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**U.S. Imperialists
Up to No Good**

SANDINISTA VICTORY NEAR

The countdown continues for Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. Leon, the second largest city in the country, remains in the hands of the Sandinista National Liberation Front which has been leading the battle to topple Somoza. As block by block fighting continues in the capital city of Managua, the Sandinistas control most of the city. Somoza's only base of support left in the country, the National Guard, is fighting a desperate counter-offensive to try to stave off their imminent defeat.

Even Somoza's famed underground "bunker" in the heart of Managua has been bombed by airmen supporting the Sandinistas! A Sandinista communique said: "The Carlos Ulloa squadron of the Sandinista Air Force bombed the military installation of Toma de Tiscapa in Managua. This shows how close the final hour of the genocidal Somoza dictatorship is and it shows the determination to carry the people to victory. All bombs hit target and military installations were left in flames. The airplanes of this squadron returned without incident to their base somewhere in Nicaragua."

They called this June 21 action the "No Intervention" raid—directed against the U.S. News of this dramatic development and, more importantly, of the continuing success of the people's fight on the barricades, has been blacked out in the U.S. news media.

With the final hour fast approaching, the U.S. imperialists, who put the Somoza family in power and have backed these dictators to the hilt ever since, are scrambling desperately to avoid going down the tubes with Somoza. His fate is sealed, so U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance came out at the June 21

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Somoza "asked for it, he got it"—Toyota truck transports Sandinistas and field artillery after they overran National Guard positions in Penas Blancas and Sapoa.

Emilio

SALT II Summit

NEW DEPTHS OF DECEPTION

A dough sculpture in a Vienna pastry shop came close to telling the real story behind all the deception—the pompous hypocritical statements and pledges for "peace" made during the three days of the SALT II meeting between Carter and Brezhnev. The display showed them both clad in general's uniforms, with missiles for fingers, facing each other across a chess board and clutching ICBM playing pieces as each pondered the next move. And when Carter and Brezhnev embraced after signing the SALT II agreement on June 18th they bore striking resemblance to two mafia dons giving each other the kiss of death. Behind the smiles, the jokes and stupid press side stories, the

protocol, posturing and bickering, stood the two chief representatives of the most criminal and blood drenched ruling classes in the history of the world facing off in preparation for the bigger showdown to come.

Each took every possible opportunity to paint the other as the "warmonger" while both tried to hide the fact that each is feverishly and cynically preparing to actually unleash the very nuclear weapons they claim to be limiting. They have increasingly made clear that the death and destruction of nuclear war including the incineration of hundreds of millions of people is not only thinkable but quite acceptable to them.

Despite all the talk in the press,

especially by the "hardliners" like Sen. Henry Jackson, neither side has given up anything significant in their nuclear arsenals, nor could they. And both are relatively equal in nuclear strength. As Carter said, "with or without SALT II we must modernize and strengthen our strategic forces—and we are doing so. But SALT II makes this task easier, surer and less expensive." This he underscored by announcing the approval of the MX missile program only a week earlier. While both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had certain military objectives, mainly to find out as much as possible about the other's arsenal and trying to set the terms for the coming war, the talks were primarily a vehicle

to keep up the facade of "working for peace." They were a forum for the two to square off in the area of creating world public opinion especially in their "own" countries in favor of their war efforts. As Henry Kissinger said in 1976, "only a demonstrated commitment to peace can sustain domestic support for an adequate defense and vigilant foreign policy. Our public and congress will not back policies which appear to invite crisis; nor will they support firmness in a crisis unless they are convinced that peaceful and honorable alternatives have been exhausted."

In the 7 years since the signing of SALT I the forces hurling the U.S. and

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Part 2: Taking the Middle-of-the-Road to Hell

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH VIETNAM?

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SALT

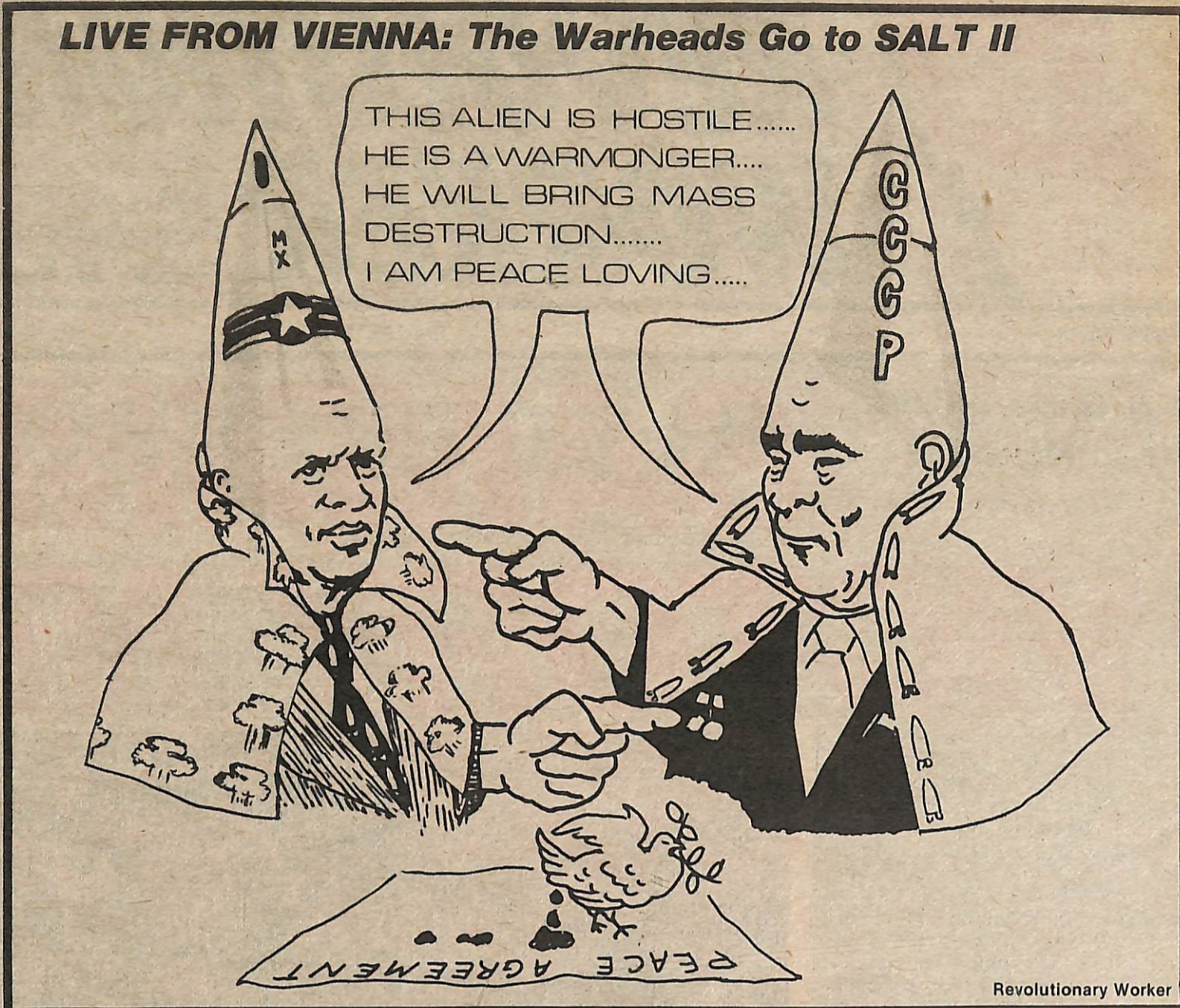
Continued from page 1

USSR toward World War III have greatly increased. The very real prospect of war in the 1980s is forcing them to more and more drop the phony talk of "jointly working toward world peace" that characterized SALT I. This has been replaced by the goal of "peace through strength" and increasingly open jockeying for position and finger pointing. Thus the SALT II meeting was chock full of thinly veiled accusations by each superpower against the other.

Carter said at a dinner that if the Soviet Union seeks "to exploit the turbulence that exists in various parts of the world" it "could lead to confrontation" and the United States "will protect its vital interests." By the same token Brezhnev warned, "Any attempt to rock this elaborate structure... would be an unprofitable exercise" and would have "grave and even dangerous consequences for our relations and for the situation in the world as a whole." The U.S. press ran statements like "Mr. Carter noted differences separating Moscow and Washington, 'For instance, I made it clear to President Brezhnev that Cuban military activities in Africa, sponsored or supported by the Soviet Union, and the growing Cuban involvement in the problems of Central America and the Caribbean, can only have a negative impact on U.S.-Soviet relations.'" While the Soviet press countered "However, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in the Western world, and especially across the ocean, considerable influence is still being wielded by forces that... push the U.S. and the NATO Bloc into a continued arms race and... spread their malicious fables about the 'Soviet Danger'." It is through this type of maneuvering that each hopes to line up support from the people as the defender of peace to carry out their war plans.

The SALT II Debate

Throughout the whole SALT II process here in the U.S. tons of propaganda have been spewed out aimed at painting the U.S. as the peaceseeking underdog threatened along with the whole "free world" by the Soviet war machine. (And the Russian people have gotten the Russian version of the same act). This public opinion campaign with its spokesmen from both the hardline



Revolutionary Worker

"hawk" and "olive branch liberal" sides of the same imperialist coin has crystallized into the SALT II Debate.

Already the debate has gotten pretty sharp. On the one side the anti-SALT "hardliners" led by Senators Jackson, Garn, and Helms who contend that the U.S. is already number two to the USSR, that SALT will leave the U.S. even further behind giving the Soviets clear superiority, and that the pro-SALT forces led by Carter are only "appeasing" the Soviets. Only two days before Carter left for Vienna, Jackson likened Carter's trip to Chamberlain's visit to Hitler before World War II saying, "To enter a treaty which favors the Soviets, as this one does, on the ground that we will be in a worse position without it, is appeasement in its purest form."

On the other side we have Jimmy "the white knight of peace" Carter and the pro-SALT forces calling the hardliners "warmongers" while putting forward their version of the same "peace through strength line" as expressed by Carter in his speech to Congress after signing SALT II; "To keep the peace, we must have strong military forces, strong alliances, and a strong national resolve—so strong that no potential adversary could be tempted to attack us... The SALT II treaty must be judged on its own merits—and, on its own merits it is a substantial gain for national security and international stability." Hardly an impassioned plea for "peace on earth, goodwill toward men!" In fact the more these guys talk the more they sound the same.

When you get behind the inevitable tactical differences (and of course the usual petty politicking) among the U.S. rulers over how best to deal with the Soviets and how to convince the people to line up to fight and die for the U.S. capitalist class there is basic agreement between the pro and anti-SALT positions. There is no doubt that the treaty will pass after they have milked it for all it's worth with the long drawn out Senate debate. The real purpose of the SALT II debate is to present the American people with a heads they win, tails we lose proposition with both sides promoting a "peace through strength, get behind our war preparations" line. The "dove" line promotes more illusions about the superpowers actually

working out a peace plan and disarms people while the "hardline" position allows for the maximum promotion of the straight-up jingoistic "let's duke it out with the Russians" crap that will be more and more necessary as war approaches.

Major efforts are underway to make the SALT II debate a big deal. Some senators are pushing for the Senate floor debates to be televised. The State Department is setting up briefing brunches for hundreds of women's and religious groups and the Democratic party is planning to draw as many people as they can into pro-SALT II rallies this summer. Meanwhile all kinds of anti-SALT stuff is being set-up by such groups as the "Coalition for Peace Through Strength" (which already claims 173 congressmen as members) and the Committee on the Present Danger, which is mobilizing all the old cold warriors and substantial parts of the JFK-LBJ and Nixon teams. Undoubtedly even more is in the works.

Already the U.S. and Soviets have plans for SALT III negotiations to commence after SALT II is signed with 1985 set as the target date for treaty ratification (if world war doesn't break out first). These coming years of negotiations will be marked by even fiercer contention between the superpowers for public opinion and prove that they will talk "peace, peace, peace" right up until the outbreak of war.

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"Thousands more flee Vietnam." "The refugee flood." "The plight of the boat people." "Malaysia threatens to shoot boat people." The U.S. press paints a pathetic picture of the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees who are crowding the harbors of Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries.

Reading these accounts most people in the U.S. are repelled and horrified by this "human tragedy." Who are these "boat people," and why are they fleeing Vietnam?

For the U.S. bourgeoisie it has become a choice political issue. These refugees are being used as fodder for their propaganda mills which continue to spew out justifications for the U.S. imperialists decade-long efforts to enforce their control of Indochina. "See! We said the people of Indochina didn't want to be ruled by the communists! We said we were there in the interests of the people, fighting for freedom and democracy and to stop the commies. And this just shows that we were right!"

But it doesn't show anything of the kind. No shabby efforts by the U.S. imperialists to manipulate the Vietnam refugee situation can vindicate the barbarous carnage they unleashed on the countries of Indochina—the B-52 carpet bombing, the free fire zones, the defoliation, the execution of thousands in counter-insurgency campaigns. Nor can it cover over the fact that the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos fought heroically year after year against the most powerful military

The Boat People: Pawns in an Imperialist Sea

force in the world—and threw them out on their ass.

Who Are the Boat People?

The real story of the boat people is completely different from the hypocritical lamenting and concern for "human rights" that is heard from the U.S. ruling class, their politicians and media. The boat people are the ugly spawn of the revisionist betrayal of revolution in Vietnam as well as in China. They are the offspring of the ruthless maneuvering of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, each trying to exert and expand their hegemony in Southeast Asia as part of their global preparation for war.

Vietnamese refugees have come in several distinct waves. The first to get out were the generals and politicians who were installed in Saigon by the U.S. during the war—the Thieu and Kys who hot-footed it to the U.S. or Europe to live prosperously off their stolen loot. Along with them came many of the Vietnamese capitalists and landlords who grew wealthy off the misery and exploitation of the people of Vietnam. To these "refugees"

("airplane people" rather than boat people), we could only wish that they were now resting at the bottom of the South China Sea.

At the same time came others from the upper classes, government workers, agents, etc., who had supported the U.S. regime in the South. Many of them were people who had been scared by the predictions of the bloodbath that would follow in the wake of an NLF victory in the South—a bloodbath which, like so many other U.S. predictions about Vietnam, never happened.

But the main wave of refugees are Vietnamese of Chinese nationality. And the story of these people, who most estimate to comprise between 70% and 80% of all the boat people, is not principally of people fleeing because of their class position in the South prior to liberation.

At the end of the Indochina war there were over one million Chinese ethnics in Vietnam. A large percentage had come in the last generation, fleeing the Chiang Kai-shek controlled regions of China during the civil war. The majority of these Chinese settled in the South, many becoming small businessmen and

traders. Some, including a few whose family residence in Vietnam stretched back over several generations, became powerful forces in Saigon, dominating important parts of the economy of the South, particularly distribution and trade.

After the right wing coup in China in 1976, the new revisionist rulers of that country began to look to the Chinese ethnics as a potential "fifth column" in Vietnam and a source of trouble for the Vietnamese government as tensions heated up between the two countries and each began to contend for influence and control in Southeast Asia. The conflict took on greater significance as Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng and Co. took China into the U.S. war bloc and the struggle between Vietnam and China became more and more of a proxy fight in behalf of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The Chinese began to spread rumors, some based in fact, that the Vietnamese were going to come down hard on Vietnamese of Chinese origin. Their embassy began to hand out Chinese passports to these ethnics, almost for the asking. When the Vietnamese began to expropriate the businesses and fortunes of the Chinese capitalists, and some smaller merchants, the Teng-Hua government let out a big hue and cry.

Vietnam Exports "Problems"

But at the same time Vietnamese leaders began to see a solution to their "problems" with the Vietnamese of Chinese nationality. In the south the big

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Independents Battle Nat'l Guard, Cops, Scabs

Nationwide Truckers Strike Rolls

As the nationwide strike of independent truckers enters its third week, thousands of rank and file independents have turned to righteous and militant action in their protest against soaring fuel prices. In the past week, truckers have escalated their protests from blocking fuel stops and gas stations to choking off the flow of millions of gallons of gasoline at major fuel depots across the country, aiming their fire directly at the oil companies—the "seven sisters" as the truckers derisively call them. They have also shut down major food distribution centers in attempts to bring the entire trucking industry to a halt. Over 75,000 truckers are taking part, more than 60% of all long haul independent interstate rigs—and the number is growing.

As we go to press, the truckers' actions are snowballing. In Minnesota, virtually every gasoline and diesel fuel terminal was shut down as the governor declared a state of emergency and called

out the National Guard to protect convoys of gasoline. In Wisconsin authorities described the situation as "desperate" as the Wisconsin Independent Truckers Association shut down major pipeline terminals in Green Bay and several other cities.

National Guardsmen carrying M-16's escorted trucks through blockades of fuel depots in Alabama which forced the closing of nearly every gas station in Birmingham last Sunday. Independent truckers also shut down the huge Associated Grocers Warehouse in Birmingham for one day as union drivers honored the picket lines and the governor threatened to declare martial law if the protests don't subside.

In Florida, state officials frantically attempted to organize a convoy of 100 trucks to haul produce which is rotting in the fields and other freight to the northeast, arranging for the protection of state troopers in 10 states along the way. Only one trucker showed up. In

Indiana, Governor Otis Bowen ordered state police to escort fuel deliveries after truckers' blockades triggered scores of service station closings, 80% in South Bend alone. In Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky, hog and cattle markets began closing down for lack of independent trucks to haul livestock to buyers.

Earlier in the week, big rigs blocked access to the Shell Oil Co. distribution center in Woodridge, N.J., the company's largest in the nation, and truckers temporarily shut down several other major facilities nearby which also control the entire fuel supply for New York City. At Shell, one picketer was hit by a scab truck driven by the manager of a small distribution company. Before it had driven a few feet, the tires were slashed by angry truckers and the electrical wiring system torn to pieces. The papers claimed picketers had beaten the driver up. "Not true," the truckers shot back, "we didn't get the chance!"

Truckers' Demands

The main demand of rank and file independent truckers is that something be done to stop the skyrocketing cost of gas, to roll back the goddamn prices. This is a demand that is widely supported for it is aimed directly at the oil companies who are bleeding the life out of truckers and the working masses alike.

Truckers also have a variety of other demands, such as lifting the 55 mph speed limit, 100% allocation of fuel supplies, standardizing weight and length limits between states (to avoid fines for truckers passing through), and higher surcharges to be paid by companies to truckers hauling interstate loads.

In an attempt to stem the tide of the truck stoppages that are spreading like wildfire, the Interstate Commerce Commission authorized a 6% surcharge. But truckers scoffed at this puny offer, one spokesman saying, "It's nothing. It's laughable. It's comical. It's ridiculous." Many truckers realize that even if they were to get 10%, this would be a drop in the bucket compared to the price of gas which has climbed close to 60% in some areas in the last six months. Besides, there is no guarantee that companies not under the regulatory control of the ICC will even pay the surcharge to independents who haul for them.

Leaders Trail Militant Struggle

As the anger and militance of the truckers' protests has grown, it has come more and more into contradiction with the national leadership of independent truckers' organizations like the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) and the Fraternal Association of Steelhaulers (FASH) who are pushing a line of "no violence, no confrontation." They are saying that all they ask is for truckers to stay off the road and to pull out of blockades at the first sign of any hassle.

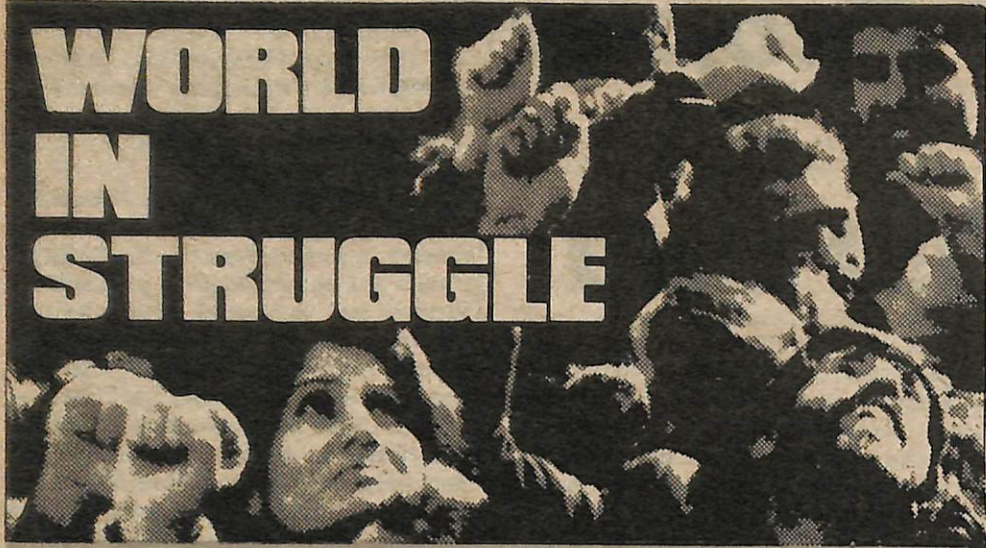
But the truckers are ferociously defending their strike. In a dozen states, gunfire has ripped into trucks whose drivers have refused to join in the nationwide shutdown and extensive "bodywork" has been done on hundreds of trucks that have attempted to cross trucker picket lines. A national spokesman for the ITA was quick to

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Thursday, June 7—Bystanders cheer on 40-truck convoy of independent truckers converging on White House.

WORLD IN STRUGGLE



May Day in Chile: Street Demonstrations Defy Dictatorship

Recently we have received report of the May Day demonstrations in Chile. This is only the second time since the U.S.-backed coup in 1973 that there have been open May Day demonstrations in defiance of the fascist Pinochet military dictatorship.

In the capital city of Santiago spontaneous gatherings of people took place in the streets, demanding democratic rights and an end to the dictatorship. Later that day a march of 3 -- 4000 people took place. One of the speakers was the popular revolutionary leader Clotario Blest, an 80-year-old veteran fighter who gave a militant speech.

The police savagely attacked the demonstration, wounding several dozen people with gunfire and arresting more than 100. Seventeen people were charged with assaulting police, and the junta's prosecutor demanded 15 years in prison for each.

Demonstrations broke out in at least 12 cities despite extraordinary measures by the Pinochet government which banned them because celebrating May 1 was "an unacceptable political act" and because "on the occasion of May 1st, terrorist groups try to agitate and alarm public opinion by activities that disturb public order." In an effort to block news of the activities that took place throughout the country, all newspapers, TV, and radio were suspended for the day, except for the government's own radio station.

The Chilean Anti-Fascist News Agency, published by the People's Front of Chile outside the country, said, "despite all the maneuvers and the brutal repression that were launched by the regime, the people showed their hatred for tyranny and celebrated the day of struggle of the working class in a fighting manner."

Shah Slithers to New Hiding Place

For a man who once claimed he had "only 60 opponents" in the world, the Shah of Iran is certainly having a difficult time finding a new home. Once again he is looking for a safe hiding place, scurrying off his paradise island in the Bahamas because of mass protests by the islanders, including the resort owners who claimed the Shah's presence was hurting business.

But this one-time U.S. puppet still has friends left in high places. It seems that a few of his former masters (including ex-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank) pulled the strings to get him into Mexico, where his family's \$20 million mansion in Acapulco is nearing completion.

Upon his arrival in Mexico City, the Shah was reported to have said he was leaving it "to Providence" whether he escaped assassination or ever returned to his country. Having heard about the hit squad that the new government in Iran has sent out after his royal neck—in addition to the undying hatred of millions around the world that he has earned—the Shah is clearly not leaving his health up to "Providence". On the few occasions he emerged from the secluded resort hotel in the Bahamas to take a swim, there were more bodyguards on the beach than crabs. This despised "King of Kings" will be looking over his shoulder for the rest of his natural life, trying to keep from getting a ticket back to Iran—in a body bag.

Vietnamese Invaders Bugged Down in Kampuchea

With the start of the rainy season that has 130,000 Vietnamese troops mired down in mud and hostile territory just like the U.S. army was ten years ago, the military forces of Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) are inflicting heavy casualties on the Vietnamese occupation army and are organizing their forces for protracted people's war.

In early June, the Kampuchean forces retook three villages west of the city of Battambang. On June 11, the Kampuchean fighters killed 45 Vietnamese soldiers in an attack when they captured the important military base of Ta Sanh, about six miles from the Thai border in the northwest part of the country. Recent reports indicate there is stepped up fighting in many other areas, including the Santuk Leo district 80 miles north of the capital city of Phnom Penh, where the Vietnamese puppet government is located.



New Israeli Settlement Sets Off Street Fighting

Nablus, Israeli-occupied Palestinian West Bank. Burning tires and hurling rocks at Israeli troops, hundreds of Arab youths and workers took to the streets in a militant protest against a new Israeli settlement on a hill overlooking the city. Earlier in the day, more than 3000 Palestinians had marched through Nablus to the headquarters of the Israeli military government, where they angrily denounced the decision a week earlier by the military to requisition the land and let paramilitary Jewish settlers begin construction. This will be the latest of more than 50 armed Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The settlers are members of the Gush Emunim, a thoroughly racist Zionist sect that has been at the front lines of Israeli expansionism for years. Far from being "peaceful settlers", they are heavily armed and have already killed several unarmed Palestinian teenagers during recent demonstrations at a local high school. They are already openly advertising this new settlement as a future "Jews-only" town of thousands that would protect the "security" of Israel by guarding strategic road junctions and keeping a close watch on Nablus, the largest city in the West Bank and a center of Palestinian resistance.

With the Torah in one hand and a submachine gun in the other, the settlers claim they are only "recovering" land supposedly stolen from "them" in Biblical times by the Arabs. Though they are pictured as extremists, the Gush Emunim are really just good Zionists—who all basically claim that they have a God-given "right" to a Jewish state in Arab Palestine.

This Is How Israel Was Created

This latest Zionist landgrab is a striking example of how the state of Israel was created in 1948—by the forcible seizure of the homeland of the Palestinian people. After the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, the whole West Bank was militarily occupied, when Israel was supposedly fighting a "defensive" war. Then as

now, Israel has been backed by powers such as the U.S. and Britain to serve as a watchdog for the imperialists' Middle East interests.

In order to bring Israel's "economic miracle" to the Arab West Bank, the settlers are getting more than \$2 million during the next two months from the World Zionist Organization for construction of 300 apartment buildings (fortified of course). The U.S. government is publicly criticizing the Israeli government's decision to build these settlements. But actions speak louder than words. The imperialists have supplied billions in military and economic aid to the state of Israel since 1948, and this is being stepped up to even higher levels under the Egypt-Israel "peace" pact.

However, oppression can only breed resistance. In addition to the determined struggle of the Palestinian people, which the Zionists have never been able to crush, these new settlements on Arab lands are facing increasing opposition from among Israelis themselves. For several days the Peace Now organization—which opposes the continued military rule of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip—set up a blockade outside Nablus, preventing construction equipment from reaching the settlement.

As these events in Nablus are demonstrating, Israel hasn't finished drawing up its boundaries. But an interesting development is these actions of a small but growing minority of Israelis who are opposing some of the most reactionary and expansionist policies of the government. This can only help to pose the question more sharply among the masses of Israelis whether they will continue to stand with the Begin, Golda Meirs and other Zionist architects of Israel or stand with the just revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people, which is aimed at dismantling the reactionary Zionist state of Israel and replacing it with a secular and democratic state of Palestine, including Arabs and Jews alike.



Wanted poster of the Shah—
"King of Kings,"
are you sleeping well in Mexico tonight?

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Worcester, Mass.

Pigs Kill Youth People Storm, Torch Police Station

Worcester, Mass., June 21. A jar of red paint splatters against the door of the police station at the Great Brooks housing project. The windows of the pig-pen are shattered as rocks and bottles fly. The American flag, bloody rag of U.S. imperialism, is put to the torch. Black smoke rises from the back of the station, joining the smoke from garbage dumpsters already filling the air.

The door was smashed, and rocks, bottles, sticks flew in. A man grabbed the bullhorn: "Revolución, revolución!" Paddy wagons roared in, to be met with the smashing blows of hurled rocks. 40 riot-equipped goons stormed from the station. The battle intensified.

What had happened? Just another routine murder by the thugs in blue. Just another case of the vicious oppression this system rains down on the people every day. But this time these pigs and their masters got something they weren't expecting—not for the first time, and certainly not for the last. Only less than a month ago the station had been under siege after a 16-year-old Puerto Rican youth was beaten and arrested. The rocks and bottles flew and the people vowed, "if they come back we'll do it again."

The man with the bullhorn before the flaming station yelled, "Revolución, Revolución! This is not the end. Yesterday it was Mulatto, tomorrow it may be me. But I don't care—we must continue to fight!" Mulatto was the 27-year-old man arrested the night before. The pigs had handcuffed him, threw him in their car, spit on him, and when he lashed back in anger they put a gun to his ear and murdered him.

All day June 21 the people of the Great Brooks project collected money for the funeral and raised black flags in mourning for a brother murdered by the pigs. But their mourning was more than tears. As people bringing the *Revolutionary Worker*, along with a Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade banner arrived at the project, people were gathering and seething with anger. They began to talk seriously about why this had happened, about discrimination and the oppression of nationalities in society, about the oil companies, about the whole stinking system and the rich who sit atop it all, trying to run everything for their own filthy profits. One after another of the men and women spoke over a bullhorn in outrage over this brutal execution: "These guys are all pigs... We want

justice!"

The call went up: "Get your keys. Get your cars. A caravan in memory of Mulatto." Thirty cars and 250 people wound through the project. The red banner of the RCYB, declaring "Death to capitalism—Down with national oppression!" was grabbed up and pulled to the front of the march. People streamed from their houses. A banner was made: "This is in your memory, Mulatto," and raised to the cheers of hundreds.

The march stopped. A veteran came out of a house with the American flag and burned it on the streets as people cheered. "Obreros Unidos Jamas Seran Vencidos" (The Workers United Will Never Be Defeated) filled the air as Blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans marched and danced in the streets together.

Then they came to the pig station—soon to stand empty, scorched by the flames of the people's anger. The people fought these murdering pigs, retreating to the buildings as night fell and a large force of cops moved in, making some arrests and occupying the project.

A Black woman declared: "We're gonna get power. I want to get them pigs and I don't care if I die doing it."

Another man said: "We want him, the cop. Let him out—I'll run him over... I'd go to jail the rest of my life, but I'd have my head up!"

More Puerto Rican cops in Worcester? The masses chanted, "Es Toda la Policia" (It's all the police!). The illusion that Black or brown cops can solve anything has been blown away—for it was a 21-year-old Puerto Rican cop who arrested Mulatto. An older man said, "I have friends, and if ever any one of them became a cop, I'd kill him myself."

The pig who murdered Mulatto has been put in a mental institution for "observation"—but everyone knows he's there for protection. The demonstration, with its speeches targeting the system, and the depth of the people's anger and response, clearly brought out that this cop and his action was no crazy exception, but just one more example of the oppression the pigs bring down on the masses as they carry out their function as a tool of the rich man's rule.

And the actions of the people were no crazy exception either, but a sign and a seed of things to come. ■

VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO



Above, part of the confrontation that took place May 19 on the beaches of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques between the Marines and about a hundred fishermen and other people from Vieques and the rest of Puerto Rico.

The U.S. Navy took over this small island in the same way the U.S. seized Puerto Rico itself in 1898: by force. Since the 1950s they have been using the island and its waters for target practice. Supposedly the Navy has assured the "safety" of the 8000 people still living on the island by sending them letters telling them where and when certain areas are to be hit with tons of flying explosives. But several people have been killed in the inevitable "accidents."

Since February of last year, when the Navy declared that nearly all the waters around the island were "restricted federal property" and banned the Vieques fishermen from them, the island's Fishermen's Association has spearheaded a struggle to drive the Navy out. This has become a symbol and a rallying cry for all those who hate what U.S. domination is doing to Puerto Rico. On many occasions the fishermen have sailed their small outboard launches into the thick of Navy maneuvers, temporarily halting the bombardment that has made most of Vieques resemble the moon.

In May, as the Navy and other U.S. armed forces carried out their annual spring war maneuvers and 10,000 U.S. troops carried out a practice invasion, the fishermen and their supporters stepped up their counter-offensive. During the second week of May, a group of Viequeses sneaked up from behind on the Marines guarding the beach and established a camp. They were all arrested, but the incident was a big embarrassment to the brass. A few days later, Marine and Navy police and federal marshalls arrested dozens of people who had landed on the beach in a protest action. Many were beaten and abused. Then they were hauled away to the enormous Roosevelt Roads Naval Base nearby, one of the main outposts of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean, where they were issued official U.S. government orders never to set foot on Vieques again, even though many of them were born there.

The spectacle of Puerto Ricans being ordered off their soil by the U.S. armed forces has come to be a scandal all over Puerto Rico, and the steadfast resistance of the fishermen a symbol of Puerto Rican pride and determination to be free of all domination. Although the Navy put on a show of force in dealing with these protests, it had to call off the war maneuvers early in an effort to silence the growing anger of the people. But the matter is still far from settled.

Letter to the Editor

"The people will have the final say"

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

When some friends and I were selling the *Revolutionary Worker* during the Puerto Rican day parade a couple weeks ago in Chicago, an old man approached us with a broad smile on his face.

"Is that a communist newspaper?" he asked in a heavy eastern European accent. When we told him it was, he clasped my hand. After a few words, he told us this story.

"In 1918, at the close of the first imperialist war," he began, "I was an infantryman in the Austro-Hungarian Army fighting on the Russian front. Russia was in revolution and we in the army were inspired by the great action of the Russian working class. Our officers, who were from the rich classes, ordered us to advance on the Russian soldiers who were heading back home to make revolution. They did this at gunpoint. We in my company killed our officers and came back home to Hungary to make revolution too. In 1919, we built the Hungarian Soviet Republic. We held revolutionary power for almost six months before the reactionary armies crushed us. Many, many other workers were killed, but I was fortunate enough to escape."

A thousand pictures flashed through my mind as this 80 year-old man told us the story of that revolutionary period. He spoke about Germany, which was also swept by a workers' revolt after World War I. The old socialist leaders had betrayed the working class, he said, but new communist revolutionaries came forward. He talked about Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of this revolt who helped keep alive the flames of revolution, as if he were talking about some friends he'd had dinner with yesterday. He spoke the same way about Lenin, Clara Zetkin and other Russian revolutionaries, for it was clear that like many other workers he had followed the Russian revolution very closely. He knew quite a bit about the Chinese revolution, too.

It struck me just how young and new this era of working class revolution was. Here before me stood a revolutionary worker who had seen all the socialist revolutions the world has known, except the Paris Commune of 1871.

"What's your line on China and the Soviet Union?" he asked. "How do

you see Africa?" "What about the American Negro?" The questions rolled from his lips as fast as we could answer.

"Yes," he said, "In the old days they let the Black man preach but wouldn't let him teach. They let him have religion to dupe him, but tried to stop him from learning the truth. What happened to the students and revolutionary Blacks of the 1960's?"

When we told him we stood with Mao and the Four, he smiled and said he had bought the Red Book at Roosevelt University 10 years ago because he thought, "that was what was happening in the revolutionary movement. Khrushchev had sold out all the gains and oppressed the people." He said that the same thing seemed to be happening in China.

Then he asked if we knew the song of the Third International (The *Internationale*). We sang it right there on a Michigan Avenue street corner in front of the awesome building of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce. But now this house of capitalism seemed not so overpowering as we revolutionaries of the new socialist era sang, "This is the final conflict, let each one take his place, the international working class will be the human race."

Finally, we had a question for him. After seeing the great revolutions in Russia, China, and elsewhere won with the blood of millions and then betrayed by sellouts from within the revolution and communist parties themselves, we asked how he saw revolution today.

Looking us straight in the eye he declared, "The people will have the final say." After all, hadn't he seen with his own eyes that the people will rise up against oppression again and again, until they finally defeat it? And what did he think of the American working class, we asked. Did he think that we too would make revolution? Oh yes, he said, the experience of three-quarters of a century of a worldwide struggle had convinced him. "Revolution will take place in America just as surely as the sun rises in the morning!"

I wish that people who've turned bitter after just a few years of experience in just one or two places could talk to this man. Because for me he was living proof that the more broadly you see things, the more you believe in revolution.

M.B., Chicago

Unpredicted Behavior at Behaviorist Convention

Detroit, Michigan, June 15-19, was the scene of the yearly national convention of the Association of Behavior Analysis. This is the main organization for U.S. behavioral psychologists, who, like hundreds of other professional and academic groups, get together once or twice a year for conventions. But this particular convention was worth the attention of revolutionaries and class-conscious workers.

For one of those invited to speak at this convention was a representative from Chrysler management, come to tell how they were using the techniques of behavioral psychology to try to control "their" workers. And besides this, the whole "science" of psychology, and behaviorism in particular, are worthy of attention.

As U.S. imperialism sinks deeper into crisis, its rulers grasp at new and different ways to keep us under control. Behavioral analysis and behavior modification is one of the avenues that they hope will reach this goal.

The father of behaviorism is B.F. Skinner. He's the "positive reinforcement" guy who studied rats in boxes, put his kid in a box, dreamed about a box-like utopia called Walden Two, and wants every factory to be a box. A box where the workers behave like good little rats—all for "positive reinforcement" like slaps on the back, feedback on performance, or maybe even a bonus. All sugar-coated bullets for better exploiting the workers.

And the bourgeoisie is buying it. Behavioral consulting firms for business and industry are spawning and expanding like mad (like Behavioral Systems Inc. in Atlanta—its president cited by *Fortune* magazine—partially owned by Fran Tarkenton, professional football quarterback who likes to think of his linemen as 250-lb. rats).

Behaviorism is a school of thought, a theory in psychology, and its basic idea is that no one can know what goes on in

the hearts and minds of men—all you can know is people's *behavior*, in the most narrowly defined sense—like "at this time the man's arm moved in such and such a way, and his mouth emitted the following sounds." And behaviorists also think that all the causes of a person's behavior come from outside: "Upon being given such and such a stimulus (say for instance a punch in the jaw), the subject exhibited the following response (he fell to the ground)."

This totally negates the role of consciousness and of man's activity. For not only are people formed by their environment, they also form the world around them. Behaviorists supposedly believe that everyone's behavior is externally caused—but actually they exempt the "select few," the elite like themselves, who are "smart enough" to know what's going on, so that it's only *everybody else* who's controlled from without. Behaviorism sees the *masses* of human beings as passive morons in the grip of external circumstances. But in fact the masses are the makers of history.

This was all summed up by Marx long ago, speaking of mechanical materialism:

This...doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. Hence this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, one of which is superior to society....

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionising practice*.

When the masses of people consciously take their fate into their own

hands and take revolutionary action, society can be transformed and a whole new era in history will begin. And this is the *only* way out of the hell-hole we live in. This, in fact, is the only way that history moves forward, not through the manipulations of a chosen elite. Look at Iran or Nicaragua today, where the masses are taking things into their own hands and where, although the people are not fully conscious of the laws of history and society, they are learning at a tremendous pace.

But for the imperialists, this kind of outlook is poison, for they think that they, the high and mighty, are the makers of history, with a little help from their learned servants like the behaviorists, who tell them they can rule the rest of us through a judicious use of "positive reinforcement."

A "Taste" of Positive Reinforcement

At the ABA Convention, the guy from Chrysler got a little "positive" reinforcement from a group of Chrysler workers, some of them recently laid off, as well as some psychologists at the convention and other revolutionary health professionals. When the Chrysler exec was standing up to speak, he was presented with a yummy lemon meringue pie—right in the face. But contrary to behaviorist doctrine, the subject did not respond well to this stimulus. In fact, the dog went totally out of control, and the super-"rational" behaviorist honchos running the convention were driven into a frenzy like rats in the boxes they love to play with. For they had thought that the Chrysler Corporation workers were under control and that the psychologists at the convention were all obediently serving the capitalists—but here were some of them showing their contempt for this system and its representatives and servants with a pie in the face.

These behaviorists actually think they can manipulate anybody into doing

anything. Their great guru B.F. Skinner says: "The great conquests of history were never a result of force." But in the real world, classes engage in life-and-death struggle. And the Behaviorist convention hacks, just like the capitalist class they represent, showed the force they always resort to when their sugar-coated bullets melt in their hands (or on their face, as in this case). They called the pigs and expelled the two ABA members who supported the action (for "bad behavior"), to the outrage of many of the rank-and-file psychologists in ABA.

No, Skinner, the workers cannot be fundamentally satisfied by feedback, foremen's smiles, or two-bit bribes. And by no means is it just a question of saving their jobs. For the workers, it's more than just a question of survival, or quarreling for a few cents more an hour. To break free from the dog-eat-dog daily grind, the humiliation and effects of exploitation, it's necessary to get to the source and overthrow the wage-slave system itself. This is no pipe dream from the '30s. It's happening today in the world. Check out the oil workers in Iran who said "HELL NO!" to a 100% wage increase offered in the midst of Iran's revolutionary upheaval. They shot back, "DOWN WITH THE SHAH!"

Nothing short of the "abolition of class distinctions generally," as Marx put it, will satisfy the workers, unleash their initiative for production and scientific experiment, and usher in the era of voluntary and conscious administration of society. Until then, the laws of class struggle will render useless any schemes to make the workers into happy bees. And other laws, of capitalist crisis, for example, will continue to evade behaviorists. In fact, purely behavioral schemes will surely fire the workers' anger for the exploiting class, a class that the more it smiles the more it shows its fangs.

BIRMINGHAM ALABAMA TRIAL KKK SCUM GET OFF

"Ain't it Great to Get Justice in the World's Greatest Democracy?"

That was the title of a very-off-Broadway play staged at the Federal Courthouse in Birmingham, Alabama last week. Thirteen members of the Ku Klux Klan were on trial on a number of charges stemming from a recent rampage of Klan terror in Sylacauga.

The cast included such notables as "dashing" Henry Froshin, chief Assistant U.S. Attorney, who rode in on his white horse to round up the Sylacauga Klavern and "put 'em out of business." Presiding Judge McFadden gave a somewhat less credible performance as the black-robed nemesis of racist terror. His part could have been more convincing if he hadn't dropped all the felony charges against the sheet-heads. But in all fairness to McFadden, it should be kept in mind just *whose* system of

"justice" he was cast to represent.

The thirteen Klansmen on trial remained in character throughout the proceedings, sitting impassively as one witness after another took the stand and described the crimes that had been committed. Black families had been shot at in their homes. Interracial couples had been fired upon. One white man had been dragged into the woods and horsewhipped because he invited Black friends over to his house.

One of the witnesses never made it to the stand. He was a mine construction worker who had unknowingly loaned his shotgun to one of the Klan members. He was going to testify against the scumbag at the trial, but right before it began he ended up dead in a downtown alley.

Overlooking the cuts on his bloody body, the Birmingham pigs said he died

of natural causes—nothing to do with the Klan trial. When the coroner reported that the man had been struck with a blunt object, the chief detective suggested that perhaps he had run into something! Finally the Birmingham P.D. was forced to haul someone in and charge him with the murder.

The accused murderer's lawyer is none other than Art Haines, notorious racist, former Mayor of Birmingham and close ally of Bull Connor in the early '60s. He was also one of the main defense lawyers in last week's Klan trial.

During the trial one of the other defense attorneys described the Klan as "basically a civic club, much like the Boy Scouts." The Sylacauga Klavern includes a Childersberg cop and a long-time Alabama prison guard—both on trial.

As the trial drew to a close, charges against four of the Kluxers (including the Childersberg cop) were dropped altogether. Three others were found "not guilty" on all charges. Eight of them were found innocent in the horsewhipping incident. The ones who were convicted of misdemeanors and sentenced to do time are all out on the streets, promising to reorganize their Klavern.

All the participants in the farce summed up the trial as sparkling success. The Birmingham newspaper declared: "Justice has triumphed in Alabama!" U.S. Attorney J.R. Brooks declared, "Nobody was prosecuted for belonging to the Klan...they were prosecuted for committing violent acts...I hope Klansmen and others will know they can't commit violence and get away with it."

The Klan lawyers also claimed victory for their clients. And Lewis

Wilkinson trumpeted, "Any time you have the government come in with this much evidence and these many witnesses and you get off with essentially misdemeanors (all the felony charges were thrown out), you claim it as a victory."

A fine example of American justice. The Klan gets a slap on the wrist which basically amounts to a pat on the back to keep on terrorizing the people. The judge and the mayor might have added, "Next time, keep your hoods on, boys, and please don't get caught!"



Klan burns cross in Decatur, Alabama, appropriately flanked by U.S. and Confederate flags.

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Chrysler to Shut Down Dodge Main

it's CRIMINAL, it's ANARCHY, it's CAPITALISM!

Chrysler bluntly announced to the world recently that it would close its Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, Mich. (in the heart of Detroit) in the summer of 1980. Four thousand workers will have to try to sell themselves elsewhere, thrown into capitalism's ever present reserve army of the unemployed. For these workers the Chrysler SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) fund that supposedly cushions the shock, is likely to run out in early August. One of the largest auto plants in the country, in fact Chrysler's largest, with two assembly plants, will permanently grind to a halt. And more, it comes out that all of Chrysler Corporation is in desperate straits. Chrysler lost more than \$250 million in the last 15 months, \$53.8 million the past 3 months alone, when all the other auto manufacturers reported record profits. The red ink on the ledger books of this multi-billion dollar capitalist enterprise so far means over 12,000 Chrysler workers on indefinite lay-off, and 7000 more by the end of the summer. Plants are operating at half capacity, whole shifts like at the Dodge truck plant have been cut out and, as if to grind salt into the wound, at Dodge Main where 1200 workers are laid off and 1000 more slated to go in July, the remaining workers are working nine hours a day six days a week. Chrysler is desperately squeezing out every last drop it can.

Meanwhile, business analysts look in awe at the "juggernaut GM gobbling up the competition."

Absurd, cannibalistic, dog-eat-dog survival of the fittest? Yes, all that and more. The man-eating forces of this system they like to call "free enterprise competition" are at work. While "times are good and business is booming" these monsters of capital can share in the expanding loot they rob hourly from the workers who produce all this wealth, and divide it up in gentleman's fashion according to the size of each investment. But at times of their inevitable crises when profits turn to losses and the loot begins to shrink, these gentlemen turn into the pack of warring dogs they really are. The fittest, the strongest, the most cunning masters of exploitation win out while others are eaten up and/or destroyed.

The situation in auto and what's going on at Chrysler is a clear case in point. Through the early and middle 1960s, the period that U.S. capital nostalgically calls "the years of unprecedented prosperity" capital in auto was expanding along with the rest; Their slogan "a car in every garage" turned into a "car for every driver." The U.S. came out of World War II as uncontested top plunderer of the world and there was enough to pass around the table in gentlemanly fashion as U.S. monopoly capital gorged itself. Money invested was doing what it's supposed to do, i.e. bring in returns, expand, make more money.

Chrysler was sharing along with the others in the feast. A new stamping plant was completed in 1965 in Sterling Heights outside of Detroit. Retooling and some introduction of new machinery (particularly to produce the new C-body cars) took place. Two billion dollars in assembly line capacity was added between 1963 and 1970. Construction was begun on a brand new assembly plant in New Stanton, Pa. and additions to a transmission

plant in Kokomo, Indiana were underway by the end of the 1960s.

But side-by-side with Chrysler in this period of the '60s were Ford and GM (and increasingly VW, Toyota, Datsun, etc.). They too were expanding their capital accumulated in the same vampire-type way, by sucking as much as they could from their workers. And relative to Chrysler these others were operating with generally more modern machinery and factories. GM, by late 1970, had a new, extremely automated, plant at Lordstown cranking out Vega's at 100 cars an hour. Much of Ford's massive Rouge complex built shortly after Dodge Main in the early 1920s had been rebuilt. And the factories of Germany and Japan had generally been rebuilt with more modern machinery after the destruction of World War II. (Auto workers who have worked at both Chrysler on the one hand and Ford or GM on the other will tell you the difference. At Chrysler the machinery is always breaking down. You got to break your back because the tools don't work right. It takes a wildcat to get work gloves. At Ford and GM it's less of a mess but they suck more out of you each day.) It's common knowledge that Chrysler leads the list in producing the junkiest car, although Ford and GM are not far behind.

Chrysler could live with this situation during the "good times" of the '60s even though it meant consistently smaller profit margins for them. More labor time was going into Chrysler products than into those of their competitors but of course they couldn't charge more on the "free market." More antiquated machinery like at Dodge Main meant Chrysler couldn't make as much profit per car as Ford and GM (and VW, Datsun, etc.). In fact even in these "good years" when Chrysler was making money, their profit margin was generally two-thirds of Ford's and half of GM's. But the '60s came to an end along with the end of the business boom.

Capitalism's "Good Times" Turn Sour

With the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam the "good times" began to turn sour for the U.S. capitalists as a whole. The inevitable crisis of capitalist production set in. First was the recession of 1970 and followed shortly by the even more devastating crash of 1974 and '75.

An uneasy and temporary truce was ended and all out war between the god-fathers of capital began. Chrysler's capital being the weakest, the least profitable in auto, its machinery the most outdated, was bound to lose out. 1970 especially marked the beginning of Chrysler's spiral downward. Capitalism's infamous overproduction crisis had broken out, hitting the whole capitalist economy.

Auto workers on lay-off couldn't buy cars because they had produced "too many" cars. Huge forces of production—factories, machines, raw materials, workers—idle because there was "too much" of all these things. Too much for the capitalists to turn a profit that is. Cars couldn't be turned back into money so the whole process by which capital expands itself began to grind to a halt. Naturally (by the nature of capitalism, that is) business stops when cars stop turning into money.

For the capitalists there's only one way out. Destruction. They just have

too much capital including machinery, the labor power of workers, and even products relative to their ability to make profits that are high enough to satisfy their growing appetite. They even destroy products like crushing up unsold cars. During 1970 Chrysler's inventory soared to 408,302 cars, a 102 day supply. At the height of its desperation, Chrysler was offering dealers discounts as high as \$250 per car.

Even more telling of Chrysler's situation was their abandonment of the partially finished New Stanton assembly plant. They had to destroy their only possibility of being able to compete "more equally" (that is with the same profitability) as Ford, GM and the mounting foreign competition. The new modernized, half-complete factory stood for years following 1970 as a ghostly reminder of Chrysler's (and capitalism's) absurd contradiction. New Stanton was finally sold to VW while Chrysler continued to produce cars out of its broken-down Dodge Main held together by little more than rubber bands.

Meanwhile, in a telling indictment of the anarchy and parasitism of capitalism, Chrysler the "auto maker" continued to invest at a rate to \$2 million weekly in real estate speculation. The recovery in 1970 was short lived. While Chrysler joined in the record sales years of 1972-1973 enough to turn a profit, the most severe overproduction crisis since the great depression of the '30s crashed down in 1974-'75. Massive inventories piled up to the point where Detroit looked like one giant car lot. Huge numbers of unemployed workers lined up outside unemployment offices.

It was reminiscent of the '30s. The city of Flint, Mich. virtually a GM company town, was essentially shut down. First GM's then Chrysler's SUB fund ran out. The drop in profits reached staggering numbers. GM's profits dropped over \$1.4 billion between '73 and '74, but they still made \$1 billion in 1974, while Chrysler's dropped about \$300 million.

Once again, as in the 1970 crisis, Chrysler had to resort to the very thing that ruins them relative to their competition, the destruction of their means of production. They reduced their Jefferson assembly plant in Detroit to a fraction of its former capacity after threatening to close it altogether. They set up a deal to buy engines from VW instead of manufacturing their own, the 4 cylinder for the Horizon and OMNI. And they dumped their huge inventory of cars in 1975 at a loss using the "rebate" gimmick. Chrysler's present situation is a sign of just how devastating the '74-'75 crisis was to the whole system, and at the same time just how weak the overall recovery for capitalism since '75 has been.

The economy is living on borrowed time. Chrysler is living on a bigger debt (1.2 billion dollars) than GM which is 4 times Chrysler's size. Once again, along with the others, Chrysler since '75 has tried to retool and renovate. But the vicious competition necessitated by the crisis and the weakness of the recovery since has taken its toll.

Though there have been ups and downs since the end of the '60s, the ups in the economy have been lower and the downs deeper. The very fact that Chrysler, the 10th largest capitalist leech (formerly the 3rd largest) and one of the biggest corporations in the world is a "small fry" unable to make it out of the last steep downturn and faces imminent ruin is testimony to just how deep a crisis the entire capitalist class is facing. It stands as a testament to the total bankruptcy and decay of this system where a huge corporation swollen by decades of sucking the blood of the working class, itself falls victim to the inevitable laws of capitalism with the jobs and livelihood of tens, even hundreds, of thousands of workers threatened and entire factories left to rust. And the ruin of Chrysler will actually only intensify the cutthroat competition between the companies that are left. In fact, it is ironic that Chrysler itself got so huge by gobbling up a number of smaller companies. How many thousands were left jobless in that process?

At the same time last year, Chrysler sold all its overseas investments—much of it to Peugeot Citroen which subsequently replaced Chrysler as the world's third largest auto maker. Chrysler's feeble attempt to keep pace with the competition has amounted to an addition to Mack Stamping financed in part by Detroit's city taxes and some retooling of a couple of assembly plants. And now the latest indication of Chrysler's sorry plight is the announcement that they will be trying to make a deal with Ford and GM to buy their 4-cylinder engines. What is this but clearly a gobbling up of the profits by Chrysler's competitors.

And much worse is in store for Chrysler as well as the others. Already a new "overproduction" crisis is

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China's "Modern" Unemployment Lines

China's rulers are now publicly admitting the disastrous effects of their so-called "modernization" program. "Modern" unemployment, "modern" food shortages, even a "modern" budget deficit—the bitter fruits of the real meaning of their so-called "modernization"—capitalist restoration.

In a report to ranking party, government and military leaders last April, Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien disclosed that there are some 20 million people unemployed. "China is facing an economic crisis," Li reported. "Food grain is so insufficient that 100 million people in the country have not got enough food." In addition, the country has run up a budget deficit of \$10 billion. Li attributed the debt to overinvestment in heavy industry, pay increases and incentive payments, and compensation payments to "victims" of the Cultural Revolution, all made necessary, of course, after 10 years of "sabotage" by radicals (meaning Mao and the so-called "gang of four"), which allegedly crippled the national economy.

Under the revolutionary leadership of Mao Tsetung, China's socialist

economy was developing rationally and advancing step by step in the course of sharp struggle against the real interference and sabotage of the very same capitalist roaders who now rule that country.

It was Mao Tsetung who called for self-reliance and the dispersal of industry throughout the country in order to develop the economy broadly and in an all-around way, breaking down class divisions between worker and peasant and lessening China's vulnerability in the event of war. It is Teng Hsiao-ping and his ilk who are "crippling the national economy"—tearing down socialism and replacing it with the anarchy of the profit system.

Li's report was made public only days after China announced plans to shut down up to 50,000 factories throughout the country. Their justification for this insanity is a dead echo of the U.S. ruling class' own slander of China's socialist economy during Mao's lifetime. Reporting on this massive shutdown scheme, the *Christian Science Monitor* sounded like Teng Hsiao-ping's speech writer: "The plan...is designed to rationalize the

country's economic and industrial base..." It will do away with "the vast number of redundant operations, big and small, that traditionally have plagued China's production potential." It will help get rid of China's "chronic inefficiency in industry and agriculture."

At the same time as they praise this "pragmatic—and perhaps ruthless—approach to persistent problems," they admit that it "will cause massive employment and retraining problems." "It is hard to see," says the *Monitor* (with Li Hsien-nien nodding his agreement) "How the hundreds of thousands of workers who will lose their jobs when the factories and plants close will find work."

The answer is simple—they won't. In an effort to halt "unproductive" enterprises (i.e., genuinely productive, though not necessarily profitable, small industries) the Teng clique is creating a huge army of unemployed workers.

But the biggest source of the swelling unemployment rolls right now in China are the millions of educated youth who were sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution. Now they are returning to the cities in droves, finding no work.

Mao had called on the youth to settle in the countryside to help break down the differences between the advanced cities and the still-backward rural areas. In this way China was avoiding the problems of most underdeveloped countries in which the cities have swollen with people seeking work while agriculture stagnates.

Part of Mao's plan also involved changing the outlook of the youth, encouraging them to work with the peasants and devote their energy to building socialism instead of pursuing selfish, individual goals. Of course, this

policy always met with resistance among some, but millions of young people enthusiastically took up the call to go to the countryside and made real contributions there. The revisionist chieftains, who now have created real unemployment in China, used to slander this policy as "unemployment in disguise," saying the youth were not doing truly productive labor. Of course, what these youth were doing was the most "unproductive" thing imaginable to these revisionists—building socialism.

Now the youth want to come back to the cities. Why? Because Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping have taken away the only reason for going to the countryside in the first place—socialist construction. These revisionists have unleashed a torrent of "me first-ism," even justifying the "get ahead" motive in newspaper articles and so on. With socialism wrecked and everybody being told to grab what they can, is it any wonder the youth want to return to the relatively comfortable cities where, they hope, their skills should at least enable them to find a decent job?

Ironically, the present rulers of China are the same people who screamed the loudest against the youth going to the countryside a few years ago. When they needed support for their coup against the revolutionaries, they made all sorts of promises to intellectuals and the educated youth, promising them "freedom," higher wages, and so on. Now that they have created a situation which leads the youth back to the cities, these same revisionists have the nerve to crack down on them and denounce them in the newspapers.

What all this goes to show is that Mao's policies were not only not "impractical and idealistic," they were the only policies that could, in the conditions of China, enable that country to escape the fate that other underdeveloped countries have experienced. When the working class revolutionaries still held power, it was not necessary to break up demonstrations of youth demanding jobs. More importantly, the youth saw a real importance to their lives, helping to construct the future society. Now the youth are being told to live for now and grab what they can—but all they come up with is a very short stick. ■

New "Revelations"

"Nuke 'Em"—

Thus Saith the Lord

Suffering and turmoil have always brought out the Bible thumpers. "Are you unhappy? Are you worried about the future? Well, leave your mind behind and give your life to Jesus."

Recently, fundamentalist preachers have found a new favorite subject that now rivals their old time regulars (which are sex and death, naturally). That new topic is *World War 3*.

On the air waves, in dozens of books and magazines, the Bible set explains their version of present events. Here's a sample from the back cover of a new book, *World War III—The Impending Battle of Armageddon* by J.W. White, recommended by Billy Graham and sold at truck stops throughout the country.

"War...natural disasters...immorality...false teachings...unholy alliances...devil worship...these and other signs are presented clearly and in vivid and frightening detail as indications that the final Battle of Armageddon is nearing. It is the author's conviction that World War III will be the final battle and that natural and political events are rapidly moving toward this terrifying end-time holocaust. Yet the world's darkening horizons quicken the Christian's hope, for the signs of the Battle are equally the signs of the Lord's return."

The preachers claim to be agents of holy power, far removed from the filthy affairs of men. But their analysis of events reveals that beneath their halos these windy preachers are soldiers in a very *earthly* army. They are active and loyal servants to the ruling powers in the U.S.A. And they are getting our minds ready for the next world war, just like the diplomats are getting the alliances ready and the factories are preparing missiles.

War, depression and decay are all supposed to be part of a god-made plan. Nuclear war is inevitable, these holy charlatans say, because it is written in the Bible that "...the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." (*Peter*, 3:10.) The European Common Market, that get-together of lesser capitalist powers, is transformed into a preordained sign of

the coming of the world rule of the anti-Christ, and computerized IDs become a symbol of Satan's plot—to tattoo all with the "Mark of the Beast."

And if it's all part of God's plan, then earthly rebellion is worse than useless—in fact, it's Satan's trap. J.W. White points to Mao Tsetung as one of those "false prophets" that the Bible says will appear in the last days. Rather than rebel, the message of God, say these preachers, is to be meek in the face of oppression, uphold those who use and abuse you, "give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and "turn the other cheek."

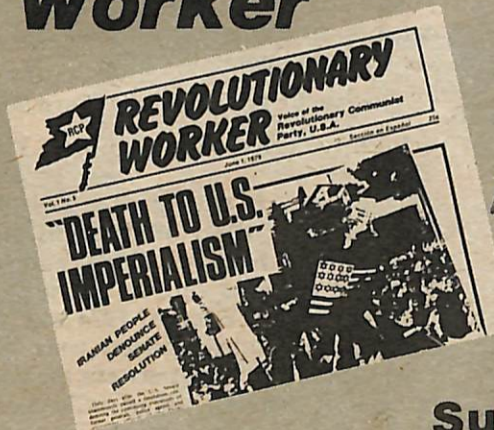
And in line with this submission to our rulers that they urge, there is a place for pious Christians in the coming years other than in the pews. That is in the front lines of the war with Russia. The preachers claim that when the Bible speaks of Gog and Magog, the prophets are talking of today's superpowers. And there is no doubt that to America's preachers the armies of the U.S. imperialists have "God on their side." The prophecies repeatedly come out with a picture of nations of the "Christian West" battling the godless (or pagan) East. Check out Ezekial's prophecies, chapters 38-39, they say. Their rap is a barely concealed recruiting pitch for "Western Civilization" in its coming Armageddon.

The same old tired quotes were pulled out to prepare people for the previous world wars, to serve the same earthly capitalist masters! For 2000 years working people have been told that every "war and rumor of war," every "famine and pestilence" are the signs of Christ's triumphant return. These were lies then. And they are lies now.

Marx called religion "the opium of the people." It fogs the brain, makes believers subservient to "earthly powers," staking everything on the supposed "better life" to come. And in the U.S.A. today it is skillfully being used to prepare millions for capitalist slaughter in the Third World War.

Holy poison must not go unopposed. The destiny of working people is not to bow on their knees before any master—it is to storm the heavens. ■

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Part 2: Taking the Middle-of-the-Road to Hell

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH VIETNAM?

For almost fifteen years, Vietnam was a storm center of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism. And for more than thirty years, thirty years of almost constant warfare, it was a battleground against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Vietnamese people fought one imperialist power after another and finally drove out the bloody U.S. oppressors. But today, the people of Vietnam have been enslaved to yet another set of imperialist masters—those in the Soviet Union.

The Revolutionary Worker is publishing this series of articles to analyze and summarize the struggle in Vietnam and show the reason for its ultimate defeat—from within. (A more thorough presentation of this question will appear in the upcoming issue of Revolution magazine, the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party.)

The present neo-colonial relationship of the Vietnamese leaders to the Soviet Union has political and ideological roots that stretch back to the very beginnings of the modern Vietnamese struggle against imperialist colonization and to the beginnings of the Vietnamese Communist Party. For although Ho Chi Minh and the Party led the heroic wars of liberation against French, Japanese and U.S. domination under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, they swayed far from the principles of Marxism, and in fact were heavily influenced and guided by those in the international communist movement who revised the revolutionary essence out of Marxism-Leninism.

This revisionism was increasingly consolidated and stood out most clearly at certain key junctures in the history of the Vietnamese Communist Party and in the liberation struggles it led.

Prior to 1976 their anything-but-Marxist outlook and political line can be seen in its most concentrated form in the late 1950s and early '60s. These were watershed years in the international communist movement. The lines were sharply drawn between Marxism and revisionism, between those who wanted to carry through the class struggle to advance society through socialism to communism and those who wanted to dismantle and tear apart the advances made in the socialist countries and drag them back to capitalism, under the signboard of socialism. Khrushchev and Co., the champions of revisionism and capitalist restoration, seized power in the Soviet Union after Stalin died in 1953. In the late '50s revolutionary China, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, launched a tremendous campaign to expose and condemn these new czars and their rush to repudiate Marxism-Leninism and restore capitalism.

Where did Vietnam stand in this monumental struggle that shook and split the international communist movement? Its leaders tried to maintain a "middle ground"—a centrist position which in essence preached reconciliation between capitalism and socialism—but all the while sunk deeper into the revisionist swamp.

To a large extent their rejection of Marxism in all but words and their embrace of revisionism was determined by the long standing pragmatic nationalism of the Vietnamese leaders, including Ho Chi Minh. They had started out as revolutionary nationalists, really bourgeois democrats, who wanted to free their country from the colonial yoke. They took up Marxism because it was the one ideology and political movement that thoroughly supported the liberation struggles in the colonial countries. This was quite natural. But they never fundamentally advanced from this nationalism, never really grasped Marxism, the ultimate goal of

the class struggle—communism, and the necessity, as Marx said, to keep this ultimate goal in mind in all the daily struggles. As a result, while this nationalism could and did play a revolutionary role at certain stages because of the concrete conditions of the anti-imperialist struggle, it was bound eventually to flop over into reaction and capitulation to imperialism as these bourgeois democrats became full blown capitalist roaders.

This came out very strongly as early as 1945, when after the defeat of the Japanese in Indochina, the Vietnamese liberation forces (Vietminh) led by the Vietnamese Communist Party, marched on Hanoi and set up a government in the North. The government formed, and correctly so at that stage of the struggle, was a coalition government which included many openly non-communist nationalist forces. But it was difficult to distinguish between the outlook of these forces and that of Ho Chi Minh. In the 1945 proclamation of Vietnamese independence, Ho set out to mimic the hollow words of the American Declaration of Independence, the phony words that the rising bourgeois class in the U.S. ran out to rally the masses of people in their struggle against the British monarchy. "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." For a so-called communist to put this bourgeois deception forward, even in a coalition government, in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution exposes how far the Vietnamese leaders were from giving revolutionary class leadership to the democratic revolution in their country.

The French imperialists, of course, were not at all impressed by these bourgeois pretensions on the part of the VCP, any more than they were halted in their determination to reassert their colonial rule over Vietnam by Ho's expressed willingness to keep Vietnam in the French Union and the Indochina Federation. The French army marched on Hanoi, and by 1945 the new government and the party were forced to move into the countryside and begin another war of liberation to drive out the French.

But once again Ho and other Vietnamese leaders showed their true colors—their bourgeois colors. Under the guise of uniting the broadest possible forces in the struggle against the French, they disbanded the Vietnamese Communist Party (actually between 1930 and 1945 it was known as the Indochinese Communist Party). The only thing that this act of pragmatism accomplished, besides the abandonment of Marxist principles, was to virtually guarantee that the politics of those forces that sought to limit the struggle to the confines of nationalism would go unchallenged. It was impossible under these conditions to put forward and boldly propagate the revolutionary interests of the working class in thoroughly routing imperialist rule and to prepare the masses to move to the struggle for socialism once imperialist rule was broken. But this act of Ho's was perfectly consistent, because his outlook on the struggle was actually more in line with these bourgeois forces than it was with Marxism-Leninism.

The Party was eventually reconstituted several years later but remained imbued with the bourgeois-democratic ideas which led to its formal dissolution in 1945.

The French were driven out of Vietnam in 1954. The Geneva agreements signed between the Vietnamese and the French provided for a division of the country in half and nationwide elections two years later. Ho and the Vietnam Workers Party were in power in



The Vietnamese people waged a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism, but lacked the leadership of a true proletarian party. Ultimately the Vietnam Workers Party delivered the people into the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists.

the North, but, as events were to show, imperialism was far from ready to completely relinquish Vietnam.

The U.S. had financed 80% of France's war against the Vietnamese and was determined to step in where the French had left off. The elections of 1956 were blocked, and the U.S. brought a trusty, bloody and hated puppet to power in the South—Ngo Dinh Diem. U.S. control of the South and the impending showdown between U.S. imperialism and the Vietnamese people set the stage, in part, for the role played by Ho and the Vietnamese Workers Party in the late '50s and early '60s. But this was only part of the picture because a great storm in the international communist movement was approaching and blew wide open during the same years.

Khrushchev's "3 Peacefuls"

When Khrushchev and Co. overthrew working class rule and brought a new bourgeoisie to power in the Soviet Union, they quickly began to spout new "theories" and to bring communist parties around the world into line under this revisionism. No longer was violent revolution necessary, said Khrushchev, and parties could come to power not by organizing the masses for revolution against their capitalist enemies, but by the road of "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." These fine phrases, together with "peaceful co-existence", became the general line and catch words of this traitor, as if the masses of people around the world could peacefully co-exist with their imperialist slavemasters.

This idea of peaceful co-existence had particularly critical implications for the struggles which were raging in the neo-colonies of the imperialists. Khrushchev promoted the idea that the masses in these countries should quit fighting because if they continued to struggle it would only increase the danger of world war between the U.S. and the USSR. The threat of nuclear war supposedly made violent revolution too dangerous. His theory of revolution sparking "world conflagration" was an open call to the world's people to bow down before the imperialists.

The U.S. and the Soviets actually concluded during this period to stamp out revolutionary wars of national liberation, and the Soviets worked to bring the leadership of these struggles under their wing. (Of course, the role of the Soviets has changed since then. Having

consolidated bourgeois rule, they have assumed an openly imperialist character and are now mainly contending, not colluding, with the U.S.)

Starting in 1957 and continuing through 1963 and after, the Chinese Communist Party waged a sharp struggle against the revisionism spewing from the mouths of the Soviets.

Specifically in regard to the struggles for national liberation, the Chinese line was to militantly oppose the imperialists and wage or prepare to wage revolutionary wars against them. Far from an era of great peace on earth, said the Chinese, imperialism still existed and would be forced by its own internal laws to continue to oppress and exploit the world's people. The Soviets were challenged at every possible point and the Chinese Communist Party struggled with other parties to reject revisionism and continue on the road of revolution.

Unfortunately, having decayed internally, the vast majority of parties went along with the Soviets while some gained a reputation for what various bourgeois commentators have described as "neutrality." The Vietnam Workers Party has such a reputation.

Many have described Ho Chi Minh as a great diplomat, brilliant mediator, "middle of the roader" and astute politician. This description has been applied to his actions and those of the Vietnam Workers Party in regard to the struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet revisionists.

In reality, what this describes is centrism, which actually boils down to revisionism. The correct stand during this struggle was clearly to rally to the revolutionary position of the Chinese, not to evade the basic issues through diplomatic maneuvers and side stepping the questions.

And when the Vietnamese did take clear cut positions, as we shall see, they stood clearly on the side of the Soviets. It is true that they maintained ties with the Chinese, and for a period in the early '60s even "denounced revisionism," not out of any principles or unity with the political line of the Chinese Communist Party, however, but out of the bourgeois ideology and nationalism that was later to lead them to embrace the Soviets all the way.

Beginning in 1957, the Vietnam Workers Party (VWP) increasingly applied a policy of building up North

Continued on page 12

nicaragua!



U.S. Marine occupation force holds captive guerrillas in the late 1920s.



During the uprising last year, U.S. military officers "confer" with Nicaraguan government soldiers.



Soldiers under the command of the U.S. Marine Corp display severed heads of anti-U.S. rebels.

71 Years of U.S. Imperialist Domination—General

The Somoza regime is U.S. imperialism's bastard son, the direct descendent of nearly a century of U.S. domination in Nicaragua. In the late 1800s, Nicaragua sat as a prize jewel in central America with a rich lake and river system that could provide a potential canal site. When the Nicaraguan government refused to grant the U.S. canal rights and began restricting U.S. investors in 1909, Marines were sent in to occupy the country. The new puppet government agreed to permanent U.S. troop occupation, and the Nicaraguan economy was turned over to New York banks for reorganization and management. Opposition to U.S. domination and its puppet Conservative government surged, and between 1913 and 1924 there were at least ten armed uprisings.

By the late 1920s, with armed guerrilla activity growing, it was clear to the U.S. masters that something "new" had to be tried. "Let's have a free election," they said. "All opposition forces, turn in your arms, and may the best man win." Some were fooled by this sweet-talk, but others—in particular a nationalist revolutionary leader named Sandino—refused. Sandino denounced the collaborators and the U.S. occupation and he insisted that armed struggle against these enemies was absolutely necessary and must continue. "Free the Homeland—or Death" was Sandino's rallying cry. Sandino's guerrillas pretended to comply with the order to disarm, but instead went around collecting weapons from those forces who were capitulating to the U.S.—stockpiling them for the guerrillas!

U.S. Marines were ruthlessly brutal in trying to wipe out the guerrillas. A price was put on Sandino's head, and the heads of executed guerrilla fighters or those killed in battle were often put on bayonets and paraded around town.

In 1933, the U.S. withdrew its Marines, leaving instead a new army it had created to guard its interests—the U.S.-trained and outfitted National Guard. The American ambassador personally appointed the commander-in-chief—a man called Anastasio Somoza Garcia—a man so pro-American he was

nicknamed "El Y... assassinated Sandino."

Since that time... military and economic... National Guard to... been one of the most... sion of Guatemala... reactionaries with... Nicaraguan bases... instrumental in... throughout Latin A... U.S. invasion of th... Vietnam as well.

Nicaragua's economic... imperialist domination... agriculture, while 5... and 46% die before... large sections of th... tourism, just to nar... Purina, United Fr... Wrigley's Gum, I... Steel... the list goes on.

Now on his way... him. But he fails to... dynasty in the first... recently as 1972, f... 600 crack troops t... than \$32 million... visors—as well as



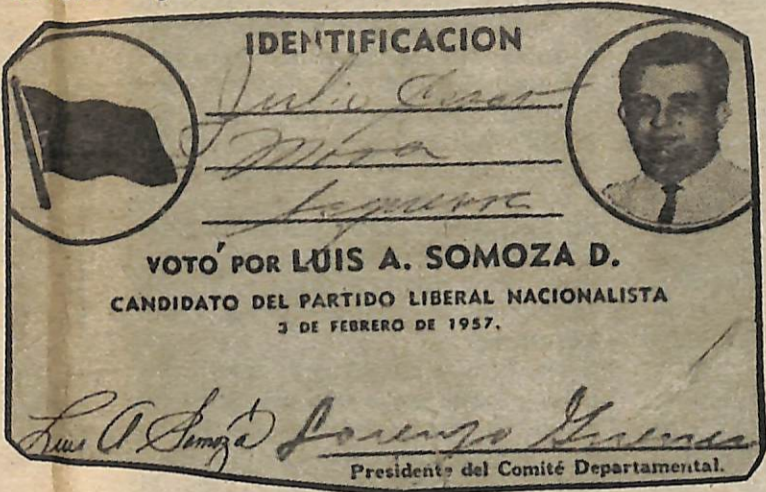
1928 "Thanksgiving Dinner"—Somoza (right) dines with several top U.S. Marine officers (far left)

Sandinista rebel youth man barricades.





General Augusto Sandino. (center)



Here's how Luis Somoza won the 1957 presidential election in Nicaragua. This work permit card reads "I voted for Somoza." If you didn't vote for him you couldn't get this card, or a job.



June 17th—Food at last—teenagers jubilantly display chickens they have seized.

on—Generations of Armed Rebellions

nicknamed "El Yanqui"! In one of its first acts, the National Guard assassinated Sandino.

Since that time, the Somoza family has ruled over Nicaragua, with military and economic support from the U.S. masters and ruthless use of the National Guard to suppress any opposition. And the Somoza regime has been one of the most loyal bootlickers for the U.S. The CIA launched an invasion of Guatemala from Nicaraguan soil in 1954. Seven years later, Cuban reactionaries with U.S. backing launched the Bay of Pigs invasion from Nicaraguan bases. And the current Somoza (son of the original dictator) was instrumental in setting up coordinated counterinsurgency programs throughout Latin America in the mid-60s. Nicaraguan troops joined in the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic, and Somoza offered them up for Vietnam as well.

Nicaragua's economy is a telling testimony to nearly a century of U.S. imperialist domination. Cash crops like cotton, tobacco and coffee dominate agriculture, while 50% of the children over 5 years suffer from malnutrition and 46% die before they reach the age of four! U.S. companies dominate large sections of the economy: food processing, agrichemicals, lumber, and tourism, just to name a few. Aren't the names familiar: General Mills, Ralston Purina, United Fruit, Bank of America, Wells Fargo Bank, Borden Inc., Wrigley's Gum, Holiday Inn, Exxon, Colgate Palmolive, Sears, U.S. Steel... the list goes on and on.

Now on his way to defeat, Somoza whimpers that the U.S. is deserting him. But he fails to mention that it has only been the U.S. that installed his dynasty in the first place and has kept it in power for the past 42 years. As recently as 1972, following the earthquake that hit Managua, the U.S. sent 600 crack troops to "keep order". And since 1970, the U.S. has given more than \$32 million worth of military assistance—including American advisors—as well as over a billion dollars in loans.



Sandinistas on the march.

(Below) "I fought against the Yankee invasion in the thirties," said the 87-year old man on the right. A veteran of the first Sandino rebellion. Then he posed for a photographer, shotgun in hand, next to an 18-year old Sandinista guerrilla.



Vietnam

Continued from page 9

Vietnam, especially with aid and credits supplied by the Soviets, and downplaying the struggle which was gaining momentum in the south. The atrocities of the U.S. imperialists and their puppet Diem were bringing ever broader sections of the people into motion against the regime in the South. But Ho and the other VWP leaders more and more pushed the idea that industrial development in North Vietnam, and not armed struggle in South Vietnam against Diem and the U.S., was the key to ultimate re-unification and independence for Vietnam as a whole. This was right in line with Khrushchev's attempts to pour cold water on the sparks of revolution in all parts of the world.

Ho Chi Minh himself led the Vietnamese delegation to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1959. Upon his return he spoke of the "brilliant success" of this revisionist congress. Later that year he went back to the Soviet Union for two months, no doubt conferring with Khrushchev at length. A long editorial in the Party newspaper, *Nham Dan*, at the same time defended "the Soviet Union's unswerving policy of peace and peaceful co-existence."

The VWP's decision at that time to go along with Khrushchev's "peaceful" program came out sharply in a speech delivered in early 1960 by Le Duan, a Party leader: "The Northern people will never neglect their task with regard to one half their country which is not yet liberated. But in the present conjuncture, when the possibility exists to maintain a lasting peace in the world and create favorable conditions for the world movement of socialist revolution and national independence to go forward, we can and must guide and restrict within the South the solving of the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies of our country. . . . Though this situation has created a number of complications for the revolution in the South, the advantages are fundamental." (emphasis added)

Le Duan made the point even more sharply later in the same speech: "If peace can be maintained, the aggressive

schemes of the United States/Diem clique will rapidly fail, and their totalitarian fascist regime will rapidly decay. If peace is maintained, the revolutionary forces will enjoy the necessary conditions to develop strongly. Hence, to maintain peace is a revolutionary slogan." This in the midst of widespread and growing revolt in the South and on the eve of the formation of the National Liberation Front in 1960!

Of course, being the opportunists they were (and are), the Vietnamese leaders at the same time would avoid open confrontations with the Chinese. Typical was a meeting also in 1960 in Romania where many parties from around the world were represented. Sharp struggle broke out and the Chinese blasted the Soviets for their revisionist "peaceful co-existence" garbage. But thoroughly avoiding this cardinal question, Le Duan delivered a marshmallow speech which failed to venture beyond some mundane details of relations between Vietnam and Romania.

Some months later, this time in Moscow, the Chinese delegation walked out of another meeting and laid a wreath at Stalin's grave—in open defiance of Khrushchev, who was attacking Stalin in order to attack all of Marxism-Leninism. Ho Chi Minh, typical of his centrism, also left the meeting—to go sightseeing in the Soviet Union!

Congress of Revisionism

The Third Congress of the Vietnamese Workers Party was held in September of 1960. It was a sharp example of the extent to which the main Vietnamese leaders had embraced Soviet revisionism. Ho Chi Minh flew to Moscow in the weeks before the Congress and again met with Khrushchev. The details of this meeting were never made public, but the results of the Third Congress, which was convened only days after Ho's return, leave little room for speculation. A vast scale of industrialization was envisioned by the five year plan laid out at the Congress and it is clear that this was to be financed through massive amounts of Soviet aid.

It is true that there was struggle between different leaders of the VWP

which began to surface at this Congress, and this seems to have centered on the struggle in the South and how much emphasis to put on it. Some forces apparently did not go along 100% with the line expressed above in the statements by Le Duan. What this overall represented is not clear, but what is clear is that the far and away dominant position was right in line with Khrushchev's revisionist theories.

But neither Khrushchev's theories nor Ho Chi Minh's love of many of them made the imperialists stop being imperialists. Nor did their theories prevent the masses from waging revolutionary struggle.

In the early '60s, the struggle in South Vietnam grew intense. As noted, the National Liberation Front was formed in 1960 and which greatly increased the organization of the revolutionary forces. Guerrilla war was waged against Diem's army and the masses were mobilized under the leadership of the NLF.

In retaliation, the U.S. under Kennedy established its first regular military mission and began its "special war" against the people of Vietnam. Puppet ARVN forces (Army of South Vietnam) were beefed up. The U.S. began the widespread use of helicopters in warfare and implemented its famous "strategic hamlet" program (the wholesale round-up of Vietnamese in concentration camps with the intention of isolating the guerrilla fighters).

In July of 1963, *Hoc Tap*, the VWP official newspaper, published an article which signaled a dramatic reversal in the line of the Third Congress—or so it seemed. ". . . we are not afraid of the United States. . . (if) one is afraid of the United States and thinks that to offend it would court failure, and that firm opposition to the United States imperialism would touch off a nuclear war, then the only course left would be to compromise with and surrender to United States imperialism."

The Vietnam Workers Party was seeking various means to both disassociate itself from its previous open unity with the Soviets and move toward stronger relations with the Chinese. At this same time Le Duan stated at a VWP Central Committee meeting, "The strategy of revolution should not be a defensive one." He said

that the strategy of the VWP should promote "revolutionary struggles to repulse imperialism step by step and overthrow it bit by bit."

This "shift to China" has baffled many bourgeois analysts. Actually, far from representing fundamental unity with China's revolutionary position, it was motivated by the very same pragmatic nationalism which had earlier led the Vietnamese leaders to adopt Khrushchev's theories. Only now conditions were different. The VWP was forced into this position as a result of the rising of the masses in the South and the now obvious intent of U.S. imperialism to step up the war. The Soviets were strongly pushing the line of backing off in the face of the U.S. advance, so the VWP aligned itself with the only force which stood for struggle against the U.S.—the People's Republic of China.

Objectively, the growing liberation struggle in Vietnam was a living refutation of Khrushchev's "keep everything peaceful" theories. Taking up this struggle, even if out of nationalist—not Marxist-Leninist—convictions, meant that the Vietnamese leaders had to come into some degree of conflict with Khrushchev.

The "shift to China" didn't last long, of course. It was not based on revolutionary Marxist principles. By the end of 1964, the VWP was "neutral" again. Khrushchev was thrown out in the Soviet Union reflecting an internal squabble among the Soviets and the beginnings of more open contention with the U.S. Soviet Premier Kosygin visited Hanoi in February of 1965, and criticism of revisionism was vastly scaled down in the Vietnamese press. While leaving the door open for continued relations with China, the VWP had re-hitched its wagon to the big revisionist star.

In the South, the valiant and heroic struggle of the masses against the barbarity of U.S. imperialism was scoring new victories. The U.S. would be defeated at the hands of these heroes, but the "middle of the road" mapped out by the leaders in the North was ultimately to land this struggle in the middle of hell.

To be continued. Next issue: *Military Strategy in the War Against the U.S.*

Nicaragua

Continued from page 1

meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) and called for his resignation. More to the point, Vance called for a ceasefire and the establishment of an OAS "peacekeeping" force to police it! Now that the Sandinistas are clearly whipping the U.S.-trained and equipped National Guard, the U.S. says: Quick, stop the fighting.

The final straw in U.S. support for Somoza came on June 20 when a reporter for ABC was viciously murdered by the National Guard. Although thousands of Nicaraguans have been killed for more than 65 years with U.S. weapons, wielded directly by the Marines or by Somoza's hired thugs, you can bet that the U.S. will play up the death of one American news reporter for all its worth as they try to promote a settlement that will serve U.S. interests.

Somoza is through and attention now is focusing on what will replace him.

The Sandinistas have announced the formation of a provisional government which consists mainly of representatives of Nicaragua's propertied classes who have opposed Somoza—such as Violeta Chamorro, the widow of Pedro Chamorro, the former editor of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa*. The Somoza-ordered assassination of Chamorro last year triggered the popular upsurge in Nicaragua.

The U.S. knows that no political solution to the situation in Nicaragua favorable to the U.S. is possible without the participation of the forces who have made up the "Broad Opposition Front", the capitalist opposition to Somoza that has worked with the Sandinistas. The U.S. is desperately looking around trying to find people—including even from among the Sandinistas themselves—who they hope

will compromise and leave basic U.S. interests intact.

At the same time the U.S. hopes that a military victory over the Sandinistas will allow them more maneuvering room and more say so in a post-Somoza government. To this end, they are continuing to arm what is left of the Somoza military machine, channeling much of it through other client states in Latin America.

Meanwhile, the "Committee for Freedom and Justice in the Americas," a reactionary group of congressmen including Barry Goldwater and Rep. John Murphy of New York (known as "the congressman from Nicaragua") placed a full page ad in the *New York Times* calling on Carter to "end the hardship being placed on the Nicaraguan people by your action now." What they mean is end the hardship on Gen. Somoza and let him continue to slaughter the Nicaraguan people with the help of the U.S. military. The Carter administration would prefer to keep Somoza in power but now considers it impractical.

What the U.S. is most afraid of is that the Nicaraguan people, having risen in arms, will not be easily convinced to lay them down nor be willing to accept a new pro-U.S. government in the country. Within the struggle in Nicaragua there are Marxists and other revolutionaries determined to carry through the revolution until Nicaragua is totally free from U.S. domination and the reactionary classes that have supported it.

The impending armed victory of the Nicaraguan people led by the Sandinistas will represent an important blow to U.S. imperialism which should gladden the hearts of people everywhere.

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Dodge Main

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developing. Even the government economists are predicting a major recession sometime soon. All the major U.S. auto companies have announced cutbacks in production to offset expected oversupply of cars and trucks, especially the bigger models. The intense rivalry between the auto com-

panies is bound to intensify and Chrysler, already sinking, is bound to sink farther, leaving thousands out of work and billions of dollars in machinery idle.

This criminal and monstrous waste graphically reveals the rotting core of this parasitic system. It is a glimpse of what the future has in store as imperialism rots even further—turnin on itself and bringing increased misery down on the masses.



Is this the moon? Mars? No, it's a chemical dump in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The landscape is rotting barrels of nitroglycerine, radioactive lithium, crystalized picric acid and other chemicals. This chemical time-bomb has created such outrage that the state was forced to put the dump into receivership. Now the company that owns it is suing to get it back. Judge Harold Ackerman (above, one of the figures in head to foot protective gear and respirator) is hearing the case. He recently toured the dump and then announced

that he couldn't comment on it for several weeks. While 40,000 corroded barrels of deadly chemicals and 250 pounds of explosives contaminate one of the most densely populated areas in the country, it's real tough for the judge to decide whether the dump should be reopened so the company can dump more chemicals there. After all, there are big things at stake here. The sacred rites of private property must be respected above all—and most certainly above the safety of the people.

Angry Protests in W. Va.**Cops Beat Black Youth While Mayor Looks On**

Osage, West Virginia—Saturday night, June 10, a young Black man, Greg Hughes, was brutally beaten by an Osage policeman, David Fox. Hughes had earlier that evening refused to be intimidated by this racist cop when the cop tried to bust up a party Hughes was at. So pig Fox waited down the road for Hughes to leave the party, and then he worked him over with his night stick, giving him a concussion, severe bruises, and numbness on one side. The mayor of Osage stood nearby and watched the whole thing. A Black woman who also witnessed the beating demanded that he intervene, but he ignored her.

The next day, one hundred angry Black people of Osage, along with a few white residents, marched through town,

demanding that Fox be fired and the Mayor resign. The following week, marches of 25 to 50 took place every evening, and the struggle continues.

One of the marchers' signs read, "How long must we be oppressed?" And clearly it was not just this latest outrage but a lifetime of oppression and exploitation that brought these people into the streets. For decades, thousands of mining families in West Virginia have felt the heavy heel of Consolidated Coal Company on their necks grinding out profits from their labor and misery. For Blacks, the other heel, that of national oppression, has piled on even more profits, more misery and more anger.

Before 1956, Osage was a coal camp

of mostly Black families completely owned by Consol. The Black men worked Consol's mines in the area, when they could find work, and were thrown out like useless garbage when old or injured, living on a pitiful pension, many with Black Lung. The families paid rent for their "right" to live in Consol shacks, and literally "owed their souls" to Consol's company store. In 1956, the people demanded incorporation as a city, and Consol went along, wanting to pretty up its image. But Consol forced the town to exclude the company's offices and machine shops from its borders, so Consol wouldn't have to pay any city taxes. This guaranteed that Osage would have an insignificant tax base. The Osage of today still has unpaved roads, unlit streets, and run-down housing.

Then, in 1970, West Virginia built an

interstate highway which ran right through Osage. Hundreds of homes were destroyed, families forced to move elsewhere. Meanwhile, most of the young people left Osage looking for work with hopes for a better life in the big industrial cities. Only about 600 people were left in town, most of them Black and elderly.

In recent years, though, many young Blacks have been returning, as unemployment and living conditions in the cities have gotten worse. They return to an Osage whose majority Black population is "governed" by a white mayor, his relatives, and an all-white police force. The petty corruption, nepotism and racism of these fools maintains Consolidated Coal's tradition of oppressing Blacks. Consol's company store still drives the townspeople into debt.

This situation has begun to ignite long smoldering coals in the town of Osage and has created the basis for unity between the Black and white masses, as many white workers in Osage have expressed support for the current struggle.

Woman Gets Life For Self-Defense

Unlike the many Vietnam veterans who came home to take a righteous stand with the Vietnamese people, hurling their medals on the steps of the Capitol and taking to the streets, Ted Painter came home with photographs of decapitated bodies which he proudly displayed like trophies. More, he adopted the outlook of the oppressor, that the oppressed are to be squashed, preyed on at will.

He returned to do just that, raping his nine-year-old step-sister and assaulting elderly women. When two of them pressed charges, he burglarized their homes and harassed them with threatening phone calls until they dropped the charges. He continuously harassed and attacked his step-mother, Janice Painter, once sending her to the hospital for a month. Ted Painter, product of this stinking, degenerate system of exploitation, was a menace every day that he lived.

Janice Painter is a white, middle-aged mother of four, a former social worker, prim and proper in her ways. She was just another face on the street of the rural town of Mount Vernon, Washington—until February 15, 1977.

On that day, Ted came to her house to harass her once again. She was on crutches with an injured back. He yelled at her, refused to leave and laughed when she threatened to call the police. He knocked her to the floor. She lay helpless, her legs paralyzed by the fall. He came for her throat. She pulled a gun from her pocket and shot him, taking his life to save her own.

What Ted couldn't do to Janice, the ruling class did. Their courts found her

guilty of first degree murder and sentenced her to life in prison. She was railroaded in three days, the shortest murder trial in the history of the state of Washington. It didn't matter that Janice Painter believed in the capitalist system of justice. The fact that she had gone to the police for help before was used against her as evidence of premeditation.

Millions of women live in fear that the terror unleashed on Janice Painter will strike them. Capitalism teaches women to see themselves as weak-kneed and submissive while teaching men that women are inferior, fair game who should be kept in their place at all costs. When Janice Painter broke the mold and defended herself, she was labeled dangerous and a menace to the system. Her conviction is a message from the stinking system of American "justice" to all women who dare even to think about breaking the chains of their oppression.

"I always thought that a person was innocent until proven guilty, but it wasn't that way at all. To the prosecutor, I was just another scalp for his belt." Janice, like many of her supporters, is beginning to understand that capitalism breeds the oppression of women, and capitalism has condemned her for her righteous stand against it to life in their hellhole prisons.

Janice Painter has refused to buckle under. Out on appeal, she has been speaking particularly to women's groups throughout the Northwest. Seeing the common bonds of oppression, they are rallying to her support.

and politically. These countries, themselves ruled by reactionary governments, have been firmly tied into the U.S. bloc, and Vietnam, through diplomatic and other pressures has been trying to push them away from the U.S. into the Soviet orbit. These countries have charged not only that they are unable to economically handle the refugee flood, but also that the Vietnamese have planted agents among the boat people to infiltrate them.

Whatever truth there may be to the latter charge, or variations of it, it is definitely true that the Vietnamese have been encouraging and even organizing the exodus of the boat people. And the Soviets have backed them in this 100%.

The methods are fairly well documented. First they have created a climate of opinion—fear really—among the ethnic Chinese, through wholesale expropriation and threats that they will be sent as laborers to Vietnam's so-called "new economic zones." Then they have set up cadre to solicit ethnic Chinese, often the more well-to-do, to organize a boat departure. Boats are made readily available, as well as papers of passage. The Vietnamese government then extracts a payment in gold from each of the refugees. And while the payment from each may

Truckers

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disavow the violence. He complained that "some of the calls we are getting (from truckers) are downright scary!"

The sight of outraged truckers leaping up onto the cabs of scab trucks at fuel depots in Minnesota, threatening to smash in the windows with crowbars, contrasted starkly with the actions of some of these trucker "leaders" who went to Washington and got nowhere bartering with Carter's advisor for domestic affairs. While many truckers undoubtedly harbored hopes that these national officials would be able to convince the government to do something about their plight, at the same time a common expression voiced by many strikers is that "Nobody represents independent truckers!"

This is a reflection of the fact that rank and file truckers have little confidence in their "leadership". But at the same time it is an indication of the illusions that accompany their class position in society as "independent" owners—the belief that it is possible to "make it" as individuals—on their own as small businessmen within the confines of the system. And the trucker leadership has tried to play off this to push their tactics of "lobbying congress" to set things right.

The ITA has even been promoting a bill that would deregulate hauling rates to make them more "competitive"—a move that is directly opposed to the interests of independent truckers. Deregulation is no more than a wild dream of returning to "the good ol' days of free enterprise." Days that to the extent they ever existed are long gone under monopoly capitalism. Many truckers angrily oppose this call for deregulation as they realize it will only plunge freight rates lower and set them at each other's throats, underbidding each other out of existence as the big truck companies who can operate more cheaply devour their routes one by one.

The truckers, especially as they join together in militant action, are realizing more each day that the only answer to their problems lies in galvanizing their ranks into collective action and struggle. Despite the "go-slow-and-rely-on-the-government" tactics advocated by their leaders and the loose-knit organization nationally, the truckers have confronted the oil companies head on in one action after another organized by local independent trucker organizations or by truckers banding together spontaneously, holding meetings and converging on target.

In Natural Bridge, Alabama 50 independent truckers stuck together in defying the forces of the capitalist state who were out to smash their blockade

not be particularly large, it has begun to add up to a sizeable amount for the Vietnamese treasury.

It is a sordid and disgusting picture. These boat people have been spewed forth as pawns in the Vietnamese rulers' attempts to throw their weight around the region and by the cynical maneuverings of the reactionaries in China. They

activities. When confronted by 150 national guardsmen and state troopers they refused to back down and went blow for blow against these sons of bitches. Four people were injured and 43 truckers arrested, several charged with serious felonies. And if these truckers had any illusions left by this time about the government "helping" them, they were quickly smashed to smithereens as *after* the arrests the cops walked around with billy clubs breaking in the windows of the truckers' cars.

Common Cause

Many truckers recognize the government and the oil companies as the immediate enemy. And enemies they are. But the forces that have brought the truckers into their current militant actions are even more basic than this—the very workings of the whole capitalist system. It is not simple "big oil" greed that has led to soaring fuel prices. These massive monopolies are driven to demand ever more massive profits in order to expand and survive in the race against their competition. And beyond this the rest of the capitalist class has basically been won to go along with these increased oil prices to ensure the domestic supply of gas, both in preparation for war and in wild attempts to solve other pressing economic problems shaking the capitalists' system such as their balance of payments deficit abroad.

The fact that the truckers' struggle is objectively coming up squarely against this capitalist enemy gives them common cause with far broader numbers of working people in this country. And many truckers consciously see their actions as speaking directly for the masses who are fed up with being bled to the bone. Significantly, they are calling for rolling back the prices of *all* gasoline, not just diesel fuel for truckers.

When truckers in Boston found out that one dealer had raised his prices at the pump to \$1.57 a gallon for unleaded gas, they blockaded his Gulf station even though he doesn't sell diesel fuel until he was finally arrested for price gouging and forced to lower his price down to 88¢ a gallon. One picketer in Woodridge, N.J. voiced the sentiments of many truckers: "Everybody should be doing this! Why don't the people join us?"

The progressive thrust of this struggle which is creating a righteous upheaval in this country and drawing the line against the capitalists was dramatically demonstrated on TV by a trucker in South Bend, Indiana who was being forced out of a blockade by police. As a cop pushed him toward his rig, he kept turning around and yelling at the top of his lungs right up in the pig's face, "POWER TO THE PEOPLE! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

have been set adrift as so much flotsam and jetsam as the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviets, go at each other's throats, knives flashing, trampling underfoot all in their way. The boat people are an ugly testament to the thorough rottenness of revisionism and imperialism.

Boat People

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Chinese merchants and capitalists were undercutting the government's ability to bring the economy under state control, disrupting and undercutting food distribution and pricing, for example, through black market operations and the corruption of Vietnamese cadre. And the Vietnamese leaders were certainly concerned with the threat of turmoil stirred up by China. Further, as the Vietnamese have been forced to scrap their reconstruction plans to go on a full-scale war footing for the Cambodia invasion and against China, their economic crisis has become acute. So they decided to solve their problem with these "malcontents" and "bad elements," as they began to call them, by exporting the problem. And it seems certain that they saw the potential of strengthening their penetration of Southeast Asia, for their own goals and for the increased influence of the Soviet Union, by unleashing a flood of these refugees on the countries of the region.

In countries like Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore these refugees would be a destabilizing force, both economically