had to do the splits in this one.

Many who opposed the war in Vietnam are now disgusted with the actions of Vietnam's present rulers, and justly so. But the Baez letter attempts to channel this disgust in a direction which is not only favorable to the U.S. imperialists but is even supported and verbalized by them. The letter is reactionary and must be opposed. ■

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Vietnam

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and of wars of resistance backed by popular support. In addition to being a major factor in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Tet offensive figured into the ongoing struggles between the Soviet revisionists and the revolutionaries in China. The Chinese emphasized those aspects of Tet that spoke to the power of the correct strategy of people's war. A March 25 report in the Chinese news agency *Hsinhua* stated: "The great Tet victories of the PLAF and people are eloquent proof of the fact that people's war is an effective magic weapon in dealing with U.S. imperialism and its lackey. In the sublime spring offensive, the south Vietnamese people were mobilized and organized in tens of thousands in the city and countryside and they joined the PLAF in besieging and wiping out the enemy."

Yet viewed in terms of the political and military line of the Vietnamese leadership represented by the Tet offensive, it is something considerably less than "sublime." And the Chinese gave ample evidence of their view with a sort of backhanded complimenting of the offensive that was all that circumstances would let them say publicly at the time. *Hsinhua* commented on March 19: "At present the U.S. aggressors are engaged in unbridled massacre and persecution of the people rising up against them in the cities and towns in the fond hope of reversing the situation. However... as our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, 'all military adventures and political deceptions by U.S. imperialism are doomed to fail.' So long as the south Vietnamese people... follow up their victories and press ahead, surmount every difficulty, persevere in protracted war, give full play to the matchless might of people's war and continuously wipe out the enemy's effective strength, they are bound to win final victory."

What the Chinese were hitting at was the fact that the Tet offensive was another "shortcut" attempt by the Vietnamese leadership to grab quick victory and avoid the protracted struggle. The Tet offensive represented either a miscalculation on the part of the Vietnamese leadership about the actual level of the struggle and balance of forces, or it was a rash, reckless and premature attempt to achieve final victory. Or—and there is considerable evidence for this choice—Tet was mainly designed to force the U.S. into negotiations.

Of course there is nothing wrong in principle with negotiations. Sometimes they are a necessary and correct form of, as Mao said, "giving tit for tat." And there is nothing wrong in principle with the liberation forces of a country like Vietnam waging an offensive on the scale of Tet. But what is decisive throughout any of the phases and stages of the struggle is the political line which leads the struggle; whether the leaders strive to keep the initiative in the hands of the masses and in a thoroughgoing way rely on the masses and their conscious activism as the *only* force capable of completely defeating the enemy, or whether the leaders go in for schemes and idealist notions that the enemy can be defeated by any method short of this mobilization of the masses. The way in which the Vietnamese leadership approached the question of negotiations, as well as any of the possible explanations of the Tet offensive, display these revisionists' astounding lack of faith in the ability of the masses to carry the struggle through to the end.

Fight to Serve Negotiations?

Appropriately, the Chinese were warning the Vietnamese against the view that a victory could be won at the negotiating table which was not already established in the political and military struggle. The Vietnamese claimed that they were carrying out negotiations while fighting, but once negotiations began in 1968, rather than persevering in protracted people's war, they carried out the fighting mainly in order to put pressure on the negotiations, to make breakthroughs at certain junctures in the negotiations with more large scale engagements. This could be seen with the Tet offensive, which was timed in an election year and not only succeeded in its aims to sharpen divisions in the U.S. ruling class but also brought down then president Lyndon Johnson. A major offensive was also undertaken in the spring of 1972, timed again in an election year and also in a period which was key in the negotiations. It is not wrong to take advantage of contradictions like these in the enemy camp. But in this case, such moves were both part of and helped solidify an increasingly wrong line on the strategy for victory.

To the extent that the military struggle was emphasized in the years following 1968, the Vietnamese leaders departed farther and farther from reliance on the masses on the battlefield. Reliance on Soviet aid and military technology, a weakness which was clearly evident even before 1968, came into full blossom in the latter years of the war. The Vietnamese leaders increasingly saw high powered Soviet technology as the key link in victory on the battlefield. Soviet surface to air missiles (SAMs) poured into Vietnam as did Soviet MiG jet fighters. Along with this came the inevitable Soviet advisors. The strength of the Vietnamese strug-

gle that characterized especially the early stages of the war in the south, the drowning of the enemy in a sea of people's war, was turned into its opposite.

The negotiations and the approach the Vietnamese leadership tried to follow could not bring the quick settlement that they were looking for. In fact, the actual peace agreement was not signed until five years later, and the final victory took seven years.

So in the final analysis the revisionist leaders of Vietnam were forced to rely on a strategy more in keeping with people's war against the U.S. imperialists. They were forced to a certain extent to mobilize the masses of people. Despite the revisionist political line of the Vietnam Workers Party, and because of the justness of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression, their struggle was undeniably progressive and victorious. But the Vietnam War and what followed after the victory over the U.S. underscores what the Chinese party said, that while people's war can be led, at least to some degree, by various class forces, in this case Vietnam's new bourgeoisie, and these class forces can, to varying degrees, mobilize the masses to defeat the immediate enemy, the struggle cannot be carried through to ultimate victory under their leadership. And in the case of Vietnam, these bourgeois forces that were in control of the revolutionary struggle betrayed the victory and the people to the Soviet imperialists.

For their nationalist reasons, the Vietnamese leadership was prepared to fight the U.S. imperialists. With the same nationalist outlook, they believed that they could accept massive military aid from the USSR and not fall completely under Soviet domination. But while this was possible to a certain degree during the war itself, imperialist aid never comes with "no strings attached," as the Vietnamese were to find out fully after the defeat of the U.S.—when the Soviets called in their chips.

Today, the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is vivid proof that, while they were forced to wage people's war against the U.S., the Vietnamese revisionists never really understood it or thoroughly based themselves on it. In an effort to extend Soviet domination in Southeast Asia and advance their own "great power" ambitions, the Vietnamese launched what they thought would be a blitzkrieg attack to bring down the government and party of Democratic Kampuchea and install their own puppet regime, just as the U.S. attempted to do in Vietnam. Instead, just like the U.S., they have won some temporary initial success because of their initially superior military might but have themselves now become bogged down and enmeshed in a people's war waged by the people of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese revisionists will find this war as difficult to win as the U.S. found its war in Vietnam to be. ■