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Everywhere the Modern Overlords Look, They Must See the Unmistakable Sights and Hear the Unmistakable Sounds of...

MAY 1st

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY

Atlanta—Down, Down, Down with the Old Order on May 1st

The bodies of two more Black males were found last week in Atlanta. Joseph Bell, 15, was pulled from the waters of South River on Easter Sunday; Michael McIntosh was found in the Chattahoochee River one day later. Two in one week. Two more lives snatched away at the hands of depraved killers. And what barbaric mutilation is evident this time? In the case of Angel Taylor, whose body was found last year, an ear and a lip had been cut off. Now, it is likely that Michael McIntosh was castrated—like others, it is widely believed.

Atlanta has become a testimony to the whole experience of the masses of Black people in this country since its origins. Capitalism, imperialism, breeds national oppression, concentrated so sharply now in Atlanta. Imperialism wracked with international

crisis and headed toward war draws the noose of oppression tighter still. Our rulers are trying to bludgeon and terrorize the masses of people into submission, not only because this is the legacy of this country, but especially because of what they fear in the future. The enemy is viciously lashing out. But their very actions in Atlanta, and the response from the masses of people to these actions, testify to the powerful revolutionary potential among Black people, and the vast significance of the struggle against national oppression in the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

Beyond the city, and even beyond the U.S., Atlanta invokes hatred, anger, outrage. Thousands have marched. Perhaps millions in the U.S. have openly displayed some form of protest, a ribbon or a patch. Many among these

have come to righteously connect the crimes against Black people in Atlanta to the crimes of U.S. imperialism around the world. There are profound, revolutionary stirrings. In this situation, it would be a damn shame to let May 1st pass, without the masses in Atlanta, rising up, red flags in hand, standing shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat and oppressed peoples around the world, declaring their determination that together we're going to put an end to this madness once and for all, and for all mankind. And wouldn't eyes light up and spirits soar from Brixton to Tehran to El Salvador to Calcutta if Atlanta broke some heavy chains on that day.

Lines Drawn

The system is fighting on two fronts

in this city. Behind the scenes, and in a manner impossible without the protection and encouragement of those with *real* political power, the killers strike. By far more visible is the open fist of the state. With every murder comes stepped up repression, stepped up lies and slander, stepped up preparation for the future on the part of our rulers. At every turning point in the past months' history of Atlanta, the lines have been more sharply drawn. As early as October, 1980, ten Black youths had already met silent deaths when an enormous explosion ripped through a day care center in Bowen Homes, an overwhelmingly Black housing project. A boiler had blown up—four Black children and one teacher were killed. It was later learned that the boiler's safety

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Some Places Where the Unmistakable Sights & Sounds of May 1st Will be Seen & Heard

May 1st, 1981 promises to be a full day (and night) of all around revolutionary struggle in all spheres of society and taking many different forms. At the same time, in a number of cities, central rallying points and focuses are planned during the day.

Los Angeles: While all throughout the morning red flags will be breaking out everywhere, a 12:00 noon assembly point for a May 1st march has been called for Pershing Square in the heart of downtown L.A.

San Francisco: At 3:00 in the afternoon, forces will gather at a rallying point on 24th and Mission Sts. in the heart of the Mission District.

Chicago: May 1st rebels will rally at 4 p.m. at the Daley Plaza in downtown Chicago. People in Chicago and the surrounding area are requested to report on activities throughout the day by calling 922-1140.

Atlanta: The central focus of May 1st will be the projects where acute struggle has been raging over the murders of the Black children in Atlanta.

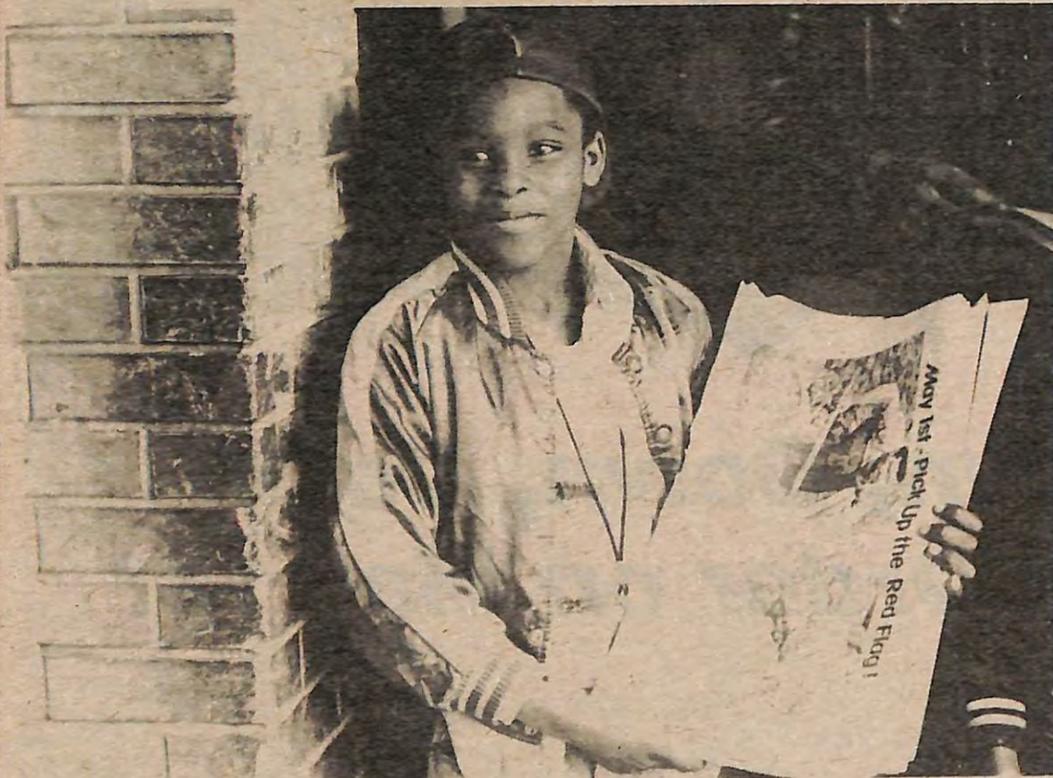
New York: Even as May 1st is breaking out in diverse ways throughout New York City and the surrounding area, the New York garment district will be a central focus for the battle for May 1st all day long.

50,000 RWs on May 1st

Even as proletarians take up many diverse forms of revolutionary struggle on May 1st, the *Revolutionary Worker* will again be the heart of the matter. The Revolutionary Communist Party is calling on all those revolutionary elements, fighting with heads up and eyes to the future, to assist in meeting the goal of distributing 50,000 copies of the next issue—the May 1st *Revolutionary Worker*—on May 1st and to persist in the week following to push the distribution of the May 1st issue of the *RW* well over the 100,000 mark, and find the ways to forward all sales and donation money to the *RW*. □

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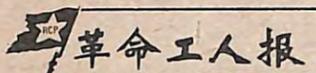
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What's Wrong With Impatience in the Service of the International Proletariat?

The following are some further excerpts from a letter written by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in response to a letter he received. For previous excerpts from Chairman Avakian's letter see RW Nos. 95 and 96 (March 6, 13).

The comrade's letter is correct, I think, when it says, in referring to "a tremendous revolutionary upsurge on a world scale" in the 1960s, that there was "an international trend" that formed up around not only the "General Line Proposal" of the Chinese Communist Party but also around the line put forward in particular in "Long Live the Victory of People's War," written by Lin Biao in 1965. In my opinion, the strategic orientation expressed in that article by Lin Biao was also that of Mao himself at that time, at least in basic terms—and with its strengths and weaknesses (and hopefully we have gotten beyond the tendency that marred the international communist movement for quite awhile of saying that once someone, like Lin Biao for example, turned out to be a renegade in the end, then everything he ever said or did must be painted as entirely bad and he must never again be mentioned in the same breath with genuine revolutionaries and especially genuinely great Marxist-Leninist leaders like Mao).

My point here is not to attempt any kind of thorough analysis of the line represented by "Long Live the Victory of People's War" (though that is something that should be done as part of a broader and deeper summation of the experience of the international communist movement in general and of socialist countries in relation to the international struggle in particular); nor am I going to try here to analyze the larger question the comrade has raised in this part of his letter: the relationship between this period of the 1960s, with its tremendous upsurge, especially of national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the development of the current international conjuncture with its accelerating developments toward world war and revolution, since that has been gone into more fully elsewhere (see, for example, the recently published excerpts from the Party's latest Central Committee meeting in RW Nos. 98 and 99) and will be dealt with in depth in *America in Decline*. What I do want to touch on briefly here is the characterization in the comrade's letter of the line of "Long Live the Victory...": "at least the current spiral if not the world revolution would be resolved by the accumulated weight of national liberation struggles."

This basic position (and I think the letter more or less correctly characterizes it) suffered to a certain degree, in my opinion, from a tendency in Mao's orientation to mistakenly (or one-sidedly) project the experience of a revolution like the one in China onto a world scale, and in particular to attempt to single out on a world scale a principal enemy at every point (a basic approach which was correct and crucial for the victory of the Chinese revolution but which cannot be applied in the same way to the world as a whole). But more specifically, this position represents getting carried away a bit with the truly earth-shaking victories being achieved in that period by national liberation struggles rising up against

the imperialist system, headed by the U.S. This can be seen in "Long Live the Victory...", when it says that, "The struggles waged by the different peoples against U.S. imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U.S. imperialism... Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U.S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece... Vietnam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war... All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys... U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions." (Peking, Foreign Language Press 1966 edition, pp. 56, 58)

Reading over statements such as these now it seems fairly clear that they reflect the kind of (general and particular) errors referred to above, and specifically that they overestimated and treated somewhat mechanically the possibility of reproducing throughout the "third world" the experience of the Vietnamese people's war of liberation against U.S. imperialism (leaving aside the ultimate betrayal by revisionists in the commanding positions of the Vietnamese party). But what of it? Why is that such a terrible thing? In fact to paraphrase Mao (who once wrote that excesses are inevitable in righting a wrong or else the wrong cannot be righted), if impossible goals are not struggled for in supporting and promoting revolution, then revolution will not succeed and possible advances will not be made. It is far better to commit such errors than to miss or even throw away (or still worse sabotage, consciously or unconsciously) the opportunity for such revolutionary victories and advances. To quote Mao directly, in response to criticism of the revolutionaries in China during the Great Leap Forward "for 'craving greatness and success, being impatient for quick results, scorning the past and putting blind faith in the future.' This is just what the proletariat is like! Any class 'craves greatness and success'. Should we rather 'crave pettiness and failure'?" (*Mao Tsetung Unrehearsed*, Schram, p. 120)

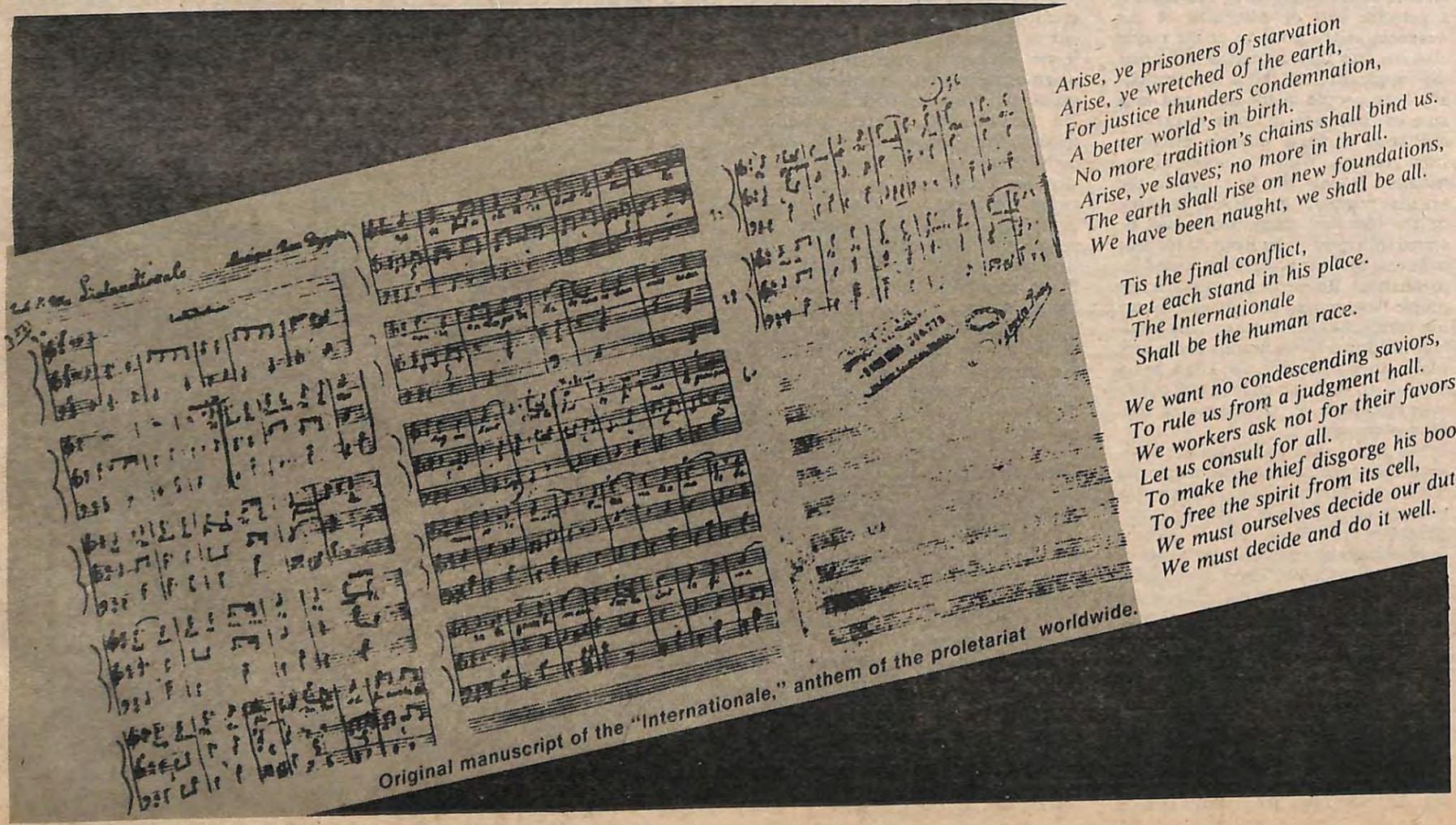
If Mao apparently overestimated what would be achieved by such national liberation struggles in that period, he was certainly correct in recognizing them as the force striking the most powerful blows against the imperialist system and in insisting—in opposition to the treachery of the Soviet revisionists especially—that they must be given full support. And, Mao (in the face of powerful opposition within China and especially among the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party) was willing to and did put China on the line as a bastion and base area for the world revolution and these national liberation struggles in particular. It was not empty rhetoric, but Mao's determined stand, straight up against revisionist traitors (inside and outside China), when he said in 1967 that "China should not only be the political center of the world revolution.

It must also become the military and technical center of the world revolution." (See RW No. 90, p. 31)

Exactly because it is impossible to make revolution without reaching for what is impossible (according to conventional wisdom, even among most communists at the given time), the leaders of the international proletariat have (inevitably, I think) overestimated the possibilities of proletarian revolution—or more specifically, the possibility of spreading advances internationally—especially during periods of revolutionary upsurge. To quote Mao again, once more in response to revisionist criticism as the struggle around the Great Leap Forward came to a head in China (in 1959): "If you want to talk about haste, Marx also made many mistakes. Every day he hoped that a European revolution would arrive, but it did not arrive. There are many ups and downs and it had still not arrived when he died. It only arrived in Lenin's time. Wasn't this a case of impatience? Wasn't this petit-bourgeois fanaticism? (XX interjected: 'Lenin said that conditions were ripe for world revolution, but it did not come.')... When the Paris Commune rose up he [Marx] supported it, although he reckoned that it would fail. When he realized that it was the first proletarian dictatorship, he thought it would be a good thing even if it only lasted three months. If we assess it from an economic point of view, it was not worth while..." (Schram, p. 146)

The interjection of XX (whoever that may be) was also correct: Lenin did think that the world revolution would advance much farther than it did in the aftermath of the October Revolution in Russia, with the latter acting as a spur and catalyst. Unfortunately, there has been too little (and not too much) of the "impatience" and "petty bourgeois fanaticism" displayed by Marx, Lenin and Mao (perhaps if there had been more then much greater gains could have been made, even if they did not reach quite as far as the victories envisioned by the great leaders of the international proletariat at various times).

The importance of all this is precisely that we are once again approaching a historic conjuncture whose outcome will affect things on a world scale for decades to come, actually holding perhaps unprecedented opportunities for advance, not only in the colonial and dependent countries, where contradictions are now especially acute and struggle rapidly intensifying, but also in the imperialist countries themselves, including the U.S. where the real possibility for proletarian revolution may well arise for the first time, at least in many, many years. By daring to reach "beyond our reach" and by making an all-sided and deep-going summation of the advances led by those before us who have also dared to do so, as well as the mistakes and setbacks, perhaps the international proletariat will be able, as everything goes up for grabs, to seize crucial parts of the world and bring about a new great leap forward in the world revolution toward the goal of communism. Certainly it is "greatness and success" of this kind, and not the "pettiness and failure" of reformism, that we must strive for. □



Arise, ye prisoners of starvation
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us.
 Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall.
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place.
 The Internationale
 Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
 To rule us from a judgment hall.
 We workers ask not for their favors;
 Let us consult for all.
 To make the thief disgorge his booty,
 To free the spirit from its cell,
 We must ourselves decide our duty,
 We must decide and do it well.

Original manuscript of the "Internationale," anthem of the proletariat worldwide.

What Kind of Spring for Cabrini Green?

Al Smith had just settled down for a quiet evening of watching television with his two sons and his daughter. Suddenly the door to his apartment flew open and Al found himself looking down the barrel of a shotgun. "Everybody freeze!" shouted several policemen. "Get up against the wall and put your hands over your head!" While one cop kept the shotgun trained on the family the other three rampaged through the apartment. They dumped the contents of the dresser drawers on the floor, threw the mattresses off the bed and tore up everything. Meanwhile more cops were called in for reinforcements, including a policewoman, whose job was to humiliate Al's daughter by thoroughly searching her and even forcing her to spread her buttocks. The cops seized Al's rifle even though he had all the necessary documents to show it was legally owned. The pigs ripped an Atlanta ribbon off his chest. Al demanded to know if the cops had a search warrant. "We don't need one," they laughed.

This gestapo-style raid took place recently at Cabrini-Green, Chicago's Near North Side housing project inhabited by nearly 15,000 Black people. Since Cabrini was virtually invaded by the cops five weeks ago with none other than Mayor Jane Byrne herself leading the charge, raids of this kind are just one of the terror tactics being used to drive the residents out of Cabrini-Green. Al Smith (not his real name) said that the cops forced their way into his apartment two other times this year, and this is not an uncommon occurrence. Shortly after the assault on his home Al received a notice of termination of tenancy for April 30 along with scores of other Cabrini residents.

Since making the highly publicized announcement that she would temporarily reside in Cabrini-Green, Jane Byrne has openly advertised her intention to evict 800 families, or 3500 people, from the projects. This constitutes one-quarter of all Cabrini residents. The recent wave of termination notices is merely the first step in implementing this vicious plan.

No one knows how many April 30 termination notices have actually been sent out. The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) refuses to divulge this information, and the media has virtually blacked out any news of it. This itself is a perverse sort of admission of the weakness of the position of the ruling class, its fear that the masses will upset the apple cart. All this is to intentionally keep people in the dark and in a state of confusion in order to prevent resistance to these possible evictions from growing. While the notice of termination is only the first step in the eviction process, the CHA is banking on the fact that many people will be scared into moving by April 30 for fear of having all their possessions tossed into the street. Residents report that a few people have moved already exactly for this reason. While the tenants are legally entitled to a CHA hearing and a jury trial if they request it, the CHA has a bag full of tricks which they pull out to evict thousands of public housing residents every year.

The utterly false and ridiculous charges being concocted to throw people out of Cabrini show just how desperate the bourgeoisie is to disperse this high concentration of Black people located threateningly close to Chicago's central business district, the Loop. One notice charges that the tenant "possessed quantities of firearms" and "conspired with others... with an anti-social purpose." Besides this sort of weapon charges, the general reason for the evictions is "creating or maintaining a threat to the health and/or safety of other tenants with an anti-social purpose." According to Tranquility House, a local community group fighting the evictions, this is the CHA's

response to some tenants who demanded to know the meaning of this crap:

—A woman who has lived in Cabrini for 24 years was given notice because a man whom she says does not live with her and who is unrelated to her, was arrested for being "near a gun" on the street and gave her address as his residence.

—A 65-year-old resident and sponsor for many years of the only volunteer teen program in the projects was served notice because his grandson was charged with possession of a small amount of marijuana while on CHA premises.

—A mother of six children has received notice of eviction because two of her children, now living in foster homes, had had some previous trouble with the police.

—The mother of a teen-age boy, killed earlier this year, is being evicted because her son was alleged to associate with a person on the South Side who is an alleged gang member there.

At least 100 people have contacted Tranquility House about their eviction notices according to attorney Arthur Rhine, and probably many, many more have received them. Rhine said that all five cases in which tenants have demanded a hearing before the CHA have had their notices dropped because of the totally flimsy charges. It seems that the common offense committed by many of these hundred families is that they have teen-age sons. And of course, who could be more "anti-social"—if not downright defiant—toward Jane Byrne and the capitalist class that stands behind her? Can anybody still be so foolish as to believe that what is going on in Cabrini-Green is about "crime prevention"? That it has nothing at all to do with what is going on to Black people in Atlanta? Nothing to do with intensified national oppression? Nothing to do with our rulers' desperate need to keep the oppressed, proletarian people in this country "under control" as they prepare for a world war which will not only be immensely destructive, but will find them immensely weakened? Anyone who does see all this can then also see the urgency and potential worldwide impact of class-conscious action on May 1st, 1981 by people from Cabrini-Green—pushing back this vicious oppression, even for a day, and taking history into their hands.

Byrne is not counting on outright evictions alone to clear Black people out of Cabrini. She has ordered her storm troopers to step up their campaign of repression, search-and-seizure raids and stop-and-frisk harassment. No identification, curfew violation, truancy from school, loitering, disorderly conduct—all of these catch-all laws are being used as a dragnet to sweep the youth off the streets and dump them in the police station. 360 people have been arrested, and untold thousands stopped and harassed, since Byrne announced her crackdown on "gang violence" March 19. Byrne recently set aside one million dollars to deploy an even more massive force by, you guessed it, May 1st.

But again, even as they heap on tons of police and repression, what stands out is not only the viciousness, but even more their underlying weakness. Despite the fanfare, the swarms of uniformed police usually stay outside the buildings. They generally dare invade only in groups to make some kind of raid, and then quickly retreat. As mentioned in an earlier *RW* article, Mayor Byrne recently announced with great fanfare the hiring of the former top general of the Green Berets in Vietnam to head "public safety" for the Chicago Housing Authority. Not only is this reminding people about how the ruling class sees the masses of Black people as the enemy, it has also stirred more than a few to remember what happened last time the imperialists sent the Green Berets against an enemy. They got their

Mayor Jane Byrne wrote in her "Cabrini-Green Diary" in the Chicago Sun Times, "I looked out the window (and) saw three white joggers, all waving and blowing kisses. . . It was like seeing the first robin in the spring." Well, Mayor Byrne, spring is also heralded by May 1st, but it is a very different spring than the one you have in mind. . .

asses whipped. One Vietnam vet living in Cabrini told a reporter, "They may have a general on the ground, but the artillery is in the air."

People are growing more outraged over the state of siege at Cabrini each day. The more charges that Cabrini has been turned into a "police state" surface from the residents, the harder the media has worked to paint these people as a handful of "troublemakers" as compared to the overwhelming majority who just love the "crime-free" atmosphere.

The very same day that police lieutenant Rizzi hailed in a newspaper the "new spirit of harmony" between cops and residents, this rosy picture of the happy Cabrini natives was punctured by an angry demonstration of 100 people, including 20 from Cabrini, right on Byrne's doorstep. "We've got a police state here," a Cabrini woman charged. "We're all scared to lie down and go to sleep because we don't know if the police will come," she said, referring to the dawn raid by 150 cops on March 29 in a search-and-destroy type sweep through the vacant apartments. In many ways this demonstration served as an icebreaker, forcing some rays of truth to filter through the media's solid wall of favorable propaganda concerning Byrne's moves against Cabrini. And since this point ever widening and deepening cracks have appeared in the carefully polished image of the Mayor surrounded by an adoring flock of Cabrini residents. Even the president of Jane Byrne's building, interviewed on CBS local news, was emboldened to the point of publicly condemning the gestapo-style illegal searches continually being carried out.

Byrne's building at 1160 N. Sedgwick has acted as an informal headquarters for the full-scale assault being perpetrated against the people of Cabrini-



Anybody still foolish enough to believe the police in Cabrini Green have anything to do with combatting crime is probably foolish enough to believe in the Easter bunny.

Green. The place has been turned into an armed fortress to protect the city's commander-in-chief from enemy forces—her neighbors, that is. It is here that some of the angriest people in Cabrini can be found. An elaborate security apparatus carefully screens all visitors. They also search even the grocery bags of women coming in from shopping. The open-air corridors covered with a prison-like grill, which serve as the playgrounds for the little children, are now off limits. Chicago cops and Byrne's personal security force patrol the building constantly, keeping the watchful eye of Big Brother over every move. On top of this, there are more evictions slated for this building than perhaps any other, making it crystal clear that the real object of Byrne's highly praised clean-up campaign is to sweep Black people out of Cabrini-Green altogether.

When this same group, Concerned Citizens of Cabrini, announced their plans to hold a second demonstration on April 18 to denounce the evictions, Byrne decided to take the offensive. On April 15, three days before the march, she announced a "gala Easter festival" to be held exactly at the same time as the planned demonstration this sickening attempt to cover over the dirty shit going down at Cabrini with a sugary coating of free jelly beans, free pop, peanuts and Easter eggs for the children was dubbed an "Easter Spiritual Festival." It was billed as joyous occasion to bridge the dividing line between the two main gangs at Cabrini and dispel the fear of gang-related crime. But the real fear of the authorities in bringing together this crowd of several thousand people was only too evident. Hundreds of cops, including a mounted patrol, a motorcycle brigade, paddy wagons and squad cars ringed this supposedly joyous celebration. "I went there to have fun with my kids," said a mother of four. "But every fourth person was a cop. They even had cops in clown suits and dressed up as Easter bunnies following you around," she said. Fun was not the theme of the day.

As the demonstration of about 30 people showed up on the fringes of the carnival, the pigs went wild. In a calculated attack they seized the bullhorn from a woman leading the march. Then the cops singled out some of the men demonstrators, especially leaders, and four or five of them jumped on one man, wrestling him to the ground and pushing his face in the dirt while they clamped the handcuffs on. This was quickly done on the edge of the crowd. As hundreds began to gather the police quickly stopped arrests and beatings, and the wagons split with the arrested. Five men were hauled off. As *Revolutionary Worker* agitators entered into the carnival and exposed the viciousness of this attack, linking it with the forcible eviction of the tenants, many youth stepped forward to take red flags and hold them high. 100 people pinned red ribbons on. In response to some backward who jumped up to attack all this, a woman from Cabrini stepped forward to do some agitation of her own. "This is a disgusting cover-up," she said, pointing to the carnival rides and games. "This is a police state. People are over here starving and they're giving us an 'incredible edible egg roll.' They're trying to give us jelly beans! I

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SPECTRE OF BRIXTON STALKS IMPERIAL MUMMIES

Though the rebellion by black and white youth that rocked Brixton, England has been declared by the authorities to be officially ended, it is clear that such outbreaks in Britain are far from over and that the shockwaves continue to reverberate outward from south London, spreading to the "outcast" strata in other parts of the city and beyond and causing increasing panic among Britain's rulers and a veritable tidal wave of concern among the bourgeoisie internationally. The disturbances in Brixton have apparently ebbed, at least for the moment. But as late as Friday, April 17, nearly a full week after the rebellion began, CBS News briefly reported continuing clashes in Brixton between youths and police—something which indicates this revolt was no flash in the pan and reveals a high degree of political consciousness on the part of those involved who were anxious and determined to see it spread. And if the British bourgeoisie thought they could rest easy, their sighs of relief quickly turned to gasps as fresh upheavals against the police broke out on Monday, April 20 in what was described as "the worst night of rioting in Britain's history."

This time the flashpoint was north London in an area called Finsbury Park eight miles from Brixton. Hundreds of West Indian youth began pulling up railings at a fairgrounds, hurling bricks at the cops, and burning police cars. Though the cops retaliated with more than 70 arrests, when they moved in behind riot shields to disperse the youths they were, as in Brixton, on the receiving end of the righteous anger of the masses. "The police were kicked and battered," declared one witness. "They were kicked like sacks along the road." Among the eight "coppers" who ended up in the hospital were two Scotland Yard officers in charge of the police operation, nursing a broken nose and broken ribs, respectively. Ten miles away at the fairgrounds on Ealing Common, another 300 black youth clashed with police. And on England's coast, crowds of more black youth fought running battles with the cops in no less than five coastal resorts, resulting in 153 arrests in an area ranging from Southend to the town of Scarborough 200 miles north in Yorkshire. So much for the British magazine *The Economist's* premature post mortem on the Brixton rebellion: "This remains the British grace, to avert drama, to defuse anger, to dodge the crunch!"

It seems that the British imperialists are neither defusing much anger nor dodging the crunch too well these days. Not only are they being shaken by growing revolts within the "home country," but in the "colonies" as well. In Northern Ireland, thousands battled the British occupiers in the streets of Belfast and Londonderry for over a week



Above—Police cower behind a wall of plastic shields. Below—A similar scene from a different angle.

in support of IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands, who was recently elected to the British Parliament while in prison and is demanding recognition of imprisoned IRA members as political prisoners. When two men were run over and killed by a British Army jeep during demonstrations in Londonderry in commemoration of the 1916 "Easter Uprising" against British rule, hundreds of youth launched furious hit-and-run attacks on

police stations and saturated British troops with a constant barrage of fire-bombings as Northern Ireland moved back toward the brink of open warfare.

While details of the latest revolts inside Britain have been widely suppressed by the bourgeois media except for only the briefest mention of more (you guessed it!) "racial violence," more information has come to light on some of the real causes of the Brixton rebellion,

including the massive police operation of the week before in which 1000 blacks were stopped and searched and over 150 arrested. These types of "sweeps" have been conducted on a regular basis in Brixton, all supposedly to combat Brixton's high crime rate. This one, called Swamp '81 (it was unclear whether this term referred to the large numbers of police used in the operation or to their

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New Tape— Now Available

Bob Avakian Speaks on May 1st, 1981

A Short Excerpt from the Tape:

Can we in fact get the majority of people to unite for revolution? Yes we can. But we ain't going to get them all at one time, and more than that we ain't going to wait until we got 'em all at one time together before we talk, and more than talk, before we act together with millions of people to make revolution. I've got a question. What's wrong with taking power with a minority of people? So long as we're talking about millions and millions and millions, with the class-conscious proletarians at the head, so long as we're talking about millions and millions of people, what's wrong with starting with a minority? And then winning over the majority? If you look at the Russian Revolution when it succeeded in 1917, and if you look at the Chinese Revolution through its more than 20 years of struggle, until it finally won nationwide political power in China in 1949, it started out with a minority of people rising up and seizing power in one form or another. In Russia they seized it first in a few cities and then they went on and took over the rest of the country, defeating the armed forces of the reactionaries on the battlefield. And in a different form, but fundamentally the same way, they did the same thing in China. And when it comes down to it, what's wrong if that's what we do here? What's wrong, if millions of people become politically conscious and strike when the objective conditions have become most ripe, establish a revolutionary regime, bring forward their revolutionary programme—which shows you the importance of the programme being brought forward now by the vanguard party in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party—and on that basis and in the thick of the struggle, win over the majority of people who hate this system, but who don't believe that it is possible to have anything better, anything higher, that it's possible to rid themselves of this daily grind and hell of degradation, but who will come forward when they see, eventually, not a tiny handful, but millions strong enough to strike the first blows and rise up and proclaim a new revolutionary regime, actually holding power in parts of the country; what's wrong if we then go forward to win over the majority and conquer power and defeat the reactionaries thoroughly throughout the whole deal?

Now that doesn't mean that now is the time to jump up and try to run out all bad, helter-skelter, and try to do something which can't be done yet. Now it's hard, it's hard not to become totally impatient. In fact we should be impatient. We shouldn't be tolerant of this system and all the crimes it brings down, not only on us, but on people throughout the whole world. We shouldn't have an ounce of patience for us or for people throughout the world having to live under this system, but we've got to have what we might call revolutionary patience and perseverance. We've got to do the necessary kind of political work; and we've got to prepare ourselves and bring forward millions of more people, and politically train them and educate them in the course of and in the thick of struggle, in the course of and in the thick of political activity, in order to prepare to strike when the time is right, and not too prematurely and not too late. It's hard to be patient and the point is not to sit by with our arms folded and let them just whip up on us and let them continue to drive us down further and let them break us apart in such a way that we can never rise up even when conditions do ripen. The point is to actively prepare and to actively struggle to prepare to be in a position for when the time does ripen and when the conditions are ready so that we can rise up with the class-conscious force at the head, win over millions and then go ahead to win over the majority and actually carry through the revolution all the way. . . .

And while on every day, on every occasion, in every situation where the oppressed rise up in struggle the red flag must be raised up in their midst and put into their hands and waved defiantly in the face of the enemy as we go forward, at the same time, May 1st each year is a concentration of this. It is a time when together with our oppressed brothers and sisters of our proletarian class throughout the world we stride forward defiantly together and proclaim the communist future and proclaim the future of the proletarian revolution and the ultimate elimination of all classes and all exploitation throughout the world. And this, in a certain way, in miniature, is also an opportunity and an obligation that we cannot miss or avoid. Because if we're going to be prepared as things sharpen up, as they are stretched to the limit, when things, as the Party's *Programme* says, do indeed go up for grabs, not just in this country, but throughout the world, if we're going to be prepared for that then we've got to be politically active now. We've got to be rallying the forces. We've got to be welding those who do hate this shit into a class-conscious political force. . . . And in the swirl, and the complexity, and the confusion and the chaos of the situation when things do really ripen up toward a revolutionary situation and when the whole deal does go on the line and things are really up for grabs, at that point it's too late to come running out with the red flag and raise up the banner of the international proletariat. . . . If we wait 'til then, if we wait 'til everything is on the line, to begin creating public opinion, to begin rallying forward and training the advanced, to take further leaps in welding those who hate this shit into a class-conscious force, it'll be too late and we'll miss, even throw away, the opportunity and yet again another generation of people will have to suffer unnecessarily or more than necessary under the horrors of this system, the daily horrors and face once again the monstrosity of an even more destructive world war. So if we don't take action now, if we let the opportunities that confront us today and that we're faced with and that we can seize today, especially a concentrated one like May 1st, the day of celebration of revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, if we let that go by without raising up that banner, without taking initiative, without taking history more boldly and more fully into our hands, without finding the ways to break out and break free on an even broader and deeper scale, if we don't bring forward especially the youth, then. . . .

But not only the youth, because let the old people not be far behind, let them catch up with the youth. But let the youth be out there to the forefront because we know that they have been and they will be. Let them be bold and daring, let them come out on May 1st, let them challenge everything that's old and rotten, decadent and decrepit in this system. Let them raise up the banner and let the old people not be far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth to bring their experience and their whole lifetime of hatred for this system onto the political stage. Let's raise up our heads. Let's look to the far horizon. Let's see the opportunities shaping up, not just the horrors, but the real chance of perhaps putting an end to a system which creates such endless horrors and such terrible monstrosities. Let's raise up the banner of our class. Let's be on the political stage in an even greater way than the historic occasion of May 1st 1980. Let May 1st be a further leap and even more developed preparation for the time when we can rise up, win over and bring forward finally the forces of the masses of people, make revolution and march forward together with the whole international proletariat, having taken a great step toward its final emancipation but not stopping until together with the proletariat and oppressed masses throughout the world we have finally achieved that goal.

30 Minute Cassette \$2.50

Available from the Revolutionary Communist Party (see address on pg. 2) or from the following bookstores:

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Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee before May First. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

Testimony on Political Persecution

The following are two pieces of the testimony that has begun to come in to the National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. These are in response to the call issued around Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. More testimony of all kinds should continue to be sent.

Statement of 2 People in Houston

On November 4, 1980, the eve of the election of the imperial presidency, we were arrested in a Houston nightclub where a concert by the musical group Gang of Four was taking place. We were charged with criminal trespass, the both of us had bought tickets for the concert. For one of us, this is the twelfth arrest by the Houston police department in 1980, for the other the eighth. On our previous arrests we had faced the typical array of threats, abuse, and intimidation attempts, from having large calibre handguns held at our heads and highpowered rifles pointed at our stomachs; beatings; our car ransacked, stolen, and kept for months by the police (twice); interrogations for things like auto theft (of our own car); accusations of plotting the murder of police; lengthy drives through the countryside while being told "We ought to kill people like you"; being locked up with clearly demented or extremely reactionary, racist prisoners, to whom it was announced, "Here's the commie," etc. Most of these arrests occurred in the building for the demonstrations on May 1st 1980, and all of them took place while we were distributing the *Revolutionary Worker* and the literature of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The night of November 4th, events unfolded somewhat differently, though. After being attacked by the police, we were handcuffed and held in a room for several hours before being taken to the police station. The overriding concern of the two uniformed cops who held us then, as well as another who later joined them, and

the jail cops, was about Bob Avakian. For several hours we were continually bombarded with questions about Bob Avakian, interspersed with the usual threats and boasts of the cops. Questions like, "All you see on the northside is Bob Avakian, Bob Avakian. Do you think anyone on the northside gives a shit about Bob Avakian?" "When is this Bob Avakian coming to Houston? Where is he now?" "Are you Bob Avakian's old lady?" "All over the northside it's free Travis Morales, free Bob Avakian, free Damián Garcia. Oh, you can't free Damián Garcia, can you. He's dead." The statements were not coming, as might be expected, from "intelligence" (Red Squad) cops, but from uniformed patrol division cops, and jail officers. Each of the dozen or so cops who brought up Bob Avakian's name mispronounced it exactly the same way, indicating that they had been briefed about the Chairman of the RCP. The knowledge (and fear) of Bob Avakian, and the uncompromising stand for revolution he represents, is clearly widespread in the ranks of the Houston police department.

Joe Sullivan and Abigail Bayer
8th of April 1981

Affidavit Glen Van Slyke
Texas

My name is Glen Van Slyke, and I am an attorney licensed to practice law before the Supreme Court of the state of Texas. In that capacity, during March and April of 1980, I represented Damián Garcia, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and five other supporters of the RCP who were charged with violating section 42.01 (a)(2) of the Texas penal code (Disorderly Conduct By Making An Offensive Gesture Or Display Which Tends To Incite An Immediate Breach Of The Peace) for raising a red flag over the Alamo national historic shrine in San Antonio, Texas on March 20th

1980. The attached complaint filed against Damián Garcia in the Municipal Court No. 2 of San Antonio, Texas, is identical to the charges filed against the five other defendants.

The attached "Motion for Discovery of Arrest and Conviction Reports of Witnesses" was granted by Judge Benjamin N. Samples before the trials began on June 17, 1980. In response to the judge's order the State prosecutor furnished me with the attached photostatic copies of intelligence reports maintained by the San Antonio Police Department on the defendants.

The attached anti-communist pamphlet entitled *San Antonio Known As "Red Riot Scene?"* was distributed in the public hallways of the courthouse during the jury trial by members of the San Antonio Police Department, and was read by members of the actual jury. Although Judge Samples denied the defendants' motion for mistrial on the grounds of government misconduct intended to prejudice the jury, the pro-

secutor stated in open court that the pamphlet was in fact published and distributed by the San Antonio Police Department. I believe this was a deliberate government attempt to prejudice the jurors against my clients, which in fact resulted in the jurors voting unanimously to convict all the defendants and to assess them the maximum punishment.

During the 6-day course of this trial, my clients and I were followed by San Antonio police vehicles, including helicopters, and at one point during the trial recess, Sgt. P. Buske and other officers blocked the courtroom doors, turned off the lights in the courtroom, and prevented myself and my clients from leaving the courtroom in an attempt to frighten and intimidate us. Under these conditions, it was impossible for my clients to receive a fair trial in this case.

7th day of April 1981

**Defend Our
Revolutionary
Leadership**

May 1st, International Workers Day

Can Anyone Say Geography is Key in Revolutionary Contributions?

The recent demand for political refugee status in France by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian has focused up several important questions for the revolutionary masses. His decision to demand refugee status at this time was made based on a scientific, all-sided analysis of not only the objective developments in the world, not only the necessity of the imperialists, but also, taking all that into account, the challenges that confront the masses in the coming period and the urgent tasks of the communist leadership of the masses.

What is the significance of the fact that the Chairman of the RCP has been forced into exile? What will this mean for the Party and its ability to continue to lead the masses in this country forward in making revolution? How will Bob Avakian be able to lead from exile? Won't he become isolated from the masses, "out of touch" with the people? These are very important questions that come from a very deep concern that the leadership that people have come to respect and draw guidance from not be turned into its opposite, especially in just such a decade when the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of the oppressed are being transformed into reality as the growing revolutionary movement is taking shape and gathering strength.

These questions also arise because there is much bitter experience of seeing revolutionary leaders emerge from the struggle of the masses only to vanish too soon, either through outright murder at the hands of the capitalist state—like Fred Hampton and Malcolm X—or by throwing in the towel and renouncing revolution, like Eldridge Cleaver, who left the country as a revolutionary and then returned as one of the biggest bootlickers the capitalists have come up with yet.

But even more fundamentally, these questions hit right at the heart of a crucial point that has been and will continue to be the focus of major struggle in the international communist movement—what is genuine communist leadership?

The role of a leader can only be looked at in terms of where things are being led, what kind of future is being struggled for and what role the masses must play in forging that future. As it is put in these lines from the *Internationale*, the anthem of the international proletariat, "We want no condescending saviors to rule us from a judgment hall. We workers ask not for their favors, let us consult for all. To make the thief disgorge his booty, to free the spirit from its cell, we must ourselves decide our duty, we must decide and do it well." Of what use to the proletariat are the pious social workers, bureaucratic overlords, and demagogic blowhards that stand over the masses, regarding them as miserable wretches who must be bribed, coddled and consoled—when the task that history has placed on the agenda for the international proletariat is nothing less than consciously transforming the whole world—rising up to eliminate all class distinctions and transform all society to a higher stage? The task of communists, as the most advanced, class-conscious forces, can only be to place themselves at the vanguard of that historic process—leading on the basis of a scientific analysis of all the contradictions on a

world scale, using the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—the science of revolution—to gain an all-sided picture of all developments in society, and nature, and based on this analysis to develop a general battle plan of action. Revisionists and traitors to the working class throughout history and today, adopting the outlook of the bourgeoisie, have trampled on the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat and have opposed the historic task of the proletariat, and the legacy of this suffocation and betrayal is still pervasive. Only the kind of leadership that focuses the attention of the masses on the cardinal questions of society, from the broadest historical sweep, can enable the proletariat to play its historic role.

What best characterizes the leadership of Bob Avakian is the ability to identify and pay attention to the major theoretical questions that are the "burning questions of our movement." Recognizing the truth that "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" he early on applied himself above all to the task of studying, developing, applying and propagating that theory—the living science of revolution—as a guide to change the world. While paying close attention to the practical developments in the revolutionary movement, and to the practical work of the Party, his most important and decisive work has always been in leading in the fundamental questions of ideological and political line. On this basis and with this method, he has led the Party in solving many practical problems and has given crucial leadership at a number of turning points when the movement has stood at a crossroads. This decisive leading role came sharply to the fore when in 1976, after Mao's death, a revisionist clique led by Deng Xiaoping staged a coup d'état, seized power from the proletariat and villified Mao's closest comrades, the "Gang of Four." Chairman Avakian took the lead and fought resolutely to correctly sum up these events and their profound implications for the international communist movement—that upholding Mao's line and contributions and refusing to follow the current Chinese leaders in their betrayal of the proletariat was a major line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. His understanding that these were in fact cardinal questions that would in large part influence the ability of the international proletariat to advance in the historic times ahead has already proven quite decisive. The two books by Chairman Avakian, *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* and *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* are concentrated expression of this and have contributed to the theoretical advance of the movement internationally.

And even beyond this, Chairman Avakian has led the Party in applying these immortal contributions to the situation in the world today, analyzing the historic conjuncture that is shaping up on a world scale, forging ahead in charting the uncharted course of making revolution in an advanced imperialist country, and breaking with the remnants and legacy of revisionism that, in the name of "conventional communist wisdom," have suffocated much of the proletariat around the

world for so many years.

Among other things, this has meant fighting to build a true Leninist party based on the wisdom of *What Is To Be Done?*, which had to be rescued from the dusty shelves where it had apparently been put by the great majority of the communist leaders (with the most notable exception of Mao) in favor of the "mass working class parties" whose main task became leading the day-to-day struggles of the workers and casting down the proletarian revolution. This has also meant rejecting the notion that the most basic role of communist leaders is to be the organizers and tacticians of demonstrations and strikes, etc. While communists, particularly Party members directly on the scene, do give tactical leadership together with the masses, this is not the fundamental way they, or the Party as a whole, leads. The Party, and particularly its leaders, fights to lead by bringing Marxism together with the masses, challenging the advanced to step forward and consciously take on the task of preparing for the future, and to influence and train millions through their understanding and their actions to be able to rise up when the time is right.

For this, Comrade Avakian has always been attacked by opportunists for refusing to be a "busy organizer" like themselves—condescending to the masses and narrowing down the revolutionary movement in a chase at the tail of day to day events. "Where's your practice?" they would squeal, when Comrade Avakian's practice has always been primarily the practice of leading the Party in one revolutionary advance after another. Mao Tsetung's words from *On Practice* come to mind here: "vulgar 'practical men' respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley."

In the last period, especially with the forging of a correct understanding of our central task—create public opinion, seize power—and the deepening analysis of the historic conjuncture shaping up and the opportunities this puts on the agenda, tremendous advances have been made in the work and influence of the Party. Not only the tremendous leap in welding a class-conscious force on May First 1980; not only the leap represented in the battle to build the conspiracy around the *RW* to 100,000; not only the publication and broad struggle and debate over the Draft Party Programme and Constitution; but the important progress that has been made in forging unity between this Party and other genuine communist forces internationally with the publication of the Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations and the draft document "Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement"—all these mark great strides for the international proletariat. In all of this our Party's role has been decisively shaped by Bob Avakian—again most fundamentally by further developing the political and ideological line of the Party.

In looking at the recent history of the

Party and Chairman Avakian's role, it is significant to note that the last public speech he gave was November 18, 1979 in Washington, D.C. Could anyone say that the impact of his leadership has been lessened since then? "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution," "Crucial Questions in Coming from Behind," "Communists Are Rebels," "Letter to a 'Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations,'" and the material from the 1980 Central Committee meeting—just to name a few major things—have all been published since that date. The Party's advances cited just above all occurred in that period. While most readers of the *RW* have never had the opportunity to meet with Bob Avakian or hear him speak in person, all have experienced his leadership and in fact know him quite well. Let's face it, how many of the masses worldwide who followed Mao's leadership ever got to shake his hand?

Bob Avakian is the leader of a Party which has spread its influence and roots deeply among the masses, particularly among the basic masses of proletarians and oppressed, and which is able to sum up the significant trends and developments, the change in the mood of the masses, and to assess the overall political situation. For this reason the means exist for the Chairman to maintain close contact with the Party and the masses. This underscores the importance of correspondence with the Party press from all sections of the people on all the major questions. Lenin wrote this letter from exile to a Party member in Russia:

"I was ever so glad to read your report about the talk with the workers. We receive such letters much too rarely. They are really tremendously cheering. Be sure to convey this to your workers with our request that they should write to us themselves, *not just for the press*, but to exchange ideas, so that we do not lose touch with one another and for mutual understanding. Personally I am particularly interested to know what the workers think of *What Is To Be Done?* So far I have received no comments from the workers."

Already through the Party press the line of Bob Avakian has reached hundreds of thousands, and the influence of that line has been felt by millions. Further strengthening the centrality of the Party's press and its broad dissemination, along with greatly expanding the aspect of correspondence and reports, is key to the Party's ability to remain in the vanguard, and will also be a major way to overcome the difficulties imposed by the forced exile status of our Chairman.

Those who question whether Chairman Avakian will be able to continue to make such contributions while in exile, ought to learn a few things from the history of our class. As Bob Avakian said in his speech on November 18th, 1979, addressing the question of the struggle to keep the bourgeoisie from wiping out revolutionary leadership, "Let's look to a place like Russia where there was someone named Lenin. They hounded him out of the country but he came back not only to haunt them but to raise up the real spectre that not only fills them with fear but finally led to their overthrow—the class-conscious working class and the masses of op-

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Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals Underway in San Francisco

April 24 marks the opening of the 3-day San Francisco hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. imperialism—the first of five sessions to be held in San Francisco, L.A., Chicago, Atlanta and New York. As the final days approach there have been dramatic developments in the broadness and depth of the impact of this call for massive exposure of U.S. imperialism. The call for the tribunal is everyday reaching deeper among the masses of proletarians as well as into the social movements, calling on these active in opposing imperialism on one front to join the overall battle through this tribunal. From all the various social movements, this tribunal is challenging and drawing forward broad forces who see it as a critical opportunity to counter the more and more blatant crimes of U.S. imperialism and its even more criminal preparations for the future world showdown:

—Following an Easter Sunday service rally for El Salvador, a Salvadoran comes forward to take 1000 leaflets to distribute for the opening of the tribunal.

—Progressive clergy at the same event make a point of emphasizing the links between the crimes of the U.S. in El Salvador and its crimes in Iran, Vietnam, etc., going on to encourage the forming of coalitions, praising the efforts of the Berrigan brothers, etc. This in addition to giving valuable assistance to the tribunal in contacting refugees, Central American organizations and individuals for potential testimony.

—A San Francisco MUNI driver who describes himself as working his whole life against imperialism, contributes \$20 and immediately starts contacting many others in the anti-nuclear movement, struggling with them to participate in the tribunal.

—Several high school students from a local high school decide to leave school for a week to work on the tribunal while another student makes plans for a rally at the school the day before the tribunal opens.

—Foreign born step forward to translate the call for the tribunal in Arabic and other languages; graphics are submitted by others inspired by the call.

—A Philippine support group calls the tribunal office offering to testify.

—Richard Boyle, author of *GIs In Revolt* and *Flower of the Dragon*, who has personally witnessed imperialism's crimes as he covered war stories from Vietnam to Cambodia to Lebanon to Nicaragua to El Salvador, is joining the tribunal panel, offering the use of video tapes and thousands of photos taken in his work.

—The Atomic Bomb Survivors' Committee agrees to testify and offers two films—one on the Hiroshima bombing itself and another on the life of a survivor who eventually died of cancer.

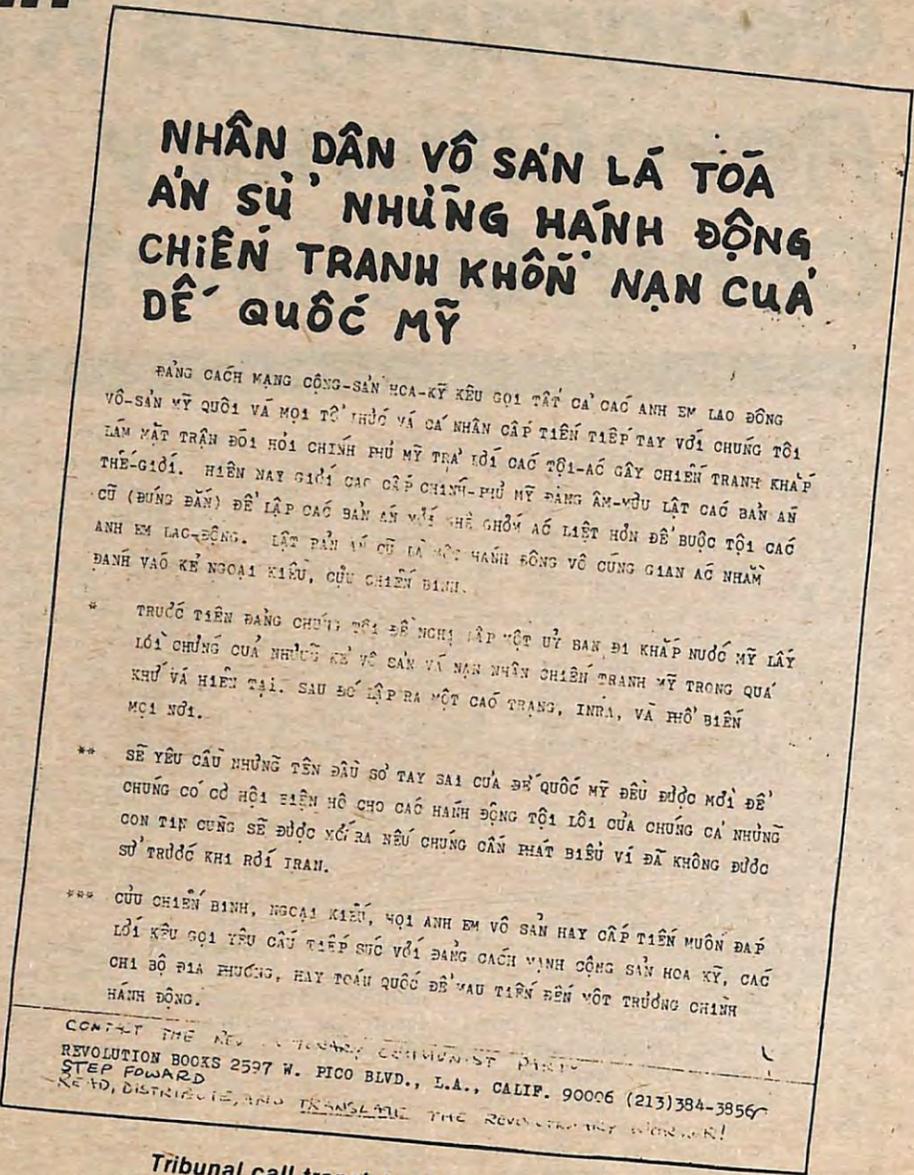
—Survivors of the firebombing of Dresden, Germany in World War 2, Stanford Lutheran Pastor Manfred Bahmann, Vietnam veterans' lawyer Howard De Nike, who defended GIs accused of fragging officers in Vietnam, and Nancy Hormache, prominent attorney and supporter of the Iranian revolution, among others agree to join the panel.

—Phil Wheaton, Director of EPICA (Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action) and member of the National Advisory Committee of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) endorses the tribunal and will sit on the national panel in as many cities as possible.

—In the Mission District, where the greatest concentration of Central Americans in the U.S. is located and where the tribunal is scheduled to open, both among the masses and various organizations there is excitement and struggle over the tribunal. Meetings are being held of Central Americans to prepare their testimony.

At one meeting where the tribunal was proposed to a group representing several Central American organizations, the excitement of many for this tribunal sharply challenged the opposition of one Cuban representative, who looked for every way to oppose and red bait the sponsors of the tribunal, declaring the world proletariat "too left," and writing the letters "RCP" next to several names on the endorsement list, as though this was supposed to frighten the people at the meeting. Several others interrupted her to say that they wanted to hear more about the tribunal. No doubt there is and will continue to be much jockeying for position by revisionists and revisionist-influenced organizations who have been driven to a frenzy by the spectre of the tribunal. Not only have they carried out the most snivelling anti-communist attacks on the tribunal, which shouldn't surprise readers of the *RW*, but they have also attempted to thwart the participation of some people by promoting their narrow, economist and backward looking political line, which also comes as no surprise. In at least one instance they have criticized various women for participating in this blistering exposure of imperialism, saying that they should pay more attention to "women's issues." According to the revisionists, the world situation, imperialism, and the cardinal political questions of the day are of no concern to women. On a number of occasions, revolutionary women have taken this line head on, and struggled fiercely for others to liberate themselves from this economist clap trap and join the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism.

Nor is there any doubt that the imperialists will not stand idly by while this massive exposure of their crimes is prepared. Already there has been blatant and threatening activity in their



Tribunal call translated into Vietnamese.

classic COINTELPRO fashion. One active member of the committee returned to her office on campus after making a pay phone call to the local tribunal office telling where she would be. Ten minutes after returning to the office a provocateur "street-person" "wandered in" and began tearing up a Chiang Ching poster on the wall and tearing up the papers on her desk. He split when she screamed, but the warning message was unmistakable. More such activity can be expected.

This tribunal is taking place now, while there is a dramatic upsurge in the mass struggle—around El Salvador, Atlanta, and so on and one week before May 1st International Workers Day—and is a crucial challenge to the advanced forces to recognize their role in drawing the political links between these struggles, exposing the real nature of the beast of U.S. imperialism and strengthen at the same time the broad array of forces worldwide lined up against it. □

The schedule for the Bay Area Tribunal is the following—

- * **Friday evening:** Testimony concerning the Pacific Rim—Vietnam, the Philippines, Korea, etc.
- * **Saturday afternoon and evening:** Conclude the Pacific Rim testimony, followed by testimony from Central America and Iran, bringing out the common nature of U.S. crimes.
- * **Sunday afternoon** will take up the whole area of nuclear weapons, from Hiroshima to the neutron-bomb, with testimony from survivors, as well as from those engaged in research exposing and opposing imperialism's use and future plans.
- * **Sunday night** will be the concluding session, until the tribunal reconvenes in L.A. after May 1st.

San Francisco Bay Area Tribunal

Friday, April 24, 7-11 p.m.
Saturday, April 25, Noon-5 p.m., 7-11 p.m.
Sunday, April 26, 1-5 p.m., 7-11 p.m.
At the Women's Building
3543 18th Street, San Francisco
For further information call (415) 444-7664

The next Tribunal will be held in Los Angeles. To participate in the tribunals contact: The National Office at 2625 E. Third Street, Long Beach, California 90814 (213) 439-4985

YOUTH

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

Mao Tsetung



Brixton, England



San Jose, Calif.—
American flag burns
while crowd chants
"Atlanta"



Iran—during the
insurrection



West Germany



El Salvador



Nicaragua

As we go to press the UN 2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, jailed on March 9 while their case awaits an appeal decision by the Supreme Court, are being moved to separate prisons—one in California, one in Connecticut. It's far from a coincidence that this latest attack comes only 8 days before the anniversary of the action of these two revolutionary fighters at the United Nations. April 30, 1980, the eve of May Day, red paint splattered over the representatives of the two superpowers, the chant "Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves—Our Flag is Red not Red, White and Blue!" echoed in the UN Security Council chambers as the red flag was raised. Since last May the war moves of both the U.S. and Soviet Union have intensified. Not only this but worldwide literally millions have come into motion against the imperialists.

This latest move by the government against these two fighters represents a serious and calculated attack—a further lashing out against the UN 2 who were railroaded through the courts on heavy and very political charges for their actions exposing the imperialists. The Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC), where the UN 2 are presently being held, is a maximum security holding block and transfers occur there often. But the transfer of the UN 2 is far from routine. Official procedure is that prisoners are supposed to be served designation papers months or days at least before they are transferred. Both Steve Yip and Glenn Gan were transferred to a floor where the prisoners who have already received designation papers are moved—before they were told anything about their transfer. On Monday, April 20, Steve Yip was brought a cardboard box to pack his things in and was told that he was being moved. Tuesday, he and

Gov't. Moves to Isolate UN 2 With Prison Transfer

Glenn Gan were served official papers. Wednesday morning at 4 a.m., Steve was moved to Danbury, Connecticut. Glenn may be moved at any moment.

At a meeting on April 1st, just what was behind all this was made clear. A Mr. Brachman, the "case management coordinator" at MCC, called the UN 2 to "discuss" their request to remain there and offered them a "deal." He told them they could remain at MCC if they agreed not to "organize the inmates." This proposed "agreement" was a straight-up attempt to threaten the UN 2 into politically capitulating. The UN 2 reported on this meeting: "They (the prison authorities) made it clear that we were 'leaders' on the outside—carrying flags and leading marches—that it had been natural for us to help organize and lead the prisoners—that the case was big news

and had even drawn international coverage—and that it was too controversial to the institution which is located in the same city that the action occurred." The response of the two to this despicable "deal" was as strong as when they raised the red flag in the Security Council chambers. The government then set about to transfer the two revolutionaries to other prisons.

When word came of the move, one lower prison official who inquired as to the reason for the move, was told, "This comes from higher up than even the prison warden." A lieutenant admitted "the decision was made in Washington." As soon as supporters of the UN 2 heard of this latest maneuver they began calling the prison in protest. One reporter from a radio station was told, "Yes, we know who the UN 2

are" but they would give no information. Daniel Berrigan, who is facing a long jail term for his role in the anti-war action of the Atlantic Life Community at the General Electric nuclear warhead plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, tried to reach the warden three times, another supporter reported trying to get through 5 times.

Other prisoners at MCC have spoken to the UN 2 about this not being a routine transfer and expressed concern because often the process of "shipping" prisoners over long distances is used as a way to intensify harassment against them. It is not unheard of for a prisoner to be enroute for months, being held up in prisons across the country.

All this underscores the fact that this is a serious attack—a vindictive attack aimed at two revolutionaries whose actions and firm stand continue to enrage the imperialists. Even with these two fighters behind prison bars, the government fears them and what they stand for to the point of moving them to opposite ends of the country after desperately trying to threaten them into agreeing "not to organize the inmates." □

May 1st Statement from UN 2

April 30th will mark one year as red flags flew in the UN Security Council. On that day, we proudly carried the banner of the international working class into that den of superpower intrigue and proclaimed to the oppressed people of the world that right here in the belly of the beast of U.S. imperialism, a class-conscious section of workers and oppressed would be joining ranks with that class worldwide on May First, International Workers Day.

The deepening crisis of imperialism leaves both imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and Soviet Union, less and less room to maneuver. No longer able to hold on to their blood-soaked empires, battered by the struggles of the oppressed, from Iran to El Salvador, and even here like Miami, and at the same time being challenged by their rival im-

perialists, these two superpowers prepare to plunge mankind into yet another world war. But just because they may start it, doesn't mean it can only end with victory for either imperialist. Already growing numbers of people are being jolted awake by the very workings of this life-sucking system. Since last year, we have seen tremendous upsurge in the struggles of the people, from Atlanta, to El Salvador to Poland. It is in this context that our actions on May First will make a profound difference. To be whipped around by frenzied cries for patriotism and chauvinism, to line up as cannonfodder behind one or the other superpower, or to stand for the interests of our class, to work to bring this system down and fight for the elimination of all exploitation and oppression, not only here but

worldwide.

Though today we are incarcerated in one of U.S. imperialism's dungeons, the desperateness of our rulers to jail us for our actions brings to mind something Comrade Fred Hampton said before the ruling class murdered him—"You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail revolution!" It is with this understanding that we will continue to do everything possible, even here in prison, to further forge the class-conscious section and to work unceasingly to seize the tremendous opportunities that lie ahead in this decade—the possibilities for revolution worldwide. Pick up the red flag on May First, Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves, Down With the Old Order and Fight to Bring Alive the New!

The UN 2

Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil \$1.00 plus c.50 postage

**TO THE
MARXIST-LENINISTS,
THE WORKERS,
AND THE OPPRESSED
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

Joint Communique of
Ceylon Communist Party
Groupe Marxist-Leniniste du Senegal
Union de Lucha Marxist-Leninista (Spain)
Masul-Lesung-Kredsen (Denmark)
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Ontario)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Wilmington Communist Group (Britain)
Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxist-Leninista (Italy)
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Rearganyashon Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Unioe Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)
* Emergency Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo

Available from RCP Publications,
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If You Can't Get Hold of the Red, White and Blue...

Ronald Warfield stood before the judge at a hearing for parole violation in Baltimore. Suddenly, to the shock and dismay of this judicial mummy, Warfield set the Maryland State flag afire. In order to suppress this disrespectful Black man and whip some humility into him, seven guards jumped Warfield and beat him until he had a seizure. He is currently being denied medication and a cell—he is made to sleep in a prison hallway and is not allowed visitors. And why did Warfield reduce the flag to a pile of ashes?

Warfield was brought before the judge for "processing." He had been awaiting his hearing in the Baltimore ci-

ty jail and had been forced to go to work at an icehouse. There his fingers developed frostbite, painfully burning his fingerprints off. The pompous judge refused to "process" Warfield until his prints healed and grew back. Obviously they were sure enough of Warfield's identity to bust him and hold him, but now it was a fine opportunity to further screw the brother around.

When the judge ordered Warfield back to the city jail, and presumably to the icehouse job that mutilated his fingers in the first place, Ronald Warfield defiantly stood up right in the face of the judge and set the flag on fire. □

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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**Basic Principles
For The Unity Of Marxist-Leninists
And For The Line Of The
International Communist Movement**

A Draft Document From The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
For Discussion In The International Communist Movement
© Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Al Haig Explains U.S. "Human Rights" Policy

Our Dictators Are Better than Their Dictators

Being expert at imperialist doublethink has always been a requirement for those who speak for and develop U.S. foreign policy, but the current world situation—and the rapidly declining U.S. fortunes—are demanding some new developments in this sphere. In this context, Secretary of State General Alexander Haig rode his white horse into a March 31st meeting of the Trilateral Commission to deliver an important speech on "Human Rights and American Interests." The Trilateral Commission is a Rockefeller-fed Western imperialist policy development club which includes monopoly capitalists and their politicians and Strangelovian academics from the U.S., western Europe and Japan—it is clear from the excerpts of the general's speech, recently reprinted in the *New York Times*, that these gentlemen are very uptight. The problem is this: how do they escalate their imperialist crimes and preparations for much more on a world scale, and at the same time, justify all this under the guise of "humanitarianism"? This is indeed a difficult problem, and their nervousness is especially focused on the current situation in El Salvador, where the widespread exposure of the U.S.'s criminal role is having some serious repercussions for their overall preparations for the big showdown with their equally criminal rivals in the Soviet Union. After all, worldwide support for such an effort is not so easy to achieve when millions recognize the true nature of the beasts they are being called on to sacrifice their all for. However, General Haig has come riding to the rescue with a slightly new and improved way of looking at this whole problem of "human rights."

The heart of this new approach is publicly recognizing that, yes, Virginia, there is a difference between brutal military dictatorships loyal to the U.S. and brutal military dictatorships loyal to their Soviet rivals. As Haig points out: "We should distinguish between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes. The totalitarian model unfortunately draws upon the resources of modern technology to impose its will on all aspects of a citizen's behavior. The totalitarian regimes tend to be intolerant at home and abroad, actively hostile to all we represent and ideologically resistant to political change...."

"The authoritarian regime usually stems from a lack of political or economic development and customarily reserves for itself absolute authority in only a few politically sensitive areas."

Certainly, everyone can tell the difference between these two vastly different types of political systems. For example, the junta in El Salvador, which is an "authoritarian regime" and therefore worthy of U.S. maintenance, only has absolute authority in the politically sensitive areas necessary for maintaining a fascist dictatorship as evidenced by a small number of people (only about 17,000) who have been murdered by its forces. Unlike "totalitarian regimes," the junta cannot draw on "modern technology to impose its will," and therefore must rely on ancient devices such as napalm, electronic sensors in the field, helicopter gunships, infra-red night vision scopes, and M-16s. At any rate, its "authoritarianism" only comes from a "lack of political and economic development"—which, contrary to pro-Soviet "totalitarianism," not only is not hostile to what the U.S. represents, but is in fact a direct result of what the U.S. represents, having been busily producing coffee, cotton, sugar cane and especially superprofits for the U.S. for many years, keeping El Salvador in U.S. hands in the strategic area of Central America, part of what the U.S. considers its "own backyard."

Of course, all this is very much a part of the U.S.'s vast concern for "human rights," which just naturally flows from the fact that, as Haig points out, "We want a world hospitable to our society and our common ideals. As a

practical matter, our national interest requires for us to resist those who would extinguish those ideals and are hostile to our common aspirations." Since the masses of many countries around the world have expressed a certain desire to "extinguish" the ideals of U.S. imperialist domination, and more than a little "hostility" to its aspirations of maintaining same, achieving the U.S.'s national interests has not exactly been smooth-going of late. In fact, this was the source of the old version of "human rights," which in addition to making the most of Soviet "totalitarianism" also included publicly criticizing certain pro-U.S. regimes, while continuing to back them more clandestinely. This was done in order to bring larger sections of the widespread opposition to those regimes under U.S. influence and limit the maneuverings of the Soviets among these opposition forces. However, this approach has not been too successful, especially in the face of the growing economic crisis confronting the U.S., and its resulting inability to "stabilize" the situation in these countries and bring things more under U.S. control.

This was the case in El Salvador, where after previously backing the latest incarnation of a 50-year military dictatorship, the U.S. tried to institute a cosmetic "human rights" coup, replacing the isolated General Romero with two U.S.-trained officers and a number of "reform" politicians formerly not in the government. However, the masses continued to rise up while the U.S.-backed murder (known in some quarters as "human rights violations") increased, driving some of the forces in the government (most notably many Christian Democrats and the social-democrats) out of the government and into opposition once again; and this has led to far greater Soviet influence over the whole coalition which includes the pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and a number of pro-Cuban guerrilla organizations. Thus, the U.S. has been faced with a rapidly deteriorating position in El Salvador, while its contention with the Soviets has been on the rise worldwide. A very dangerous situation for the U.S., and one that requires certain adjustments in the old "human rights" ploy.

Adjustments certainly, but not total abandonment of "human rights" rhetoric. After all, there must be a difference between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Thus, the U.S.'s "ideals"—the "blessings of liberty" as Haig puts it—are what separate the two. Unfortunately, bourgeois democracy—the form of ruling class dictatorship that exists in the U.S.—cannot be tolerated in neo-colonies. Haig calls this, "The limit to what we can or should do to transform other cultures, customs and institutions." That is, they've already transformed them into absolute puppets to rule with an iron hand, but any lessening of this grip may have serious consequences.

This is especially true in the current situation, because a certain rival will try to take advantage of any cracks. Haig points out: "At the same time, we confront another aspect of reality. The Soviet Union and its allies—countries that reject our concept of human rights—continue to enlarge their military power and seem increasingly inclined to use their arms to advance their cause." Now here is a clear cut distinction. The Soviet Union rejects the U.S. concept of "human rights," as practiced in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina, etc. preferring Soviet concepts as practiced in Afghanistan, Poland, etc. and is increasingly using its expanding military power. This is totally unlike the U.S., which is obviously cutting back on its military might and refusing to bring any of it to bear in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, not to mention the Persian Gulf or the rest of the world. (What's a few helicopter gunships, advisors, AWACS, aircraft carriers, nukes, etc. among friends, anyway.)

But wait, there still may be a basic

difference. "Unlike the Soviets, we are not going to deprive people of their dignity and choice. (That's why we let them freely and with great dignity, choose the fascist junta in El Salvador—RW). Nonetheless, we are not prepared to see the world remade by others hostile to our deepened convictions, convictions held by civilized societies everywhere. Our resistance to this aggression and our assistance to its victims constitutes a defense of human rights that is at the very basis of our foreign policy and our national interests." In other words, any who are hostile to "civilized" America will get the full benefit of our "human rights" especially because there is a mad scramble to face off with the Soviets and any upsetting of the U.S. applecart cannot be tolerated.

Thus, "human rights" means "anti-Soviet"—a fine definition and one which will undoubtedly be applied more and more as the world situation heats up. And of course, more and more "authoritarian" regimes will necessarily also be in order, since this is often the only way to keep the U.S. in absolute control of the neo-colonial government—if not the situation. But there is another characteristic of these "authoritarian" governments; according to Haig, "Such regimes are more likely to change than their totalitarian counterparts. It should be our objective to hold forth ourselves as a model worthy of imitation as that change occurs and to help the evolution of authoritarian governments toward a more democratic form." Why, just look at El Salvador (through the eyes of the *New York Times* or any other U.S. imperialist rag, of course). It is changing in that very direction; Jose Napoleon Duarte, the junta's president, is a positive reformer par excellence. All those nasty killings and massacres were simply slight excesses by Duarte's troops while earning their boy scout merit badges in counter-insurgency under the guidance of U.S. scoutmasters. Why he's even called for elections next year, saying that anyone can participate if they just lay down their weapons. And furthermore, some of the opposition forces may be actually

allowed to live through their participation in this particular "political solution"—or another one that would be very similar to it. However, this is contingent on some very important considerations, notably what role these forces see for themselves in the worldwide "human rights" battle. Thus Haig makes the point, "When dealing with the violation of individual rights, we must weigh not only the international repercussions—does the regime help or hinder international aggression—but also the domestic process—totalitarian or authoritarian—not only the record of those in power but the record and program of those in opposition." In other words, if those opposition forces who formerly were in the junta agreed to abandon their alliance with "totalitarianism"—represented by the pro-Soviet forces in the opposition, especially the Salvadoran Communist Party—as well as making clear they will support whatever advances the U.S. position in El Salvador, they may not have their "individual rights violated." Maybe, they will be allowed to exercise their "human right" to be U.S. lackeys once again.

Thus, General Haig has solved the problem. To those imperialists who think that "human rights" is a casualty of increased U.S. military escalations, and worry about the consequences of the U.S. war effort, he has reassured them, that just as in El Salvador, "human rights" is still with us with certain adjustments of course. In fact, the guiding line for U.S. foreign policy today is the advance of "the most fundamental human right—freedom from terrorism." However, there still remains the danger that many people throughout the world will not be able to tell the profound differences between "authoritarianism" (U.S. puppets) and "totalitarianism" (Soviet puppets). In fact, they may very well opt for a third alternative in the coming period. In other words the imperialists' "fundamental human right" to exploit and oppress throughout the world might get destroyed by the advancing struggle of the masses of people aimed at freeing all mankind. □

PAMPHLETS BY BOB AVAKIAN OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR MAY DAY

Coming from Behind to Make Revolution.

Originally printed as a supplement to the *Revolutionary Worker* under the title "Is Revolution Really Possible This Decade and What Does May 1st Have to Do with It?" \$1.00

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Reprinted from **Mass Line**

Calicut, India: A Daring Example of People's Justice

The People's Cultural Forum [PCF] had conducted an elaborate enquiry of the inhuman system of compulsory bribes and corruption in the Medical College at Calicut. In a long report printed and widely distributed they published their findings and even named the few doctors who were engaged in bargaining the life of patients. Many incidents of death were caused by mere negligence or conscious evading of duty by such doctors. Some doctors do bleed the poor white by demanding large sums for surgery or important and urgent treatment. They had also appreciated house surgeons, nurses and such doctors who were very nice in their conduct and who followed the oath of service.

An action committee was formed against this widespread corruption and ancillary committees were formed in and around ten kms. [6 miles] of the Medical College. After wide propaganda, creating public opinion, they decided to strike.

And strike they did on March 23rd. A notorious "physician" named George, the head of Orthopedics, was put to trial by the people's court in front of

hundreds of people and just outside the gates of Calicut Medical College. The situation seethed with high spirits and the PCF activists had even to take care of the criminal not being physically assaulted by the people. The poor destitutes who came to Medical College for treatment were so enraged at this cruel retired army doctor that they tried to beat him down. He was "garlanded" with ribbons, on which, "I am K.M. George, the corrupt doctor. Please forgive me, I will not repeat it" was scribbled on it. After reading out the charge sheet and giving time for him to speak, the court closed. The doctor confessed of his criminal attitude in a weak tone. He was pardoned and let off.

The people took out a large demonstration. Afterwards the police tried to stop the demonstration and arrest some PCF-RSU [Revolutionary Students Union] cadres. People resisted the police attempt and a scuffle followed. A strong contingent of police force appeared on the scene and they severely lathicharged a small section of people. [Lathis are long hardwood spear-like sticks used by police.] In the melee ten

policemen were admitted to hospital and six PCF-RSU cadres with bruises and cuts.

The issue created a commotion in the whole state. People everywhere expressed deep pleasure at the venture. In consternation, the other corrupt are trying to incite trouble, and trying to put up the old "law and order problem" into the forefront—in vain.

"Break out, break free, put the red flag in command." This describes an important part of all revolutionary processes, wherever people have seized power or are preparing to seize it. The call for May 1, 1981 in the March 27 RW talked about "politically liberating some territory for the day." The article continues, "Of course we are aware that in countries like the U.S. the revolutionary struggle cannot develop in a way that liberated territories are established and maintained while the country as a whole is under the rule of the bourgeoisie. In advanced imperialist countries such as this, the revolution must proceed along the path of insurrection followed by civil war. But short of this, and in a modified way, there

can be a political meaning to 'liberated territory,' in the sense of areas where the formerly suppressed political energy of the masses, their activism, their search for revolutionary ideas and theory is able to blossom..."

These two articles from the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper Mass Line describe what is happening in another situation, a country where the revolution against the comprador (imperialist-tied) capitalists and landlords and against imperialist domination can proceed through the formation of liberated areas before state power is seized on a country-wide basis, but where there is still the question of building up to and preparing that stage, and most importantly, the same basic principle of unleashing the political energy of the masses. These articles describe the development of "People's Courts" in the state of Kerala in South India, including the city of Calicut mentioned in the above article.

People's Court

"People's court" and "popular justice" have become words to symbolize a new upsurge among the people in Kerala. The initiative of the masses is let loose under the leadership of Marxist-Leninists to create a new notion of justice, totally and wholly different in content and form from that we see dramatized in the courtroom of the country.

The organized power of the masses who grasped this new concept of justice has developed into a movement, both to attack and annihilate the born enemies of the people, and also to handle the contradictions among the people. Contradictions between people and enemies are solved antagonistically and the contradictions among people are handled non-antagonistically.

As revolutionary mass work deepens
Continued on page 26

Correspondence on May 1st

The Tigray Struggle and Its International Aspects

Tigray is an oppressed and exploited most northern nation of Ethiopia. It borders Eritrea in the north and north-east and the Sudan in the west.

The people of Tigray have been engaged in an armed struggle for national self-determination and liberation for the past 6 years. The 5 million Tigray people under the correct leadership of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), heroically defeating the different veiled national and class enemies that tried to arrest and hinder the Ethiopian revolution in general, and the just struggle of Tigray in particular, are now in a showdown with the Soviet-backed fascist junta of Ethiopia.

Imperialism being the root cause of national oppression and exploitation, it becomes necessary and decisive for any genuine front or a party to teach the broad masses the true face, characteristics and manifestations of international imperialism.

Understanding this fundamental concept, the TPLF is arming its fighters and the people with the working class ideology which is an important weapon to assure victory. The TPLF has many a time disclosed that "national struggle is the tactics and class struggle its objectives."

The TPLF, abolishing the "national

holidays" whose main purpose were to extoll the fake history of individual monarchists, fascists and feudalists, negating that the masses are makers of history, has declared three important events to be celebrated nationwide and have been intact in the liberated areas of Tigray hitherto.

These three events are: a) the historic day, the Tigray people started their protracted armed struggle (February 18, 1975), b) May 1st—May Day, c) March 8th—International Working Women's Day.

By this, we can clearly see that the struggle of the people of Tigray is part and parcel of the international proletarian struggle.

The poster attached to this letter is a vivid example of how enthusiastically May Day 1980 was celebrated in the liberated areas of Tigray. The TPLF and the Tigray masses have already started an all-round preparation to celebrate May Day 1981 on a greater scale.

**VICTORY TO THE MASSES!
LONG LIVE INTERNATIONALISM!**

Union of Tigreans in North America

For further correspondence, see page 16.



Tigray—A May Day celebration in the liberated area, May 1, 1980. Some of these celebrations were quite large, including one attended by 30,000 people.

The main slogans from the banners in the crowd and around the back of the amphitheatre read:

- 1) The world will fall into the hands of the proletariat.
- 2) Workers and oppressed people of the world unite.
- 3) May 1st is our holiday!
- 4) Down with imperialism, the source of reaction.
- 5) Down with the Soviet backed fascist Ethiopian junta.

Spirit of Damián García Lives On

Red Flag in Command on Alamo Once Again

"a perennial"



At 10:25 a.m., on April 22, the one year anniversary of the political assassination of comrade Damián García, the red flag once again commanded the azure sky above the Alamo. Inspired by the powerful image of the red flag of the international proletariat raised by Damián and two other members of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade last year, and vowing to carry forward the spirit of Damián as well, class-conscious proletarians struck decisively at the imperialists' monument to chauvinism and reaction. For at least a half an hour the crimson battle flag flew as authorities tried in vain to reach it. Finally, with the aid of a long ladder, they succeeded in taking the red flag down from its proud pinnacle.

Conspicuous by their absence on this day, neither the Texas rag nor the red, white and blue flew over the Alamo. Authorities blamed the rain, but numerous other flags flew from official buildings in San Antonio. Even the possibility of the red flag being raised had compelled the authorities to hide their sacred symbols. Last year's image of the Texas flag biting the dust at the foot of the Alamo would've been just too much to stand again.

Simultaneously with the lofting of the red flag, bundles of the *RW* hit bus stops and other areas of San Antonio, along with posters of Damián on the Alamo and press statements announcing the action. In Austin, Texas, at the University of Austin, Iranian, Palestinian and Latin American students, upon hearing of the bold action in San Antonio, took up the *RW*, intensifying the preparations for May First. Clearly the revolutionary spirit of Damián was inspiring many who had not known him directly.

The so-called "objective" press quickly pulled its raggedy act together soon after the red flag ascended. Originally the story went out over the AP wires only to disappear from sight awhile later. One San Antonio rock station reported the action one hour and then played dumb the next. Still others continued reporting it throughout the day without, of course, any connection to May Day 1981. Obviously last year's action being joyously received around the world among the oppressed was a lesson they dared not report.

Much to the chagrin of the authorities, no arrests were made. As Mrs. Johnson, the manager of the Alamo whined, exasperated at the fact: "How can you arrest someone when they are not there? They were just there and gone." But the red flag over the Alamo needed no one to linger on to explain its significance.

Los Angeles. At 5 o'clock p.m., class-conscious proletarians from around the city converged on the Pico-Aliso Housing Projects. Included were a number of Salvadorans and Nicaraguans come to honor the memory of their murdered RCP comrade Damián García. As they marched through the project, passing out posters and leaflets, everywhere there was turmoil and discussion. Some windows already displayed Damián García posters. Some young children put posters of Damián and May Day posters up on a shopping cart and took it to the head of the march—a Damián García float. Armbands were distributed, and some youth began to struggle over whether or not to wear them. Red flags went up, and there was controversy everywhere. When the mar-

chers reached the courtyard where Damián had been murdered, they stopped. All the balconies facing the courtyard were filled with people watching, while on the ground the youth of the projects continued to struggle over whether to keep the posters or tear them up. Then—a red flag was planted in the ground, and the marchers began to sing the *Internationale*. Suddenly all the arguing stopped—and all that could be heard was "Arise, you prisoners of starvation," while the red flag flew on the very spot where agents of the imperialists had tried—and failed—to snuff out the spirit of Damián García—and the spirit of revolution.

San Ysidro, California—Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico. On Wednesday, April 22, a banner was raised right over the highway on the border between Mexico and the U.S. The banner read: "Never forget the red flag over the Alamo and Comrade Damián García."

Detroit, Michigan. On Damián García Day a multinational team of women entered the cafeteria of the Ford River Rouge Plant at lunchtime on the afternoon shift boldly posting a red banner and a picture of Damián García. After agitating for quite a while about Damián García Day and May First while the *Revolutionary Worker* was sold they were brutally attacked by Dearborn police who dragged them out. They were followed however, by the entire cafeteria of workers angered at this vicious attack. The workers followed the police out to the parking lot. They did not return to their machines until ten minutes after their lunchbreak was supposed to be over.

correspondence on May 1st

Haitian Revolutionary

As we look at the turmoil that exists in the world today, we say that the proletarian class worldwide struggles for the first of May to be a day of eruptions, of life, as storms for revolution. Look at the acts planned by the revolutionary groups, acts that they themselves have taken in the heart of the capitalist United States of America and in other countries like Turkey, for example, when the masses defied curfews in 24 towns to protest. Now, this year we must organize ourselves with the masses so that revolutionary workers will march on the guts of the bourgeoisie and our flag will fly in all the corners of the country as well as in other countries. It is time for us, the proletarian class, to know our mission, to put it into action and to break this chain the capitalists have put on our feet.

The first of May is a day of liberation for all revolutionaries, for those who work 8 hours a day, for those who sell their goods on the street, those who work the land, those who labor; it's a day for us to show our power to the bourgeoisie, a day to send a lesson to those capitalists. A day to show that we won't sleep—we are preparing for revolution. The first of May marks a day of the rebel and the guerrilla, revolutionary workers, a day to politically liberate some zones in the world, a day that changes the color, the color red in the soul of the world, a day that marks the end of all injustice, a day when the capitalists stop selling my people to cut the cane, a defeat for all the fat bourgeoisie, a day of tremors and thunder. May Day: I am a cyclone, I uproot, I cut down all rotten capitalist systems. Red deeper than blood. The first of May, the springtime of the workers, the hour of the planting of the seeds, the hour of the springtime of the workers, of the blockade of the bourgeoisie worldwide, the hour that the masses take their spear to combat these bastards.

from a Haitian worker who has taken part in revolutionary struggles in Santo Domingo
(translated by the RW)

Over the Wall

Dear RW,

The call for people to "Break Out, Break Free, Put the Red Flag in Command" and Take History into Our Hands on May 1st, 1981 brought to mind a story that deserves retelling on the eve of May Day, since I think it definitely captures the spirit of this call.

September 16th is a traditional day to celebrate Mexico's independence, but what happened in Richmond, California that day in 1969 was hardly traditional. 1969—the revolutionary upsurge of the '60s was reaching a high point. Demonstrations against U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam rocked the country and the struggle against the national oppression of Black and Chicano people was in full swing. But at Richmond high schools things had been relatively dormant although the students couldn't help but be affected by the debate and struggle raging throughout society. Not long before, the local papers had been filled with tales of gang violence and fighting between Black and Chicano students (which the bourgeoisie was obviously anxious to promote as the prevailing state of affairs in the schools).

A national call for student walkouts on Sept. 16 had been issued from a Chicano youth conference. That morning, when members of the Revolutionary Union (one of the main organizations to later form the RCP) and of the Black Panther Party arrived at the school, they were unsure what exactly would go down—there were a few students at the school besides the revolutionaries who had been actively building for that day, but what about the others? In the school yard were hundreds of undecided students milling about behind a fence where the only opening was a gate surrounded by teachers and deans, pencils poised to write down the name of any "inmate" who dared to escape. As the tension

and threats of reprisals mounted, so did the agitation from the revolutionaries present calling on the students to break out. The stakes were coming into sharper focus for many. A decisive turn came when a young Chicana defiantly walked through the gate, turned around and physically pulled several of her friends out by the hand, opening the floodgate as probably over 100 students surged out behind them. They marched triumphantly down the streets, Black, white and brown fists held high...towards a junior high school to pull out even more students. This time the administrators decided they couldn't risk even opening the gate on the 5 foot high fence surrounding the school, it was locked shut. Many students were still in their classrooms looking out the window as the march approached. Then all hell broke loose: as the school officials looked on in horror, students bolted from the classrooms and the school yard...as first one, then two, then everywhere you looked 13 and 14 year old kids were scaling the fence to join the march. The whole crowd took off for the local Safeway store (then the target of a nationwide boycott by farmworkers for selling scab grapes) where the police and the store were caught off guard and unprepared. After a brief confrontation at the door where the manager got knocked aside, the students turned the grape section into one huge wine press as they stomped the scab produce all over the floor. The march took off for yet another high school and another Safeway when the pigs closed in. The cops did not have an easy time of it as they were forced to scramble after youth who took off in all different directions, although as I recall they eventually rounded up about 50 students on truancy charges. Later that day, even many of the parents who were less than enthusiastic about their kids' actions gained some deeper insight into what the whole thing was about in the first place and respect for their "troublesome" offspring when, as they were waiting to pick up their sons and daughters from the police station, the police threatened to arrest them too for loitering and trespassing!! (By the way, widespread support for the youth's actions and outrage at the police rampage forced them to eventually drop all the charges and reinstate the students who were suspended for walking out.)

The breakouts from the schools not only rocked Richmond and surrounding cities, but word of it spread and inspired many others around the country—that picture of youth of all nationalities breaking loose to dare to seize the future, hardly "polite protest" but instead what the times demanded and at each crucial juncture that day it was the advanced who were clearer in vision and resolutely stepped through the forbidden gates which decisively galvanized others who were wavering, enabling them to bust loose. Today the times are even more urgent, and the road forward a lot clearer—the situation cries out for red flags to be raised as the youth "go over the wall."

P.S. Another thing that happened that same year in one of the Richmond high schools captures some of the same spirit. On May 1st, a major "Free Huey" rally was scheduled. A group of Black students at the school organized themselves to attend but their ride didn't show, and they were stranded on the school lawn. Not wanting to lose out altogether, they decided to hold their own rally on the spot, proceeded to pull down the American flag and burn it. It must have been quite impressive—as it was later reported in the press that a teacher who was watching from his classroom window had a heart attack when he saw the flag to up in flames!

Native American

Having been involved for a number of years with AIM (American Indian Movement—RW), it was always effective to lower and trash to the gutter (where it belongs) the red, white and

blue rag. So May First, all around, do that, and if possible, put up a nice red flag of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie will understand the power of the people if everywhere their rag goes down to the gutter or turns to ashes. Ho!

Breakout By the Elderly on May Day

The elderly is one of the most neglected elements of society, being old is supposed an indication of conservatism so who would bother struggling with this element of society over deep political questions, much less calling them into motion for advanced actions on May Day. The RCYB would, that's who.

Imagine if on May Day, certain class-conscious veterans of struggle were to become for that day honorary members of the RCYB. Why not look for breakouts among senior citizens, those whose hatred of the system has only intensified with finding themselves only turned out in the streets after decades of hard work, or confined to the life killing boredom of an institution or their private homes.

This would obviously not take the same form as breakouts at high schools, factories, etc. where organization around the paper has gone on in a much more collective way. Nevertheless a section of the elderly raising the red flag on May Day, abandoning the routine of their daily lives and hitting the streets with the RCYB and RW could have a jolting effect on society as a whole, especially on the enforcers of all oppression, including ageism, the bourgeoisie.

Finally as it's stated in one of the May Day articles these class-conscious voices would be standing for the elimination of all class divisions, not merely for better treatment at the hands of their oppressors.

Seattle RCYB member inspired by certain suggestions from a Nicaraguan youth

Greensboro

Yesterday as I was leaving the library studying up for the War Crimes Tribunal, I stopped when I saw a Nazi sticker with a picture of Adolph Hitler on a light pole, so I was tearing it off. A marked police car stopped and a cop

got out and asked me what I was doing. I said I was tearing off the sticker. He told me I was violating some ordinance about destroying public property. Then he asked me if I was a member of any group and why was I taking the sticker down. I told him I always hated Hitler and the fascist regimes he stood for and that's still in existence. So he told me to stand next to the car while he checked my I.D. Then he let me go, warning that I'd, "Better not let him catch me doing it again."

I think they're reacting because May First is coming up and they're wanting to uphold their old line. That's why they're scared and wanting to know if I was a member of any group. May 3rd is coming also and other outbreaks are coming up this summer. They want to be sure that they're going to come out on top, instead of us with our flag. They're trying to poison the minds of youth.

On April 30th, the Nazis are planning a meeting in the Greensboro public library. They're trying to push their line to counter May the First, the very next day. They know they're running and they're scared that people are seeing the truth. So they're upholding the racist, fascist, capitalist system and trying to keep the Blacks, Japanese, Native Americans and all minorities down.

My idea for May Day of putting down the old and bringing up the new is burning the old U.S. Constitution and holding up our new Constitution of the RCP. Everybody get out and struggle for May Day and voice your outrage against the U.S. government and raise the red flag on May Third too.

A Co-conspirator in Greensboro, North Carolina

On Damián

Family, friends and class of Damián García:

In the year since his murder he has not been forgotten nor his killers forgiven.

His sacrifice stands as an example to all of us to continue to fight for the end of all oppression, to win the victories his memory merits.

I share the sorrow of his loss, and

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Revolutionary Musician

I am a woman musician and songwriter for the past 15 years, and in the last year or so my songs started to get down politically, and after so many years of trying to get heard above the ringing of the cash register I finally took aim:

2,000 messages from the freeway to the TV screen
Tell me how to look and always keep my act clean
What do you want me to think, Mr. Patriot?
All I can say is it stinks Mr. Patriot.

You intimidate, humiliate, domesticate, and then you confiscate
You try to make me believe that I need your approval
When all I really need is your swift removal.

When I first wrote this song the title was *Mr. Patriarch*, because as a woman I developed a righteous hatred for what I thought was the root cause of all misery and oppression of the people here and around the world. But through struggle I came to understand that Mr. Patriarch is Mr. Patriot first and foremost. My hatred for patriarchy developed to a fine point because to be a woman in this society means living in a state of siege—the terror of rape, domestic violence, and the thousands of ways that women are told to shut up and stay on their backs with our legs spread. But women are coming awake with the realization that every act of violence against women is a political act and these acts are becoming more widespread not less and many of us have the scars to prove it. And it isn't only women being terrorized. People of every color, sex and age are being raped daily by the Imperialist rulers of this country. So the question is what are we going to do about it. How do we achieve a society, a world that is not based on exploitation and oppression? Some people will say there must be a peaceful solution, a way to reason with the pigs that run this country. Well the fact is this country is moving towards war with the Soviet Imperialists. Right at this moment, the two Imperialist Superpowers fight over and through the oppressed nations, using the blood of millions to cover their moves towards war. I don't believe we can "reason" with rulers who seriously and coolly consider the slaughter of millions overnight as a viable solution to their political and territorial differences. Nuclear war is on the horizon. This is the concrete situation. Asking the Imperialists to stop the slaughter is like asking a toad to quit catching flies. Yet Imperialism is decaying even now and it's my belief that this process must be assisted in any way possible—

That is why May Day is vital to this process. That is why the red flag will be raised in this city, and slogans will be painted, shouted, chanted and hurled at the cringing bourgeoisie. Already the RCYB here has begun this process and some of us are preparing a surprise for the porno-kings who sell humiliation and degradation and human flesh and call it free enterprise. As more and more women become unleashed in this struggle to bring down this system, the bourgeoisie stands trembling in their bloody boots. And they should tremble for their defeat comes closer by the hour.

A Revolutionary Musician

Send May 1st Reports Right Away!

Everywhere the red flag is raised on May 1st 1981, and everywhere readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must take up the serious task of immediately reporting on all the events of the day, in every city and in every sphere of society. This is a crucial part of preparing for revolution, enabling the Party and the masses to sum up the deep chords struck among the proletariat and oppressed and the broad impact throughout society of May 1st, and, in doing so, deepen our assessment of the strength and influence of the revolutionary movement. The accounts of May 1st—as we saw in the historic battle of May 1st 1980—will not only enable us to assess the situation, but also will further enable the proletariat to intensify our work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion, inspiring hundreds of thousands more with the news and significance of May 1st 1981, reported in our revolutionary press. So it is the duty of every class-conscious fighter to sharpen their eyes and ears, and send written reports, tapes, and photographs *right away* to the *Revolutionary Worker*. Because of the great importance of such news of May 1st actions in various countries in developing the *international* movement of the proletariat, foreign born workers and students and all others who are in contact with the revolutionary struggle in other countries should also try to get reports on May 1st demonstrations and actions internationally. These reports, even if they are brief, should be sent to the *RW* immediately after May 1. In the days and weeks following May 1st, we will continue to publish further reports and more detailed information and we would like to receive information, including photos, news clippings, both from the revolutionary and bourgeois press, cultural materials from other countries, and so on. Send all reports, tapes, photos and clippings to the *Revolutionary Worker*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Or, deliver them to the RCP in your local area (See addresses page 2). Bear in mind that the Post Office is part of the bourgeois state apparatus when writing reports and selecting photographs.

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take special care to ensure his memory and fighting spirit aren't forgotten by my boys, the future he died for.

Long Live the Spirit of Damián!
Carry the Red Flag Forward!

B.J.
Houston, Texas

Nicaraguan

In the land of lakes and volcanos, the land of Tarillo and Sandino, there was a dictator, the Father of the Somoza "dynasty," since the 1940s. Somoza Garcia, trying to curry favor with the workers, granted the Work Codes (Codigo de Trabajo) in demagogic form, laws which seldom worked in favor of our fellow class workers: Somoza's scales of justice always tilted towards the capitalist. This, plus all the social injustices, led our brothers to close ranks, demonstrating in strikes and other protests.

May Day was a day which the working class greeted with much happiness in massive rallies in every province in Nicaragua; in Managua—the capital—we marched through the streets carrying signs with political and economic slogans, everything successful, the whole working class was pleased, but the yankee puppet, Somoza Garcia, was not happy because the revolutionary workers demonstrated. Reprisals, prison, tortures, deportations and more were unleashed against the leaders of the proletariat, demonstrations were legally banned. In public and legal form, the CGT (General Confederation of Workers), which joined together unions and some companies of the Somoza family and of Somoza himself, and the state employees, were forced to participate in the "great" gathering of May Day, where Somoza and his lackeys distorted the essence of May Day with demagogic rhetoric. The uncompromised, the free and revolutionary workers, political and righteous organizations, together with the CGT (General Confederation of Independent Workers), those of Marxist leanings and student organizations didn't tremble before Somoza's military dogs who blocked all demonstrations, trying to break them up at gunpoint, by shootings, tear gas and other tactics taught and directed by the yankees, the Enemy of Humanity. Did they succeed? No. As they dispersed one group, twelve more appeared, because the workers were trained by *Orientación Popular*, a guiding newspaper and defender of the people (sold clandestinely). The struggle, the desire for freedom grew every day, some fell, others were born into the life of insurrection and in later years into the FSLN, which due to its actions became the vanguard of all the people, achieving complete triumph on July 19, 1979, a day when the sun of freedom shone.

May Day, 1980: music, parades, firework bombs and rockets (that expressed life and happiness, not U.S. bombs and rockets, which represent death and grief). The people marched without fear nor caution, a free people demonstrating their desire to build a new country, a new Marxist society, at whatever cost, a socialist society. We fight for it like our brother Salvadoreans, who will also win, because when the people decide to be free, they take it, at whatever cost.

Comrades of North America, the struggle is hard, the conditions and way of struggle are different here, but nothing can stop the battle in the heart of the CAPITALIST BEAST where you were born, or where we live.

May Day, 1981: Everyone to the Streets United as One Class—Proletarians—Politically Led by One Newspaper—*Obrero Revolucionario* and Led by One Party: the Revolutionary Communist Party. In this way and only in this way, will we end this decade with freedom's sun at our door.

Long Live May Day! Long Live the *Revolutionary Worker*! Long Live the RCP! Long Live Those Who Truly Fight

For Their Freedom!

Nicaragua triumphed, El Salvador, North America with the RCP will follow.

Fraternal and Revolutionary Greetings from a Nicaraguan in L.A.
(Translated by the RW)

Down with the Language Barrier

One day we took a May Day poster, with a Vietnamese translation handwritten across it, to a project where 80% of the residents are from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

We'd been there once before with Chinese *RWs* and stirred up a lot of controversy over the red flag and Chiang Ching.

This time there were two of us with papers and posters. It was like walking into a village in another country, people hanging out around the outside talking. People started coming around us and one translated the May Day poster. Kids were asking us for posters and red flags. Some of the kids, learning "English as a second language" in the project schools, became a crucial part of the scene as translators as well as participants.

One Black youth explained how she and her family fight against the antagonism stirred up against these immigrants for supposedly stealing jobs, welfare dollars. She said, "These are my friends" and went on to say how she teaches them English and in turn they are teaching her Laotian and Vietnamese. Her mother and grandmother took bundles of papers and posters too.

A Laotian was trying to figure out how to translate the May Day Poster into his language. She asked, "Is this man (on the poster) a soldier or a peasant?" Through trying to explain he was a worker wearing a hardhat, not a helmet, we learned that these people were mainly from the Laotian highlands where communal farming and sharing the land was a way of life and that men in Laos were mainly either peasants or soldiers. We got two posters translated, one for the project and one to take to other areas of the city to further build for May First. Another woman was looking at the back of the *RW* No. 100 trying to understand the caption about the Red Flag poster so popular during the Iranian insurrection. I tried to explain "Iran," suddenly her whole face lit up and she exclaimed, "Shah!" and started telling everyone else there what

the picture was all about; she decided to get the *RW* and struggle with her brother, who knows more English, to read it with her.

By this time all people had posters, some had *RWs* and May First had definitely blasted through the language barrier. We still need the *RW* in a lot of languages, but May Day and the red flag has meaning for the oppressed worldwide; it's the flag of internationalism. It reminded me of what one Black man had said earlier in the week, "When people raise their heads above the water it can be seen from across the ocean, as far away as the Far East."

A co-conspirator

Revolutionary Christian

RW & RCP:

I feel it is imperative that I should outline how I feel about the revolutionary struggle, the ultimate goal of liberation from oppression, and its significance to May Day '81. I have heard of last year's May Day demos, and found it to be a great leap forward in the struggle to educate the masses, but it must not stop there, May Day should be repeated everyday, to serve notice to the ruling class, that the people have had enough of their outrages perpetrated in hypocrisy and deceit. It is now time to let the imperialists know they shall not crush the People's Revolution, and they shall not be the victors. The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for revolution and liberation on the "sensible" of imperialism and its lackeys. The oppressed will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in the struggle. We must seize the day to break with capitalism, which is a structure of sin.

A united and co-ordinated resistance to exploitation and domination must be forged, May Day '81 is only a beginning. War and oppression have a long history in human affairs. They cannot be overcome except through struggle. May Day '81 can serve as a vehicle to educate the people to make revolution.

America is imagined to be the land of liberty, it is hard for americans to realize they have surrendered their freedom to generals, corporate pigs, CIA, etc. But that is our situation, a yoke has been placed upon the people, a yoke that shall be broken by only one thing:

REVOLUTION! The imperialist dogs are trying now to stuff the lives of our children into the dead skins of our ancestors: or as our leader said in Palestine, 33 A.D. "You cannot put new wine into old wineskins."

What we are doing, is to serve notice that the Community New Covenant, our organization, will stand resolutely in the ranks of the vanguard of revolutionary struggle, we will make every aspect of our lives an act of revolution, we refuse to equate ourselves with the oppression perpetrated by capitalism, we refuse to recognize its claim upon us, we look to the building of revolutionary future in a world free of exploitation and domination, a world of peace and fraternity, a world which we will fight for. May Day '81 is but a signal, to all, that the potential exists for an explosion, that will herald the end of capitalism and imperialism, and the vanguard of revolutionary socialism shall be the victors. Many will perish, victims of their own errors, others may fall in the hard battle ahead, new fighters and leaders will emerge in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. But the people shall WIN!

We, the Community New Covenant, renounce the system of oppression, corruption, exploitation of capitalism, we are to be dedicated and immersed in the revolutionary struggle, we exist to be a servant and "midwife" of the process of liberation and the overthrow of the oppressive order of capitalism, we exist not for ourselves, but to serve the revolution. May Day '81 shall be noted, it shall be seen and felt throughout the world, from the U.S. to El Salvador, from Russia, to Poland, from the smallest hamlet, to the largest metropolitan centers in the nations. SEIZE THE DAY, CRUSH THE SICKNESS THAT INFECTS OUR WORLD, LIBERATION IS OUR GOAL, REVOLUTION IS OUR TOOL.

Liberation or Death!
Your Comrade & Brother
M.G.
Community New Covenant
Detroit

BRIXTON

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opinion of the Brixton community), was to be the most well organized effort to date. Hundreds of specially picked cops with a knowledge of the Railton Road area—now dubbed “the front lines” by the rebel youth in Brixton—were deployed in plainclothes and given license to jack up anyone in sight. A special helicopter was even brought in to flush “suspects” from a children’s playground. Police in unmarked cars swooped through the community, leaping out, as one account put it, “in a style learned from American TV serials,” cursing and shoving people up against the wall.

All this is, of course, very revealing, considering the inordinate amount of boasting by the British ruling class about how their police are so “enlightened” and use only the most “modern democratic methods.” Indeed, in the wake of Brixton, the British rulers have been patting themselves on the back and providing some exposure of their U.S. allies in the process by whining that a similar upheaval in the U.S. would have been dealt with “by controlled gunfire at selected targets” (as one former British police chief put it). Trying to play down the British bourgeoisie’s troubles, he added, “Those who think south London rates a place in the international violence league might ponder what the *New Standard* reckoned was the ‘worst incident’ of Sunday night (i.e. a policeman shot by a youth with an airgun)... New York should be so lucky.” (You know the imperialists are in trouble when they start comparing notes in such a fashion.)

Just how “modern” and “enlightened” British police methods are, however, is indicated for one by the “sus” (suspicion) laws used as a basis for virtually unlimited powers of stop and search. The most common one, the Vagrancy Act of 1824—the original “sus” law—is somewhat out of fashion this year since the government has made noises about repealing it. So instead, the cops have used the more “modern” Metropolitan Police Act of 1839, which empowers them “to stop, search and detain... any person who may be reasonably suspected of having or conveying in any manner anything stolen.” Reasonable grounds for such suspicion include “having a bulge in his jeans pocket,” etc. And amid the reams of pity in the British press deploring the plight of the “poor, defenseless and ill-equipped bobbies” (pictured crouching passively behind riot shields), one reporter revealed how this image is little more than a foil for the reality of stripe-shirted police goon squads who roam the streets in disguise, beating people at will. He described the experience of a photographer who was standing near the Brixton police station during the rebellion when “through a line of policemen surrounding the station walked a group of about 15 men dressed in jeans, casual shirts and jackets. One had a pickaxe handle, some had rubber tubes, and I saw a piece of chain about 18 inches long. ‘What’s that bloody rable?’ asked one of the uniformed officers. A colleague replied, ‘It’s OK. They’re ours.’”

Meanwhile in what the British press wishfully referred to as “The Aftermath,” the bourgeoisie has stepped up its media assault designed to portray the Brixton rebellion as a “racial incident.” The *London Times*, for example, printed a barrage of letters spewing forth racial stereotypes and slanders, trying to attribute the rising of West Indians against systematic and vicious oppression at the hands of the British ruling class as the innate senseless violence of a race of subhumans who deserve whatever abuse is heaped upon them. Take, for example, the following, which typifies some of the “theories” of why the rebellion started: “Given the attitude of many young West Indians to the police, their apparently low threshold before violence (!), the immediate cause is not the important cause... Must we not recognize a specifically ethnic factor which predisposes West Indian youth—either through things uniquely done to them or through their own upbringing—to reject police and other authority

and to turn more readily to crime, and to look to outside causes for their own misfortunes?” This letter was run the same day as the *Times* editorialized: “It is often asked, on both sides of the racial divide, why the blacks are not more like the Jews or any other wave of immigrants this country has absorbed. One big reason is their attitude toward self-help... we suggest that if the blacks organized, politically and economically, with the determination shown by those who have come before them they would make more headway than by a score of riots.”

How much more naked, we might ask, can the British rulers and their *Times* mouthpieces get? They have even gone so far as to invent a new definition of a race riot to accommodate some of the embarrassing facts about what went down in Brixton—in particular, the fact that large numbers of white youth took part in the rebellion: “To say that what happened in Brixton last weekend was not a race riot is to play wishfully with words. There are more ways than one of identifying a racial conflict. It does not need to pit whites against blacks, but can just as effectively be created by blacks against the police. Although some whites joined in the looting, without the Brixton blacks—and their collective sense of repression, of injustice, of deprivation specifically as a racial group—the Brixton riot would not have occurred.”

It is interesting to note the absurd lengths to which the bourgeoisie will go in order to distort the real significance of what occurred in Brixton. It is indicative of their attempts to paper over the profound political and economic crisis of imperialism generally, and of the death-bound nature of British capitalism in particular, that is increasingly threatened by, as one British commentator explained, “outbreaks of violence emanating from the ‘new poor,’ redundant workers and the unemployed.” While unemployment among black youth in Brixton is a whopping 40%, it is also a hefty 20% for whites who also live in the multiracial community—lower working-class, young squatters formerly from more affluent areas and desperate for housing, even some lower-level white professionals, a number of whom were arrested in the rebellion. A worried article in last week’s *Economist* put it in this (typically racist) way: “Police methods for coping with crime have provided most young people in the area, including law-abiding and bedraggled-looking whites, with a perpetual grievance against policemen... Black people, because of their appearance, are outstandingly liable to be humiliated in this way... (but) one of the revelations of the Brixton riots has been the extent to which young white people share the blacks’ anti-police anger, and are ready to push it to the point of fighting... The first incidents involved blacks only. They were soon joined by young unemployed whites, and the last and worst riots of rampage were fairly multi-racial.”

What comes through here, besides the profound disdain not only for the oppressed nationalities but also for the “bedraggled” white masses, is undisguised alarm-ringing at the potential that lies in the combination of these “lower strata” and the growing realization of their mutual class interests—more and more characterized by multinational unity and struggle—all of which adds up to unknown tons of social TNT that is beginning to explode in the imperial faces of Britain’s rulers. As the *London Daily Telegraph* put it: “Someone will no doubt try to establish a causal relationship between the money supply and the Molotov cocktail... But if it were the case that unemployment and deprivation in a direct and literal sense cause violence (i.e. rebellion—*RW*) then it would also be necessary to explain why Liverpool or Newcastle, for example, are not in a state of insurrection.” However, what Britain’s rulers fear if things continue the way they are going is precisely that decaying, working class cities with high unemployment like Liverpool and Newcastle may well explode, and even more

that still larger sections of the masses will join the fray as things develop and all the underlying contradictions of imperialism intensify.

The struggle of the oppressed nationalities in Britain has become a spark bringing broader ranks into the struggle. This upsurge flies in the face of the British rulers’ wave of intensified national oppression against those they have smashed down and superexploited for decades throughout Britain. They have run out their most openly reactionary elements like MP (Member of Parliament) Enoch Powell and the National Front (a counterpart of the Ku Klux Klan) to call for the enforced deportation from England of all non-white immigrants—Africans, West Indians, Pakistanis, Indians, etc. Along with this has been stepped-up armed reactionary violence against immigrant communities. One liberal member of Parliament revealed in the *London Times* that after the upheaval in Brixton there had been marked “retaliation by far-right political groups: the local Hindu center in my constituency (Edge Hill, an Indian community—*RW*) was attacked with petrol bombs; the Sikh temple gutted; one Indian restaurant also suffered an arson attack.”

Presently before Parliament is the new British Nationality Bill (known as the Who-is-British Law), which would

abolish the present single category of citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies dominated by the British imperialists. (See letter from Britain on page 19) This is to be replaced with three different citizenship classifications for the British empire: 1) British, for those with the right to live in England; 2) British Dependent Territories, for citizens of the “remaining colonies”; and 3) British Overseas, for the neo-colonial “subjects,” i.e., Asians from East Africa, Malay Chinese and other groups.

Unfortunately for the British rulers, what is on the rise in Britain as shown by the rebellion in Brixton and the uprisings in its wake is that the propertyless proletarians are increasingly less concerned with “Who-is-British” than they are with who is on what side of the police lines. Notable in this light was the account of one Indian freelance journalist who was taken blindfolded during the upheaval to a place only a few hundred yards from the Brixton police station where he encountered blacks and whites preparing to battle with the police. Escorted back to the street by one youth, he later wrote, “The young lad whose face I shall never forget said this before he let go of my hands: ‘There’s going to be a big big lot more, just tell ‘em that. We ain’t kidding.’” It is this spectre that is haunting the rulers of Britain. □



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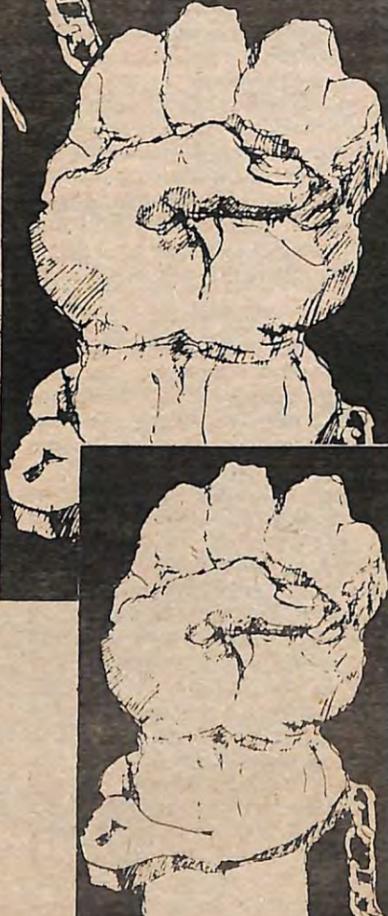
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British Comrade Writes on Background of Brixton



Demonstration in Nottingham shortly before the rebellion in Brixton.

The following contains the major portions of a letter to the RW from a member of the Nottingham Communist Group in Britain. It was written immediately after the outbreak in Brixton to explain some of the background of the situation.

HERE TO STAY, HERE TO FIGHT!

The anti-police riots in Brixton, South London, are just the latest in a long series of clashes between black people here and the British state. For years, relations between the police and the various black communities situated in some large British cities—London, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, etc.—have become increasingly hostile...

Precisely because Britain was the first and for a long time the major modern imperialist power, racism is deeply embedded in British society. For nearly two hundred years a stream of racist filth has poured forth in the form of books, newspaper stories, films, TV "comedy," etc. A thousand "epics of the Empire" portrayed the oppressed peoples in the colonies of the British Empire as half-witted simpletons and/or evil, treacherous savages. This sort of racist indoctrination has persisted in the neo-colonial era, a particularly crude example being the film *Zulu* made back in the 1960s. Virtually all the film consisted of waves of Zulu warriors being massacred by British soldiers. More recently, in the 1970s there was an outburst of "Irish jokes," all of them based on the proposition that the Irish are stupid. Clearly this was a response to the Irish people's renewed struggle against British imperialism.

However, it is only during the period since World War II that sizable numbers of black people have come to live in Britain. This was brought about by the labour shortage caused by the post-war economic boom... For example, London Transport, who owns the familiar red buses and underground trains, sent recruiting teams out to the West Indies. From the late 1940s nearly up to the 1960s thousands of people desperate for work as a result of the underdevelopment of their countries caused by British imperialism came to Britain, where they found employment in the lowest paid, least skilled and desirable jobs that indigenous workers could now avoid. The entry of these immigrant

workers into Britain was possible because they had British citizenship as subjects of the now renamed British Commonwealth (sic). The West Indians in particular had been subjected to generations of imperialist indoctrination to the effect that they were the "children" of the "mother country" Britain. However, the fate that awaited them was to become the most oppressed substratum of the working class, openly discriminated against in jobs, housing and in public places such as dance halls and public houses. The first generation of immigrants were more willing than their children to put up with a certain amount of discrimination and prejudice. Their perspective often was that they were only here on a temporary basis and when they had saved some money they would return home. "I'm only temporarily domiciled here" was an expression one often heard. In fact, few black immigrants have ever managed, given low wages and sporadic employment, to save up enough to return home. As for the second generation, mostly from here, they know no other country and thus the militant slogan now increasingly heard: "Here to stay, here to fight!" And as recent events show, they mean it!

By the early 1960s the post-war boom was petering out and competition between white and black workers for jobs and housing began to intensify. The bourgeois politicians were quick to respond by trying to whip up racist sentiments. They began to talk about "an uncontrollable flood of black immigrants" into Britain, and in 1962 the first of a whole series of laws designed to keep out *black* but not white immigrants was passed by the then Conservative government...

Since that time the two major bourgeois parties, Conservative and Labour, have vigorously conducted a Dutch auction to see who can put in the lowest bid on the race issue. In 1968 a Labour government further tightened restrictions on the entry of black immigrants, and the succeeding Conservative government closed some gaps with further legislation in 1971. The role of the social-democratic Labour Party has been particularly disgusting. On the one hand, the majority of black people have voted Labour (rather like blacks tend to vote Democratic in America), and so Labour politicians make some anti-racist noises. But on the other hand, they are desperate to retain their

dwindling support among the skilled labour aristocracy, who tend to be among the more racist sections of the working class, and so also they place great emphasis on immigration controls.

What is more, most of the white "radical" elements, revisionists and Trotskyists, have spared no effort in trying to cover up for Labour Party racism. In the part of Nottingham where the writer of this article lives, the sitting Labour Member of Parliament is a millionaire property speculator who made his fortune by driving out poor tenants, often black, from decaying inner city dwellings in London and then converting them into luxury flats. This racist creep (one of his many businesses is called Anglo-Rhodesian Securities) goes around saying, when asked about black people, "You know my policy—send them back." Yet barely a murmur of protest has ever come from the reformist left, either inside or outside the Labour Party.

Ever since 1962 more people have been leaving Britain than the number who enter. Yet the bourgeois politicians and media try to pretend the opposite is the case. They try to conjure up an image of Britain as being like an overloaded lifeboat, in danger of sinking if a few more people scramble aboard. Of course, we should not fall into the trap of playing the numbers game in combatting racism. The problem *is* racism and imperialism and *not* the number of people in the country who happen to be black, brown, etc. However, to place the matter in perspective, it is worth pointing out that there are only about 2 million black people in Britain (about 3.5% of the total population), of whom about half were born here. What is more, while there are areas where these national minorities tend to be concentrated, for example Asians in Southall, London and West Indians in Brixton, there are no predominantly black ghettos such as Harlem in the U.S.A. Nonetheless, the bourgeois politicians devise ever more ingenious ways of attacking the civil rights of black people. The last Labour government was about to introduce a new Nationality Act to effectively deprive blacks in the British Commonwealth countries of British citizenship status. In 1979 this government was replaced by the present Conservative one and they are about to pass similar legislation. Last week in London there was a massive demonstration

against this racist law, introduced by Home Secretary William Whitelaw (yes!), with 50,000 people marching in protest, but the media largely ignored it...

The intensifying state racism from the 1960s onwards has proved to be a fertile breeding ground for fascist groups. There are now a number of fascist organisations, the major ones being the National Front and the openly Hitlerite British Movement... These degenerates managed to build up some support in the late 1960s and early 1970s when some tens of thousands of refugee Asians from Kenya and Uganda came to Britain. They have preyed on fears about jobs and housing in the face of rapidly rising unemployment and an intensifying housing shortage, and have engaged in terroristic attacks on black people, including many firebombings and murders. By the mid-1970s the National Front was beginning to gain significant votes in local elections, and in various parts of the country mostly white radicals set up anti-racist and anti-fascist committees to combat the fascists...

By around 1977 the Labour Party leaders were becoming very alarmed at their loss of support to the National Front in local elections. The SWP (the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party—RW) obligingly stepped in by, in cooperation with Labour leaders, setting up a national campaign called the Anti-Nazi League. By the use of expensive newspaper adverts and stunts such as rock concerts this campaign did succeed in mobilising hundreds of thousands of people. However, it largely ignored state racism and attacked the fascists as "Nazis" and implied that this was not "British." Thus one form of reaction—chauvinism—was used to attack other forms—racism and fascism. Furthermore, the ANL exercised a "restraining" influence on the character of mobilisations against fascist marches through areas where blacks live. On one notorious occasion when 100,000 people attended a rock concert organised by the ANL in Brixton, the fascist National Front was marching through Brick Lane, another area of London with a Bengali community, on the same day. Upon hearing this the concert crowd wanted to go and oppose the fascists. However, the ANL leaders assured the crowd that this was already in hand, even though it was not. As a result, the fascist march was virtually unopposed. In the 1979 General Election the National Front received an insignificant vote... Almost immediately the ANL disappeared, having served its real purpose of saving Labour's electoral bacon as opposed to carrying on the sustained struggle against racism and fascism.

During the last two years the fascists, disappointed with their electoral failure, have turned to open terrorism directed against blacks and white radicals. In particular, they have had some success in recruiting disaffected, unemployed white youth. Kids wandering around wearing swastikas and giving "Sieg Heil!" salutes are now a fairly common sight. But the fascists have not got it all their own way. As in Brixton this week, in St. Paul's, Bristol last year the people, mostly black youth but also together with a noticeable number of white teenagers, chased the police off the streets. Although not yet at a very politically conscious level, the class struggle among young workers in Britain is intensifying. Will the fascists succeed in splitting the working class along racial lines or will the younger generation of emerging militants rise to a higher level of class consciousness and lead a broad, united movement against the forces of bourgeois reaction? Perhaps, in some ways on the surface of things past events offer little encourage-

Preparing for Future Clampdowns

Presidential Pardon Bestowed on Convicted FBI Bag-Men

When two former top officials of the FBI, W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller, were convicted last November of conducting warrantless burglaries ("black bag jobs") of the homes of friends and relatives of suspected radical fugitives, it was obvious even then that the government was not about to send its own cops to jail. And in granting the two top burglars full and unconditional presidential pardons last week, Ronald Reagan acted to underscore this fact and to hail the former agents for carrying out the jobs for which they were hired. Even further, in issuing a public statement, Reagan concentrated and was an extension of the brazen reaction which has characterized the trial of Felt and Miller from the beginning. Far from being a concession to public outrage over the COINTELPRO activity of the FBI, the conduct of the trial and ensuing pardon and praise have been an integral part of a wider ruling class campaign to reverse the popular verdict against the police actions during the '60s and early '70s (repressive activities which the government has continued to pursue and perfect), and to strengthen their repressive apparatus in preparation to lash out even more viciously in the period ahead against those who represent the revolutionary future, painting them as "agents of international terrorism."

"America was at war in 1972," said Reagan in his pardon statement, and "Messrs. Felt and Miller followed procedures they believed essential to keep the Director of the FBI, the Attorney General and the President of the United States advised of the activities of hostile foreign powers and their collaborators in this country." Here Reagan not only raises the conduct of imperialist war as a *carte blanche* authorization to commit any outrage but then goes on to brand those who stood with the just struggles of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and other countries subject to attack and domination by U.S. imperialism as "spies" and "collaborators" with foreign powers—words with very pointed implications about the framework in which the ruling class intends to aim their attacks on those who stand in opposition to the red, white and blue of U.S. imperialism and every-

thing it symbolizes, and who fight to rid the world of its stinking corpse. Then, mocking the sham prosecution of Felt and Miller which the government had conducted, the President makes it perfectly clear that the Director of the FBI, the Attorney General and the President were fully aware of the illegal activity, encouraged and authorized it, and looked forward to its results.

"Four years ago, thousands of draft evaders and others who violated the Selective Service laws were unconditionally pardoned by my predecessors," Reagan went on. "America was generous to those who refused to serve their country in the Vietnam war. We can be no less generous to two men who acted on high principle to bring an end to the terrorism that was threatening our nation." What Reagan is doing here is more than lamenting the fact that the "traitors" got pardoned while poor suffering FBI dogs like Felt and Miller have been abused. The main message is simple and clear: "You who challenged us in the past were lucky, we were 'generous' and let you off easy, but not this time—now our dogs will have their day." There was, of course, no generosity involved in the bourgeoisie's decision to pardon draft resisters four years ago. This was a decision based on the political necessity that they faced coming off a period of massive opposition to their imperialism in which the nature of their system stood starkly exposed. And it is precisely the desperate necessity that they now face with world war looming and the possibility of their whole set-up going up for grabs that is compelling them to further strengthen their repressive apparatus of which the Felt-Miller trial was a part.

The content of the President's message was certainly not lost on former FBI associate director Felt, who, grinning like a Cheshire cat at a press conference in his lawyer's office, described the pardons as having "tremendous symbolic value." "This is going to be the biggest shot in the arm for the intelligence community for a long time," he said. His sidekick Miller spelled it out even more plainly, saying that the pardons would erase any reluctance that agents might have to "do their jobs

100%."

The Reagan pardon was right in line with the whole thrust of the Felt-Miller trial which ended with their conviction in early November on charges of "conspiracy to deprive citizens of their civil rights" for their role in a series of burglaries on apartments of friends and relatives of the Weather Underground. (The Weatherman organization, which formed during the mass upsurge of the '60s, despaired of the possibility of proletarian revolution in the U.S. and, outraged by the crimes of U.S. imperialism, advocated a strategy of excitative terror in support of the national liberation struggles.)

During the 7-1/2 week trial, the bourgeoisie went to great lengths in their attempts to lay the basis to further unleash their state security agencies, running out their "foreign agents and terrorists" scenario and stressing the need for tough government powers, especially during war time. None other than Richard Nixon and five former Attorney Generals testified, all recounting the fact that at the time of the FBI burglaries, "the country was at war" and besieged by those who were "encouraging the enemy." Nixon cried crocodile tears about having to write letters to the parents of those whom he sent to be killed in Vietnam. And ignoring the fact that the U.S. dropped more tons of bombs on Vietnam than were dropped in all of World War 2, Nixon instead complained that 23 people had been killed by bombs in the U.S. during the same period!

Pursuing the point that the political opposition of the masses to imperialism can only be the work of spies and foreign agents, day after day of testimony, much of it outright lies, was dragged out to support the contention. Yet the "evidence" itself was a profound testament to the popular opposition to imperialism and the desire to reach out in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world. At one point one witness was even asked, "What does 'solidarity' mean? Is this a frequently used word in communist jargon?" The answer: "Yes, it is. It means unity, common purpose."

The sinister purpose of even raising

this question of international unity was to promote the bourgeoisie's contention that there are "nominal criminal cases" and there are "foreign intelligence cases" in which the pretense of legal restrictions should be waived and "no holds barred" attacks unleashed. This, mind you, from the same gang of hypocrites and imperialists who operate the biggest crew of secret agents, spies, terrorists, assassins, and mad bombers the world has ever seen.

And with all these attempts to prepare the way for stronger police measures in the coming period, it is not surprising that the name of Bob Avakian was dropped into the testimony along with repeated assertions that the Revolutionary Union (the organization which led in forming the RCP) was a creation of a "Chinese Communist espionage agent" and was linked with international terrorism. For example, a stipulation introduced into evidence in the trial read: "It was also in April, 1970 that the Revolutionary Union received an invitation from the Black Panther Party to send four to six individuals as part of a group led by Cleaver, who had previously been in contact with Robert Avakian, to North Korea for training." Here the obvious gratuitous reference to Bob Avakian—one of many such "references" to individuals—is intended to build step by step the basis for justifying past government surveillance on revolutionaries and increased hounding in the future.

Another feature of the Felt-Miller trial was its use as a means of perfecting new legal techniques for future political trials. Totally new procedures were employed whereby all the evidence was screened in advance by the judge in his chambers. Witnesses on the stand were handed two copies of documents, one the original and the other heavily censored. They could use the original to "refresh their memory" (about what *not* to say), but only the censored version was made a part of the public record. Attorneys were actually instructed to lead the witnesses in order that security might not be compromised by an "unexpected answer." The various government domestic spying pro-

Continued on page 22

Aftermath of Reagan Shooting: New Twists in Government Script

About a week after the shooting of President Reagan, the government came up with an imaginative twist on their "theory" of what lay behind the assassination attempt. That "theory" was a pot-boiler: Reagan, his would-be assassin, and "Taxi-Driver" star Jodie Foster tangled in what could be blurbled as "a bizarre triangle of love and murder." The latest spin-off is the revelation that the Secret Service has apprehended a "leftist" who was pursuing a plot almost identical to that ascribed by the government to John W. Hinckley, Jr., the triggerman in the Reagan shooting.

On April 7th, the Secret Service announced that they had arrested a 23-year-old unemployed man, identified as Edward Michael Richardson, at the Port Authority Bus Terminal in Manhattan. The Service charged Richardson with "threatening the life of the President." According to the *New York Times* account, agents had tracked Richardson from a hotel in New Haven, Connecticut (the same hotel Hinckley used last fall during his courtship-by-mail with Jodie Foster). The chase began, we are told, when a hotel maid found a letter "in which Richardson allegedly promised to complete the assassination of President Reagan attempted last week."

Richardson, authorities assert, was also obsessed with—guess who?—Ms. Foster. He also shared with John W. Hinckley, Jr. the convenient habit of leaving written accounts of his plots and motivations lying around in hotel

rooms for civic-minded maids to discover and report to the Secret Service. For example, in Richardson's hotel room, in addition to letters announcing his assassination plot, were found "several magazine photographs of President Reagan with X's drawn through his face."

If this did not arouse the vigilance of the hotel maid, the legend he had written under each photograph: "Targeted for Death"—undoubtedly did.

Richardson's "letter" is transparently designed to link Hinckley with Richardson and Richardson with a COINTELPRO-style caricature of the "left." The letter, according to the *Times*, was addressed "To the Fascist Powers"; the released excerpts were said to read, "I depart now for Washington, D.C., to bring to completion Hinckley's reality... Ultimately, Ronald Reagan will be shot to death and the country turned to the 'left'... If I cannot get at the President, I am prepared to slay some other prominent 'Right Wing' political figure..." It was signed "Edward Richardson, Inter. Peoples Court."

This latest development, it is plain, was engineered from start to finish by the bourgeoisie's own operatives to kick more dirt over the trail that leads straight to the real source of inspiration for the Reagan hit: the bloody infighting within the U.S. ruling class itself. But beyond this, it is one further facet of their general campaign to create public opinion for escalating at-

tacks on the revolutionary movement and the masses under the threadbare cover of "fighting terrorism."

Despite this most recent ploy, we have, of course, not seen any frenzied chorus of calls for a "full-scale investigation." At least for the time being, the ruling class in general is concerned to avoid any investigation that might further expose to scrutiny the facts and the circumstantial evidence pointing to Hinckley's probable links to elements in the ruling class desirous of bumping off Reagan, or that might bring further such evidence to light. While the Secret Service busies itself with manufacturing evidence of "leftist assassination plots," the whole government has already made quite explicitly clear that a full-dress inquiry to look into the Reagan shooting is "totally unnecessary," and that the whole tragic incident should just be forgotten. It is possible that further maneuvering within their ranks will change this, but for now, the bourgeoisie is concerned with projecting an outward image of unity and harmony.

But the government is also using its own miasma of lies for what they might be worth in its rapidly developing program to further unleash their whole repressive apparatus. The Secret Service and the FBI have proclaimed that the assassination attempt proves they need "broad and sweeping new investigative powers" to enable them to carry out their lofty mission of "protecting the life of the President." On April 15th, it

was announced that Reagan had pardoned two FBI officials who had been convicted of authorizing illegal break-ins directed against movement activists in the early 1970s. The pardon was signed four days before Reagan was shot; Administration spokesmen could offer "no particular reason" for the delay in the announcement. Reagan's statement of pardon praised the two FBI men, W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller, in terms manifestly intended to draw "lessons for today".

In this context, the belated effort to create a blurry tie-in between the assassination and the "left" fits in as just one more transparent justification for carrying out blatant attacks under the cynical cover of "fighting terrorism." The pardon, and the statements by Reagan and the FBI defendants hailing and, in essence calling for an escalation of COINTELPRO-type programs themselves demonstrate further fear and weakness. The bourgeoisie knows it cannot circumvent mass opposition to its rule by "peaceful, democratic, and legal" means. In short, they are afraid of the masses, and acutely concerned with the growing revolutionary sentiments and the growing strength of the masses' revolutionary leadership. The ruling class is more and more forced to openly brandish the club, to try to intimidate and terrorize. But this only further exposes their own blood-spattered countenance. The ugly face of imperialism is something that their ludicrous lies cannot even begin to conceal. □

The Day the Workers Pulled the Switch

Detroit. Late July 1973. The workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant had plenty on their minds. Chrysler, already the smallest of the Big 3, was beginning to hit the skids. Its plants, concentrated in Detroit's inner city, were the oldest and most dangerous in the industry—and employed the largest number of Black workers. In the streets outside, Detroit police had recently shot down two Black youths in cold blood, for a total of 15 police murders in two years. Watergate was in the news, and before long the last U.S. soldiers in Vietnam would be scrambling for a helicopter ride out of Saigon. Already, hundreds of thousands of Vietnam vets had returned, many to back-breaking jobs in plants like Jefferson Avenue. Business was as usual, with UAW officials consumed in contract negotiations. The '74 recession, which would throw thousands of auto workers and others out onto the streets, was yet to hit.

One of the most recent outrages in the Jefferson Avenue plant was the actions of a newly hired Chrysler slave-driver—supervisor Tom Woolsey. Woolsey especially delighted in making racist taunts in the metal shop, where 280 of 300 workers were Black. Two weeks before, a number of workers had gotten together a petition to have Woolsey fired. The union officials had refused to turn it in. Now the plant was filled with an air of tension. Some muttered that "it wouldn't have done any good anyway"; others felt that it was

the last straw. Two workers in particular, who had been strongly influenced by the revolutionary upsurge of the '60s and early '70s, were determined to take the opportunity to break out of the daily-worsening grind. After work one night, they planned out what they would do. Early the next morning they talked to two other workers, who began to spread the word to those who could be trusted.

At 6:00 a.m. on July 24, Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter left their work stations on the Jefferson Avenue plant assembly line. They walked into the plant power cage, secured the door behind them, pulled the main power switch and shut down the entire plant. Immediately several workers surrounded the cage. Others began picking up cables, clamps and chains to secure the cage better.

Plant protection guards came to the scene, took one look at the supporters, and turned tail toward the office. Meanwhile, a shop steward began to plead and whine, "You'll get fired."

The company brought in arc welders to cut the cable. As they forced their way through the crowd, Shorter put his hands around the cable. There was a moment of hesitation, then a shout came from the crowd—"Torch his hands and we'll torch you!" The welder backed off.

All kinds of supervisors were sent in to try to make the workers leave from around the cage, but they refused to budge. UAW officials arrived and scurried behind closed doors to "negotiate a

settlement with management." Hours later the International rep emerged to announce to the workers that their demand that Woolsey be fired had been agreed to. The workers didn't buy it. "Black, you're a company man," shot back one worker. "And we're hip to the International."

For 13 hours the struggle raged and the plant remained at a standstill. Only after a Chrysler official was forced to timidly approach the crowd of angry workers with a written statement in his hand to fire Woolsey and make no reprisals did the workers begin to unfasten the cables and clamps. When the cage was finally opened, Chrysler's wage slaves triumphantly streamed out of the plant, Carter and Shorter on their shoulders.

At the time of this action and in recalling it in the years since, there are some people who called this an isolated act, individualistic, adventurist and other such stuff. But the whole story in fact proves the opposite. In the first place, there was advance planning and discussion, as has been pointed out. But that is not even the main point. The action of the two men in taking over the power cage galvanized the sentiments of the masses and aroused the masses themselves to act in a way that they had not done or maybe even thought possible before. The fact that one of the two put *his* hands around the cable first in defiance of the company's torch objectively demonstrated that they had confidence that in one way or another, the

masses would support this move, would defend it because the workers grasped the stakes involved and it gave them an opportunity to step forward around their class interests. And while, in this case, the action was around a very specific demand, it represented something much broader to the masses of people and in fact inspired others far beyond the confines of the Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant.

The takeover had an electrifying effect on the city of Detroit. It was the talk of the town. At two other Chrysler plants in the city, workers were unquestionably inspired by the action and took some action of their own. Two weeks later at Detroit Forge, after a worker had his arm crushed in a conveyor, workers wildcatted for two days. At the Mack Avenue stamping plant, a two-day plant sit-down strike was followed by a wildcat. The strike was broken only when a "flying squadron" of 1000 UAW officials armed with clubs was sent in to put it down.

The impact of Carter's and Shorter's action was felt and remembered around the country as well. Several months later at a cafeteria table in Cincinnati, in the heat of an argument between an older Black woman and another worker over whether or not people would ever rise up and fight, the Black woman reached into her wallet and pulled out a folded-up newspaper clipping. She opened the article headlined "Two Angry Workers Shut Chrysler Plant" and waved it in the other's face. □

Available from: Revolution Books

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Miami Youth Faces Death Penalty For Rebellion

On April 13, jury selection began in the Miami trial of Nathaniel Lane, a 19-year-old Black youth charged with three counts of first-degree murder. This is the last scheduled trial on murder charges stemming from the Miami rebellion of last May. The state is demanding the death penalty. The *Miami Herald* got right to the point: the newspaper called the proceedings, not a trial, but a *sentencing*. Already, eight other randomly arrested Black youth have seen their day in court on murder charges of the *same* four white men killed in an incident on May 17. Mario Goderich, the judge in all the cases, slammed down maximum sentences on all those convicted. He now presides over Nathaniel Lane's trial.

In December, James McCullough, 18, was convicted and given the maximum 15-year sentence for manslaughter on evidence provided by a witness who is legally blind. Another youth was acquitted in that case—the blind witness could not identify him.

In February, Samuel Lightsey, 17, was convicted of three counts of second-degree murder. The only evidence against him was a "confession" extracted at the police station after the youth had been terrorized by cops. Lightsey was later offered a deal that he would be sentenced as a juvenile—meaning he would only serve four years in prison—if he would testify against Nathaniel Lane. He refused. In March, he was sentenced to the maximum of three life sentences, to run consecutively.

Leonard Capers, 21, and Lawrence Capers, 25, co-defendants with Samuel Lightsey, were both convicted on three counts of third-degree murder. The key witness against the Capers brothers admittedly could not positively identify them. No wonder—they were not even present at the incident. They were both given the maximum of three 15-year sentences, to run consecutively. A

fourth defendant was acquitted, seemingly as arbitrarily as the others were convicted.

Following the convictions of Lightsey and the Capers brothers, rage swept the city. The authorities dropped second-degree murder charges against Lonnie Bradley and Sam Williams for lack of evidence. But this contradiction escaped few. The only "evidence" they had against Bradley and Williams in the first place was the planned testimony of the same blind woman which had led to the conviction of McCullough.

Not surprisingly, not a single suspect has been arrested for the murder of any of the 13 Black people killed during the rebellion at the hands of the police and carloads of reactionary whites who roamed the area, shooting into the crowds. Police have bragged about their "painstaking search for a witness" to frame the Black youth—mostly a fruitless effort—while they let it be known they aren't even looking for the murdering whites. Judge Goderich put things precisely in this context in the sentencing of Lightsey and the Capers brothers: "Racial disturbances cannot be excused. In a country like the United States... this type of violence cannot be allowed."

The six-month series of murder trials has only added fuel to the smoldering fire left from the May rebellion. While consciously aimed to smash the spirit of rebellion and to raise the stakes for any rebellious youth who harbor such ideas today, the trials have instead heightened the anger. A recent *Miami Herald* survey reported, "While only about 15% of Liberty City residents, overall, said it is necessary to fight in the streets, the group most likely to approve of such violence is Black Liberty City males under 21. Nearly 30% of them said it is necessary to fight." The survey, of course, was aimed at galvanizing support for stepped-up repression. It is exactly these youth who especially

continue to come under sharp attack.

In the two weeks prior to Nathaniel Lane's trial, two more Black youth in Miami were viciously murdered by the police. One 17-year-old youth was gunned down by two white pigs as he sat at a bus stop. His funeral was on the opening day of Lane's trial.

Another 16-year-old Black youth was murdered in jail. The official police story was that the youth died from a seizure, a story blasted by his mother: "He has no history whatsoever of seizures." She went on to describe his body; he had been severely beaten. "There were several bumps on his head, his bottom lip was busted and two front teeth were missing." He had made a frantic call to his family the night before, begging them to get him out of jail, saying the police were trying to force him to take drugs. The youth was moved out of the cell he shared with Samuel Lightsey only hours before he was killed. Both these police murders have been played down by the press as Lane's trial gets under way.

On the first day of jury selection, the Citizens Coalition for Racial Justice (CCRJ) held a demonstration on the Metro Justice steps that drew 100 participants over the 2-hour picket. People coming in and out of the courthouse joined in the line. Chants of "McDuffie's Dead, Cops Go Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy," and "Free Nathaniel Lane and All Political Prisoners" echoed off the courthouse walls. Cops scrambled to take pictures of the angry crowd. Relatives of the youth who were murdered by the Miami pigs during the rebellion joined, as did Nathaniel Lane's family.

Lane's mother spoke bitterly to the crowd about the police raid on her house the night her son was arrested. With shotguns drawn, the police had taken her son "for questioning about throwing rocks." He was immediately charged with three counts of first-

degree murder.

Inside the courthouse, jury selection began. An atmosphere of tension stifled the small courtroom packed with prospective jurors. One Black woman from Liberty City had a high blood pressure attack and had to leave. At one point, Lane stood up, interrupting the procedure, demanding to speak. The judge, prosecutor and jurors were whisked from the room by bailiffs, who clearly recalled a scene last February, when, at his conviction, Samuel Lightsey had lunged toward the prosecutor, screaming, "I hope you die!"

The jury selection process resumed once again the next day, but was stopped short when the defense attorney slammed his file shut and stormed back to the defense table, furious at all the objections to his questions. Mothers of several Black youth already convicted were threatened with physical removal from the court when they applauded the defense attorney's fury. One of them snapped at the bailiff, "Don't you put your hands on me!" Again the shaken prospective jurors were taken from the courtroom. This time, Judge Goderich dismissed the whole group of jurors, and later he set April 20 as the next day of jury selection.

The life-and-death terms of this trial of the Miami rebellion are clear to thousands of people in Miami and around the country. The authorities will surely pull out any and all tricks they can invent to frame Nathaniel Lane, but they will have a very difficult job of it. So far the only witness they have is the same woman who testified against the Capers brothers. This woman was so unreliable in that trial that the prosecution was forced to declare her an adverse witness in the middle of her testimony. No doubt prosecutor Kaye will once again apologize for his lack of evidence. And once again the purpose of this whole wave of vengeful trials and sentences will be exposed. □

FBI Bag-Men

Continued from page 20

grams were assigned code names by the judge in order not to spill the beans on continuing covert actions in the open courtroom. And finally, hours and hours of the trial consisted of huddled bench conferences between the attorneys and the judge whose transcripts were then sealed by court order. The whole performance was in reality the development of new legal mechanisms for conducting secret trials in open courtrooms.

It was the government's conscious attempt to pull this off by using as defendants two FBI scum. The cooperation between all parties needed to accomplish the government's goals was insured by the fact that all the players were on the same team—the federal judge, the former top FBI officials and the Justice Dept. which was simultaneously *defending* Felt and Miller in a civil suit growing out of the burglaries in New York City. Upon their conviction, Felt and Miller were given only token fines, and charges against former FBI director L. Patrick Gray were dropped entirely.

Even the conviction of Felt and Miller was turned by the ruling class to its own interests. Felt and Miller were suddenly portrayed as "martyrs" who stepped forward to take the rap for others—good soldiers made victims. But more importantly, loyal dogs who

should have never been prosecuted in the first place, because they did what was necessary then and even more necessary now. Reagan's statement termed their conviction as growing out of "their good faith belief that their actions were necessary to preserve the security interests of our country. The records demonstrate that they acted not with criminal intent... They have never denied their actions, but, in fact, came forward to acknowledge them publicly in order to relieve their subordinate agents from criminal actions." And now they have been relieved.

Singing the same tune, an editorial appeared in the *New York Times* together with the announcement of the pardon. "They deserved the executive clemency President Reagan has now extended," said the *Times*. "Mr. Felt and Mr. Miller were high ranking FBI officials—indeed, the highest ever convicted of a crime—with many years of loyal and otherwise unblemished national service. Apparently in recognition of this, a federal judge let them off with light fines last Christmas. Now the President's pardon just about wraps up this tragic episode."

Far from being an isolated episode, the Felt-Miller trial and the Presidential pardon with oakleaf clusters which followed are but a part of a far wider picture of government actions repealing

the cosmetic changes instituted in the wake of the last major upsurge, and clearing the decks for the heavy times ahead for U.S. imperialism. This wider picture includes the new proposed Charters for the FBI and CIA, broadening and extending their powers in the guise of reform and legal constraint. It includes the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act which creates a secret court that issues warrants behind closed doors for wiretapping. It includes the proposed new rewrite of Executive Order 12036, which now governs domestic

covert actions. (The proposed new text leaked to the bourgeois media displayed what the administration terms a "positive" orientation, whereby previous statements limiting action are to be replaced by statements authorizing action. And it includes the creation of the new Congressional Subcommittee on Internal Security and Terrorism.) All these steps are indeed desperate and vicious preparations for a future which the U.S. imperialists view with great fear and alarm. □

**WE'RE PROLETARIANS—
NOT AMERICANS
OUR FLAG IS RED—
NOT RED, WHITE AND
BLUE
May 1st, 1981
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY**

Correspondence on Carl Sagan's Cosmos

Recently the Revolutionary Worker (RW No. 93) ran a letter from a reader on Carl Sagan's Cosmos series and called for correspondence on the series and the scientific and philosophical questions it raised. That call read in part:

"Millions of people across the country and around the world watched Carl Sagan's Cosmos series on TV and hundreds of thousands are reading his book by the same title. The great interest in this series itself stands as vivid and irrefutable evidence that among the masses of people there is an inexhaustible thirst

for science and philosophy that can advance man's understanding of nature and himself (conscious nature). The very popularity of this show blows holes in the arguments ceaselessly run out by the bourgeoisie that the masses of people are simply too dumb and ignorant to be concerned about anything but the most narrow and mundane pursuits and, on top of that, just love being kept in the dark about such questions as the nature of the universe. Carl Sagan has himself realized that this is a preposterous lie and dedicated himself to stimulate even more of a thirst for science and to bring a generally materialist understanding of the cosmos to the

masses of people in a fresh and lively way.

"While there are definite weaknesses and limits to Sagan's philosophy, it cannot be denied that the results of his efforts have been overwhelmingly positive and his series has raised many profound and extremely important scientific and philosophical questions among the masses of people including the class-conscious forces in society. Not only are the scientific and philosophical questions that have been raised significant in their own right, they have a direct and profound relationship to the class struggle. In the interest of sharpening up debate over these questions and advancing the struggle in the area of science and philosophy, the RW is opening up its pages for debate on the

Cosmos phenomenon and many questions raised in and by this series. While there is much debate and differing opinions about how to evaluate Sagan and his work—is it positive and progressive? Or is it basically just bourgeois and wrong?—and while the RW welcomes a variety of opinions on this important and hot topic, the purpose of wrangling around Cosmos cannot be limited to simply passing a verdict on it, but more importantly must delve into the whole wide range of questions it has raised."

The letter below was written in response to this call and is being printed as part of furthering the struggle and debate called for in the pages of the RW. The RW does not necessarily agree with everything in the letter nor do we intend to limit the scope of the debate to the questions raised in it.

On The Question of Chance and Necessity, On the Errors of Positivism and Determinism

In his consideration of the limitations of Sagan's materialism, the author of the letter in issue No. 99 makes a serious error. He equates order with necessity, and, consequently, draws the unfounded conclusion that chance in the universe is principal over necessity.

One of the characteristics of positivism is that it declares that chance is principal over necessity, or even that necessity does not exist at all. It fails to grasp that chance can only be understood in relation to its opposite. This is obviously closely related to positivism's denial of either the existence or knowability of objective reality. I feel that the author of the letter in No. 99, while making a number of valuable points, unwittingly errs in the direction of positivism. Interestingly enough, many in our ranks who oppose his line, do so from a position of determinism. What follows below is a consideration of the weaknesses of both these positions.

Necessity is principal in the universe precisely (or, in part) because disorder is principal. The more organized (orderly) a system becomes, the less predictable it becomes, hence the greater is the arena within which randomness can play its part. A complex system like brain/mind is what cyberneticists call a self-regulating system—one in which the cause (the brain) gives rise to an effect (consciousness) which, in turn, affects the organization of that which

gave rise to it, and so on and so on in an endless concatenation. But even this picture is incomplete since it leaves out the extremely important interaction between the brain/mind system and the environment. Indeed, it is not even possible to speak of a brain/mind "system" without taking into account that which is external to the mind.

Marxists believe in the primacy of necessity, but they do not believe that causality exists in a deterministic form (cause A gives effect B). What is called chance is that in which so many causalities are intertwined that none determines the result. Does this go against the dialectical understanding that, in every contradiction, there are principal and secondary aspects? No. Because even in what cyberneticists call isolated closed systems (which exist only approximately, and for very short periods of time, in nature), the interaction between the principal and secondary aspects is such that the result is not determined by the principal aspect alone. Determinists usually counter this by saying that, true, the interaction of causalities may often be complex, but all these causalities are merely expressions of a deeper causality—that, for instance, the laws (say, in the case of consciousness) governing the behavior of the brain and the behavior of the environment are reducible to more basic laws underlying both. Indeed, they go so far as to say that all laws (and "forces") in the universe (however impermanent) are merely manifestations of one big law (and "force").

But the problem with this argument is that the universe is infinite, therefore there can be no "first cause"—only an endless chain (in both directions) of cause and effect. Moreover, precisely because, at any given level of matter, the interplay of causalities is so complex that none determines the result, it is possible to speak of laws appropriate to that level of matter, which are compounded of other laws at lower levels, but which are not reducible to any one or a number of those laws.

Necessity is primary in the sense that even randomness occurs through the operation of laws. That every phenomenon in the universe is governed by laws means that necessity is, in a certain sense, absolute. But no one law is absolute—certainly not for all space and time. Independently of man's cognition of them, all laws of nature suffer from one or all of the following limitations: 1) they only apply to a specific level of matter, or to events above a specific period of duration (for example, even so hoary a law as the conservation of energy has been shown to not hold true for events whose duration is below a certain minimum); 2) they only apply for a specific period in the development of the universe (there is increasing evidence that even the most "basic laws" and forces of nature are historically conditioned—that is, they evolved and only made their appearance at a specific stage in the universe's expansion); and 3) that under certain conditions, laws can be superceded by other laws. It is a law that photons travel at the speed of

light, but, under some conditions, photons deviate from this due to the interference of other laws.

We must divide the lack of absoluteness of a "law" into its objective and subjective components. Let us assume (and this is by no means impossible) that, for a specific epoch in the development of the universe, the law of the conservation of energy holds true for all events above a certain minimum duration of time. Within this limited sphere, this law would be absolute. Its absoluteness would not depend either on man observing every situation within which the law operates, nor on how sophisticated his understanding of this law is at any given point. The situation is totally different with the law of the conservation of mass. It has no claim to absoluteness whatsoever. It not only does not hold true on the microscopic level, it does not hold true on the macroscopic level either. The only reason this bastardization of reality can sometimes be of use is because man need not always concern himself in the macrocosm with microscopic disappearances of mass.

Man will never know the universe absolutely, not only because of the physical limitations that are placed on his ability to observe it (which are not static), but also because there are no absolute laws for all time and space to which all the phenomena of the universe can be reduced.

R.H.

Atlanta—Down, Down, Down with the Old Order on May 1st

Continued from page 1

switch had been tampered with. It was also learned that two white men were seen at the location six hours before the explosion. The authorities—Atlanta's Black politicians—scrambled to convince people that this was an accident, that there was nothing behind it, that there was no possibility of racial motivation. They flatly stated that there would be no investigation.

Two months earlier, a group of parents of murdered and missing youth had called a press conference, denouncing the authorities for ignoring the child murders. The now famous Special Task Force was hurriedly assembled by the Atlanta cops. Still, though, it stayed inactive until October. Then, all of a sudden after the Bowen Homes explosion had sent a wave of anger through the city, the cops shifted into gear, using the murders as a cover. In reality, they feared an explosion of a different type. The much publicized "weekend searches" for bodies of missing youth began, a ploy which the authorities openly admitted was designed to calm things down. Within a week, 800 police flooded Black neighborhoods. A curfew against youth was ordered. By March the cops had brought in over 1,500 on curfew violations. Roadblocks were set up and all this was further beefed up with the arrival of 100 State Highway Patrol units. The police had finally taken action—against the people!

Dollars began pouring into Atlanta, earmarked for the police. A massive fundraising drive for this "investiga-

tion" was launched, highlighted by Reagan's donation of \$1.5 million. This and more federal money has been channeled through a federal task force, headed by a former chief of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a federal agency set up in the '60s to nationally coordinate local police department efforts against urban uprisings. Several hundred thousand dollars are slated for the purchase of armed police helicopters, like those used during the Miami and Chattanooga rebellions.

Hangman & The Priest

As Lenin once said, all oppressor classes need the hangman and the priest: they need the hangman to put down the protests of the oppressed and they need the priest to console the oppressed, to carry on about how somewhere, sometime, maybe not on this earth, they will be relieved of their suffering, to reconcile them to class rule and do any damn thing to undermine their revolutionary spirit, destroy their revolutionary determination, and keep them from taking revolutionary action. Atlanta has had its fill of this sort of stuff. They've dragged in fortune tellers and soothsayers, palm readers and mystics, psychics and psychotics, and every starched white collar and reformist disguised as a brother-on-the-block they could find. But the bourgeoisie don't need to read tea leaves to know about what's killing the children of Atlanta. They're experts on killing oppressed people. And they don't need a crystal ball to read the future—because it's what's shaping up in the world that's drawing the noose tighter and tighter in Atlanta, and they're doing everything in their power to make sure they're on the loose end of the rope when things go up for grabs.

The murders continued; from the ten bodies found through October to the 21 bodies found by mid-March. Anger seethed, the authorities grew more exposed, few escaped the conclusion that not only were these murders aimed squarely and consciously at the masses of Black people, but that they were being encouraged if not directly organized by powerful interests. At best, Atlanta's Black power structure was bowing to a higher authority.

People began to arm themselves all over Atlanta. In one incident, on March 6, people in an all-Black neighborhood captured two white men who were seen trying to coax Black children into their car. Two women yelled to the kids to

get away. The car sped off, but an angry Black crowd caught up with it one block away. Two cars of armed Black men began chasing the whites' car, shooting at the tires. The whites were finally caught. The police arrived just in time—to rescue the whites. The cops hurled racist slanders at Black witnesses and descended on a 50-year-old Black man. He was *arrested and charged* with aggravated assault, discharging a firearm within the city, and carrying a pistol without a license. You don't need a license to kidnap Black children in Atlanta—only to stop it. Later, at the station the witnesses to all this were harassed, the Black man booked. No charges were filed on the whites, they simply walked out.

This basic conflict was repeated again and again all over Atlanta and erupted on a more intense level at the end of March. The masses of people taking things into their own hands drove the authorities into a frenzy. A couple of blocks from the Techwood housing project, graffiti appeared declaring that the next victim would be abducted from Techwood. The following night, some residents of the project and some Black political activists announced the formation of the Bat Patrols; youth armed with bats and adults armed with guns would begin patrolling the project. 60 cops and a SWAT team were sent in, occupying the project on the first day of the patrol.

Something else happened on that same day. The sister of a man named Eddie Duncan, both Techwood residents, phoned the Task Force and reported her brother missing. The cops ignored this woman, refusing to add Eddie's name to the list. Two weeks later, Eddie Duncan's body was found: the murderers had lived up to their promise.

Four men were arrested in Techwood by cops trying to smash the patrols. Charges ranged from "obstructing an officer" to—yes—violation of an old anti-Klan law prohibiting the display of firearms in public. One man was charged with "inciting to riot" for leading 30 people in surrounding a squad car carrying Deputy Police Chief Eldrin Bell. Upon the arrest of another patroler, 50 people marched through the project, then drove in a caravan to police headquarters. Bats swinging, they marched into the lobby chanting: "The cops and the Klan work hand in hand!"

A leap seemed to occur in national media attention over Atlanta at this time. Rabid lies and hysterical rantings

spewed forth in unlimited quantities. Of the Bat Patrol, *Time* magazine shrieked: "Vigilantes!" Meanwhile the air waves and T.V. screens across the country were filled with stories of the so-called "survivalists," reactionary white groups and organizations, armed to the teeth—the rotten to the core social base of the imperialists, preparing to defend their mountain strongholds against the revolutionary onslaught of the masses yet to come. Aah, but this is "survivalism." When the oppressed take up arms—that's vigilanteism—get it? Press accounts of Atlanta were conveniently surrounded by stories "exposing" the abuse of Black children by their parents. The point was hard to miss. The press readily reported lurid tales of a "homosexual ring"—and a Black one at that—and its "suspected connections" with the killings. The suggestion was even made that some of the Black youth had choked to death in the midst of a homosexual act.

Then, just two weeks ago, came some disgusting—but revealing—statements from the FBI. Director William Webster stated that four of the murders had been "solved." "There is no evidence that I can find of racism. It could just as well be a preference for Blacks as a prejudice against them." Later, a Georgia FBI agent said that the four children referred to by Webster had all been killed by their parents because they were "nuisances." Tell us, can these statements be taken in any other way than as an open declaration to the murderers that the road is clear, that the spearhead of the "investigation" will be pointed anywhere besides where it belongs? Anyone who has worried about the lack of federal involvement in Atlanta can rest easy—the feds are definitely involved.

This, and the actions of the bourgeoisie in general, has served to further unleash a reactionary social base and lend it confidence. *Thunderbolt*—the monthly newspaper of J.B. Stoner's National States' Rights Party, and one of the most widely circulated pieces of reactionary racist trash in the country—ran a series on "missing, murdered, raped whites." One such article raised the question, "How many niggers' lives are worth the lives of one white? Ten? 100? 1,000? 1 million? In the wake of this article, lynchings have been reported in Mobile, Alabama and Mississippi. In the wake of the Mobile lynching, the *Atlanta Voice* (a local

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Red Flag Flies Over Georgia State Capitol

Atlanta Flash

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that the red flag has been raised at the State Capitol in Atlanta, Georgia. The United States', and the state of Georgia's flags were thrown to the ground. Two revolutionary proletarians have been charged with three counts each; misuse of the national flag, misuse of the state flag and criminal trespass. They are being held on \$3,000 bail each. The comrades are being booked on only one charge at a time. They are to be put through the whole harassing booking process and bail posting process three separate times.

Inside the jail, a detective who refused to give his name, threatened their lives, "Speaking as a patriot, not as a police officer, but as a citizen of the United States, if I would have found you I would have stomped you to death." To each other these pigs boasted, "We need the Klan down here like we did in North Carolina."

One of the revolutionaries arrested on the capitol steps, an older white man who is completely blind, released a statement to the press: "As you receive this letter, the red flag will already be over the capitol—where the eyes of people all over the world can see what has been done. Red, white and blue murderers—this is a day in remembrance of Damián García who you murdered on this day in 1980 after he put the red flag up over the Alamo. There's nothing that can stop the red flag from going up—not here, not anywhere in the world..."

"I was born here, raised here. I'm living here right now in the middle of this child killing... the only cure that's ever going to happen, to cure the child murders, to cure the bloodthirsty, and to cure the racism—the only way is revolution."

In referring to May Day 1980, the statement said that day "will never be forgotten because it was a turning point from the old to the new world... I went up there in 1980." It concluded, "Now it's 1981. I'm here and I'm ready." | |



Sign painted on an Atlanta highway.

Continued from page 24

Black newspaper) reported that reactionaries were driving through town with nooses hanging from their car windows. Mobile police recently slayed a Black youth with a shotgun blast in the back and lynched two others in jail.

Push Them Aside

Two months ago in Cincinnati, nearly 1,000 people attended a rally in protest of the Atlanta killings. A chant broke out within the walls of the indoor rally: "It's not just Atlanta, it's nationwide." This was deepened by a substantial section of the crowd: "It's not just Atlanta, it's Worldwide!" In rally after rally across the country, El Salvador is mentioned in the same breath as Atlanta. Madness in Atlanta; madness around the world. On the other hand—struggle in Atlanta, struggle around the world. Through both the hideous acts of the enemy and the defiant resistance and growing consciousness of the masses, the stage is clearly set for May 1st.

Already, May Day is sweeping Atlanta itself. Two revolutionaries—one an elderly white man who is blind—have been arrested for raising the red flag over the State Capitol building. Ranks

of revolutionaries have fanned throughout the city, spreading the word of May Day.

On Easter Sunday, at Bowen Homes, a team of May First activists was attacked from two sides, and defended by the masses. The president of the Tenant's Association and a couple of goons demanded they leave, openly threatening violence, only to be met by the fury of a group of residents. In the face of these officials, one Black worker pasted two May Day posters on the doors of his pick-up truck and raised the red flag on the antenna. Instead of running off May Day—the officials were forced to leave. Shortly afterwards, the cops arrived. A group of residents surrounded the police car and it was forced to leave as well. The victory celebration that followed broke into small discussion groups of Black workers and youth demanding to know in depth about Revolutionary May Day. One youth remarked at the discussion's end, "America never has been my country."

Two days later, officials threatened people with criminal trespass charges if they ever again attempted to sell the *RW*—or even set foot on—property owned by the Atlanta Housing Authori-

ty (AHA). A man who identified himself as the director of the AHA (which owns all the projects in Atlanta) hurled even broader threats: "Those residents of this community who entertain you at their homes will be informed that their contract does not allow them to engage in any activities that disrupt this community. Political meetings and rallies are not allowed." It has since been learned that the recent monthly AHA newsletter contained the same threat of eviction to all the project residents in the city who are coming into revolutionary political activity.

The degree to which this lackey's advice was heeded was seen on April 22, the anniversary of the police murder of Damián García. In the afternoon, a contingent marched into a project chanting: "Red, white and blue, you stand for plunder, you will go under." Project residents began pouring from their homes, many with clenched fists raised high. Soon swarms of police—10 squad cars, a wagon, and an unmarked car carrying the head of the red squad—broke up the scene. One man spirited three revolutionaries into his house; the cops busted in to make arrests. Seven people in all were arrested. A Black youth quickly called the *RW* to

tell the story of the arrests as well as to assure the newspaper that red flags and literature were being safely guarded.

Earlier that same day, red flags flew in many parts of the city. In the morning, 40 red flags were sold and distributed to city workers. Several were seen flying from garbage trucks, others stuck on lunch pails. Still others were discreetly carried inside the cab to be waved out the window later.

There is a way out of the madness that has bred an Atlanta; revolution-led by the class-conscious proletariat. May 1st 1981, is the time to take a big step toward this goal. Atlanta has also bred struggle. The hatred of people of all nationalities has burst forth. The red flag must be held defiantly aloft, pointing the way forward for those who have already come into motion against all this and for those who are yet to do so. On May Day in particular, let's push aside the imperialists, murdering reactionaries, their KKK, their Nazis, their cops, their politicians and their whole stinking set-up. Let's push them aside, and raise the red flag in the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary struggle to end all oppression the world over.

Cabrini Green?

Continued from page 4

live in Jane Byrne's building and we can't even stand on our ramp without getting busted. This is a police state and it's all so they can throw people out of here!"

By 3:00 in the afternoon the carefully constructed carnival atmosphere had completely disintegrated. The little kids were throwing jelly beans at the cops' horses. Shortly thereafter the whole thing was completely closed down. Two days later, in a clumsy attempt at a graceful exit, Byrne announced that she plans to move out of Cabrini but hastily added that she will return for an occasional visit.

All across the city people are engaging in struggle and debate over what's behind the siege of Cabrini-Green as the despicable nature of the attacks is exposed more each day.

It is common knowledge that Cabrini, only a stone's throw from the central business district, was slated for housing "redevelopment," the forcible turnover of the population from Black and Latino to mainly white, along with the rest of the inner city; this was planned by the city's infamous Chicago 21 Plan unveiled in 1973. As stated two weeks ago in the *RW*, progress has been made in implementing this plan to the point where Cabrini now stands as an island ghetto nearly surrounded by a sea of white affluence. It is well known that Cabrini has long been coveted by real estate developers whose only article to turning the area into a profit gold mine of white, high-income tenants has been the poor Black people living there.

While the economic factor of profit to be made is certainly operating with a vengeance in the case of Cabrini-Green, what has precipitated a virtual invasion of the projects with none other than the mayor herself leading the charge is overriding political considerations. The Chicago 21 Plan itself was primarily a political response to the dangers posed by the mighty Black rebellions of the late '60s. Today, as the ruling class faces even far worse prospects than rebellions in the 1980s, they are seriously moving to suppress, terrorize and even drive oppressed masses out of areas that are key to them. A striking

point that emerges in the various reports and studies issued to sum up the April 1968 rebellions in Chicago is that the ruling class went to great lengths to protect the central business district, the Loop, even though mass outbreaks were almost entirely confined to the West Side ghetto. Also, Cabrini-Green, with its close proximity to the Loop, was regarded as especially threatening and a heavy amount of firepower from police and National Guard troops was very quickly concentrated there.

In a book entitled *Confrontation: Violence and the Police* the author, who is described as a "noted police scientist," warns of the vulnerability of the central business district: "The second (sign of disenchantment) was an extremely ugly, violent type of warning that some sectors of the minority community are aroused, and aggressively so. These were the Carson Pirie Scott & Co. department store fires of March 29, 1968, in Chicago's Loop. Four fires, all on different floors, were set and caused millions in damage and tied up about 400 firemen and 58 fire companies in fighting the blazes. Hundreds of police officers were committed to crowd control duties. It became clear that Friday that very small criminal acts could tie up hundreds of city police and firemen very easily. Such torching could be a devastating strategy cunningly designed to denude a pre-selected riot scene of necessary police and fire coverage in the early hours."

When a demonstration of 600 Black high school youth marched into the Loop on April 5, 1968, the day following the assassination of Martin Luther King, it must have appeared to the authorities that their worst nightmares were about to come true. 100 youths broke off from the march and headed for the heart of the Loop, the intersection of State and Madison Streets, where they smashed out some windows. The *Report of the Chicago Riot Committee to Richard J. Daley* briefly describes the police presence in the Loop as "extensive" and credits this for the fact that there weren't more outbreaks. In fact, there was such a massive deployment of cops in the Loop that when wholesale rebellion broke out on the West Side later that afternoon, the report admits that the police were not "in sufficient numbers to cope with the scale of civil disorders..."

Although actual damage done in the Loop was very minimal and only a small group was involved, the bourgeois media went wild over the perceived threat to the central business district.

Rebellion broke out at Cabrini-Green late in the afternoon of that April 5, 1968. On Saturday morning, April 6, the police found they had another force

to contend with besides rebellious Blacks. Angered over reports that nine Black youth had been murdered by police on Friday, a group of 250 whites, mainly from anti-war organizations, decided to march to the armory on Chicago Avenue where National Guard troops were about to be dispatched to the West Side and Cabrini-Green. The guardsmen were ordered to advance against the demonstrators immediately. Several people were stabbed with trench-knife-tipped rifles as they attempted to escape but found themselves running straight into the arms of Chicago police waiting to club them down. 25 demonstrators were arrested and the march was broken up. The commander later explained that "keeping Chicago Avenue (the southern boundary of Cabrini-Green) open was crucial to us. It was the most direct route for any trouble that might break out on the West Side."

With this unexpected obstruction eliminated, the National Guard marched on the West Side and Cabrini-Green. An article in the *Sun-Times* reveals that a barrage of firepower was unleashed before the sniping from Cabrini was halted:

"For about two hours Saturday morning, most of the residents of the 20-story Cabrini Homes on the Near North Side hugged the floors of their apartments and hoped the shooting would stop.

"You don't try to see, mister, you just hear. I've got five children and we were on the floor," Mrs. Jennie Stephen told a reporter...."

"Mrs. Mack, a neighbor, came over here because they started shooting up her apartment. I don't know how many times they shot but you can count the bullet holes...."

"The police hit the door like a riot squad," said Mrs. Stephen. "One of the boys opened the door and three policemen rushed in with their guns drawn. One stood in the doorway holding a gun on us. He had his finger on the trigger. They wanted to know why the young bucks were here. I asked them 'Where else should they be—home or on the streets?' They searched the boys. They threw my mattress off the bed and searched the apartment..."

One man, Curtis Jefrow, was murdered as he stuck his head outside his door. The entire assault was blacked out except for this one article.

The picture that emerges from these reports and studies, sketchy as they are, is that of a ruling class freaked out over its vulnerability—including the tactical vulnerability of Chicago's center, the Loop. The reports show great alarm over two relatively minor incursions into the Loop—first the department store fires of March 29, 1968 and then the

peaceful march of 600 Black youths several days later.

The Chicago 21 Plan was created as one aspect of the bourgeoisie's strategy to put itself in the best situation militarily by surrounding the Loop with a politically stable, largely white, middle-class population, like a moat around a castle. Cabrini-Green and its Black residents definitely do not fit into this scenario. The bourgeoisie's necessity to prepare for the crisis and war of the '80s when they will be stretched to the limit on a world scale is what is setting the stage for the frontal assault now being perpetrated against Cabrini.

In the continuing saga of her "Cabrini-Green Diary" printed daily in the *Sun-Times*, Jane Byrne herself recently made a rather brazen admission about the new kind of clientele she would like to bring into the projects: "While sitting near the window Sunday morning having a cup of coffee, I heard someone yelling, 'Hello, Mayor Byrne.' When I looked out the window I saw three white joggers, all waving and blowing kisses. Division St. has been a street people are afraid to drive on, much less jog on. It was like seeing the first robin in the spring." The first white, jogging robin. A harbinger of things to come, Jane hopes.

But to the international proletariat the coming of spring means something quite different. Not only is it the time when the tender shoots of new life spring up, it is the time to declare our determination to bring a whole new world into being, a world born through revolutionary struggle to hasten imperialism into its grave. What would happen if a section of people at Cabrini-Green raised the red flag on May 1st and showed in various ways that they were conscious not only of their own oppression, but that it is a part of the oppression and struggle of proletarians like them around the world? "Jane Byrne would be frantic," laughed a young woman whose family is targeted for eviction. "She would call out the federal troops, the police and the national guard just like they did in the '60s. But if the people here can show them that we ain't gonna be treated this way any more, it would be worth it!"

Correction

The headline for the article on the top of page 3 of last week's issue should have been, "There Could Be No Better Time Than Now for the Proletarian and Internationalist Actions of May 1st."

Geography

Continued from page 9

pressed people." In fact Lenin wrote most of his major works while in exile—including *What Is To Be Done?* and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*—while paying close attention to the revolutionary movement in Russia. But even more importantly he paid close attention to the study and further development of the science of Marxism and based himself on the understanding that the struggle of the proletariat takes place on the world stage, and that the basic principles upon which that struggle can advance are universal, despite the unevenness and different stages of development of the movement in any given country. Can anyone say one's geography is the determining factor in making such contributions?

In such a period as is shaping up today, where not only crisis and war threaten the whole world, but where revolutionary storms threaten the rule of imperialism, the stakes are high for

them and for us. The proletariat can make tremendous advances—but it can also throw them away. "It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come." (Lenin, *Collapse of the Second International*) During the first imperialist world war, most of the parties of the Second International betrayed the proletariat and sided with their own bourgeoisies and perpetrated that war of plunder, while the Bolsheviks in Russia, led by Lenin (mainly in exile during this period), denounced this as the worst opportunism and real capitulation and instead fought for the defeat of their bourgeoisie and prepared the masses to rise up when the situation ripened. Lenin pointed to the long-term fascination of the opportunist German party with seats in parliament, positions in the trade unions, and legal forms of organization as the nemesis of the leaders of this party when the outbreak of war brought things to a head. "The initiation of revolutionary activities would obviously have led to the dissolution of these legal organizations by the police, and the old party—from Legien to Kautsky, inclusively—sacrificed the revolutionary

aims of the proletariat for the sake of preserving the present legal organizations... The proletariat's right to revolution was sold for a mess of pottage—organizations permitted by the present police law." (Lenin, *Collapse of the Second International*)

Lenin, on the other hand, understood that the democracy of capitalism is only a thinly-veiled dictatorship and that while the proletariat should make use of legal organization when and where it can, that fundamentally the bourgeoisie cannot tolerate the existence of a party that seriously takes up the task of providing revolutionary leadership to the masses, preparing them for the seizure of power.

In his statement announcing the demand for political refugee status in France, Bob Avakian lists the many attacks that have been launched against the RCP and himself as its chairman, as well as the experience in this country of full-scale assaults against revolutionary individuals and organizations, and sums up: "All these things, among many more, are clear indications that if I were to remain here in the U.S., and unless I renounce my most deeply-held principles and abandon the cause of proletarian revolution and proletarian

internationalism—which I refuse to do—I would continue to be the target of mounting attacks, through the 'legal machinery' and otherwise, by the ruling class and its armed enforcers and agents, and I would be forced to devote my efforts more and more, during such a decisive period, mainly to trying to stay free of their murderous clutches and dodge their assassination attempts." Can anyone who has the slightest understanding of the nature of this system doubt the truth of this statement? And understanding this, how could anyone who is serious about carrying forward the struggle to make revolution suggest that Bob Avakian allow himself to spend the bulk of his time in such efforts—let alone to fall into their clutches—particularly in such a period in history when the real possibility exists to decisively go up against imperialism all over the world and to really kick their ass? Such a crime would not be quickly forgotten by the masses who are today struggling to free the world of imperialism nor by the future proletarians whose conditions of life and struggle will be greatly determined by the role that the communist leaders play, and the contributions they are able to make, in this decisive decade. □

People's Court

Continued from page 14

and strengthens, the reactionary nature of government is further widely exposed to the people. People lose their faith in the present courts and legal system once they grasp the class nature of this machinery. They further understand that this machinery is used to suppress the people, that police, courts and all such are created and maintained to perpetuate repression and exploitation. At such a time revolutionary forces put forward the need of a parallel justice. The justice of the people, ability of the masses to easily sort out right from wrong are all stressed.

Such popular courts are acclaimed by Marxist-Leninists in relation to the establishing of political power, locally. An effort, to let the initiative of the people grow and make them capable of handling organs of political power in that area, is made in this way. The annihilation struggles [annihilation of particularly hated tyrants] in Kenichira and Kanjiramchira last year are to be viewed in this light. It becomes the task of the people to resist the attempts of the police etc. to break this. It is the political power of the dominant classes and thereby their very existence itself that is questioned by this.

In the districts of Wynad and Alleppy, the workers and masses threw out the weight of Trade Union bosses from their shoulders and dared to struggle, manifesting this concept of popular justice through popular pressure exerted on the employers to gain their rights. They forcefully wrenched their demands. Before the actual practising of such force, extensive propaganda is done, mass work is launched and thus the revolutionary workers were able to rally broad masses around the issue. Quintals [100 lb. sacks] of rice and sugar intended for ration, but sold in the black market, was seized and distributed in various places.

But the people's court assembled at Alleppy last month was entirely different. That people's court was convened to resolve the contradictions among the people. The whole people in that area took part in the proceedings. Some elements were branded by the people themselves as antisocials for their life of the underworld. Some were ruffians, acted as pawns for parties, consumed alcohol, indulged in dice and threatened or assaulted anyone who would question them. It was a kind of "Dada" or goonda [a hired thug often used by landlords and capitalists] that they were. These people reported themselves in the court at an open place. Then they were asked questions by the people. Those who suffered at the hands of these goondas pointed fingers at them. The tough sometimes breaks down crying; sometimes painfully asks, "who will marry my sister if you brand me

antisocial?" The people sometimes demanded strong punishment to be given to the accused. The party cadre explained the importance and nature of the court. He called upon the people to take it up as a rectification campaign. Transformation is possible for the accused. We must not kill the patient, we must save him and cure his illness.

The concern of the party and people shown in the life of the antisocial made him think. He vowed never to repeat the old serious errors. He then and there pledged to live in maximum cooperation with the people. He further appealed the people to help him transform. Thus a problem that needed solving for the last many years ended. Where the established court and police failed, the people won.

It was interesting to note that a Marxist-Leninist cadre too was subjected to court measures for his sectarian errors in handling contradictions among the people.

This trend of parallel jurisdiction is growing. It is making the ruling classes and parliamentary parties shudder at the thought of tomorrow. □

Background of Brixton

Continued from page 19

ment. However, the school of experience is a great teacher, and among younger working people there is a growing disaffection with the Labour Party, and among the young blacks there is growing rejection of the conciliatory approach of an older generation of black leaders.

In Britain, we are arriving at a crucial juncture in the class struggle. The growing crisis of imperialism is increasingly calling into question long established bourgeois habits of thought and action among the masses. Material conditions dictate that they can no longer live in the old complaisant way, and also this means that the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way either. The monopolists increasingly have to resort to the most openly brutal methods to keep the people down. All of this places a very heavy burden of responsibility on the genuine Marxist-Leninist elements still remaining in Britain. Can we show the working masses of all races a genuine revolutionary way forward? Yes, of course we can, if we unreservedly and untiringly commit ourselves to the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement and party under the guidance of the accumulated wisdom of working people in struggle everywhere, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. □

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