



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

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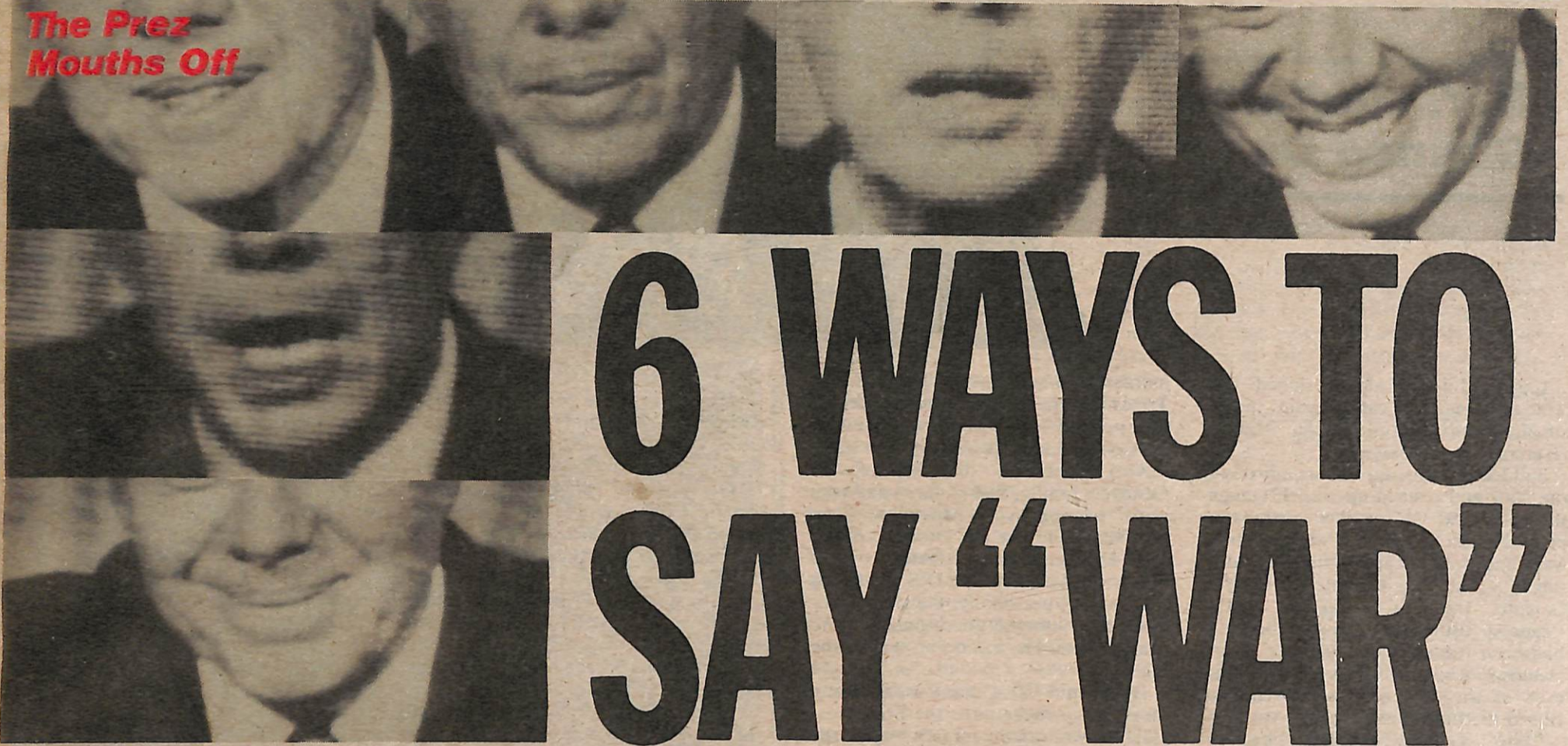
June 20, 1979



Sección en Español

25¢

## The Prez Mouths Off



# 6 WAYS TO SAY "WAR"

After 12 days on the mountaintop in his "domestic summit," Jimmy Carter came down with the word for America: "Stop cursing and start praying." Even Moses gave a more convincing performance. It was a pitiful prescription for solving a "grave crisis."

He identified "the true problems of our nation" as something deeper than the energy crisis, "deeper, even, than inflation or recession"—a loss of confidence in this system and its future.

Sounding like a Sunday morning radio preacher, Carter gave a Sunday evening sermonette on the "moral and spiritual crisis" of America. Woodenly clenching his fist in an obviously rehearsed gesture, he exhorted Americans to regain national unity by falling into line for an energy crisis "war."

Much of the desperation of this pitiful performance came from the fact that this was Carter's last-ditch effort to rescue his nose-diving career, to show the rest of the

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## Sandinistas Take Power

Two days after Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza fled to his Miami Beach resort, Sandinista rebels liberated the capital city of Managua as the victorious people filled the streets with cheers and celebrations.

Somoza's special bunker-compound was seized by Sandinista units, and dozens of political prisoners were freed from there. Cheering crowds pulled down a statue of Somoza's father, General Anastasio Somoza Garcia, who (with just a bit of help from the U.S. Marines) founded the Somoza family dynasty more than four decades ago.

The final victory in the bloody civil war in Nicaragua came after the failure of the last-minute counter-revolutionary treachery apparently engineered by the United States. According to an agreement reached by the rebel-backed provisional government, the United States, and the shattered Somoza regime earlier in the week, Somoza's departure was to be followed by an immediate transfer of power to the legitimate provisional government. Instead, Somoza's successor, Urcuyo, suddenly announced that he intended to fill out the remainder of Somoza's term in office which ended in 1981.

This stupid reactionary apparently tried out Somoza's fancy desk and soft chair and decided he liked it. He even called on the Sandinistas to "lay down

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National Guardsmen commandeered Red Cross plane to make a fast getaway (Top)

Victorious Sandinistas (Below)



Photo by FSLN soldier Emilio.

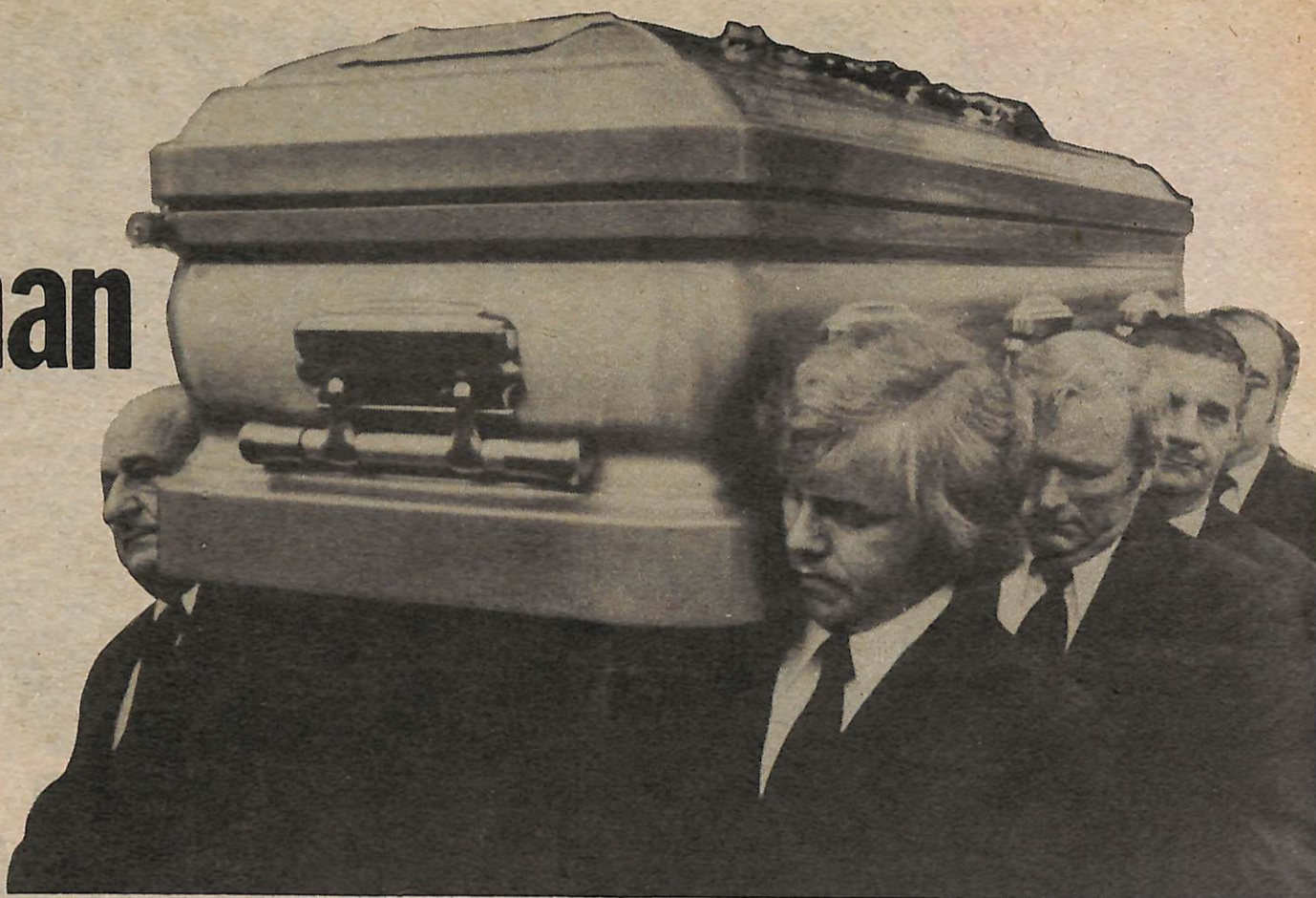
## WHAT WENT WRONG WITH VIETNAM?

Part 4: Conclusion — Page 7



# Death of a Businessman

## N.Y. Godfather Gunned Down



Carlo "Lilo" Galante sipped red wine and began to eat his salad in the small, sunlit patio of an Italian restaurant in Brooklyn.

Suddenly, a hit squad burst through the door and opened up with 12 gauge shotguns and .45 caliber automatic pistols. Another gunman stepped forward and, taking careful aim, placed a single .45 slug in Galante's left eye. Galante, the self-proclaimed Mafia "capo di tutti capi" (boss of bosses), had been rubbed out. Galante's cigar, clamped in his teeth, was still smoking even as the TV cameras arrived and filmed the bullet-ridden body.

"Lilo" Galante probably liked to think of himself as living up to the "godfather" image popularized by Marlon Brando—the kindly grandfather. Actually, Galante was a vulture preying on human flesh—the head of the New York narcotics racket.

Galante began his criminal career at an early age, but for a long time busied himself with low-level street crime, specializing in armed robbery. He made his big breakthrough into the upper echelons of the mob in 1943, when he

murdered an anarchist publisher, Carlo Tresca in New York. Tresca had been an outspoken opponent of Benito Mussolini and his fascist regime in Italy.

Vito Genovese, the don of the Genovese family, had contacts and very warm relations with Mussolini. They put out a contract on Tresca to please His Excellency by rubbing out a political nuisance in the U.S. By filling the contract personally, Galante quickly entered into the good graces of the Mafia chiefs. He was on his way to the big time.

By the mid-'50s Galante was heading up the drug rackets for the Bonannos. Galante was instrumental in forging the alliance between the Italian gangs of New York and the French mob of Montreal which in turn set the stage for the "French connection" heroin smuggling operation.

In 1960 Galante was convicted of narcotics trade and was sentenced to 20 years. Like many other jailed Mafia kingpins, he continued to control his empire from a jail cell. However, upon his release in February, 1979, Galante returned to New York to find his power

base very much eroded.

Galante was in the position of having to move fast to expand his operation or else be out of the picture entirely. Out of this "expand or die" necessity Galante began to elbow his way into Atlantic City. His goal was to carve himself out a big hunk of the gambling and prostitution action that the Five Families had already divided among themselves. Faced with this challenge by Galante, the Five Families met in executive session and voted for the "death contract" which was carried out in classic gangland style.

Two miles away from the restaurant where Galante was executed, twenty mob bosses had assembled in another restaurant to celebrate the death of their rival. When word came back that the contract had been carried out, the party began.

In the streets, as word of Galante's death leaked out and spread through the communities, a celebration of a different character began spontaneously. People gathered in crowds of up to a couple hundred, dancing and cheering at the death of the hated Galante. "Where do you think all these kids get the drugs to shoot up, man? From this big-shot Mafia gangster," a young Puerto Rican said.

Meanwhile, the capitalist press spewed hypocritical moralism. In the *New York Post*, four-inch headlines screamed a single word, "Greed!" above a bloody picture of Galante's corpse. He didn't obey the mobsters' code, the *Post* explained, so the rest of the more disciplined mobsters rubbed him out. Galante's methods were too "crude," experts explained. Somebody from the Justice Department said, "He (Galante) was wedded to the old system—loan sharking, gambling, narcotics. That's too risky today for the job. He was out of tune with the cleaner, white collar rackets the mob now prefers."

It is true that today the organized crime syndicates are not solely in the traditional rackets. They are heavily involved in, and may even prefer, depending on the rate of profit, the so-called "white collar rackets." And they are also heavily invested in "legitimate" business enterprises. As the *Programme* of the RCP points out, "...the heads of the big crime syndicates...accumulate huge sums through their crime operations, and invest large parts of it in "legitimate" fields and become part of the capitalist class."

In fact, while there is an organized crime syndicate that has its own chain of command distinct from the bourgeoisie of this country, there is no hard line of demarcation between the two. All big mob bosses are also "legitimate" capitalists. And although not all capitalists are in the mob, the vast bulk of them have dealings of one sort or another with organized crime as well as engaging in every other form of corruption when it suits them.

The unifying thread which runs through both organized crime and "mainstream" monopoly capitalists is their addiction to and mandatory compulsion to maximize their profits and expand their operations. In this sense, there is no difference between them, but this does not stop the capitalists from running a phony "shock and horror" line in the press to try and show a difference between the mob and themselves.

The Galante rubout was nothing more than bumping off a business competitor. Are the backers of Somoza and the Shah really going to tell us that they think violence has no place in business? Of course not. Unfortunately for both the "respectable" capitalists and their equally vicious partners in the organized crime syndicates, violence also has its place in revolution. ■

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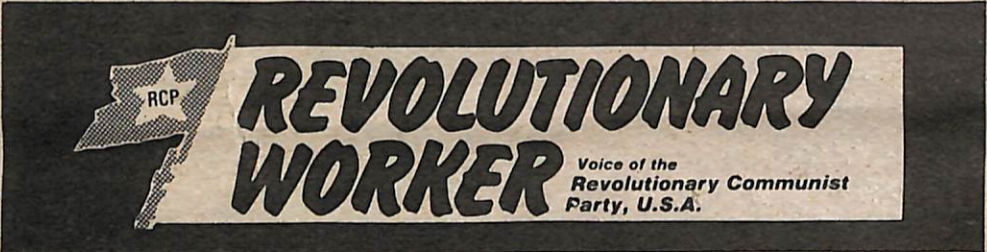
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# TO ALL THOSE WHO REFUSE TO LIVE AND TO DIE ON YOUR KNEES!

Less than a month after they were arrested for taking over a police station on the Northern Minnesota Red Lake reservation, five tribe members have been tried and convicted of all charges against them—one count each of "conspiracy" (for discussing what they were going to do before they did it) and four counts each of "assaulting a federal employee" (four Bureau of Indian Affairs cops herded into their own jail cells at gunpoint during the takeover). These charges carry up to 46 years in prison. Kidnapping charges against the defendants are still pending.

A sixth defendant, accused of conspiracy but not taking part in the takeover, was acquitted. Rather than seeing this acquittal as the one example of justice in an otherwise completely outrageous trial, tribe members involved in the struggle on the reservation say that the flimsiness of the evidence the prosecution was able to present against the man shows how unjust his arrest was in the first place, and how viciously the government wants to get those they consider "troublemakers" on the reservation.

Federal judge Edward Devitt released the five on bond awaiting sentencing, which has not been set yet, in return for a promise from the defendants not to "cause trouble." An example of what he meant by "trouble" was the June week-long sit-in in front of the reservation BIA office, directed against the government's protection of tribal chairman Roger Jourdain's gun-thug reign of terror over the tribe which was the target of the jail take-over in the first place. While the authorities piously carry on about how the defendants should have carried the struggle through "legitimate channels," the government obviously wants to shut down every form of resistance on the reservation.

The government is also clearly worried about more than these men who've been brought up on charges, despite attempts to portray them as an isolated bunch of "renegades" with no following. Following the May 19 jail takeover, a few hours after it began, several hundred armed and angry tribe members burned down the police station, jail, other official buildings and nearly every official car on the reservation, and then ran Roger Jourdain off the reservation and burned down his house too. The 30 or so shotgun and automatic rifle-toting BIA cops, brought in to occupy the reservation since then, have waged a campaign of indiscriminate terror against anything that smacks of rebellion, including midnight weapons searches, busting youth for curfew violations and especially arresting people for being "drunk and disorderly" at private parties, as well as trying to stop a mass meeting and the sit-in. The BIA seems to see any kind of gathering of tribe members as a threat—although one official pointed out in defense of the BIA that they have allowed church-sponsored bingo games to continue.

The trial, a monstrous injustice which the judge tried to cloak under a blanket of ordinary legal proceedings, was very unordinary in two ways. First it took place faster than a speeding bullet, and second the defendants were not allowed to present their defense to the charges fired off against them. All of this was done under the most strict legality. According to the way the law is set up, convicting these defendants was like shooting fish in a barrel.

No one connected with the case expected it to go to trial on July 9, on the first court appearance, but that's what the judge ordered. The argument that this wouldn't give the defense enough time to present a case based on the conditions on the reservation which had

given rise to the jail takeover was countered with the judge's ruling that the defense wasn't going to be allowed to present this kind of a case *anyway*. This wasn't a political trial, said the judge, and the only argument was whether or not the defendants did what they were accused of. Since the defendants had turned themselves in to the FBI and freely admitted what had happened, both to FBI agents and in court, then there wasn't much argument left, as far as the court was concerned.

In fact, said the judge, in refusing any delays he was only protecting the defendants' right to a speedy trial! The same government which finds it convenient to let thousands of people rot in jail awaiting trial also finds it very convenient to use the excuse of the recently passed Speedy Trial Act when there's a danger that political movement and support for the defendants may build up and the situation on the reservations and the whole stinking legal system designed to preserve the way things are will be exposed before growing numbers of people.

Just as the capitalists like to use the supposed impartiality of the law to hide the truth about who is doing the ruling and who is getting ruled over, so also they like to have a jury do their convicting for them in the name of the people. In this case, the question of where the trial would take place and therefore who would be on the jury was particularly important. The defendants were *not* allowed a trial under tribal jurisdiction, even though the Red Lake Reservation, where they were arrested, is supposedly sovereign Indian territory according to the treaty the government wrote when it put the tribe there. Federal law demanded a federal trial, because they were accused of crimes not against the tribe but the government—assault on the armed force through which the government rules over reservations.

When the defendants asked that the federal trial take place on the reservation, with a "jury of their peers" made up of Red Lake tribe members, the judge turned them down because there is no federal courthouse on the reservation. He did offer to let the trial take place in the town of Bemidji or Fergus Falls—two towns near the reservation which have become strongholds of prejudice against Indians in general and the defendants in particular, at least among those most likely to be called as jurors.

What they ended up with was an all-white jury in Minneapolis. The defendants had said that no Indian jury would ever convict them, because Indians of all tribes know about the conditions they rebelled against. But even with an all-white jury, the government was still afraid to let the defendants present a defense based on showing that their actions were just. The judge also turned down motions to subpoena tribal chairman Jourdain and BIA supervisor Celestine Moss, who were the targets of the June 19 rebellion. Even with this, the judge still found it necessary to warn the jurors that the only thing they could consider was whether or not the law had been broken.

Standing in stark contrast to this express-train trial is the gentlemanly and slow-motion government investigation of Roger Jourdain, whose brutal rule and robbery of the reservation over the past 21 years and open suppression of all dissent had long ago become such a scandal that a Minnesota Senator and Congressman from the area had been compelled to ask the BIA for an explanation. But the government in general and the BIA in particular did nothing, even when Stephanie Hanson,

the tribal treasurer, charged Jourdain with specific acts of corruption. The federal government did nothing when Jourdain, who was used to having opponents dealt with by the reservation police, simply ordered Hanson off the tribal council. In fact, it wasn't until the day after Stephanie Hanson's husband Harry and the other defendants took over the jail, with hundreds of Indians up in arms, the reservation exploding and all kinds of attention focused on it, that the BIA finally agreed to go along with an investigation which had been one of the main demands behind the takeover.

This investigation is a fraud, meant to pacify the gullible and nothing more. It certainly can't bring any justice.

Five federal departments, including the Department of Interior which is the BIA's parent body, agreed to call in an "outside auditing firm" to investigate "possible violations of law in how federal money has been spent on the reservation." According to a Congressional aide, this investigation will not even start at least until the fall and may

take some time after that to come to any conclusions. No matter what its report says, the defendants will have long since been sentenced and the government will have made its point—get out of line and we'll cut you down.

Even aside from the fact that this supposedly independent investigation is to be conducted by a firm hired by the same agencies it's supposed to investigate, there is a much bigger fraud here. It may be that Roger Jourdain didn't violate a single law in the way he used federal money to build up a private police force and political machine to run the reservation. The guns of the BIA and the other federal programs he used to prop himself up with were never meant for the benefit of the Indians in the first place, since the BIA was first established a century ago to rule the conquered tribes. They were meant to oppress the Indians, so that their lands and other wealth—in this case, timberland—could be stolen from them and their labor exploited extra

Continued on page 13

## Major Speaking Tour by Party Chairman

### "To All Those Who Refuse To Live and To Die On Your Knees!"

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, will be speaking throughout the country in the next several months. Bob Avakian is facing charges adding up to more than 100 years in jail.

This is your chance to hear the leader of the only organization in this country seriously working for revolution, the organization the government is viciously attacking and declares to be the most dangerous revolutionary organization in this country.

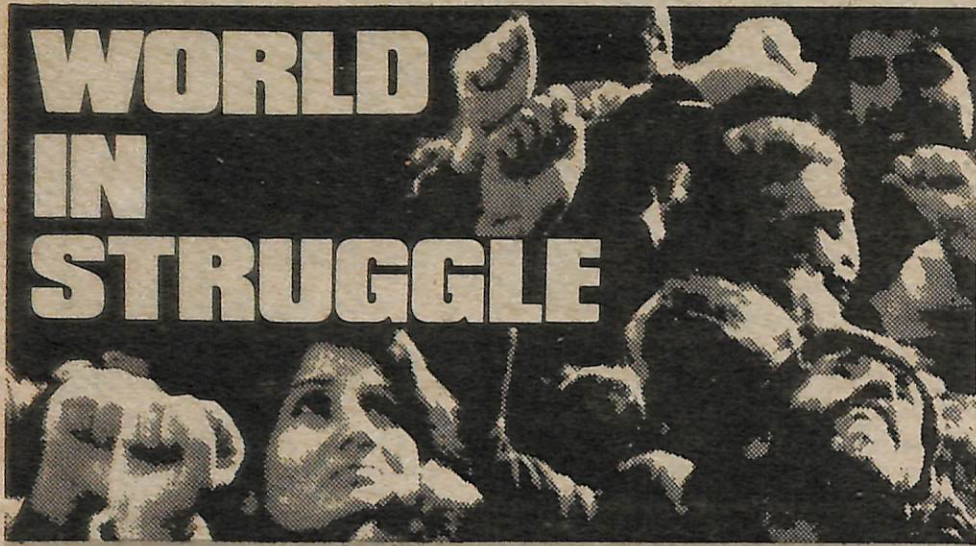
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**Don't Miss The Chance To Hear Bob Avakian Speak & To Get Down With The RCP! It Will Change Your Whole Life!**

When you hear Bob Avakian speak you will know why those who rule this country are desperate to put him away and to stop the RCP. And why those who hate this whole criminal system and government are rallying more and more to the RCP!

The following is a basic schedule for the first part of this speaking tour:  
Last week in July thru mid-August — West Coast  
Last half of August — Midwest & Great Lakes Area





# WORLD IN STRUGGLE

## Eritrea: Liberation Forces Resist New Ethiopian-USSR Offensive

As more than 50,000 Soviet-backed Ethiopian troops launched a three-front offensive on July 14 against the liberation forces of neighboring Eritrea (located to the north of Ethiopia on the Red Sea), they immediately ran into stiff resistance. According to news reports, a column of 30,000 Ethiopian troops that was trying to drive inland from the Red Sea coast was beaten back by fighters of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

In this as well as previous military operations, the conscripted army of the Ethiopian military junta has Soviet and Cuban "advisers" at all levels. It has billions in Soviet weaponry—everything from heavy artillery and MiG 23's to napalm and anti-personnel bombs. The USSR's continuing attempts to suppress the Eritrean people's struggle for national liberation and independence is yet another stark exposure of the true nature of Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds).

## Israel's "Lt. Calley" Gets Slap on Wrist

The bourgeois press in the U.S. spares no effort to portray the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist state of Israel as "fanatical terrorists" vs. a small heroic nation acting purely in "self-defense." But a rare glimpse of the truth appeared in the Israeli press in early July about an incident the Israeli rulers would have rather kept under wraps.

During Israel's full-scale invasion and occupation of southern Lebanon last March in a vain attempt to cripple the Palestinian resistance movement, an Israeli officer killed four Palestinian fighters—after they had already been taken prisoner. A military court-martial gave the officer 12 years in prison. Several months later, the court of appeals shortened the prison term to eight years. Then the Chief of the Israeli General Staff, Gen. Rafael Eitan, cut it further to two years. When this began to leak out, Israel's military censorship at Gen. Eitan's order forbade publication of the whole story on grounds of "national security." The matter only became widely known when a deputy used her parliamentary immunity to bring it up in the Knesset and the military censor attached to the Knesset went to sleep on the job.

The discussion in the press that followed was a sickening display of Zionism and racism. Even the leader of a small "opposition" party complained that actions such as this "have tarnished the purity of Jewish arms." Other Zionist apologists claimed it was an "isolated" incident. However, like the massacre of Vietnamese civilians at My

Lai that Lt. Calley led (and who similarly got his sentence progressively reduced by the U.S. military brass and never spent a day in jail), this cold-blooded murder of Palestinian prisoners reveals what kind of war Israel is waging against the whole Palestinian people. For the Israeli armed forces, standard operating procedure is daily bombing raids in U.S. F-4's on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon... special sea-borne commando squads who specialize in assassinating Palestinian leaders... the torture and shooting of Palestinian youths in the West Bank who courageously stand up to the Zionists' occupation of their homeland.

This is nothing new. It is a direct continuation of how Israel was founded in the first place—by the forcible theft of the land of the Palestinian people and the brutal suppression of their just revolutionary struggle. In fact, this no-prisoners policy was first pioneered by the Israeli terrorist organization the Irgun (commanded by the same Menachim Begin who is now Prime Minister), which was particularly infamous for its calculated massacre of the whole Arab population of a Palestinian town in 1948 to terrorize the surrounding population and force them to flee for their lives. Then, as now, the national policy of the Israeli state is "the only good Palestinian is a dead Palestinian."

## West Germany: 50,000 "Rock Against the Right"

For two days, chants of "No Nazis in Frankfurt, nor elsewhere" were heard in Frankfurt, West Germany. In late June, 50,000 people streamed into this city for an anti-fascist music festival and to protest a planned national rally by the neo-Nazi German National Party (NPD). Though the neo-Nazis cancelled out when the city prohibited any demonstrations, "Rock Against the Right" (Rock gegen Rechts, or RgR) went ahead with its two-day music festival. Just the same, some 10,000 federal cops were stationed in Frankfurt throughout these activities to maintain "law and order." The authorities were clearly ready to repeat their actions of last year, when riot police brutally attacked the occupation of one of Frankfurt's public squares by 10,000 anti-fascists (thereby preventing the NPD from using it), injuring hundreds of demonstrators.

RgR models itself after its British counterpart, "Rock Against Racism", which was organized to take a stand against the racist attacks which have been spearheaded by the racist National Front against immigrants in Britain. West Germany also has large numbers of immigrant workers (from Turkey, Spain and other countries), and German right-wing organizations such as the NPD interlace their pro-Nazi propaganda with blatant appeals to national chauvinism and anti-immigrant racism.

RgR, which describes itself as "seeking to combat racism and fascism in the pop culture," has attracted the support of a sizeable number of progressive rock groups and folk singers.



Part of the crowd of 50,000 people attend anti-fascist music festival. Banner says "We want neither fascism or its accomplices."

## S.A.C. Wargames



# U.S. Bombs Moscow (Kansas)

8:12 AM, a B-52 bomber rolls down the runway at Robbins Air Force Base near Macon, Georgia. Seventeen seconds later another B-52, rolling right behind it, takes off. Twelve seconds later comes the third B-52, followed by three KC-135 aerial tankers. The whole six-plane takeoff is accomplished in the space of a minute and a half—this is known as a MINIMUM INTERVAL TAKEOFF—the idea is to get going before a Russian submarine-launched missile can destroy the B-52's on the ground. This scene is being repeated at Strategic Air Command Bases (SAC) all over the U.S. More than 650 bombers, aerial tankers, reconnaissance planes, and flying command posts are in the air. These are the same planes that did carpet bombing missions over north Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

The six planes fly north through Atlanta's air space and toward North Carolina. Over the northern suburbs of Knoxville, Tennessee, the bombers hook up with the tankers to gas up. B-52's cannot safely take off with a full fuel load. For a round trip to Russia they must be refueled more than once. When they are fifty miles south of Minneapolis, a coded message from SAC headquarters comes over the intercom. The final instructions are to proceed to separate targets in Russia. Over the intercom, the bombardier's voice reviews the checklist of steps as their nuclear "cargo" is pre-armed.

This particular B-52 carries four 1.1-megaton hydrogen bombs plus 8 SRAM air-to-ground missiles, each with a warhead larger than the Hiroshima bomb. This one plane is capable of killing ten million people.

As they approach enemy territory, the pilot descends to 400 feet above the

ground and sets his low level auto pilot as the wheat fields whiz by at 420 mph. As they approach Moscow, the navigator says, "The first target will appear in three minutes."

The bombardier sets the crosshairs on the target. A light appears on the pilot's instrument panel. "Bomb doors not latched," it reads. Then comes another light: "Bomb doors open."

"Bombs away," says a voice on the intercom.

"O.K., Zero, Four, Niner, next target," says another voice.

During a little over an hour, four nuclear bombs and four SRAM missiles are sent to their targets. As the last SRAM is released, the bombardier and navigator exchange a thumbs-up sign. From their standpoint it has been a perfect bomb run.

Is this some Doctor Strangelove fantasy? No, it is operation Global Shield (to put a shield of nukes over the globe for the greater glory of U.S. imperialism), the largest "war game" conducted by the Strategic Air Command in over twenty years, which took place the second week of July.

While the planes were on a simulated mission, and actually carried no real warheads (and never actually left U.S. air space), it was the closest SAC has come to managing a real attack.

The Moscow they practiced bombing over was Moscow, Kansas. Rather than dropping real bombs, they sent out electronic signals which were received on the ground, and the crew's accuracy was scored. This latest round of the U.S. military's "war games" (read: war preparations) should dispel any doubts about whether World War 3 is really on the horizon.

American B-52 bomber launching a short-range attack missile (SRAM).



**Carter's "New" Explanation of Crisis**

**"The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and political fabric of America."**

*Jimmy Carter, July 16, 1979*

**"Any lack of confidence... in the basic strength of business... is foolish."** *Herbert Hoover, November 1929*

**"... the evil hath come to pass... because of a lack of confidence."** *The capitalists' soothsayer, explaining economic crisis; from "Parable of the Water Tank" by Edward Bellamy, 1897*

# 6 WAYS TO SAY "WAR"

Continued from page 1

ruling class that he could rally the people and assert leadership. But it was also more than this. The speech and its content show the real seriousness of the situation facing the U.S. ruling class as they attempt to deal with their faltering economy, hold onto their crumbling empire, and prepare for war with their rival robber counterparts in the USSR.

**Carter's Proposals**

The following day, Monday, Carter gave two speeches in which he outlined more specific proposals involving oil quotas, development of alternate energy sources, encouraging conservation, setting up special bureaus, etc. None of these are new proposals and several have been unsuccessfully tried before. Carter also reiterated commitment to nuclear power, saying that it "must play an important role in the United States to insure our energy future." The heart of Carter's moves, however, is not the specifics but the general tone and thrust, its attempt to move and mold public opinion in the face of economic crisis and war on the horizon.

According to most economists, a recession has already begun in the U.S., and they are predicting unemployment of over 8%. Nor is it simply a matter of recession in the U.S. The plunging American dollar threatens to drag down the whole Western imperialist monetary system. And this economic crisis of the U.S. imperialist bloc is driving it toward war.

**World War**

The analogy and theme of war pervaded Carter's speech. "We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing"—this a quote conveniently attributed by him to "a labor leader." Later in the speech Carter talks of setting up an Energy Mobilization Board "like the War Production Board in World War II," and vows that the rulers of this contry will "mobilize American determination and ability to win the energy war."

This war analogy is no accident—and it's not just an analogy either. The U.S. imperialists are consciously moving toward war with their Soviet rivals, because in the case of both imperialisms it is only through a new redivision of the world in its own favor that it can even temporarily resolve the economic and political problems that plague their empires. But at the same time they cannot prepare too openly for war, for fear of appearing to be war-mongers in the eyes of the masses of people—who are the ones who will be called upon to fight the war.

**Loss of Faith**

The U.S. answer? A dress rehearsal on the "energy battlefield." As Carter put it, "Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this nation. And it can also be the standard around which we rally."

The U.S. imperialists have a real problem. There is a mood of anger and resentment among the masses of this country, a deepening disbelief in the promises and leadership of the ruling class. This was very much on Carter's mind, as he talked about how "For the

first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote." And he went on to allude to some of the crises of the late '60s and early '70s: "We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate."

These are rather unusual statements. Is Carter admitting that the Vietnam war, supported by him to the hilt till nearly the end, was unjust? Are he and his class owning up that their chosen President Nixon was a gangster? Yes, he is admitting a few facts, a few of the crimes of his class which are well-known anyway—in order to pull the old tired gimmick of every election campaign: "Just trust me and all that will be a thing of the past." But the fact that Carter was forced to emphasize these facts shows something of the nature and seriousness of the problems the ruling class faces. As he put it in the speech, talking of the loss of faith by the masses in their rulers, "Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we [the ruling class] face."

And they face a tough job, because they want the people's confidence as they squeeze them dry. The theme of the ruling class, underlined in Carter's speech is *sacrifice*. Sacrifice in the "higher interest"—that is, you sacrifice your standard of living, your life itself if necessary, for the interests of our higher profits.

This is their theme, not only with respect to gasoline and energy, but with everything: "there will be less in the future and you'll pay more for it"—that's the message. We're facing a recession, the White House admitted even before Carter's speech; unemployment is about to rise, Carter told the Communications Workers convention on Monday (OPEC's fault, of course)—but then, as he said in his speech Sunday, "too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption" anyway. In other words, a little recession, a little unemployment will be good for our souls—maybe rid us of this self-indulgent idea that we need three meals a day. Sacrifice is good for you!

**Bourgeois Con Game**

So their problem is how to sell this load of bullshit mixed with misery. Carter and the ruling class as a whole are trying every trick in their book to win this big-time "confidence" game. Of course this means a public opinion blitz filled with all the gimmickry, sham and fraud that we can always expect from the bourgeoisie. It is filled with deliberate and outright lies, like blaming OPEC for the gas shortages, and the increase in inflation and the unemployment as well, when even a conservative old Nixon war-horse like columnist Patrick Buchanan can point out that this is "misleading when not untrue." Of course the suspenseful edge about just which lie they're going to tell us next has been removed from

this particular campaign, since their basic game plan was leaked out to the public a couple weeks back in the Eizenstat memo. It called for just about every "surprise move" Carter has made—especially blaming OPEC. (See RW, July 13.)

Just what are their basic fool-the-people tricks?

First trick—muster all the public opinion weaponry in their phony "democratic" arsenal. No sooner does Carter go off the air than the public opinion polls begin. Lo and behold! The American people were convinced. True, they admitted in passing, the first poll televised on national TV after his speech was of well-to-do and "upper middle class" people. True, every single poll after that was loaded with the answers people were "supposed" to give. But never mind—broadcast them anyway—the results were favorable. Carter's authority, his "get tough" approach is gaining in popularity. The purpose of all this is to spread the message to all of us that if you didn't respond favorably to Carter's inspirational message, you're an odd-ball—some kind of a freak. The real purpose of these polls is to create public opinion, not to measure it.

Second trick—focus our anger on an external enemy. So it's "blame OPEC." Not only is this a convenient scapegoat to take the heat off our own rulers as they make us bear the brunt of the crisis, it's good training for later when it will be all-out mobilization against the Soviet Union—and this is what they're really aiming toward. After all, it's never too soon to whip up chauvinism toward "those dirty foreigners."

Third trick—the good cop, bad cop routine. Right now Carter plays the good cop—sincere, helpful, understanding—a man of the people. But the bourgeoisie will definitely send in the "bad cop" (including Carter himself) as a follow-up: threats, coercion—"anybody who steps out of line and doesn't obey will be smashed." Already the press is complaining that Carter isn't coming down hard enough on the masses. About time to send in the muscle.

**Flim-Flam**

Part of Carter's "good cop" routine are the few sops he throws to the masses, even as he calls for more sacrifice and belt-tightening. All of the specific programs Carter proposes are to be financed by a "windfall profits tax" on the oil companies, and one of his specifics is a proposal to "increase aid to needy Americans to cope with rising energy prices." In other words, a promise to soak the rich and help the poor—a promise which has as much substance as previous promises along the same lines. Carter estimates the tax

will bring in \$142 billion over ten years, but even if some such tax is put into effect, it is highly doubtful it will bring in anything like this amount. And as for all that \$24 billion that is promised to the poor... Jimmy the Greek isn't offering very good odds on it.

Meanwhile, though, it is just the sort of demagogic promise Carter needs to try to fool the people. Just how much reality such "heart-felt" promises have was illustrated in Carter's Monday speech to the Communication Workers convention, where he declared in ringing tones that he had ordered the Departments of Justice and Energy to investigate whether the recent oil shortages had been helped along by deliberate actions of the oil companies—but neglected to say that this investigation had already given an interim report absolving the companies of any blame, and that Deputy Secretary of Energy, O'Leary, has been rushing around for the past two months declaring that only "foreigners" are to blame for the shortage.

And of course this has been Carter's whole line too, as for instance when he declared in his Sunday speech that it is OPEC which is "the direct cause of the long [gas] lines." So what does it mean when he promises soulfully to investigate the oil companies? Absolutely nothing but flim-flam.

**Doomed Class**

Carter's whole performance has been very revealing. Even measured against the picture of "deep crisis" he himself painted, his answers are as ridiculous and puny as they are reactionary. Step back for a minute and consider just how impotent and pitiful are his "cures," from "stop cursing and start praying" to "Whenever you have a chance, say something good about America."

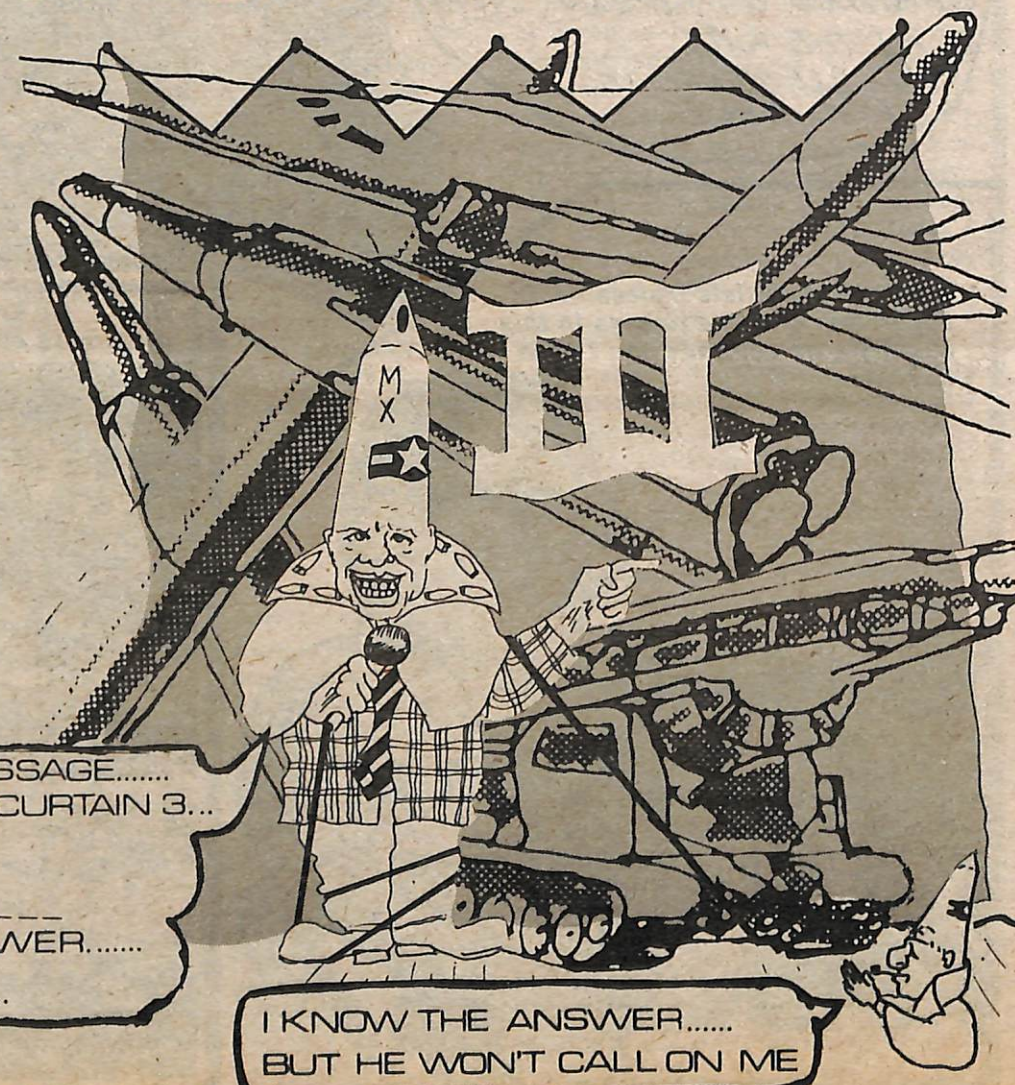
Carter's ludicrous message, which fits beautifully with the wooden Camp-David-rehearsed gestures with which he so awkwardly delivered it, is not simply a product of his own political clumsiness and stupidity. It is an exposure of the crisis-ridden and historically doomed position of his class—the class of capitalists.

No wonder bourgeois voices from the *New York Times* to the *Chicago Tribune* have generally jumped all over Carter. It is as if, in looking at his pitiful performance on the TV screen, these bourgeois gentlemen saw a hideous reflection of their own rotting position in the world.

This is a class whose only answers to the crisis it brings on are more destruction and war combined with empty prayer and medieval superstition. Darned evidence that this puffed up ruling class is a doomed one which richly deserves to be quickly buried and put into its puny place in history.

GUESS THE HIDDEN MESSAGE.....  
WIN THE PRIZE BEHIND CURTAIN 3...  
CLUES ARE:  
--- BONDS.....  
MORAL EQUIVALENT OF ---  
--- TIME RATIONING POWER.....  
HINT: IT IS NOT ENERGY.....

I KNOW THE ANSWER.....  
BUT HE WON'T CALL ON ME



Revolutionary Worker



# Hunger Strike, Outrage at Walla Walla

The reprisals against the prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla in the wake of the July 7 rebellion in the No. 8 wing of the prison continue. And the vicious abuse by the prison authorities has been met head on. 230 prisoners remain in the prison yard while the pigs complete repairs on damaged prison cells. The rest of the prison remains on 24-hour lockdown. Many in the yard have no clothes except underwear and no blankets to protect them from the blistering summer sun. It took a week for prison officials to even allow the inmates to sit in the shade of a prison wall. There are only two toilets for all the prisoners and those who have attempted to use them have been periodically shot at by the guards.

But these inhuman conditions and vicious reprisals have been met by the growing struggle of the prisoners and supporters. On July 15, a hunger strike began, involving at least 300 prisoners by the prison officials' own accounts (undoubtedly the real figure is much higher). The prisoners are demanding the removal of the prison administration. On July 18 a state senate committee visiting the prison was met at the prison gate by a demonstration of prisoners' families and supporters demanding medical teams be sent in to provide medical care that has been denied inmates since June 15. The blazing flame of rebellion continues to burn at Walla Walla despite the authorities' vicious attempts to put it out.

## Letter From the Inside...

Following is a letter from one of the prisoners in segregation at Walla Walla:

Dear comrade,

I'm in the process of drafting up another article on recent developments here. We're on a food strike here in segregation in solidarity with the population and protest of the recent brutality here.

I talked to both the investigators from DSHS and the FBI so far. What's real clear here is that the state's desperate to cover its ass. Both of these pig agencies are working out a bizarre "set up" theory. They're trying to establish a defense [for their brutality] based on the fact that we not

only set them up but did the injuries to ourselves! If it weren't for the tape recording I made and Carl Harp's serious condition, I actually believe they'd get away with everything.

In any case there's a real good chance of retaliation some time in the future. As it is Danny and I (and Carl) have been identified as the real potentials for trouble in a law suit. A detective calmly told me all the state needed to do was get rid of me to dispose of the tape's admissibility. So I expect words to become actions soon.

I'll keep you posted as things here take shape...

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win, ML

## INVASION OF THE USED-UP

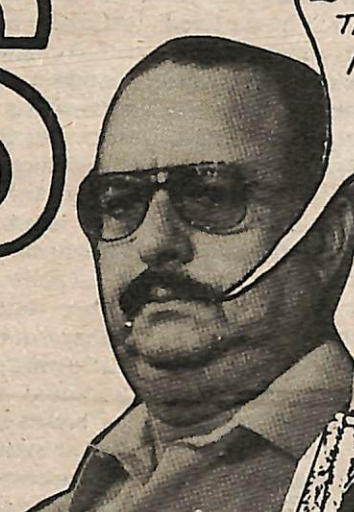


From the distant shores they're coming... from the bunkers of Managua, from the palaces of Tehran... one by one, with loyal aides in tow (and Swiss bank accounts). No longer of any use to their U.S. masters, these ugly creatures flee their native habitat to seek refuge under their creator's wing.

Just last week an American version of the same species flew South...



SHOULD I BUY A USED MANSION FROM THIS TURKEY?

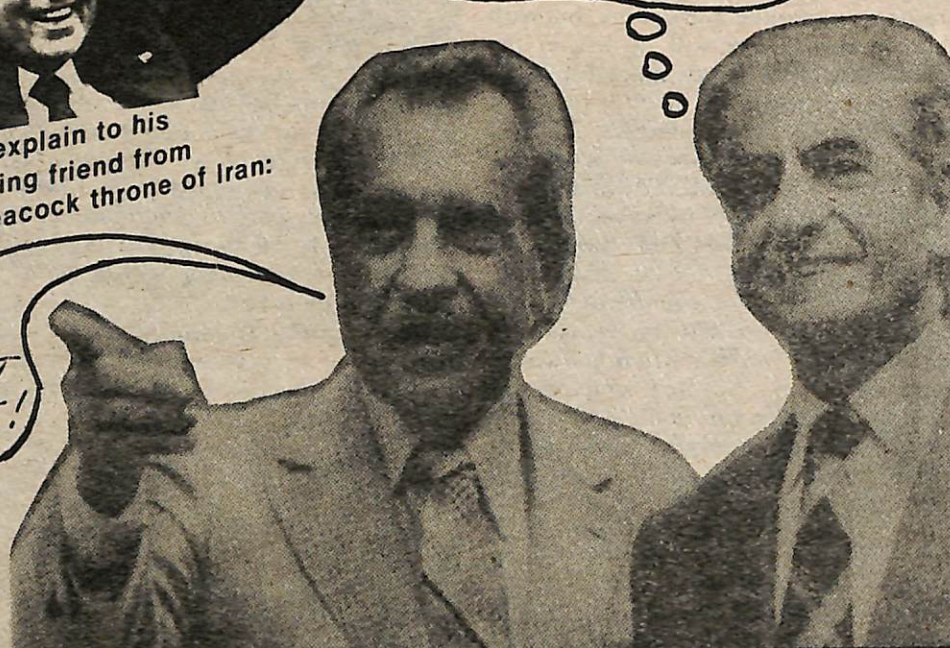


I ONLY REGRET THE INGRATITUDE AFTER ALL I'VE DONE FOR MY PEOPLE...

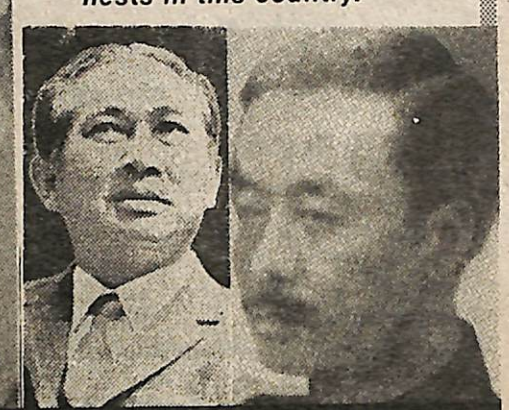


I KNOW JUST HOW YOU FEEL... BUT YOU'LL BE SAFE IF YOU GET TO THE U.S... UNLIKE YOUR COUNTRY, THEY AREN'T SHOOTING US TURKEYS -YET! ...BY THE WAY, SAN CLEMENTE IS FOR SALE...

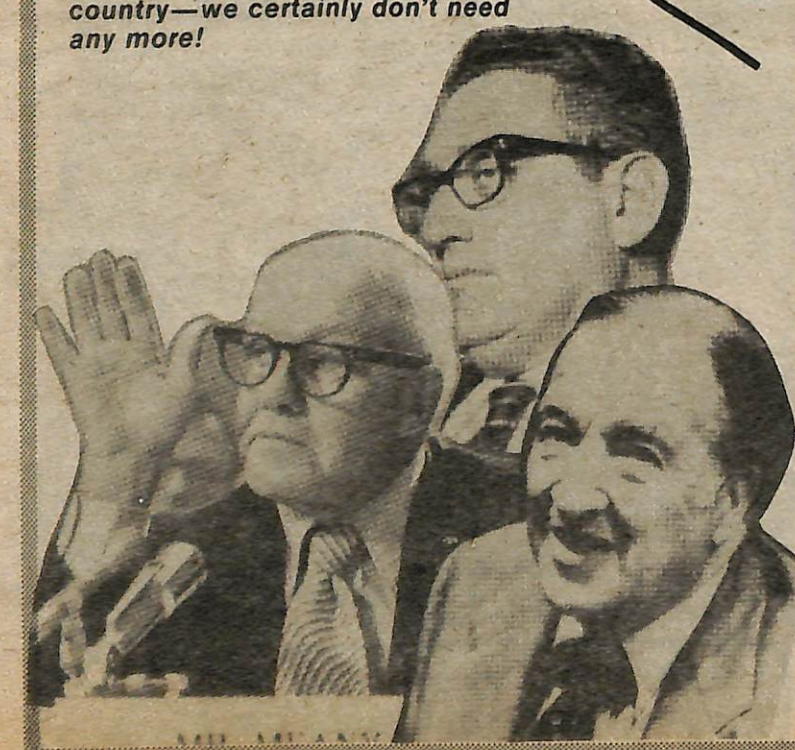
...to explain to his migrating friend from the peacock throne of Iran:



Already some of these used-up animals have planted their feathered nests in this country:



There already exists a sizeable population of these turkeys in this country—we certainly don't need any more!



BUT... we know what happens to all turkeys eventually:





# WHAT WENT WRONG WITH VIETNAM?

## Part 4: Conclusion

In the face of a major setback or defeat in any country, it is the task of revolutionaries to analyze and summarize the causes of this defeat or setback and draw the appropriate lessons. This is especially important in the U.S. with regard to the question of Vietnam. The war, and the movement which developed in opposition to it, struck deep into the fabric of U.S. society, drawing millions into political life and progressive political action in a beginning yet significant way. The U.S. bourgeoisie was dealt a severe blow.

However, some of the limitations of the movement against the war in Vietnam are evident today in the confusion shown by many toward the present position of and role played by Vietnam. This is influenced by confusion on the part of some over the current imperialist role of the Soviet Union, but more significantly, on the part of others by the continuing attempts of the U.S. ruling class to cleanse its hands of its bloody imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

This series in the *Revolutionary Worker* (and the forthcoming article in *Revolution* magazine, the organ of the Central Committee of the RCP) represents initial work in analyzing what went wrong in Vietnam. While deeper summary of this vital question is required, especially as the particular forms of Vietnamese revisionism and Soviet penetration in the area take further shape and become more obvious, the basic orientation and general conclusions presented here are inescapable.

The decades-long struggle in Vietnam irrefutably demonstrated the revolutionary potential and power of the masses in waging an anti-imperialist war of national liberation and showed that under today's general conditions this potential and its ability to strike sharp blows against one or another imperialist enemy—and therefore the entire imperialist system—is indeed a factor of great world importance.

At the same time, the experience of Vietnam illustrates a number of very important political lessons regarding revolution in the countries that have been exploited and kept in chains by the imperialist powers. In these countries, the revolution must develop through two stages, the first being the fight to liberate the country from imperialist domination and to shatter the rule of the landlords in the countryside; and only then can the revolution pass over into the second stage, of the fight for socialism. Experience shows the vital necessity of the leadership of the working class through its communist party, leadership in fact as well as in word, which cannot only lead the struggle against foreign domination to victorious conclusion but can continue the revolution forward through the stage of socialism.

Experience in Vietnam and elsewhere has shown that the process of development of these revolutions involves extremely complex and difficult tasks, and there are many pitfalls and obstacles. Because the struggle must go through the first stage of fighting for national liberation (or the *bourgeois-democratic stage*) and because the working class and the communist party must try to unite all the sections of the nation (including many capitalist elements) who will fight for this goal, there is a tremendous spontaneous pull toward nationalism—to view things from the standpoint of the interests of a nation (actually of the capitalists of a nation) rather than from the point-

view of the working class and its ultimate goal of wiping out exploitation and oppression all over the globe and building a world without classes.

Nationalism is a form of *bourgeois ideology*, the outlook of the capitalist class. And it was this bourgeois ideology, first in the form of nationalism, and later as full-blown revisionism (claiming to be Marxist while wiping out the class struggle and the goal of communism) which ultimately led the Vietnamese leadership to capitulate and lead the people into the willing arms of yet another imperialist power—the Soviet Union.

To understand the class basis of this, it is helpful to recall a penetrating analysis made by the revolutionaries in China in the middle 1970s before the revisionist coup which brought to power a layer of people with an outlook strikingly similar to that of the leaders of Vietnam. Under Mao Tsetung's leadership, the Chinese revolutionaries summarized the social and historical basis for individuals who had made contributions to the Chinese revolution at one point before and up to the seizure of state power and completion of the bourgeois-democratic stage of the struggle, but who, now that the revolution had entered the socialist stage, and especially the more deeply it developed in this stage, turned against it and opposed its further advance. These were bourgeois democrats who had turned into capitalist roaders—veteran Communist Party members who now held high posts and had actually become the target of the socialist revolution. It was shown that these individuals had been, in essence, bourgeois revolutionaries and had joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically. They had failed to make a leap beyond a bourgeois world outlook and viewed the Chinese revolution in this way. To them, the ultimate goal of the struggle was not the liberation of the masses from all forms of oppression and exploitation, but the transformation of China from a backward country mired in feudal productive relations to a modern and powerful country rivaling the advanced capitalist countries and cast in their image. They groveled before the technology of the capitalists and envisioned a similar future for China, regardless of which class held power.

Of course, the experience of one country can't be mechanically applied in another. But what Mao and the Chinese revolutionaries summed up here is a phenomenon which accurately describes the forces which led the struggle in Vietnam. The key difference is that in Vietnam this world view represented the dominant position within the Communist Party and never met with significant opposition, at least not opposition that represented a serious challenge.

### The Role of the Party

An earlier article briefly touched on an incident which serves to illustrate how, in the practice of the Vietnamese leaders, this bourgeois outlook was exhibited at a very early stage of the struggle. This was the dissolution of the Indochinese Communist Party in late 1945, which should be gone into more deeply here.

The Japanese imperialists had earlier occupied Vietnam and had been defeated by the popular armed forces of the Viet Minh—a broad front consisting of patriotic and nationalist forces and organized by the Indochinese Communist Party. A coalition government whose core was the Viet Minh took



**Nationalism and Revisionism . . . masquerading as Marxism. Wars of national liberation aimed at imperialism have broken out all over the world. The Vietnamese people waged a bitter and bloody fight against the U.S. imperialists which rallied the support of millions. But today the Vietnamese people are under the boot of yet another imperialist power, the Soviet Union. What went wrong? As with Fidel Castro in Cuba and others, the leaders of the struggle in Vietnam, particularly Ho Chi Minh, maintained a bourgeois outlook which ultimately led the struggle to defeat and back into the clutches of the enemy . . .**

power in the north and elected Ho Chi Minh president.

Recognizing the nationalist and anti-imperialist character of this government, and determined to re-establish political control over the area, the French imperialists landed troops and marched on Hanoi to overthrow the Viet Minh. At the same time several divisions of the army of the Kuomintang (Chinese reactionaries under Chiang Kai-shek) invaded Vietnam from the north and occupied a small area although never engaging in any battles with the Viet Minh.

The Viet Minh were driven out of Hanoi and back to the countryside by the French, where they soon began to wage guerrilla war.

These were the conditions surrounding the decision of the Indochinese Communist Party leaders to publicly announce the disbanding of the Party in December of 1946. In February of 1951, shortly after the Party was publicly reconstituted (and in addition, renamed the Vietnam Workers Party), Ho Chi Minh addressed a Party Congress in a speech which gives some indication of how he and the other leaders viewed the role of the Party.

"In the face of that grave and pressing situation, our Party did everything possible to keep itself in existence; to work and develop, to give discrete and more effective leadership in order to have the time gradually to consolidate the forces of the people's power and to strengthen the National United Front.

"At that time, the Party could not hesitate: hesitation meant failure. The Party had to make quick decisions and take measures—even painful ones—to save the situation. The greatest worry was about the Party's proclamation of voluntary dissolution. But in reality, it went underground.

"And though underground, the Par-

ty continued to lead the administration and the people.

"We recognize that the Party's declaration of dissolution (actual withdrawal into the underground) was a good measure."

So they didn't actually disband the Party after all. They only took it underground where nobody could see it! Of course, the question isn't whether it's incorrect in principle to go underground—many parties have faced the necessity of functioning secretly in the face of adverse conditions—but even then these parties have tried to find ways to conduct illegal secret communist agitation and propaganda. But within the context of a fight which had presumably established base areas in the countryside, areas where the revolutionary forces have relative freedom to operate, to hint at the presence of foreign troops as the reason for dissolving entirely the public face of the Party (even if many members kept their membership secret) is no argument, or rather a wrong argument.

The only real explanation for this move is also hinted at in Ho's statement concerning the need for "time to gradually consolidate the forces of people's power and to strengthen the National United Front." In actuality, the Party leaders viewed the open role and work of the Party as a hindrance and obstacle to unity among the various *class forces within the united front*, and they were perfectly willing to accommodate the bourgeois prejudices of these forces by promising not to cause any potential trouble with the open propagation of its ideology.

Later, during the war against the U.S. in south Vietnam, this same line on the role of the Party (or lack of same) came up again. Everyone is familiar with the National Liberation

Continued on page 12



Nicaragua Chancellory Seized

# “The Hardest Part of the Struggle Begins Now”

(Washington, D.C.) With the Sandinista victory still fresh, six Nicaraguans in D.C. walked in and took over the Nicaraguan chancellory. They told the old officials that they no longer represented the people of Nicaragua and told them to leave. One of the Nicaraguans said, “This act represents the Nicaraguan people’s struggle to break any links with the ousted government and to clean up the scum left over from the Somoza regime.”

The ambassador, Guillermo Savida Secasa who had been fired by the provisional government a day earlier wasn’t quite ready to leave. In a last ditch effort to hold on to his position he called in the D.C. pigs to break up the takeover. The cops wasted no time. One cop busted through a door, threw a 52-year-old Nicaraguan woman up against the wall and grabbed for his gun. He began yelling, “Get out of here.” After 1 1/2 hours the Nicaraguans decided to leave.

As they got outside the chancellory the cops arrested three leaders of the takeover. Two Nicaraguans were thrown to the ground, handcuffed and beaten. The crowd outside swelled to a hundred as the police action against the peaceful takeover exposed again the nature of the U.S. government. When the smoke had cleared three Nicaraguans were arrested for assault on a federal officer and two Nicaraguans were in the hospital.

The Nicaraguans went to the chancellory celebrating their victory over Somoza. Even after the cops attacked, the people’s determination was strengthened. As the 52-year-old Nicaraguan woman was being taken away in a stretcher to the hospital she gave a clenched fist. Another of the Nicaraguans in the takeover said, “The hardest part of the struggle begins now. We want to be independent. We have to rebuild our country. 30,000 people have died to rid Nicaragua of Somoza and set up a people’s government. We will not lay down our guns like they did in Chile.”



Revolutionary Worker



FSLN supporters demonstrate in the San Francisco Mission District on July 14, 1979. Colonel Feretti

(pictured left) veteran of the fight against U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua in the 30s.

## Nicaragua

Continued from page 1

their arms” and forget the past. He attempted to rally the national guard to his support and continue the civil war to suppress the revolution.

Urcuyo stayed in power about one day. Guard barracks surrendered to the rebels in several cities, and almost the entire officer corps was deserting and fleeing the country. Within hours, Urcuyo himself had fled to Guatemala. The *New York Times* quotes one national guard officer as commenting bitterly: “We didn’t lose the war. We were deceived into thinking, as soon as Somoza left, the United States was going to help us win the war...”

The U.S. had hoped to keep the guard around as a weapon it held inside the new government. In fact the U.S. had demanded in negotiations that the guard be “integrated” into the new armed forces. But as Urcuyo stayed, negotiations between the guard and the Sandinistas broke down. Then when he fled, so did the guard commander.

Soon nearly the whole top officer corps was headed for the borders and various foreign embassies. Troops ripped off their uniforms and discarded their guns. The new government appointed a guard commander who then announced its surrender. The U.S. hopes for the national guard appeared to be dashed.

But even though the “Urcuyo keeper” was a flop the United States has by no means given up on its designs for the enslavement of the Nicaraguan people to U.S. capital. The U.S. hopes to recoup its major losses and even gain in the long-run by the departure of Somoza, a hated and totally exposed and discredited tyrant who had become worthless as a servant to U.S. interests.

The goal of U.S. diplomacy over recent weeks has been quite openly to insure that the new Nicaraguan government combines the “best of both worlds”—a clean, anti-Somoza image but still one responsive to U.S. interests. In promoting its goals, the U.S. will use not only its own direct pressure. It will rely on its allies in the Nicaraguan capitalist class to subvert the gains of the revolution from within, and will also use its neo-colonial puppet regimes in other parts of Central America to “turn the screw” should the Nicaraguan people prove too “radical” for the U.S. taste.

The role of other Latin American countries is regarded as particularly key to the success of the U.S. strategy—especially the role of those countries where capitalist rule takes the form of a bourgeois democracy rather than the role of an open military dictatorship. These countries, such as

Costa Rica, Mexico, and Venezuela, have pursued a policy of supporting the anti-Somoza movement while working to insure that the character of that movement remains “moderate”—i.e., in the hands of sections of the capitalist class opposed to Somoza and desirous of certain democratic reforms, rather than in the hands of the masses who desire a thoroughgoing revolution. As the *New York Times* put it, “For the United States, this is a major development in regional affairs. The prominent role being taken by the foreign ministers of the democratic group in support of moderate forces in Nicaragua coincides with Washington’s objective.”

Perhaps the most powerful weapon the U.S. and its Latin American flunkies have at their disposal right now is the threat to withhold economic aid from a new regime that doesn’t ask how high when the U.S. says jump. The U.S. has openly said as much on many occasions. An editorial in Brazil’s largest newspaper said:

“Can the Nicaraguans alone reconstruct their country? Of course not. Their new situation is a challenge and an enormous responsibility for the American communities. It will be necessary to avoid a repetition of Cuba, where the bad evaluation and wrong decisions by the United States contributed so much to the installation of the communist regime under Fidel Castro.”

Economic aid from oil-rich Venezuela is considered particularly important. Venezuelan leaders have stated that Venezuela would “provide generous aid” to a Nicaraguan government that held “free elections” and “respected human rights”—code words for a government friendly to Washington. The *Times* pointed out that one advantage of Venezuela’s financial support is that “the money would come from a country that supported the Sandinistas from the start and therefore would be politically more acceptable than aid from the United States, for instance.”

Thus, in the aftermath of the great victory of the Nicaraguan people and the toppling of the hated Somoza dynasty, one of the sharpest questions revolutionaries have had to face in every country is asserting itself: can a revolutionary people rebuild their own country and determine their own destiny by relying on their own efforts and their own boundless revolutionary enthusiasm—or is there no choice but to yield to one or another larger power in order to receive so-called “aid”? Within Nicaragua itself different forces and classes will give different answers to this question, and the struggle will undoubtedly continue and even remain very sharp. All this shows the decisive question today is the development of Marxist-Leninist leadership that will not, wittingly or unwittingly, hand over the ball game to the now-wounded imperialists. ■

### Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654



# Valley of Poison

**San Francisco**—California's San Joaquin Valley, 13,000 square miles of green fields, surrounded by mountains is the "fruit and salad bowl of America." This oblong-shaped valley grows 40% of the country's fruits and 33% of its vegetables.

But the ruthless hand of capital, even while living off the labor of the farmworkers who work this land, is turning the fields of California into a reservoir of poison. Toxaphene, Telon II, Silvex, DBCP—11,000 compounds, 214 million pounds of deadly pesticides were sprayed, pumped and dumped in California last year (1.5 billion pounds across the country).

These pesticides, the growers know, include toxic, cancer-causing substances. But what is even more insidious are the unknown effects (at least to the public) of other chemical compounds. Despite these dangers, the growers and chemical companies like Dow and Shell are recklessly accelerating their pesticide use, pausing only when they get caught, and then just to do the necessary public relations, "It's safe, trust me."

Recently, the pesticide DBCP has been dragged into the news. Occidental Chemical (a subsidiary of the giant Occidental Petroleum, Inc. which also created the infamous Love Canal dump at Niagara Falls) has been dumping tons of DBCP into waste ponds. It has seeped into wells and nearby fields. One farmer's dog, running in a neighboring field, licked itself and died within minutes.

Secret memos that were recently leaked out showed that Occidental knew about the problems as far back as 1967. Today half the drinking wells tested in the San Joaquin Valley are contaminated with DBCP, including five towns and dozens of farmworker camps. The DBCP outrage shows exactly how the nine billion dollar a year California agri-business, the chemical companies, the government and the rest of their class "handle" the pesticide problem.

Douglas Johnson, an official of Amvac Co. which makes DBCP said recently, "We don't feel the material is

hazardous. We don't think anything about handling it." Since 1973, DBCP is known to cause stomach and mammary cancer in test animals. A recent study by the National Cancer Institute found that even when inhaled at levels as low as 0.6 parts per million (ppm)—the same level as workers who make DBCP—an unusually high number of cancerous tumors develop. "Those rats had tumors all the way up to their brains. We're going to have an outbreak of similar problems in workers, I'm pretty sure," one scientist told the *Los Angeles Times*.

## Workers Expose Chemical Sterilization

In fact, the public first heard of DBCP in 1977 by accident when workers at the same Occidental Chemical plant began talking among themselves about why they couldn't father children. They demanded tests be made and found that 35 out of 114 had been sterilized. Over one-third of the 432 workers in other companies tested were also sterile. And where DBCP was used, a third of the farmworkers and pesticide applicators tested suffered from low sperm counts or were sterile.

The chemical companies were going by their cold-calculating rule—what they don't know won't hurt us! As early as 1958 Shell got a "confidential report" No. UC278 that DBCP sterilized test animals. Again in 1961 another researcher at Dow Chemical found the same results, but arbitrarily recommended, without any supporting evidence, to limit exposure to a "safe level" of 1 ppm—a level one thousand times greater than what health experts recently set as safe. When asked why the workers weren't warned, Howard Kusnetz, Shell's corporate manager for safety objected, "When the significance of the infertility occurred (in 1977) the workers were warned within a matter of hours." Shell can probably be counted on to be just as quick with a warning after they've killed a worker.

Yet despite being known as a cancer causer since 1973, DBCP was labelled "safe" by the U.S. Department of Agriculture until the Occidental incident in 1977. California growers were

using 800,000 pounds a year (33 million pounds across the country). As if sterilization wasn't enough, DBCP settles on the fruits and vegetables as a carcinogenic residue. There's no idea how many will be hurt since the cancer won't show up until many years later (not that the growers, chemical companies and the government are too eager to find out). By that time the victims will just be recorded as routine cancer deaths.

The outrage over the sterilization of workers handling DBCP forced the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ban it—only in California. It was perfectly okay for the chemical companies to ship tons of DBCP to poison the rest of the country. Later Dow and Shell stopped making it in California since, "the cost of tooling up for the more stringent worker safety standards were considered too high and the product's profitability was no longer attractive." So the chemical companies shifted the manufacture of DBCP to Mexico. They were stopped by Mexican officials sometime later when workers there were sterilized!

Other companies like Amvac in Los Angeles kept making DBCP. There were constant spills, the spewing of DBCP up into the air (over 500 times the legal limit) and Amvac didn't even give protective equipment to the workers. For all this the company was fined a measly \$3500.

The California ban in 1977 didn't last long. DBCP is something the growers need to have. They warn of losing \$151 million dollars a year. Banks refuse to loan money to growers unless pesticides are used to guarantee a successful crop. What never figures in their balance sheets are the 1500 reported cases of people poisoned by pesticides each year in California. (A well known scientist has charged that this is less than one percent of the total cases of poisoning, especially among the farmworkers.) The fact is they don't really know and they don't give a damn. Today there is still nothing set up to check the hundreds of thousands of farmworkers exposed to pesticides.

In September 1978, the growers and

chemical corporations got the EPA to give the green light on DBCD. Growers can again use it widely on pineapple, tree fruit, grapes and flowers. They are fighting now to lift all restrictions and expand its use. The growers and government officials cynically joke among themselves—that the only criterion for restricting a deadly pesticide is how many inches of adverse publicity it gets in the newspapers.

The case of DBCP and the pesticide horrors show exactly how powerful technology in the capitalists' hands is, unleashed blindly, obeying only their profit-mad drive. They invent powerful poisons to kill one pest, only to kill off the natural enemies of other pests and create new and more serious pests.

In California 24 major pests today, each causing more than one million dollars in damages, became such hazards because of this anarchy. Scientists couldn't understand why they don't pour money into developing and using more scientific methods (called integrated pest management, IPM)—combining crop rotation, biologic controls and only selective pesticide use. These scientists say they can cut down fifty percent of the pesticide use with the same results. But what the scientists can't understand is that the capitalists are using scientific methods—for their own ends.

In fact, to keep prices up, one big use of the pesticides is to destroy crops like peaches so they won't reach the market, because they've grown "too much food." DBCP or the infamous DDT are to them only "horrible mistakes" when they get exposed and the anger of the people turns against them. The capitalists can't and won't take the time to deal with the long term effects. Even the poisoning of the San Joaquin Valley and other food sources are to them only an obstacle calling for a public relations whitewash, and then they'll stumble on again, desperate to grab their almighty profit. Like the most destructive pesticides, until the capitalists are put out of existence, they are sure to poison again and again. ■

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## Red Flags Fly in Birmingham

# March Defies Cops, Klan

Saturday, July 14. All over Birmingham people had been talking about the march. Why were communists—the RCP—calling this march? Would it be attacked by the cops or the Klan? Would it come off?

The Tuesday before, members of the RCP and People United to Fight Police Terror (an organization of community people initiated by the RCP) had held a press conference on the steps of city hall to announce the march. The march was going to go straight up against the real source of the murder of Bonita Carter (a 20-year-old Black woman murdered by a Birmingham pig on June 22). As the RCP banner raised in the Kingston Courts housing project—heart of the previous 3 weeks of struggle—had said, "Cops Attack, Then Go Free, That's What the Capitalists Call Democracy". Several Klansmen poked their snouts into the press conference, snorting, "You commies got no right to march in this free country. You're just trying to fool these dumb niggers." The revolutionaries went toe to toe with these scum for several minutes as the TV cameras rolled. The revolutionaries shot back, "Ordinary whites don't buy your *shit*! You're doing the dirty work of the capitalists!" Then these trash-mouth turkeys said, unbelievably, "Watch your language, we don't lower ourselves to that level." The answer: "It would be hard to lower yourselves, you're lower than worms already."

Then the city fathers took over. Shaken by the people's anger during the

last few weeks over the shooting, anxious to keep cooling things out, they tried to stop or sabotage the march. They granted a "permit" for the march to go through industrial areas that were empty on Saturday—not through the communities, as the marchers had demanded.

On Friday march leaders took the city to court over the permit. There Mayor Vann let it all hang out. He warned about the march winding through Black communities because "people are entitled to peace and quiet where they live." Like the peace and quiet Bonita Carter got! Or the hundreds of Kingston residents terrorized by Vann's pigs who swept their community kicking down doors and beating people. And for anyone who wasn't sure what a "riot" was, Vann provided them with a short, "easy definition," "Black individuals joined in violent protest."

Police chief Myers claimed that if the march was attacked in these (mostly Black) communities by the Klan, his pigs couldn't tell who to arrest—community people or marchers. He also worried about the safety of his pigs. "Especially it would be difficult to protect the police."

On Saturday, the front page newspaper stories hedged their bets, saying "Reds Vow to March." Myers went out to check out the site he had selected for the march to begin. The street was empty except for a dozen motorcycle cops. Meanwhile shortly after 1 p.m. the

marchers started off from their rallying point, Hayes High School and marched straight into the Avondale Housing projects.

Red flags with the words, "Avenge the Death of Bonita Carter" emblazoned on them waved in the air. Fists were held high. Chants and banners demanded an end to police terror and resolved to "Tear the rotten system down."

This march was clearly no 3-piece suit SCLC affair begging and pleading for justice. It openly called out the lies being spread around that the problem is only a few crazy cops, the lies that more Black pigs in the Black community would solve things, the lies that discrimination and oppression of Black people can be ended any way short of revolution.

A rally was held right in the heart of the Avondale projects drawing over 100 people with revolutionary music and speeches. The RCP spokesperson answered charges from the news media and various opportunists that the RCP took up the Bonita Carter struggle for "ulterior motives," just to build up the RCP. She shouted out, "Yes we have ulterior motives, we proclaim them. We intend to lead revolution in this country as the only way to end police terror and the oppression of Black people once and for all."

### Rolling Demonstration

March leaders then decided to head for city hall as planned—but in a car caravan. A flatbed truck, a school bus and several cars were brought up.

Several people eagerly boarded the bus calling on friends and neighbors to join them. One woman brought her homemade picket sign, "The police train to kill."

A Black worker from the National United Workers Organization took the microphone and spoke to a question some people in the projects were asking, "Don't say you don't want to work with whites. Revolutionaries come in all colors. They always have and they always will." He called on people to unite and strike a powerful blow at the common enemy of the people, this system that grinds all of us down.

Chants rang out as the car/truck caravan made its way to the Kingston projects—the heart of the area under an injunction forbidding four or more people from gathering together. Loudspeakers blared the call to "Join the picketline" and "Avenge the death of Bonita Carter." One young dude stood in the door of the bus the whole time, calling out to people to join, "Face reality. Stop living in a damn fantasy world. Put down those beers and funny cigarettes."

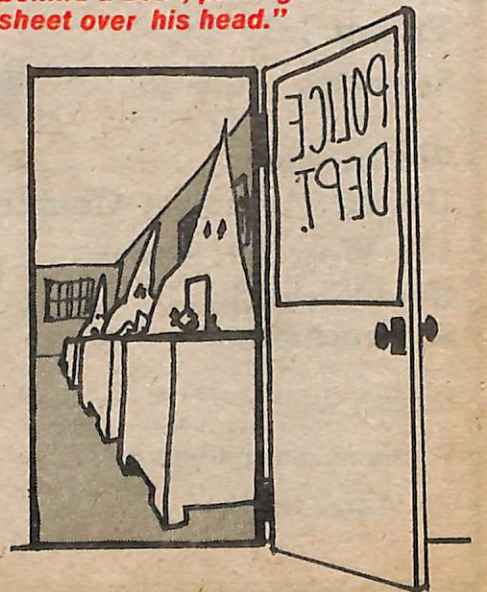
Cheers went up as more people climbed on the bus and flatbed truck. Each one a slap in the face of the city godfathers who had tried to prevent this march. A pig car came up on the caravan and sat watching. Moments later a car with red and purple flags flying from the windows breezed past and the pig car quickly scurried backwards down the block.

The caravan headed downtown, flags flying and people leaning halfway out the windows. All along the way people joined in the caravan, honked, raised fists and saluted. As the caravan blasted out of a tunnel into the central city housing project, one woman turned and jubilantly threw both fists in the air when she saw what all the racket was.

The triumphant caravan ended up at city hall with a militant picketline. The song, "Blown Away By Revolution," celebrating the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people was hurled at the groups of riot-equipped cops. As the caravan got ready once again to return to Kingston, people had shoved their 2 x 2s with flags out the windows and were angrily and proudly filling in the pigs across the street on the nature of the fate they would soon meet. ■

**On Tuesday, Mayor Vann finally took his stand on "punishment" for the murder of Bonita Carter. He decided that killer cop Sands should be taken off the street and be given a "non-contact" permanent desk job. As Vann himself said, he took this action for Sands' safety. In other words, so that the people don't get their hands on him and exact some justice. Once again Vann made perfectly clear that Sands didn't violate pig department policy.**

**On a T.V. show one of Sands' fellow cops lost control of his tongue for a second. He blurted out, "... I don't see taking a good street cop (Sands) and hiding him behind a desk, putting a sheet over his head."**



## CPML Speculates on China

# WHICH THIEVES WILL WIN OUT?

Hua Kuo-feng, nominal head of the Party and government in China, recently delivered a major "Report on the Work of the Government" to a session of the Fifth National People's Congress. As usual, it was both boring and revisionist—another by now familiar attack by the new capitalist rulers of China on the revolutionary legacy of Mao Tsetung and on the working class of China.

What was a bit revealing, however, was the nakedness with which China's new rulers are parading their destruction of socialism, their abandonment of basic revolutionary principles. While they have not yet mustered the courage to attack Mao Tsetung by name, they are systematically attacking everything he stood for. The pace is leaving even some of their most tongue-worn bootlickers behind.

For example, Mao's single greatest pathbreaking achievement was developing the theoretical basis for and practically leading the Cultural Revolution, a revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism to bring forward the masses of people in a gigantic struggle to keep new capitalist rulers from grabbing ultimate power in China. Mao was quite clear on the significance of this revolution. He said that until the Cultural Revolution, "We did not find a form, a method to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-around way and from below." And he said that "the present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first, there will inevitably be many more in the future."

But what does Hua Kuo-feng's report have to say on this? Hua's attitude toward the Cultural Revolution is like that of a target toward a gun—don't point it at me! The Report says, "First we recognize both that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that at the same time there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses, and therefore we should not try to wage

such a struggle in the future."

Just for fun it is interesting to put this statement up against one made a year and a half ago by the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters"—better known as the Mensheviks—loyal defenders of revisionism in China at the time they split from our Party.

When they were polemicizing against the report of the RCP Central Committee which blasted and analyzed the revisionist coup in China and Hua's revisionist leadership, these Mensheviks wrote, "The argument that the 11th Constitution denies the necessity for another Cultural Revolution is equally laughable... who would not agree that 'Political revolutions of this nature will be carried out many times in the future'? This is the line of Mao Tsetung. And it is the line of the current Chinese leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng."

Who would not agree? The current Chinese leadership "headed" by Hua Kuo-feng—that's who. Of course such "little problems and adjustments" would not bother the Menshevik leaders today, who were—and are—firmly sunk in the quicksand of unprincipled opportunism and revisionism. The fact that this hatred and denial of the Cultural Revolution was in fact the line of China's leaders even two years back was apparent at that time to genuine revolutionaries, and was exposed in the documents of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Now it's just become openly confessed.

In another part of Hua's report, these revisionists once again flagrantly go up against Mao's line. Hua states that "class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society," instead it is the "modernization" of China. Mao, on the other hand, was

Continued on page 12

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# BOB AVAKIAN:



Revolutionary Worker

## Revolutionary Communist Leader

Bob Avakian is the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Today—along with 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants—he is facing charges carrying 100 years prison time, stemming from a police attack on a demonstration in January in Washington D.C. against the visit of Teng Hsiao-ping.

Especially since these charges came down many people have wanted to know more about Bob Avakian and particularly about his political history. So we are reprinting excerpts from biographical material on him which has recently been sent out to the media all over the country.

For over a decade Avakian has been a central figure in the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. He was closely associated with the Black Panther Party in its most revolutionary period and was an influential figure within SDS at its height in the late 1960s. He was involved in the actions at Berkeley that gave birth to the Free Speech Movement in 1964 and was actively organizing against the Vietnam War from 1965—at a time when this was still a very controversial and frequently unpopular cause.

The Report by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Internal Security says of him:

"Robert Avakian was born March 7, 1943, in Washington D.C., but little is known about him until July 22, 1967, when, at the close of a meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, a circular was distributed which contained a proposal by Avakian that guns be purchased for the use of Black militants in the San Francisco area, adding 'we must... come to the aid of the black revolution...'

He... achieved some notoriety on July 15, 1968, when he burned the American flag while participating in a Black Panther Party demonstration at the Alameda County, Calif., courthouse. He was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace, malicious mischief, and desecration of the flag. Avakian was convicted and sentenced to 30 days in jail."

What the report doesn't say is that Avakian was sentenced only after the

FBI wrote up a special report on him, calling for a jail sentence because they considered him a dangerous revolutionary.

The student movement that rocked the country in the 1960s was sparked by the struggle of Black people. And the first shot in this decade of campus turmoil was fired with the Free Speech Movement at the U.C. Berkeley campus. Avakian was among hundreds arrested in actions that ignited campuses across the U.S.

The Vietnam War was a major issue confronting students and the whole country at that time. Thousands studied, debated and demonstrated over U.S. involvement there. Avakian, like many, had questions: Could it be true that the U.S. government was there for the benefit of the Vietnamese people?

The explosion in Selma, Alabama shook the last bits of illusions from his eyes and propelled him into action against the war. "If the government would not hesitate to unleash dogs (human and otherwise), bayonets and clubs against Black Americans, they could only be up to no good in Vietnam."

By 1965, Avakian says, "I hated this country; the way it treated Black people and others here, as well as people around the world; the bloody fangs, the hypocrisy, the way it turns people into petty 'me first' zombies. I hated everything it stood for—religion and all. So I loved it when the U.S. rulers, pompous, pious, murdering pigs that they are, got their ass kicked in Vietnam. Anything against their 'American way' was worth checking out."

In 1966, Avakian dropped out of school and became a reporter for the radical, left-wing magazine *Ramparts*. At that time an acquaintance correctly prophesized, "One day you're going to be a professional revolutionist." While working at *Ramparts*, he met Eldridge Cleaver. It was the first time he heard anyone talk about *armed* struggle to overthrow the ruling class in the U.S.

He remembers covering a Panther rally protesting the police murder of Black people. "There were 20-30 Black dudes in leather jackets, berets and gloves—and with guns, I kept thinking, 'Now this is a revolutionary organization with a purpose and discipline.'"

That was not the prevailing opinion at the time. When the Panthers first became known, pacifism was a widespread sentiment among many who considered themselves progressive. Liberals and "leftists" alike were appalled at the revolutionary, armed defiant actions of the Panthers. But Avakian saw it as a very good thing. He led and won the struggle within the California Peace and Freedom Party to support the Panthers and their campaign to free Huey Newton. The alliance between the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party developed even stronger ties between the Panthers and Avakian. At a "Free Huey" demonstration held on Newton's birthday in the spring of 1968, Avakian was the only white political activist to speak on the same stage with such Black militants as Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, James Foreman, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael.

### From Political Activist to Revolutionary Communist

In 1968, Avakian was the driving force in forming the Revolutionary

Union (RU), forerunner to the RCP. Cleaver tried to talk Avakian out of building the RU, offering secret membership in the Panthers, but Avakian refused. "If it was correct for a white person to be a member, then it should be open; otherwise it wasn't correct." Avakian had many very intense discussions with Cleaver and others in the leadership of the Panther Party. By the end of 1968, major differences had developed around what sector of society would lead the revolution. The Panthers held it was the lumpen, street people of the oppressed nationalities. Avakian and the RU maintained it had to be the multi-national working class.

Searching for answers to difficult questions, many in the New Left movement took inspiration from China and the Cultural Revolution. The so-called "Marxism-Leninism" of the Communist Party, USA and its mentors in Russia had disgusted most, and some had rejected Marxism-Leninism entirely because of the example of these stodgy, bureaucratic reactionaries. But, Avakian recalls, "People looked at the Cultural Revolution in China, where there had already been a victorious revolution, and here was this 70-year-old dude, Mao, telling the young people especially and the masses of people generally to go out and raise hell. We could already see what had happened in the Soviet Union. If that was the future, forget it. But here was Mao, leading the battle to keep the same thing from happening in China. It was a tremendous example and inspiration."

"And when Black people rose up in rebellions against generations of oppression in ghettos across the country, Mao came out supporting them. This added to the reason why people loved him and listened to him. He alone, among all the leaders of the world, gave his support."

At the SDS conventions in the spring and summer of 1969, the RU played a major role in moving many there toward the Marxism-Leninism represented by Mao. Avakian was a key figure in that struggle. At the same time, the RU steered clear of the adventurist terrorism of the Weathermen while keeping the orientation of mass, armed revolution sharply in sight. "In addition," Avakian said, "the RU saw the necessity to support and unite with the battles of the minority nationalities not from the standpoint of patronizing liberals who aim to gold-plate the chains, but from the stand of the multi-national working class which aims to break the chains of all oppression."

Over the next 5-6 years the RU established roots in the working class and went among the struggles of other sections of the people as well. With Avakian playing the leading role, it carried out revolutionary mass work and ideological struggle in the communist movement, laying the basis for forming a new and genuine communist party.

When the Revolutionary Communist Party was formed in October of 1975, Avakian was elected Chairman of the Party's leading body, its Central Committee. ■

## 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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# Vietnam

Continued from page 7

Front which included Vietnamese from all classes who opposed U.S. imperialism. But the People's Revolutionary Party (actually the south Vietnam branch of the Vietnam Workers Party in the north) was virtually unheard of, in Vietnam or abroad.

From the writings of Ho and other Vietnamese leaders (but above all from their practice) it can be seen that they viewed the role of the Party essentially as an *organizational* one. The united front had to be orchestrated and organized, and this could be done as easily underground as openly—and without all the possible headaches.

Here can be seen the seeds of what went wrong in Vietnam. The liquidation of the Party in the fight against the French, or its downplaying in the south in the fight against the U.S., was not a tactical move but part of the basic outlook of Ho Chi Minh and other leaders. They did not see the need to carry the revolution beyond liberating the country, and for that reason did not see the need for real leadership from a Party representing the interests of the working class. They did not openly propagate communist ideology or struggle to win the masses to understand that the fight against the foreign imperialists was not the final goal of the revolution, but only a first step ushering in an even greater struggle to advance toward socialism and communism.

The reason no sharp distinction was drawn between the nationalism of the bourgeois and patriotic forces on the one hand and the ideology of the communists on the other is that, in essence, no such distinction existed. Instead of the communists leading the national struggle ideologically as well as practically, the ideology of nationalism was the line in command of the communists.

## No Faith in the Masses

Contained within this downplaying, indeed burying, of the leading role of the proletariat also lies a clue to the future of the country as envisioned by the Vietnamese leaders. And on this count, they fall straight into line with the bourgeois-democrats-to-capitalist-roads now ruling China. Naturally, numerous references and stock phrases concerning socialism fill the pages of the documents of the Vietnam Workers Party and the Indochinese Communist Party before it, as well as the speeches of all the leaders, including, of course, Ho. But what bears examination is the real substance of this envisioned future expressed once the imperialists (at least France and the U.S.) were defeated and the actual task of socialist construction was at hand.

Ironically, the revisionist outlook and line which the Vietnamese leaders increasingly applied to their version of socialist construction was somewhat obscured, at least for a time, by certain necessities they faced with regard to the developing struggle with the U.S. in the south. However, countless examples could be cited to show that before and after the years of the anti-U.S. war, and actually even during it, their vision of how to proceed with the development of the economy was essentially bourgeois and revisionist. Since this is probably open to at least somewhat less dispute in reference to the last three or four years, the following typical example is taken from a speech delivered by Le Duan at the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions (1961):

"In the last analysis, the wealth accumulated comes from productive labor. With our manual labor, backward technique and low productivity we cannot accumulate and concentrate big funds for socialist industrialization. For that reason, we now have no other way than relying ourselves on the revolutionary movement, and on the enthusiastic efforts of the entire people in working to increase productivity through improvement of organization of labor and of technique, making full use of the possibilities existing in production, at the same time efforts must be made to practice strict economy, resolutely fight waste and corruption, to make use of manpower,

materials and finance in the most rational way so as to be able to concentrate the necessary funds for socialist accumulation. Only by accumulating capital can we gradually endow the national economy with new techniques and replace the backward manual labor by modern mechanization having a high productivity which will enable us to make bigger accumulations for the acceleration of the industrialization of our country." (our emphasis—RW)

The most striking thing about this quote is that even when the author speaks of the need to mobilize the masses, he says this is *because* of Vietnam's "backward technique and low productivity." Just as was the case with their following of some of the principles of people's war in the fight against the French and the U.S. (see Part 3 in this series), so mobilizing the people was not seen as an essential requirement, but almost as a necessary evil!

With this kind of view, the "enthusiastic efforts of the entire people" to raise productivity become just another factor in developing production—more or less the same as that of a draught animal or a lump of coal.

The Vietnamese leaders have found themselves in a dilemma—they recognize the backwardness of the economic forces and want to do something about it. But they don't see the creative power of the working class and the masses as the fundamental—and only—road forward, and instead really see the development of technology and modern industry as the fundamental way out. This comes out ever more clearly as the years progress and the Vietnamese leaders write more and more about the "technological revolution" being the key link in advancing the revolution overall. The schemes of the Vietnamese leaders for rapid modernization are really just bourgeois fantasies, miles away from what would be possible even if a working-class revolutionary line had prevailed. With this basic lack of faith in the masses and their awestruck gaze on modern machinery and technique, the Vietnamese leaders had little choice but to turn to some external force, a giant sugar daddy, that would help them to realize their shortcut plans for modernization.

The policies and outlook of the Vietnamese leadership led them more and more into the arms of the Soviets, who were only too willing to encourage the Vietnamese to base everything on plans which depended primarily on Soviet financing. Today the relationship is sealed, with Vietnam occupying an essentially neo-colonial place in relation to the Soviets. The price? A high one. Soviet advisers running many aspects of their economy and military; Soviet naval ships docking in Cam Ranh Bay; an invasion of Cambodia which could only serve the interests of the USSR; and more.

But it would be wrong to conclude from this that the Soviet domination of Vietnam so obvious today is the product of some big plot hatched in the Kremlin, although many plots are certainly hatched there. No, the revisionism which led Vietnam down its present course is mainly the product of internal contradictions within the Vietnamese leadership and these leaders' failure to really base themselves on the ideology of the proletariat.

It is no accident that in the struggle which shook the international communist movement after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in the middle '50s, the Vietnamese leaders, despite a "neutral" stance, basically aligned themselves with the Soviets and increasingly opposed the revolutionary line of the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership. Vietnam's motives weren't simply economic; it wasn't simply that the Soviets could supply them with more aid than China. Their view of the world was in line with the Soviets' and collided with the proletarian line of Mao. This became especially clear after 1966 with the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in China.

In an interview in the *Manchester Guardian* two years ago, Hoang Tung, a Central Committee member of the Vietnamese Party and editor of the Party's daily newspaper *Nham Dan*, provided a glaring self-exposure of the line held among VWP leaders toward the

# CPML Gets the Red Out

The Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) which has earned the disgust of genuine communists and revolutionary minded people over the years has recently made some interesting changes in their newspaper *The Call*. They have taken some economy measures, reducing the size of their paper and removing the red ink from their newspaper. We warmly hail this

move and, though we understand it is merely a symbolic gesture, we think that these phony reds should have done this long ago. We have one further suggestion to offer: a qualitative improvement in *The Call* and a not altogether insignificant service to humanity would be made if they also removed the black ink from their paper. ■

# CPML

Continued from page 10

clear: "Class struggle is the key link, everything else hinges on it." (Of course it should be pointed out that Hua and the rest of them *are* interested in class struggle—struggle *against* the remnants of socialism and working-class power—as he puts it, against "present relations of production and superstructure which hamper modernization.")

Just in case anyone wants to bend over backwards far enough to think that Hua is only talking about a changed situation since Mao's time, he makes it clear that this is not so: "Once the proletariat and the other working people have seized state power and established their political rule," he says, "economic construction must be given top priority." In other words Mao screwed up all the way back at the time of nationwide victory in 1949 by making such a "big deal" out of class struggle. How disruptive—making sure that the capitalist class did not seize power and that the rule of the working class and its mastery of all aspects of society went ahead. Disruptive indeed, if you are a capitalist rat with backstabbing plans, like Hua or Teng.

## Something Startling

Of course, disgusting and revisionist as all this is, it is really just old-hat routine by now. For two and a half years, since the coup in China, not a single week has passed without some new outrage being committed against revolution. But something else quite interesting has happened in connection with this Chinese Congress that merits comment and continuing attention: in

## Cultural Revolution:

"After 1967-68 and the Cultural Revolution, we no longer looked on the Chinese leaders who succeeded one another in the long power struggle as socialists. The period 1949-1966 saw the victory of communism. Since then it's been something else entirely. The Chinese Communist Party was destroyed along with the dictatorship of the proletariat. And 1966 marked the beginning of the decay of socialism. . . . Non-socialists have eliminated the outstanding militants. Those who fought against Mao after 1966 were in general the best of the lot."

There is every reason to believe that the line brought out here was the dominant and probably unopposed political line held by the Vietnamese leaders at the time toward the Cultural Revolution. First, they openly admit it. Second, thinly veiled attacks on Mao appeared in the Vietnamese press at the time and later. But mainly, this view is perfectly consistent with their bourgeois outlook.

Here was the revolutionary proletariat in China engaged in a life or death struggle, deepening and broadening its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and making an earth-shattering and historic breakthrough for the international working class. Here were revolutionaries under Mao's leadership developing, as Mao said, the form and method to wage mass revolutionary struggle against the return to the enslavement of the masses by the chains of capital, and leading the masses to push society forward closer to the goal of the complete destruction of the system of exploitation of man by man.

And at the same time here were the Vietnamese leaders—bourgeois democrats whose political line led them not only to fail to grasp the significance of the Cultural Revolution but consciously oppose it. The "best of the lot" that fought against Mao were their class brothers.

*The Call* (newspaper of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist or CPML), long famous for advanced world levels of shameless flunkeyism toward *everything* said by the Chinese revisionists, direct criticism of Hua's report has appeared! A signed article in the center-fold of the July 16 *Call* raises, as the author puts it, "some important questions." After quoting Hua, the article asks, "...how can 'large-scale, turbulent class struggle' be ruled out in the future? What if another group of capitalist roaders should make inroads in the Party?" It even raises a "question" about the Report's line on the relation of modernization and class struggle: "How can such changes take place except through class struggle?"

Then the article lets it all hang out there: "It appears that there are still some questions stemming from this important meeting that have not yet fully been resolved, some compromises made for the sake of unity. Perhaps the future will shed more light on these points."

What has happened here? Is the report delivered by Hua just *too* openly revisionist even for *The Call* to swallow? Can it be, to paraphrase the words of the poet e.e. cummings, that "there is some shit they will not eat"?

To put it mildly, that seems quite an unlikely possibility. Anyone familiar in the slightest degree with the history of the CPML knows that principle and politics in command never even dawned on this group's leaders. And as far as eating revisionist shit, these people have proven themselves eminently capable of wolfing it down by the shovelful and then regularly regurgitating it for all to see right on the pages of *The Call*. They showed this, for instance, when they

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—For many years the Vietnamese had tried to "straddle the fence" in the fight between Marxism and revisionism, represented most sharply by the dispute between Mao and the Soviet leaders. But not only did they fail to actually join in the worldwide fight against revisionism and struggle against it in their own ranks, in fact they conciliated with, apologized for, and ended up completely embracing revisionism—and attacking Mao's revolutionary line.

It is important to emphasize in conclusion that the tortuous struggle which the Vietnamese people waged against the U.S. imperialists was an heroic, just and revolutionary struggle. It brought the U.S. bourgeoisie to its knees and rallied the support and sympathy of millions the world over.

It is also important to note that the question of just and unjust struggle is not simply an abstract moral question of good and bad or right and wrong. It is a question of what in the development of history is objectively progressive, pushing things forward, and what is reactionary, holding things back. And still today the national liberation struggle, even if led by *openly* bourgeois forces (something that is certainly conceivable under today's conditions) can play the objectively progressive role of waging blows against the imperialist system.

At the same time—and the bitter experience of Vietnam testifies to this—the proletariat must struggle for the leadership of these struggles. In fact, in the final analysis, it is only the proletariat, the most thoroughly revolutionary class in all history, that possesses the ideological stand, viewpoint and method to fundamentally mobilize the conscious activism of the masses of people and lead them through the twists and turns of the revolution, completely defeating imperialism and advancing to the socialist stage of the struggle. ■



# CPML

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loudly praised the return to leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping after having earlier loudly denounced him, when they even praised the posthumous rehabilitation of Mao's long-denounced enemy (and a collaborator with Khrushchev), Peng Teh-huai. One recent high point in fecal consumption came in the May 14 *Call* when they printed a picture caption saying "Controversial opera, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, is now being shown again. Chinese are debating many previously banned cultural works." Not another word of explanation about this "controversial" opera which they well knew was itself a vicious attack on Mao and the subject of a counterattack by Mao, initiating the Cultural Revolution.

No, political principle has never been the strong suit of the CPML. But they are not entirely without strong points. Take opportunist political speculation, for instance. Here the CPML has long shown a certain limited talent. And perhaps here we can find some *real* clues to the meaning of this very unique recent article. The CPML is almost certainly sniffing around and smelling a mounting struggle among the thieves now in China's leadership, and is trying to maneuver itself into a position to be backing a winner—whoever it turns out to be.

There is some earlier precedent for this kind of political speculation in *The Call*, though never in such open form as in the July 16 article. Back in the fall of 1977, in an interview in the CPML journal "Class Struggle," CPML Chairman Michael Klonsky dropped an interesting (and unexplained) passing phrase in an interview about a trip to China, "the majority of the Politburo (in 1976—RW) was controlled by the 'gang' group." (The "gang" was Mao's four close revolutionary comrades later overthrown in Hua and Teng's coup.)

This was quite an interesting statement because it implicated a number of post-coup Politburo leaders as having been aligned with the "gang" against Teng. Though a bit more subtle than the current article, such a statement clearly gave voice to an attack by Teng on his current opponents. (In passing it must be said that this remark also accidentally puts the lie to the current revisionist fable that the gang of 4 had no support and was completely isolated.)

Why did Klonsky do this? There are two possible explanations. Some people believe that Klonsky is simply an ignorant hack who didn't even digest what he was regurgitating. True, this is one aspect of Klonsky. But it must also be said that in bourgeois politicking within a relatively narrow circle, Klonsky does have certain skills. Much more likely is that he was actually speculating

on Teng's rise relative to his opponents.

It is in this light that we should examine the current article. Klonsky appears to once again have his nose to some shifting political winds. Only a few months ago, the CPML was blasting anyone who said there were divisions in the Chinese leadership, carrying on about how the leadership had never been so united. Now we see sentences like "What if another group of capitalist roaders should make inroads in the Party?... Perhaps the future will shed more light on these points."

It is clear that all the references to "class struggle" in the article are given no political substance, unlike in the days of Mao; they amount to venturing into the pure power politics between various groups of thieves. The article (which is signed so it can always be blamed on the author—or alias) is also so vaguely but carefully worded that it could be interpreted to be backing literally any winner in a possible power struggle.

While this *Call* article could be based on no special information from China, it could also be based on the fact that Klonsky's nose is always carefully planted near the rear end of these revisionists and is occasionally the early beneficiary of one of their "leaks." And besides this article there are other, more substantial, indications that, despite all their claims about creating "stability and unity," the Chinese revisionists are engaged in infighting over a number of questions.

There is the question of their current alignment with the United States versus the pull toward coming under the wing of the Soviet Union. There are surely those in China who are today arguing for a switch of sides. Beyond this, there are arguments arising from the pressures that are coming along with their current capitalist "modernization" drive—both the internal pressures of the failures it is already encountering, and the external pressures coming from their imperialist creditors.

Then there is the struggle over whether to come out openly and criticize Mao by name, or to continue to simply attack his teachings while "honoring" his name. And, of course, there are the various factional power disputes, linked with political questions like those above.

In the past, under the revolutionary political line of Mao, there were also political struggles in China. But they were waged by politically relying on the masses of people and by making the political questions clear. Now, under revisionist reign, intrigue is the rule and things are left to political speculators like the CPML.

The CPML appears to believe that things are soon to break out into some open struggle in China and is sure to be speculating on it still more. In the light of this, a unique situation has now arisen. *The Call* might actually be interesting to read for the next few weeks.

# Revolutionary Worker Banned at Ford

Cleveland, July 19, The Ford Brookpark Engine Plant No. 2 was buzzing with workers talking about the stomping that the union goons got yesterday. About twenty UAW officials—most of them with cushy full time jobs—tried to stop the sale of the *Revolutionary Worker* at the plant gate. They attacked with pipes, knives and rocks. The hacks were out to shed the blood of communists but ended up with their face bloodied. RCP members and supporters fought back defending themselves.

Arrests warrants are out. The first person arrested was Dave Allen, an RCP member who Ford is itching to get rid of. Dave is one of the two RCP members Ford tried to fire after they attended and upheld the January 29th Washington D.C. demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping. In the attack a goon went straight for Dave with an opened knife. This vicious attack by union goons is the latest in a long series of attacks at Ford on communists and the *Revolutionary Worker*.

The struggle heated up after the Teng demonstration. Party members and supporters boldly entered the plant and staged a march *inside* to galvanize support for two Party members Ford was trying to fire. Ford backed down on the firings, suspending them for two weeks. On May Day, union officials attacked people selling the *Revolutionary Worker*. This was followed by increased police harassment and new suspensions of Dave Allen by Ford.

The word came down: No more *Revolutionary Worker* sales at Ford. In less than a week in two separate incidents, five Party members and supporters were arrested for selling the newspaper at the plant gate. And they even went so far as to arrest two more who came to bail out those previously arrested.

The battle to sell the *Revolutionary Worker* is particularly intense because of the revolutionary work done inside that plant and the existence of a small but vocal group of reactionary workers who are a social base for the union hacks. They have issued death threats against Party members and have tried to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation to stop people from reading the *Revolutionary Worker* and uniting with the Party. In spite of this, a growing number of workers have taken a stand. They regularly read the paper, take on the bullshit spread by reactionaries, and some have come forward to defend Party members from physical attacks by the reactionaries.

What's happening at Ford is a real trial of strength—a series of tit-for-tat

battles both inside and outside the plant. Ford has become a focal point of struggle throughout the city. It shows how seriously the enemy takes the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Brookpark Chief of Police declared publicly that anyone selling the *Revolutionary Worker* will be arrested. He complained that the Revolutionary Communist Party is harassing the Brookpark Police Department. The *Revolutionary Worker* took the offensive and publicly announced that the newspaper would be sold at the plant on July 18. The bourgeoisie responded with their goon squad made up of union hacks. They were expecting a quick mopping up operation beating up Party members and supporters. But the script did not go as planned. The goons were the ones who got beat.

Having suffered a political defeat at the plant gate and having their hacks cut down to size, it became even more crucial for the bourgeoisie to win the battle for public opinion. So they called in their heavy media artillery. A sensational story appeared in the *Plain Dealer*, the city's major paper, claiming that communists orchestrated a surprise attack on union members. In response, a delegation of communist Ford workers confronted the media, gave eye witness accounts and showed photographs of union goons armed with weapons. In addition they put out a leaflet for Ford workers. The media continues to carry its slanderous accounts of this incident. Despite this, no one can miss that the hated sell-out union officials came out on the short end and the more that Ford and the bourgeoisie as a whole attack the *Revolutionary Worker*, the more trouble they have on their hands.

On Friday, July 20, the President of the UAW local at Ford Brookpark who has been spreading one lie after another about the Revolutionary Communist Party, put out a leaflet to the workers basically putting out a call for someone to kill these revolutionary workers at Ford. The leaflet said: "Those dirty scum that boast they are trying to overthrow our government and are now obviously sabotaging our negotiations must be stopped now. We must protect our members and our jobs, and I urge you to use every method at your disposal and do exactly that. Force must be met with force."

The struggle to sell the *Revolutionary Worker* at Ford is teaching workers all over Cleveland rich lessons about the real nature of the system. One worker said to a Party member, "They never stop attacking you guys. You must have something they're afraid of." ■

# Red Lake

Continued from page 3

cheaply, all by perfectly legal means, just as the capitalists do every day all across the country.

According to the law—and the guns which it rests on—Roger Jourdain is still tribal chairman. Tribe members call him the reservation's own "Somoza," running the reservation from his bunker hiding place, reportedly a hotel just across the state line, where federal agents guard him and his hangers-on from the wrath of the people of the reservation. The federal government is certainly protecting everybody's rights—it protected the right of the defendants to a speedy trial and it's protecting Roger Jourdain's ass and his rule. Obviously somebody up there likes Roger Jourdain—and they don't like Indians who think they have a right to rebel against being made to live like animals.

The story is an old one. "They don't want us alive, they want us extinct. They want to exterminate the Indians," said one defendant, words which could have applied a thousand times over in the history of what this capitalist ruling class has done to the Indians. But the defiance is growing, and it both inspires

and takes inspiration from a mood creating other scattered outbreaks of rebellion all across the country among people of all nationalities. In fact, in the face of this unyielding fierce attack on the part of the government, defiance remains high on the reservation. There have been several confrontations and near-confrontations with BIA police. A high-speed police chase, after one of the defendants who repeatedly gunned his car in front of BIA headquarters the night after the convictions came down, ended in a hay field, where the two dozen heavily armed cops hastily retreated when they saw what they thought were several dozen tribe members coming at them out of the dark with sticks.

"I've been locked up on this reservation all my life. What's a few years more," said another defendant. "I'm ready to go to their other reservation, the other place where the white man puts you. I don't know if I'll come back alive or not. But if I live to be a hundred, when you guys are ready to do it [make revolution], you can count on me." Maybe the government thinks it can get away with this because nothing that happens on one reservation can overthrow it. But with this case they've given the masses of people of all nationalities one more reason and inspiration to do just that. ■

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