



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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ON TO MAY 1st



International Workers' Day

Clash of Two Trends Over ~~MacArthur~~ Park

They murdered **Damián García** but they have never been able to bury his name and even as we go to press a fresh eruption of the issue has captured headlines in L.A. and on national Cable TV news.

First an idea, and then a keenly-felt demand which has burst alive in the barrios of L.A. and into the larger politics of the city: MacArthur Park, in a community of oppressed proletarians near downtown, must be renamed **Damián García Park**!

"I think **Damián** was a good man. He even went to the Alamo to put up the red

flag to represent all of us," a youth told us as we stood in the very projects where **Damián** was murdered (some distance from the renamed park). "All of us in Aliso Village want to name MacArthur Park after **Damián García**." In point of

~~MacArthur~~ **Damián García**

fact, there is plenty of debate, especially around Pico-Aliso Village, about **Damián** and the political line for which he fought. But this comment was typical of those young rebels who very much want to win "all of Aliso" to this gloriously outrageous demand, a kind of

assertion of the proletariat right under the noses of bourgeois L.A.

For one thing, it is a joy to tear down the memory of bloody old General MacArthur. Here is one of America's foremost rabid dogs on a leash; wherever the U.S. called for blood to run for its glory and profit, there one finds the General, often eager to extend the massacres farther than suggested. MacArthur spent many of his early years enforcing U.S. suppression of the Philippines. There he was in early WW2, direc-

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May 1st Internationalist Exchanges

From Ann Arbor to Peru

At a recent "Take Back the Night" march by 500 women in Ann Arbor, Michigan and a concert in Detroit the following night, 99 people (mostly young women) signed an internationalist banner to be sent to Peru in memory of slain rebel guerrilla commander Edith Lagos: "In memory of Edith Lagos — Break the Chains! Unleash the fury of Women as a mighty force for revolution! On to May

Day!"

Many who signed this banner were very moved when hearing of the revolutionary life of Edith Lagos and a few struggled hard to write messages in Spanish: "¡Libertad! ¡Solidaridad! ¡Incas mujeres marcharon! ¡Viva las mujeres!" were a few of these messages that reached across the imperial and cultural boundaries to touch the hands with the revolutionary struggle burning so bright in Peru.

From Detroit to Proletarians from Turkey in Germany

Revolutionary greetings to Turkish proletarians in Germany:

Today we had a day of revolutionary struggle to free Darnell Summers. Hundreds of rebel youth have been in the forefront, taking red armbands into the high schools and into the neighborhoods of the oppressed. Workers from Turkey, we of a people would share in your oppression, give recognition, and share in your struggle for liberation of our whole international class. We are determined we'll stand together in the near future as one.

Free Darnell Summers! Go for it! On to May Day!

—16 people attending the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers Rally, April 20, 1983

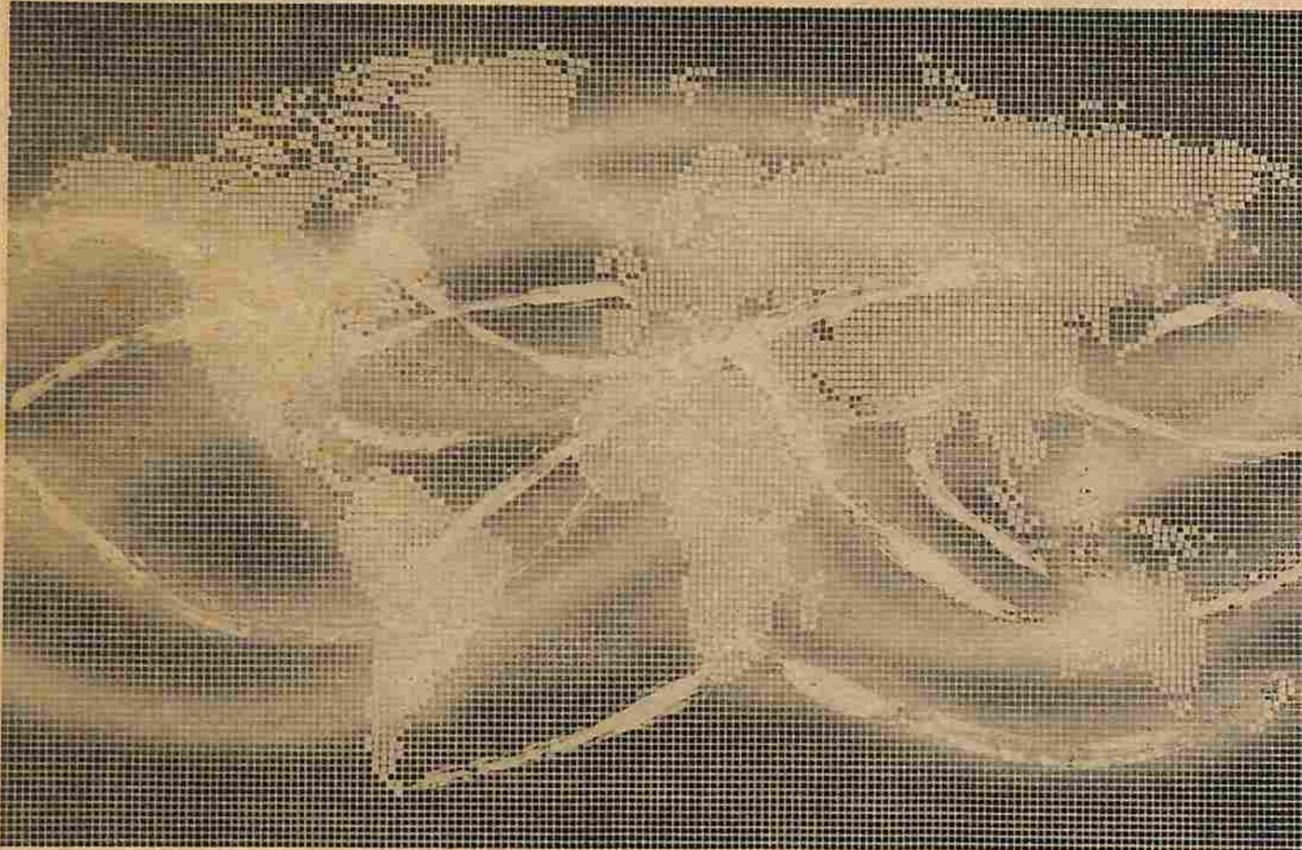
From L.A. High to Berlin, Miami and Peru

L.A. High Youth Break Out on May Day!

Be Realistic, Demand the Impossible

From Berlin to the Andes to Miami, Fan the Flames of Revolution!

This banner is now being circulated and signed by students at L.A. High.



What Will It Take To Stop World War?

A Forum On The Underlying Causes and Solutions

On Friday afternoon, April 29th, anti-nuke activists in the San Francisco Bay Area are holding a very significant forum on the U.C. Berkeley campus. Its title: "What Will It Take To Stop World War? A forum on: the underlying causes and solutions." Among those who will speak on the main panel are members of: The Overthrow Cluster of the Livermore Action Group; Berkeley Students for Peace; the Revolutionary Communist Party; the Vandenberg Action Coalition.

Those organizing the forum, all of whom were participants in the occupation/blockades of Vandenberg Air Force Base, are aiming for an event that will sharpen and clarify the crucial questions

raised by world war, by bringing into debate and struggle the most important political currents that have made up the "radical" section of the anti-nuke movement. The political trends are: libertarian/anarchist, radical pacifists, feminists, Marxists, and revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalists.

The questions addressed by the forum have been on the minds of anti-nuke activists for some time, but recent events have spurred many activists to dig much more deeply into them as part of developing a "more threatening" movement, as one person put it.

This forum is seen by those involved as the first serious forum within the move-

ment in this area aimed at examining the causes of world war. Some have been very unsatisfied with the common, but surface agreement that, "The source of war is the system, and radical changes in the system are required"; there is a feeling that this is no longer enough, and that a much deeper understanding of the underlying forces shaping world events is demanded in order to advance in the storms ahead.

This forum, coming as it does just before May First, is obviously something that deserves some attention by class conscious proletarians. Furthermore, many of the people involved in the forum are recognizing sharply that the anti-nuke

movement "as it is" has limitations — and there is a conscious search for strategic allies among some. The *RW* has been told of a discussion in one of the forum planning meetings at which a pacifist involved suggested an invitation to someone from a country where revolution is going on now, who could give their perspective on the non-violent anti-nuke movement in the U.S. — and on the questions being grappled with at the forum. Some proletarians are already planning to attend. The location for the forum is: 105 North Gate Hall, U.C. Berkeley campus, April 29th from 1 to 5 p.m. □

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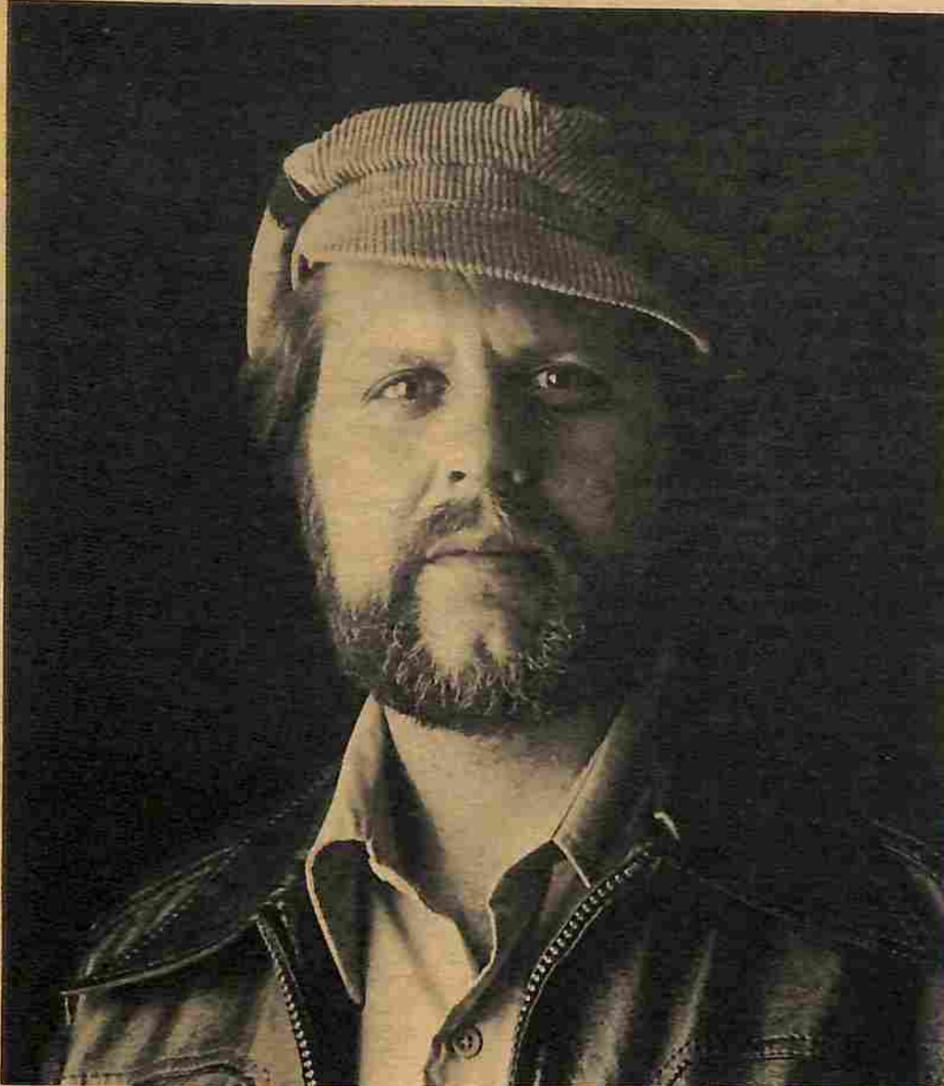
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by Bob Avakian

During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. We are currently printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.

"Yeah, I know, I'm hip to revolution... and when the time comes I'll be there." This is a common response to political work carried out by our party and others following the party's line — a common response especially from those who most need a revolution and would most like to see one. Yet this response represents a difference with us, a feeling that either revolution is not really possible and not worth devoting your life to working for, or at least that the political preparation that our party recognizes as the central task now, with the RW at the heart and hub of it, is not the right way to go about it — or, if it is, it's for us to do and it is not for others to join in, or to join the party.

The latest report of the party's Central Committee (See "Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown" in RW No. 194) speaks directly to this question:

"'I'll be there when the time comes.' What people mean by this needs to be examined and gone into politically with the advanced. Sometimes (and this is a very broad sentiment among oppressed people) this reflects a hatred of the system, but despair at seeing the possibility of overthrowing it. We should not underestimate the genuine difficulties that face advanced people in a period like this; these are heavy times, which divides into two — their very heaviness often acts as a barrier holding people back. This is especially true for people with some political experience, including a lot of Black people, who have seen some real struggle waged, but still find the system intact. Here our analysis of conjuncture needs to be brought forward — how in one sense they are right, that it is not always possible to overthrow this system, but it is just possible that such a time may be emerging soon and what their role is. This analysis is also important to those who say this and feel the weight of the fact that the great bulk of people today 'ain't doing nothing.' We have to explain that, frankly, the inert mass doesn't matter now — and what is important now is preparation."

(Part III, "Further Thoughts on the Advanced in Society and the Social Base for Our Line")

Such preparation, as the Report also makes clear, means political work that is carried out among all strata and in relation to all major social events but is concentrated among the non-privileged proletarian masses and especially among those awakening to political life. It is true that at the present time such people constitute only a very small minority of the people, but it is also true that this is not very important. Already, as the Report also speaks to, there are events, movements or particular "minor crises" — minor in comparison with the future revolutionary crisis that will grip and convulse all of society to its very foundations — in which masses of people are thrown into motion and in which concentrated political work can have a very important effect, in immediate terms and above all in preparing for that future revolutionary crisis. To be able to take maximum advantage of such "minor" events and crises as well as the major, revolutionary crisis, the consistent, systematic and all-around carrying out of the party's central task is decisive.

Further, it is a basic principle of society's development and of revolution that the social forces and banners that will be in the field when the revolutionary situation does ripen will first appear, before that, in elementary or embryonic form in lesser crises, in times of social upheaval which do not develop all the way into revolutionary situations or even in situations where there is a revolutionary struggle but the revolution is defeated. Lenin pointed to this very phenomenon as one of the most important aspects of the unsuccessful revolution in Russia in 1905; it was one of the most important ways in which that revolution acted as a "dress rehearsal" for the successful revolutionary strug-

*When The Real Deal
Goes Down...*

"I'll Be There"

—You'll Be

Where?!

gle of 1917. It provided the masses, especially those who did suddenly awaken to political life, a chance to observe and to test these different class forces and their programmatic answers to the great questions posed by world events.

In the U.S. in recent years there has not been an actual attempt at the seizure of power as there was in Russia in 1905, but in some significant ways the social upheaval of the late '60s-early '70s, including powerful revolutionary currents within it, acted as such a "dress rehearsal" for the future. Then there were certainly many different class forces and programs in the field, united to a large degree in opposition to the common enemy but sharply contending over every vital question, including how to assess the nature of the enemy, of the problem itself and of the solution. And it must be said that, while proletarian revolutionary forces were present and exerted some influence in those circumstances, they were still young, fragile and only learning to walk on their own feet. Although important strides were made, particularly in the formation of the party, it still lacks deep and broad roots, even among its own, proletarian social base. Here again, we have some very important "coming from behind" to do — or else the revolutionary possibility, whenever it does develop, will be simply thrown away, brutally extinguished or usurped by new oppressors in a "left" or revolutionary guise.

In the present period of the '80s, there are not as yet the kind of radical social ferment and political movements that marked the '60s, and the development of political events and trends of various kinds will be different in this period than in the '60s. But already there are situations in which social and political movements are called into motion by events, and there, in miniature, so to speak, are arrayed the class forces and banners that will take the field in far greater numbers and with far greater intensity as the objective situation sharpens and experiences leaps and ruptures over the next several years. Here again stands out the crucial question of bringing to bear and increasingly strengthening the force and influence of the class-conscious proletariat and its vanguard party through all the twists and turns of this process, and in a concentrated way during those "minor crises" that inevitably occur before a revolutionary situation develops.

To illustrate the importance of this — and of political preparation in the broadest sense — we can put it in the following terms: it is not enough to be "for revolution," it is also decisive to determine exactly *what kind of revolution* you are for, exactly *which revolutionary banner and program* you will uphold and fight for — and there will be many in the field, especially as a revolutionary situation approaches and then ripens. And that choice — or the correct choice, the rallying to the banner of revolutionary communism/proletarian internationalism — will be much more difficult to make if you have not been involved in political preparation.

Let's take the example of the political currents, specifically revolutionary currents, that already exist and will seek to increase their influence and following among the Black masses. In particular, there is not only the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend represented by our party, but also revolutionary nationalists of various kinds (leaving aside bourgeois nationalists and other more clearly reactionary trends). While between these different revolutionary trends, including our own, there is the basis for unity against the imperialist enemy — and our party's policy will be to build that unity as broadly as possible on a principled basis — it is no less true that there should be, will be and must be struggle between these different trends for leadership. It is also objectively true that, if there is to be a thoroughgoing revolution, striking the most powerful blows possible for the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed everywhere, our party must win the struggle for leadership of the overall revolutionary movement. No other outlook and program can or will lead such a thoroughgoing revolution.

This is true even of those revolutionary nationalist forces which genuinely attempt, on the basis of their revolutionary nationalism, to be internationalists at the same time. While such forces can and do take internationalist stands and extend internationalist support to other struggling masses, such internationalism founded on nationalism, even of the most revolutionary kind, cannot be firm or consistent in the final analysis.

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Anti-Nuke Protests Target Trident

On May 1, 1983, the protest against U.S. war preparations will take on some new dimensions in Groton, Connecticut, where the Trident subs are under construction at the General Dynamic Electric Boat plant. Protests against the Trident sub program have been escalating for years, particularly since last July 4, when the Trident *Nein* boarded the *USS Florida* and damaged and defaced the sub, exposing and renaming it the "USS Auschwitz." Right now seven more protesters, the *Plowshares IV*, are on trial in the New London court for carrying out an encore to the Trident *Nein* action last October, scarcely a week after the *Nein* were sentenced. In recent months more demonstrations have taken place at the plant, and on Good Friday, 37 Seminarists from Harvard, Yale and other northeast universities were arrested at a sit-in at the plant gate.

Now a "May Day, May Day," rally and demonstration has been called for Groton on May 1 and several hundred people are expected, including a sizeable number of professionals and anti-nuke

activists from the suburban area who will be marching in front of the plant for the first time. Many of these people not long ago believed that "the system worked ok for them" but now consider "the bomb is a great equalizer," as they put it. Many of them have supported the nuclear freeze resolution. Now they are beginning to take a new look at how the system really "works" and not only in nuclear weapons but in Central America, the Middle East and elsewhere. This protest is being called by new forces and the theme of the protest is "an affirmation of life" in the spring season in contrast to the Trident death machines. Following on the recent Greenham Common actions in England, the demonstrators plan to form a human chain along the entire length of the chainlink fence in front of the Electric Boat plant.

In the spirit of the *RW* editorial "May Day Mathematics and the 'Strategic Calculus' of Nuclear War," (April 8, *RW* No. 200) a number of proletarians and youth in the New York area have been planning a delegation to take part in this

demonstration as part of the proletariat's mounting of the political stage on May First in significant actions, where progressive people and potential allies of the international proletariat are protesting imperialist war preparations.

In fact the political "stage" at the Electric Boat plant and in the whole southeastern Connecticut area is very much set. Connecticut has the highest per capita defense spending in the country and 90% of it is concentrated in this area of the state, most spectacularly in the Trident sub program. The militant pacifist actions at this plant and subsequent trials have kept the light of exposure and opposition focused on the Trident program. In the current trial of the *Plowshares IV* the state decided to drop all of the felony charges connected with the substantial damage done to the *USS Georgia* because the defendants had filed a timely discovery motion which would have required the state to allow them to inspect the sub first hand to determine the amount of damages done. This would have resulted in more exposure and con-

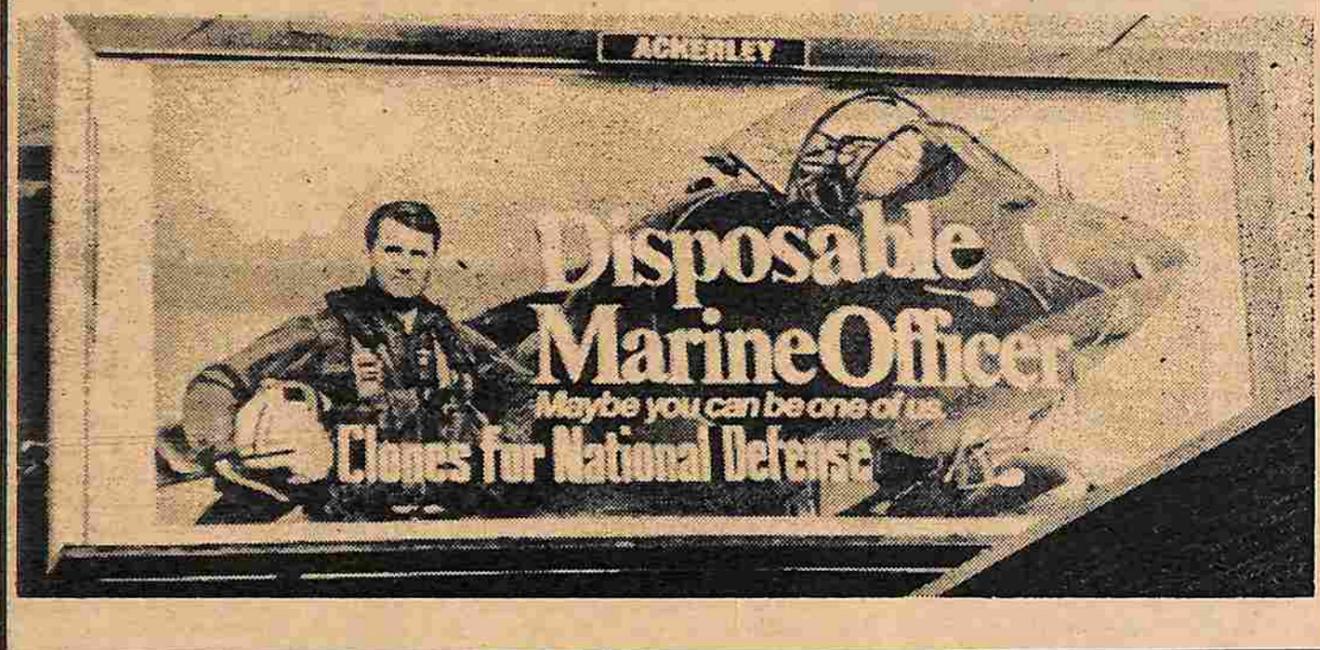
demnation. Instead they are now charged with three misdemeanors though three are still charged with a felonious forgery in connection with their homemade passes that they wore in the plant. Early in this trial the judge declared the question of nuclear weapons as completely *irrelevant* and threatened to clear the courtroom.

However these "profound" declarations and threats have failed to "clear the air" of anti-war protests in New London or in the area generally. For example, in mid-April when Russell Ford, a draft resister, was found guilty in the Hartford court of failure to register, Ford's supporters refused to leave the courtroom and had to be dragged outside. Significantly, one of those who protested Ford's conviction was a Hartford man who in the 1960s spent 36 months in jail as a draft resister, sentenced by the same judge who had just heard Ford's case in the same court.

The inability of the authorities to squash the growing dissent and resistance in an area where they have maximum political and economic clout reveals a great potential in this anti-nuke, anti-war sentiment. Our rulers are well aware of their problems. They have stepped up their efforts to paint the protestors with a "terrorist" brush. At one point they charged the *Plowshares IV* with a "reckless endangerment" felony. This was a wholly fabricated story that had the defendants tying the sub's hatch covers shut with workers below. They dropped this charge, not only because it was a complete lie, but they probably also realized that the legal defenders of Trident and nuclear war preparations would come off even more bizarre than usual trying to pin a "reckless endangerment" rap on the *anti-Trident* protestors.

All this sharpening political struggle only makes more urgent the need and possibility for the international proletariat to enter into the battle in the spirit of "fighting for the world's destiny — nothing less," boldly and creatively struggling for its revolutionary program which is the only way forward to prevent world war. □

Truth In Advertising Strikes Seattle



The Real Deal

Continued from page 3

Actually this is not a new question. Recently, I was reading some of the writings of Giuseppe Mazzini, an Italian patriot of the 19th century and ardent champion of its national cause at a time when that was progressive, even revolutionary. Like many revolutionary nationalists today, Mazzini tried to combine nationalism and internationalism. He stressed for example that "Your first Duties — first, at least, in importance, are, as I have told you, to Humanity. You are men before you are citizens or fathers." But Mazzini also insisted that it was *through fighting for the nation* that the greatest contribution to humanity and its liberation was made: "In labouring according to true principles for our Country we are labouring for Humanity; our Country is the fulcrum of the lever which we have to wield for the common good."

Mazzini's views fundamentally represented those of the radical bourgeoisie — which was still progressive in the circumstances of his time and place. But it is also an historical lesson worthy of attention that many of the nationalist views of 19th century figures like Mazzini have been used to promote extremely reactionary purposes in this century, when the cause of nations such as Italy has become counter-revolutionary. In this era — of imperialism and proletarian revolution — these things tend to become telescoped; by this I mean that nationalist forces, even where they lead a progressive or revolutionary struggle, tend to turn rather quickly into reactionary forces, even retainers of imperialism, when they come to power. In the final analysis, it is only the forces and outlook representing the proletariat — which are internationalist first and above all and which are based on that class which can and must bring about the most radical reshaping of the world in order to realize its class interests and historical role, overcoming national inequalities but then, on that basis, eliminating nations themselves and all other divisions and barriers characteristic of the bourgeois epoch — it is only such forces and such an outlook that can lead a thoroughly revolutionary, thoroughly internationalist struggle.

Of course, besides the revolutionary nationalists — with whom both unity and struggle are possible, and necessary — there are other forces contending for leadership among the oppressed with whom unity is not possible but who must be exposed and combatted as the treacherous enemies they are. This is especially so of the revisionist Communist Party, USA which, insignificant, even irrelevant as it may seem in some circumstances, is already in some cases playing a very influential and therefore very destructive role. This is true of their allied revisionists in struggles and movements that are in an advanced stage in various parts of the world — such as in Central America or parts of Africa — and it is also true, in important if less dramatic ways of the CP, USA itself. As our party's recent Central Committee Report stresses, these revisionists are not mere sell-outs or simply reformists, they have a program for

coming to power in a bourgeois set-up altered in form from the present one, and they have and rely on the backing of a powerful material force in the world — the Soviet Union and its social-imperialist bloc. But this does not mean that the revisionists do not ever mobilize the masses nor specifically that they will not mobilize them if a revolutionary crisis develops; it means rather that they will seek to use the masses — perhaps even involving them in armed struggle — as leverage to achieve their objectives of refashioning society along *state capitalist, social-imperialist* lines, perhaps in alliance with some of the more traditional bourgeois forces.

It is this that the Central Committee Report is speaking to when it points out that among those who say, "I'll be there when the time comes,"

"people are often expressing quite sincere revolutionary intentions when they say this, but fail to see its political content. While many such people will actually come forward and 'be there when the time comes' and may possibly contribute to a proletarian revolution, we should also point out to really advanced people that such a stand may wind up making you nothing more than cannonfodder for a revisionist (or other imperialist) coup attempt. With a strategy which combines gradualism with putschism (from the top), the revisionists certainly have a role for the basic masses — and it is precisely that of unconscious cannonfodder."

In light of all this, when it is said "I'll be there" the question must then be sharply put: you'll be *where*?! "There" must be there during the period of political preparation, working to strengthen and to ready the forces rallying to the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist banner and broadening and deepening its influence and following among the masses as they awaken to political life, before and leading into a revolutionary situation. We have stressed many times — but it cannot be stressed too many — that this work and struggle of preparation will have a decisive influence on the question of *whether* a revolution succeeds when a revolutionary crisis does ripen and *what kind* of revolution will occur, with which class in the forefront, leading toward what goal. This is the class content and political essence of what the Central Committee Report emphasizes in concluding on this point:

"we have to struggle with advanced people to grasp that when a chance comes for proletarian revolution we can't afford to miss it: we have to get politically prepared. The advanced have to get politically conscious on a whole other level, get organized, get into the party and most basically in this period of the '80s get ready for revolution."

NEXT WEEK:
The '60s Weren't Always "The '60s,"
And the '80s Will Be Far Heavier

Anthropologist Writes

On The Margaret Mead Controversy

The following article was submitted to the RW by anthropologist, Nina Schiller.

Within the past few months, Margaret Mead, upheld for decades as the world's foremost anthropologist by the American press, has been sharply criticized by this same press. As an anthropologist, I have some thoughts about this criticism I'd like to share with your readers.

The occasion for this criticism of Mead is a book written by Derek Freeman, entitled *Margaret Mead in Samoa, The Making and Unmaking of An Anthropological Myth*. It was published by Harvard University Press in March 1983. In this book, Freeman argues that Mead's data on Samoa, popularized in her 1928 book *Coming of Age in Samoa*, is fundamentally wrong. Freeman's criticism of Mead's 55-year-old book made the front page of the *New York Times*. The *Times* followed with two other articles in an editorial in the same week. In its articles the *Times* stressed that Freeman's work "will certainly give fresh ammunition to sociobiologists" because "instead of being gentle and non-competitive, as she portrayed them, Samoans are an intensely competitive and aggressive people." The flurry of stories in the *New York Times* was followed by an avalanche of almost invariably favorable coverage, including articles and editorials in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Baltimore Sun*, *Science* 83, *Discover*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The Economist*, etc.

These stories carried the message, variously worded, that Mead distorted her data out of an ideological, unscientific desire to present human beings as inherently neither aggressive nor competitive. From the press coverage, one was led to think, although there was no open statement of this, that it is scientific to conclude that human violence begins in the genes.

According to the media, Freeman's book was provoking "heated discussion" in anthropology. The *New York Times* reporter who had written the first article on Mead and Freeman insisted, when I got him on the phone, that the reason for all the media coverage of Freeman was the furor in anthropology caused by Freeman's book. The facts, as usual, did not bother the *Times*. The fact was that the media event around Freeman's book began the last day of January and went on through February. But the book itself wasn't published until March. Only after it was published was it available to be read by anthropologists.

Then why all the press coverage? When I finally was able to obtain a copy of Freeman's book, I read it to get a better understanding of just what the media was promoting. Although the *New York Times* is not known for promoting a high level of scholarship or writing, as I read the book I continued to be astonished that the *Times* embraced a book which is so poorly written, researched, and reasoned.

Freeman tries in three different ways to prove his basic point that what we do is determined by our genes and our genes make us warlike, competitive, and brutal. He begins with a fractured fairy-tale rendition of the history of anthropology. He goes on to use a sleight-of-hand logic, reasoning as follows: If Mead can be proven wrong about Samoa, then Freeman must be right about all human behavior everywhere. He then presents data on Samoa based primarily on his hobnobbing with Samoan chiefs and Christian ministers. He ends with a grandiose call for a "more scientific anthropological paradigm," which turns out to be the same old simple-minded invocation of "impulses and emotions" historically authored by Social Darwinists as explanations for complex human behavior.

Freeman tells us that in the beginning of the 20th century, anthropology was shaped by a debate between the cultural determinists and the eugenicists. Freeman describes the eugenicists and the

cultural determinists as "two antithetical intellectual and scientific schools" which were "each insufficient in scientific terms... the one overestimating biology and the other overvaluing culture."

But eugenics has nothing to do with science and it did more than "overestimate biology." It was an openly, enthusiastically racist set of ideas with an immediate program of forced sterilization of the "lower classes" and a cut-off of immigration, and was ultimately a rationale for genocide. When American anthropologists such as Boas, Kroeber, Lowie and Mead opposed the eugenicists, their opposition did not stem from a penchant to differentiate anthropology from biology, as Freeman implies. They opposed eugenics as one virulent variety of Social Darwinism, which they rightly saw as a viciously reactionary and pseudo-scientific movement.

Social Darwinism held that the laws of biological evolution and natural selection decreed that European and American societies dominate the rest of the world and wipe out indigenous peoples and cultures. Eugenics advocated "improving" the world still more by eliminating any remaining races which Western cultures deemed "inferior." In the 1930s and '40s, the eugenicists' ideas and texts were utilized and promoted by the Nazis. Freeman mentions this only in passing. His label "scientific school" and his equation of eugenicist ideas with anthropological ideas, gives the discredited old poison of eugenics a new legitimate package.

In order to discredit anthropology's attack on Social Darwinism, Freeman informs his readers that the response of the early American anthropologists "was essentially political and ideological." He tells us that anthropology was "essentially a system of belief, which, in claiming to represent something like revealed truth, required the suppression of whatever did not conform with its central dogma. And it was to such suppression... that the principal conclusion of Mead's Samoan research was directed."

But to understand that Mead and her contemporary anthropologists were waging an ideological battle does not, as Freeman implies, discredit the anthropology they produced. There is nothing unscientific about struggling to replace reactionary ideas with the truth. Nor did Mead and the others suppress biological data or "precipitate the disjunction of cultural anthropology from biology." In fact, they were instrumental in establishing physical anthropology as one of the four fields studied by all American anthropologists.

In 1972, in a preface written upon the re-issuing of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead responded to the type of criticism recently raised by Freeman:

"When this book was written, the very idea of culture was new in the literate world. The idea that our every thought and movement was a product not of race, not of instinct, but derived from the society within which an individual was reared, was new and unfamiliar... The renaissance of racism among some scientists and the pleas for a harsh, manipulative behaviorism among some psychologists make me wonder whether the modern world understands much more about the significance of culture — the interplay between the individual endowment and cultural style, the limits set by biology, and the way in which human imagination can transcend those limits — than was known in 1928. So I do not apologize for the emphasis... it is still, alas, very necessary."

Freeman follows his faulty history with faulty logic. His logic goes like this: (1) Boas, Mead's mentor, wanted to prove, in Boas' words, that "the social stimulus is infinitely more potent than the biological mechanism"; (2) to prove this point, Mead went to Samoa to examine whether Samoan adolescence was marked by the same turmoil and trauma experienced by American adolescents; (3)

Mead found Samoan adolescence to be relaxed and undisturbed and the Samoan people to be gentle, harmonious, and cooperative; (4) Mead was wrong — the Samoans are child abusers and rapists, and their teens are psychologically disturbed; (5) hence humans are basically aggressive, and human biology, not culture, is primary in shaping human behavior.

Freeman makes both factual and logical errors in this syllogism. Mead's study was not necessary to prove the primacy of culture, and this was not her research problem. The tremendous diversity of human cultures historically and around the world proves the primacy of culture, even if every word Mead wrote about Samoa was wrong. In focusing on adolescence in Samoa, Mead wanted to investigate whether the primacy of culture extended into a behavioral realm as linked to biology as puberty. Mead's answer was that the behavior of teenagers is not reducible to changes in hormones. Even if Freeman's data about Samoan teenagers is more accurate than Mead's, and Samoan teenagers experience stress and conflict, the psychological stress described by Freeman bears little resemblance to the problems of American teenagers. The differences stem from vastly different cultural experiences.

But what about Freeman's data? Was Mead's description of Samoa wrong? Freeman's description of Samoan life does differ dramatically from Mead's. Mead reported that the Samoans were a gentle people who never took anything too seriously. According to Freeman, Samoa was and is a society where all concerns of the individual are centered around his or her rank in the society. Each person is constantly comparing his or her own prestige and privileges to that of all others. Freeman emphasizes that tales of highly competitive encounters abound in the tradition of Samoa. Mead was impressed by the fact that "rank is so arranged that there are titles for all those capable of holding them."

Working from 19th-century European sources, Freeman argues that the Samoans engaged in bloody wars which wiped out settlements. According to Mead, warfare had been "stylized as part of the inter-relationship between villages that were ceremonial rivals and occasioned few casualties." Freeman argues that the competition between settlements led men to try to rape the ceremonial virgin of the competing village. Moreover, rape was a widespread activity. Mead states

that the institution of ceremonial virgins freed all others to engage in adolescent intercourse without reprisal. Mead described adolescence as "the age of maximum ease." Freeman describes Samoan adolescence as fraught with stress and tension.

Freeman's account differs from Mead's for several reasons. Some of the differences are attributable to differences between the two authors in vantage point, time and place; other differences are attributable to the ravages of imperialism on all aspects of Samoan society in the years intervening between the two studies.

But most fundamentally, the contradictory descriptions stem from contradictions within Samoan society itself, contradictions which neither Mead nor Freeman were able to analyze. Mead and Freeman studied different islands in different parts of Samoa. They worked with different segments of Samoan society. Mead spent most of her time with adolescent girls; Freeman talked primarily to male chiefs, and was even adopted into a chiefly family.

The society which both Mead and Freeman were trying to describe was rapidly changing, although both wrote as though there was a continuous unchanged and uniform pattern of Samoan life. Samoan contact with Europe began in 1722. In 1900, Western Samoa became a protectorate of Germany and Eastern Samoa became American territory. In 1923 Mead used as her base for field work an American naval station. By that time most Samoans were Christian. Freeman conducted his work in Samoa in the middle of World War 2. Most of his data for his book were collected in 1967. To verify his claim that the violent behavior he observed in the 1960s was an old Samoa tradition, Freeman cites court records from the American high court in Samoa!

However, the onslaught of imperialism only exacerbated contradictions already present in Samoan life. Both Mead and Freeman were able to give only a partial picture of Samoan society because neither examined the main contradictions of traditional Samoan society.

Samoan society was a rank society. Rank societies are intermediate societies in the sense that they are in transition. They are in the process of moving from classless to class-structured societies. They have developed the means of production of food which allows for permanent settlement and the generation of a

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A "Forbidden Crossing"

As part of celebrating May Day, a group of proletarians from East Palo Alto, California, are planning to go to the campus of Stanford University. While Stanford is only a few miles from East Palo Alto, it is a "sacred ground," one of the bourgeoisie's major centers of research and training of an intellectual and managerial elite; for the proletarians who live there, Black, Mexican and Indochinese, just going to the campus involves breaking out of the narrow strip of land to which the oppressed in that area have been confined.

One Black man explained, "You can't even walk out of your door at night here, especially if you're alone. They're watching you, they are on you." By "they" he meant particularly the police, and he went on to tell how recently he had tried to drive out of East Palo Alto to go listen to some music near Stanford, and the police picked him up almost as soon as he crossed the boundary line of East Palo Alto, questioning and harrasing him so that he never made it to the concert at all.

Of course, more than just entering

Stanford physically, the proletarians plan to enter it politically, in the character and with the spirit of May First. Proletarians have been studying the party's line and analysis on world war and historic conjuncture in order to give their May Day celebration a fine revolutionary internationalist character. At the same time, a group of students and professors at Stanford have formed themselves into a kind of "welcoming committee" and are eagerly awaiting the arrival of the proletariat on April 29th. Some foreign students are especially enthusiastic about meeting with the oppressed nationalities within the U.S. to ask them about their conditions of life, and why they think national oppression is still so sharp.

Among the people preparing for the event, there is a certain vision pushing through: that of the present system swept away and the "natural" divisions and inequalities between people radically challenged, narrowed and transformed, in a small part of suburban USA and around the world. □

Darnell Summers Day

Red Armbands, Revolutionary Politics Brighten Detroit

On Wednesday, April 20, Darnell Summers Day took visible expression at several Detroit high schools, unemployment offices, housing projects and neighborhoods and at a rally uniting an array of political forces. In the course of the day opposition to the political railroad of this revolutionary internationalist moved to a higher level as the lines around the case became more sharply drawn and revolutionary-minded proletarians — most especially youth — stepped forward, sometimes amidst sharp controversy, to take up the symbol of the day — a red armband. In the course of building for Darnell Summers Day, close to 3000 armbands were distributed, with nearly 1000 being distributed on Wednesday itself.

For several days events had been building up at one Black high school situated in a neighborhood that has long been a political center for revolutionary trends in Detroit. Early in the week Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) organizers were out at the school with flyers, and *RW*'s. Quickly groups of students clustered around to learn more about the case. A number decided right then and there to distribute armbands among their friends. Several linked the armbands with May First, asking the RCYBers about the connection between Darnell and May Day. This group made plans to meet with the organizers the next day to talk about how it went getting the armbands out at school. As they walked off, the conversation centered on what would be the best slogan to put on the armbands. Another youth who grabbed a stack and began passing them out to his friends was undaunted when some more backward types came over to harass him. A group of women students who were talking with the RCYB members chased these fools off with some ferocious scowls as the youth just stepped up his agitation.

A lot of the discussion jumped off over the question of "What good would it do to wear an armband?" One of the youths raised the question, "The ruling class doesn't care if we support him or not." Someone else shot back, "No, it does make a difference. In fact we should take these armbands out to the suburbs where these judges live." Several agreed that they would keep the armbands on outside the school to give them greater visibility. A number of May First stickers were handed out that afternoon as the students demanded the "one with the picture of the man out the door on it." For blocks around the school a trail of May First stickers led to the main bus stop the students congregate at.

On the morning of the 20th itself, the wall of the school — right by the main doors — had been transformed into a



brightly decorated beautiful May First mural with posters and internationalist calls. This mural both infuriated the school authorities and caused a lot of discussion among the youth pouring into the school. As students began grabbing up armbands and putting them on, school security guards came tumbling out the main door. They immediately started to go after the youths who had had the armbands in hand — pressuring them to throw the armbands down. With one student flunkey at their side, they focused especially on the women students, "Come on, baby, put those down. We don't need that here." At the same time they called the police to arrest the revolutionaries. The cops waited till after everyone had already gone inside, then they busted four people. Thinking they had put the lid on the activity around Darnell Summers Day, the authorities were in for a rude surprise. A number of students wore armbands all day inside the school. One student reported that several of the youth were questioning those who had the armbands and they responded by explaining what the case was about. The word of the arrests outside traveled quickly. The more rebellious students put it out like this — "The busts went down because they didn't want us knowing about this." In one American History class, things really got loose. A pro-

gressive teacher helped focus the "subject for today" onto the case of Darnell Summers, the arrests outside the school, and most heatedly, the question of world war, which the students took up with a lot of intense interest.

After school that day the debate and discussion spilled over to the bus stops and onto the buses that the students take home. There was a lot of discussion about the meaning and the color of the red armbands. A number of students connected the armband with revolution. One student asked, "But why is it red? Why can't it be another color?" Some youth were heard to say they would wear an armband but one that was red, black and green. And that gave rise to a lot of debate, with some other youths arguing, "That was old stuff."

Earlier in the week several RCYB organizers went to a high school located on the edge of a mixed neighborhood. They were urged to come over there by a woman student who lives in the area where A.C. Wilson — a 17-year-old gunned down by a reactionary store owner — lived. She had read the paper before, "all of it," and thought it would be good for the Darnell Summers case to be brought to the students there. Leaflets and over 50 armbands went out that morning to both white and Black youth going into school.

At the Soup Kitchen

Meanwhile, on Wednesday, Darnell Summers Day was having a big impact among those proletarians gathered at a busy "soup kitchen" on the east side. The lines outside the cafeteria were long because people were starting to run low on food stamps. A number of people waiting to go inside put on red armbands. The presence of these red armbands inside created quite a stir among those already there. Those people began asking the *RW* sellers what the armbands were all about. Others came out asking for an armband right off. Again the question of "What difference will it make to wear an armband?" posed itself sharply. One person argued that "it makes a lot of difference if we wear these... because they want to keep this all covered up. They want to send a message through this case — don't be like Darnell Summers."

There was a lot of sentiment among these impoverished proletarians to take up a suggestion by the party to send a message to the people of India exposing to them what "life in America" is really like. For a while a whole crowd gathered — many wearing armbands in front of the cafeteria, trying to figure out a message to send to the masses of people in India. Several people stepped forward to put their own inscription on the banner.

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Youth Plan May 1st Breakouts

From one area comes a report that high school youth are struggling to carry off a breakout on Friday, April 29th and tackling how to maximize its potential spillover effect to other schools... to try and apply the real 'new math' — of breakouts begetting breakouts. How to use their high schools as a launching pad to pull out others?... How to help set the tone and terms for the international proletariat far beyond the campus? For one, these same students plan to go out to the workers of the garment district where some of their parents work, or have in the past, to take up the internationalist exchanges and revolutionary May Day.

The following call to the youth from May Day 1982 captures the daring and vision with which youth are taking up this year's May Day as well as the challenge to the youth to be even more consciously and fully in the forefront than ever before and it is in that spirit that we are reprinting it here:

On that day from behind every boundary, every wall and every prison-schoolyard gate will burst the dreams of a future without oppression and war. The proletariat, who come from every nation and belong to none, can lead the assault on the fortress of the past. Above all isn't it the youth who delight in spit-

ting in the face of tradition, defiling every rule and code that bourgeois society would have us live by? And when the youth step out and challenge the hypocrisy and the rot aren't they always attacked? Here with the force of arms of the state, there with a barrage of condescending lies about how inexperienced and naive they are to "the way the world works." "Oh, the idealism of youth" these saviors cluck.

Fine! Let the ideals of youth blaze forth on May First, inspiring our friends and terrifying our enemies. Imagine in the streets of these citadels of imperialist slaughter and oppression, youth from El Salvador, Iran, youth from the ghettos and barrios, and punks from garageland joining together in a living expression of the world we will bring into being.

Let the youth who are filled with daring and determination to raise the red flag to unprecedented heights challenge others to blow the lid off the stifling atmosphere of reformism and look to the future world proletarian revolution.

In this spirit the Revolutionary Communist Party makes a call: Let the youth be in the forefront more fully and consciously than ever before. On to the First of May!

The Pink Nukes of Tahiti

The military jet touches down in Paris. Its classified cargo is smoothly whisked away in an operation by now routine in France, each time dispersed to different areas to avoid detection. The destination: Val-de-Grace military hospital outside Paris, sometime in 1981. The cargo: 50 Tahitians from French Polynesia—all suffering from brain cancer, and most under 35 years of age.

For the past seven years, France has been secretly transporting large groups of patients with unusual cancers to Paris, and to Australian and New Zealand hospitals. These are victims of the nuclear testing program in France's Pacific colony. Beginning in June 1966, one month before the first test, France stopped publishing statistics on cancer and causes of death in Tahiti, and placed Hospital Civil de Papeete entirely into military hands. Patients are threatened with cancellation of treatment if they talk to outsiders. However, an army doctor working for the French Polynesian government estimated that by 1980 10% of the population had been sent overseas for treatment, many of these children with tumors.

Even as this silent poisoning continued, the new "Socialist" Minister of Defense, Charles Hernu, proclaimed upon his appointment in 1981: "Socialist policy is for a democratic examination of the nuclear question. So it's the end of secrecy, except naturally, in relation to national defense secrets. The SP intends to inform the populations concerned—more it intends to consult them through their elected representatives, their responsible officials, and their organizations." The notorious coverup of accidents and pollution by previous "rightist" governments would come to an end.

To prove it, Hernu halted testing—for one month. Then he declared it had been found safe—after studying files prepared by the "rightist" government. The French Polynesian Territorial Assembly unanimously called for an independent investigation by international radiobiologists and doctors. This was ignored; the Assembly is forbidden by law from delving into defense issues. In 1982, when the ship Greenpeace III attempted to gather data on contamination of land and waters, it was prevented from approaching within 15 miles; the protest ship Pacific Peacemaker was rammed by a French man-of-war and severely damaged.

France is determined to hang onto its Polynesian colony and its Pacific Experimentation Center (CEP) at all costs. French Polynesia, made up of 130 small islands, covers an ocean area the size of continental Europe, situated equidistant from Mexico, Chile, and Australia. The population of 150,000 is 70% Tahitian (Maohi), 5% Chinese, 15% *demi* (mixed), and 10% European. France seized the area by force, in the face of several armed rebellions from 1844 through 1897. When the forerunner of the CEP was forced out of the Sahara by the Algerian revolution, it settled into the South Pacific, bringing thousands of troops, Foreign Legionnaires, ex-Algerian *colons*, bureaucrats, and technicians.

From 1966 to 1975, 41 nuclear bombs were exploded over Moruroa and Fangataufa atolls. Fallout was felt as far east as Peru; increased radioactivity and cancer rates were reported as far west as Fiji. As international opposition grew, France came under pressure from fellow imperialists to cool it out. Following 1975, having completed their "big

bomb" testing, France switched to underground testing beneath Moruroa, where it has developed smaller tactical and "theatre" nukes, including the neutron bomb.

The Disappearing Mountain

So far, 53 bombs have been exploded underground. An atoll is a coral ring grown up over an undersea mountain made of brittle basalt; it is both geologically and ecologically very fragile. Dissident engineers and technicians in an internal Atomic Energy Commission report in 1981 exposed that the atoll sinks 2 centimeters after each blast and had sunk more than 1.5 meters; three, four, and five foot deep faults in the testing area are allowing constant seepage of radioactivity into the ocean. In fact, the atoll was compared to Swiss cheese.

Because of the saturation of the undersea mountain, in July 1979 a large 140 kiloton bomb stuck halfway down its drill shaft, where it was detonated anyway. The side of the undersea mountain collapsed and a tidal wave swept over the flat atoll. Seven workers were injured and radioactive debris swept out to sea. Two weeks before, the cleanup of concrete bunkers which had been secretly used to conduct surface detonations resulted in an accidental acetone explosion which killed two and severely injured four workers.

For weeks, France denied that these accidents had even occurred—until after a "committee of inquiry" had determined that "no hazards" existed. It was in the midst of such scandal that the new Defense Minister Hernu issued his "no coverup" promise.

But three months after his speech, the atoll was *twice* as contaminated as before. A huge pile of radioactive waste (scrap metal, bags, clothes, resin and tar) had been piled up loose in the middle of the atoll. In the summer of '81, a tropical storm blew it off into the ocean. Several kilograms of deadly plutonium had been lying around on the reef and ground, mixed with tar to keep it from blowing off; this was torn loose and scattered. Radioactive rubbish is now reportedly spread over a 30,000 sq. mile area.

Since 2500 workers, mostly French, live on Moruroa, and an additional 500 arrive for each test, their union, the CPFT, complained about extreme safety hazards. So, in February of last year, six French deputies, including four socialists, visited Moruroa to inspect the cleanup efforts. They "loudly praised" the fact that "Keep Out" signs were now mounted over radioactive areas. Also, waste is now packed in metal drums and vinyl bags—which are floating in the lagoon. The *pièce de résistance* was a seismograph connected to a whistle—so if a bomb should once again cause part of the mountain to collapse, people will know to watch out for the tidal wave! There is also a platform to jump up onto, fully equipped with hand rails.

Government rhetoric about "cleanup"

and "no coverup" was officially buried last year in an investigation by seven Defense Ministry scientists, who certified the testing program's "safe conditions."

Because of the extreme security attached to this information, the effects of the 100 atmospheric and underground tests can only be hinted at. At Mangareva, 250 miles east of Moruroa, practically all dogs and cats are dead, and the few survivors are sickly and balding. During the atmospheric testing period all the residents of Mangareva were periodically herded and locked into a corrugated tin "shelter" for days at a time. Troops "decontaminated" their homes by sprinkling them with sea water, while hot "warships anchored in the lagoon" for cleanup. Mangareva women have suffered steadily increasing rates of miscarriage; pregnant women are often sent by authorities to the island of Tahiti so that deliveries can be handled with "discretion." The Gambier and Marquesas archipelagos, closest to Moruroa, are experiencing an outbreak of ciguatera poisoning, a prolonged, painful disease caused by eating fish contaminated by ecologically disturbed reefs.

On top of this, French Polynesia has been devastated by three violent hurricanes in the past few months, and a typhoon last week—all for the first time since 1903. Water temperature in the territory is two degrees higher than normal and currents have changed direction; one suspects that this is one "natural disaster" which is as much man-made.

The Nukization of Tahiti

The CEP has brought significant changes to the Tahitian movement, which through the 1940s and '50s was a mass anti-French movement based among semi-peasants and a small number of workers, led by national liberation fighter Pouvanea o Oopa. France quite consciously pumped money on a grand scale into Tahiti via the CEP, in order to create a buffer class of government employees, professionals, and bourgeoisified workers tied to nuke francs. Also, the self-sufficient agricultural economy was destroyed, making the territory dependent on French aid and imports. "If I were a Tahitian," said the '79 French High Commissioner, "I would wake up every morning and pray to God that the French continue to set off their bomb." Today, CEP generates 41% of internal wealth. French Polynesia suddenly became the 15th wealthiest country in the world. So, many of the *demis*, Chinese, and skilled workers support the nuclear program.

In the early period of CEP construction, there were also large numbers of Polynesian laborers hired, though these were later laid off. Two thirds of the population of the territory flocked in search of jobs to the island of Tahiti, where today most of the Polynesians are crowded into fetid Papeete slums, suffering chronic unemployment, poverty, and discrimination. The urban areas, long a

colonial enclave, changed color.

The independence struggle, which had gone into an ebb and become channelled into reformist politicking, began in the 1970s to draw forward radical returned students and middle classes, as well as lower strata Polynesians.

In 1972, a group of young militants led by Charlie Ching broke into a French military camp and stole 19 boxes of ammo. As they were being sentenced to five years prison and 10 years exile, one of the defendants poured a bag of soil onto the courtroom floor shouting, "This is Tahitian soil, not French soil. Go home you bastards! Vive l'indépendance!"

Several thousand Tahitians took over the Parliament building on June 10, 1976, to prevent its opening. It was occupied for ten months, until France appeased the leading reform parties by conceding a slightly more liberal statute to the territory.

In January, 1978, a revolt in Nuutania Prison involving 160 inmates was aimed at no less than immediate independence. Rebels unfurled independence banners and shouted slogans against the nuclear tests; they planned to break out and head for the military base, but the revolt was suppressed.

A French Polynesian, struggling with anti-nuke activists from other countries to broaden out their struggle, told them: "Today we have islands which do not belong to us... We have 100 years of French prisons in Tahiti... For us the nuclear problem is only a symptom of a bigger problem." He concluded, "What we want is true self-determination."

When Mitterand was elected, many in the anti-nuclear and independence struggle in Tahiti had hoped that this was the way, or perhaps the only way, to stop the CEP. Many adopted a "wait and see," "give him a chance" attitude. But it is abundantly clear that the Socialist Party maintains its faded pink garb only to camouflage, and to better carry out, the imperialist needs of France. Far from yielding to public pressure, or embarrassment at being "bad socialists," the French government is pressing ahead to further update and refine its nuclear force. Such development of its "own," "independent" Euronukes is an important part of overall NATO war preparations, including the propaganda war with the Soviets. It is very much linked to widening the field for U.S. nukes in Europe while also giving France strength and maneuverability *within* the Western bloc.

In line with this, Hernu recently termed the nuclear program "top priority" and one third of the '83 defense budget is assigned to it. Preparations are underway to expand testing from Moruroa to Fangataufa, which was so contaminated from atmospheric testing in '66 it has never been used since. Fangataufa's reef was dredged to make way for large ships and a huge drill was installed late last year for tests to begin this February. It appears Fangataufa will be used for the "dirtiest" tests, especially refining the neutron bomb, for which a shipload of African monkeys arrived. What a fitting testament to the "independent," "socialist" French nukes: the neutron bomb, designed to protect property in Europe, made in the Pacific over the bodies of monkeys from its neocolonies and the masses from its colonial territory. □

**A World Without Imperialism—
Not an Imperialist World War!**

The Proletarian Fortresses of 1917

In the process of the Russian Revolution, there were key concentrations of revolutionary proletarians that played an indispensable role in the revolution. Neighborhoods like Krasnaya Presnya in Moscow, Vasilevskii Island and the Viborg District in Petrograd, the Kronstadt naval base on the Baltic Sea, factories like the Erikson, and the Putilov works — these and many others gained renown as strongholds of the proletariat and its vanguard party, the Bolsheviks. No simple place of refuge, these areas seethed with political turmoil and debate, and were often on the front lines of upheaval, drawing the government's heaviest fire... outbursts of revolutionary activity from these sites repeatedly shook the country. Particularly as a revolutionary situation developed, they became crucibles for forging new weapons for the proletariat, including the proletarian militia, the Red Guards. For almost two months following the October Revolution the Red Guards of the proletarian "red districts", numbering some 60,000, were the only viable military force at the arm of the new socialist state.

Already by the outbreak of World War I, many of these districts had experienced years of tumultuous revolutionary activity. By 1912, the year that the Bolsheviks decisively broke with the reformist Mensheviks, a new series of economic and political strikes had rocked the cities. In July 1914, an especially fierce battle erupted in Petrograd when during a general strike extending throughout the city, police fired on striking workers at the Putilov plant, killing three. Baricades went up, and for a few days the workers districts became no-go turf for a cop or Cossack.

At this same time, a collision of worldwide impact was brewing in the ornate corridors of the Russian government's Winter Palace. An alliance and plans for war — to be launched within weeks — were being drawn up with the French... in a pointed move, the Russians met with French President Poincaré in the heart of Petrograd right in the midst of the proletarian outbreaks. Enraged, workers gathered in the industrial districts which encircled the "bourgeois" city center including the Winter Palace, and launched foray after foray over the bridges leading to the Palace. A heavily fortified police force and cavalry regiments beat back the attacks; bourgeois Petrograd was a city under siege.

However, the chauvinist fumes of war soon calmed some of the tension in bourgeois Petrograd. A society woman described: "I walked with my husband through the streets of St. Petersburg; traffic had practically stopped on the Nevsky Prospect where long processions carrying icons and the national flags moved slowly along, chanting prayers of the National Anthem. Officers were caught up and carried by the cheering people... These demonstrations of religious and patriotic feelings that swept the nation like a tidal wave, lasted in the capital, on that memorable date, almost throughout the night, and for many days after."

Wartime repression, including martial

law in the factories, decimated large numbers of revolutionary circles of proletarians. Still, a Petrograd police report of December, 1914, nervously stated: "They sneak through the borders, they read reports on the events of the day, they hold conspiratorial gatherings of workers, they procure connections, safe houses, and addresses for the distribution of their organ *Labor's Truth (Trudovaya Pravda)* and for their agitational anti-government literature and in general lead one after another incident of a revolutionary character..."

And there are uncountable hints and pieces from police intelligence reports which indicate that the Petrograd proletariat still simmered: the Warsaw police report of 1915 which noted, horrified, "on the first of May... there was observed two red flags hanging from a telegraph pole. One — in the Chiste District on Warsaw Avenue — had written on it: "Long Live the First of May! Long Live Revolution! Down With the War!" Or, again, the Okhrana (secret police) intelligence of 1916 which reported seeing on a streetcorner "a group of nearly twenty workers, it appeared, who held up a red flag..."

The elements of revolution, and of soon-to-be strongholds for the Bolsheviks, were especially concentrating in the metalworking plants of Petrograd. Almost half of the proletarians in these plants had been drafted; in their place were hired thousands of women, with all their fury at the war, and large numbers of youth. This was a workforce of explosive character indeed, and concentrated in the war-production plants which were often linked to British and French capital. On International Womens Day*, 1917, women and men workers poured

*International Womens Day fell in February by the old Russian calendar.

out of the plants in the Viborg district and elsewhere, touching off the February Revolution. From this time on, the Petrograd workers districts maintained a semi-independent relationship to the Provisional Government; some were more influenced by the Menshevik-led official Soviet, some by anarchists and other left forces, some became base areas for the Bolsheviks.

The following passages, excerpted from memoirs of revolutionary proletarians during 1917, give a sense of the strategic importance of these districts, their character and role at a time when revolution is rapidly maturing, and the importance — in preparing for such a future time — of the advanced section of the proletariat stepping to the political stage today.

Both prior to February 1917 and after it, up to the time I took up work in the Red Guard, I was a member of the Viborg District Committee of the Bolshevik Party, its hereditary treasurer, so to speak. My Party duties had to be performed daily, which made me a steady fixture in the district committee. In those days our Party had to count every kopek. Despite all the shouting of the bourgeois press, the Bolsheviks had neither German nor any other gold. We all knew that the sale of literature was important not only ideologically, but also because of the money it brought in.

I remember how Lacia (who was called "Uncle"), one of our propagandists, roamed all over town looking for literature to sell in our district. We also sold *Pravda*. All this mass of rubles, copper coins, including even kopeks, flowed to me and I had to sort it out and count it.

After finishing work at the lathe (I was a turner) I would snatch a bite or not, as

the case may be — and rush to the district committee to sell literature and then count up our takings: our "business affairs" were limited to that. The district committee was in a tiny room in 62, Sampsonievsky Prospect, as the street was called in those days. That tiny room was given to us rent free by the head of the District Council, Lev Mikhailovich Mikhailov (his pen name was Politicus).

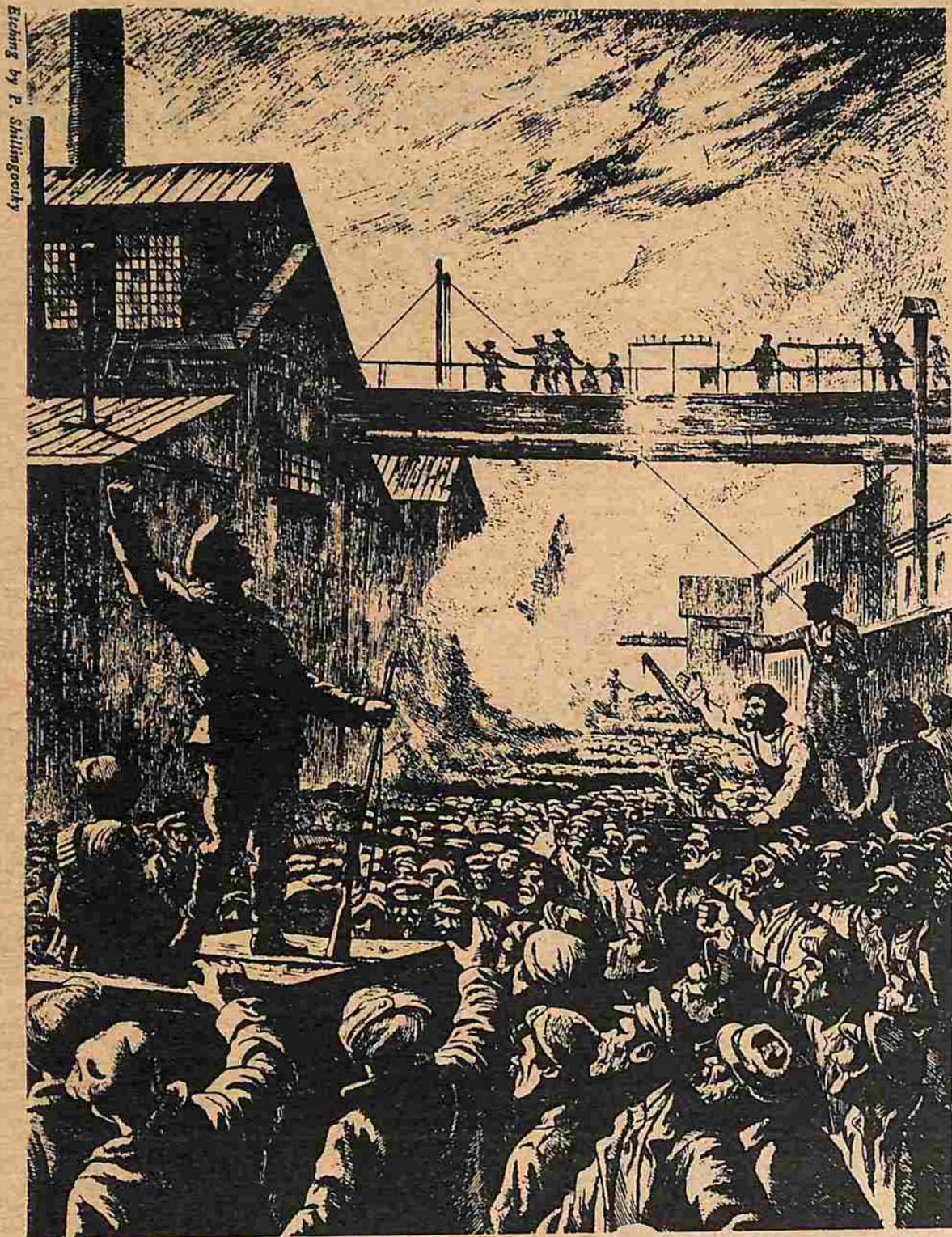
Yes, we enjoyed the protective care of the Petersburg proletariat or, to be exact, that fine section of it, the Viborg District workers. The road both to the factory and to the district was barred to all cadets and to all other official conciliatory elements even during July 1917 when our Party faced the most vicious persecution...

I recall how before the "Kornilov days" the Central Committee and *Pravda*, the central organ of the Bolsheviks, moved to Viborg District. They had their offices in some small rooms on the second floor. Vyacheslav Molotov (Skryabin) sat in one with stacks of different newspapers and press cuttings on all sides. In the other room Maria Ilyinichna (Lenin's sister) was handling incoming workers' letters. She urged us to write about the mood of the workers, to describe little things and details of factory life and to get others to write. We wrote in snatches, these often being our first attempts.

By N. Sveshnikov, Worker of the Old Lessner Works

I came to Petrograd at the end of August 1917 from the Western Front, where I had been arrested and kept in prison for a time for spreading Bolshevik ideas. Following an order issued by

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THE JULY DAYS IN PETROGRAD. MACHINE-GUNNERS CALL UPON THE PUTILOV WORKERS TO SUPPORT THE ACTION AGAINST THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Gateway to the Southwest

Where Gravediggers Are Mass Produced

Bobby is an 18-year-old Chicano who lives in the L.A. area. Two years ago, he got fed up with being an inmate at a local high school and quit to get a job in a hat factory. At 16, he and his two friends were as "illegal" as the couple of hundred immigrants they worked alongside. The pay was minimum wage, \$3.35 per hour, and at first he thought it was so low because he was just starting out. But after a couple of months on the job, he asked a worker who'd been there four years (the highest seniority person he had found) how much he was getting paid. Bobby was shocked when the guy answered, "Four dollars." He's not shocked any more. In the last two years, Bobby has gotten laid off or fired four times from similar jobs in similar type factories, and the pay is always about the same. And so are the conditions of employment. He worked at the hat factory for about four months, but was thrown out when the supervisors found out he was asking people how much they made. He says that he and several other laid-off young men there have been replaced by young immigrant women who are expected to go out with the supervisors if they want to keep their jobs. Bobby's longest stint at any one job was also his favorite — assembling kitchen cabinets. He stayed there six months until his car broke down on the way home from work one day. He needed to take a day off to fix it, and the owner said it was OK. But when Bobby tried to come back to work the next day, he found out he had been replaced.

Los Angeles is one of the leading industrial centers in the U.S.; in fact, L.A. County led all U.S. metropolitan counties in the value of shipments from manufacturing in 1980. A considerable amount of that value — perhaps most of it — was squeezed out of workers in factories just like those that Bobby worked in. Because this is L.A. — gateway to the Southwest and main stop on the trail of the coyotes (smugglers of immigrants) — these lowest-level factory jobs are overwhelmingly held by immigrants from Mexico (although not only immigrants, as Bobby and many of his relatives will point out). And while those who work in the better-off sections of the working class may be auto workers, steel workers, and especially in Southern California aerospace workers, with many of them putting in 20 years or more in the same plant, those who toil on the bottom rung are simply proletarians. It is truly impossible to conceive of a worker referring to "my plant" or "my industry" when it is a rarity if he spends more than a year on any one job.

It is undoubtedly not news to anyone that such manufacturing operations as garment, food processing, furniture and the like are in large measure reliant on immigrant labor. But it is virtually impossible to find a major industry in the L.A. area that is not significantly dependent on these proletarians somewhere along the chain of production. For example, aerospace, Southern California's number one industry, is not exactly as it appears to be on the surface. Sure, there are the massive assembly plants populated by relatively well-paid and generally still quite loyal American workers who leave their suburban homes to piece together the U.S.'s bombers, missiles, space craft, passenger aircraft and so forth. But this is only part of the picture. It leaves out the industry's underbelly — the hundreds of subcontractors, machine shops, foundries, sheet metal factories, aluminum casting operations, die-making plants, and so forth that produce the various components to be assembled in those big-time operations. Such production takes place in small factories, with miserable conditions, and is often back-breaking labor

for wages in the general vicinity of \$3.35 to \$5.00 an hour, with the highly skilled welders, machinists and the like pulling down a little more (but still only about half that of similarly skilled workers in the better-off section of the working class). And in these kinds of jobs, whether it is aerospace or aerosol propellants, immigrant proletarians make up the majority of the work force.

In these factories, the pay may be low, but being treated *como un mulo* (like a mule) is worse. The proletarians that the *RW* spoke with spat out bitterness over this mistreatment most of all. One immigrant who works in a small machine shop told us of the time that he had pneumonia and the owner refused to accept the doctor's word on the matter. "He made me come into the shop so he could feel my head," he said, contempt dripping from every word. In another concentrated example, we were told of a factory where trucks and vans were converted into RV's. There, the workers had to line up and walk past a security guard in order to go to work; to make sure that no one would be tempted to take a breather during working hours, all cigarettes had to be checked with the guard at the door. In many of these factories, it is common practice for all the doors and windows to be locked from the start of the working day until the end of the shift. "If you leave your lunch in the car," said one worker, "forget it. You'll just have to go hungry, because they won't let you out of the place until quitting time."

Another proletarian told us, "they really get you where you have to accept certain things." This was said while we were talking with a group of workers outside of a furniture factory in an L.A. industrial park at lunchtime. They had not seen the *RW* before and were as interest-

ed in what we had to say as we were in listening to them. Suddenly a couple of the top supervisors of the company came walking out of the plant, headed in our direction. Not wishing to cause the workers to lose their jobs, we began to leave. The workers hesitated, looked at each other and then told us to stay. They were obviously nervous, but refused to let us leave until their overseers had gone back inside. Given their situation, it was an act of great pride and defiance.

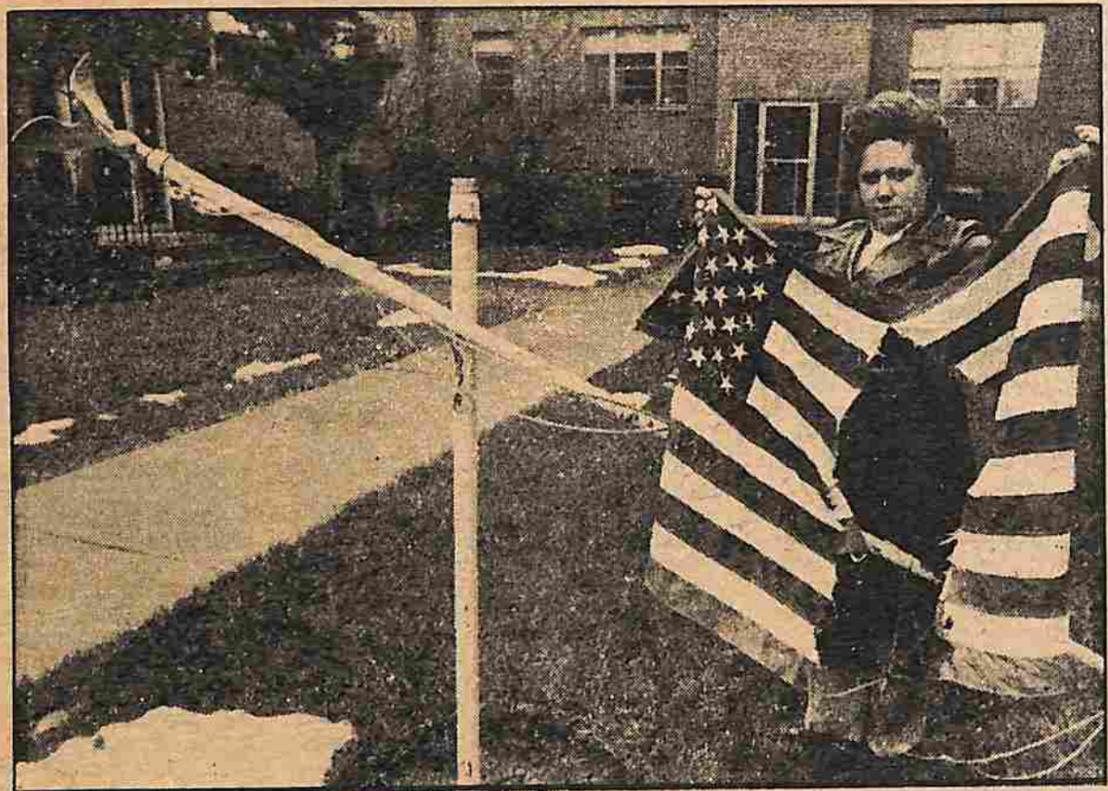
The main whip that is cracked over peoples' heads to force them into putting up with such wretched conditions is their official outlawed status. La Migra can be called to arrest individuals or groups, as needed, by any company; in many cases, company officials notify in advance those workers whom they want to keep and leave the rest to deportation. Workers get hurt and maimed on the job, but feel that if they say anything, they will be turned over to the authorities, or at the very least, laid off. Those that are willing to take the risk and sue their employer for damages often find it very difficult even to get a lawyer; one proletarian told us that the Legal Aid lawyers he went to won't take a case unless it is brought to them by a citizen. Even a layoff or a firing for any reason carries a much stiffer sentence for these proletarians. Unemployment insurance, welfare, food stamps, medical aid — all are off limits for those without the green cards, the U.S. version of the South African "pass." In areas of high unemployment, where there are large numbers of immigrants, Migra vans have been seen parked outside unemployment offices for days at a time — obviously to make sure that no immigrant attempts to get unemployment benefits through using a fake green card. Some proletarians have also reported to the

RW that any Latino who applies for welfare benefits in certain neighborhoods is automatically told to first report to an office at 300 North Los Angeles St. for "processing." The office is, of course, the L.A. headquarters of La Migra.

Something of the long-range and recognized danger posed to the U.S. rulers by these immigrant workers was revealed last year, just prior to May Day. In "Operation Jobs" the INS arrested hundreds in sweeps through L.A., Chicago and other major cities over a span of a few short days. "Operation Jobs," of course, had nothing at all to do with "creating more jobs for American workers," though this crude chauvinist appeal was an important companion to the INS assault. The government operation was actually a test run in the immediate and large-scale detention of sections of the people considered a potential threat to "law and order." In the face of the INS raids, revolutionaries and politically conscious workers raised the slogan "We Are All Illegals!"

These immigrant workers are truly a key part of "... a class of laborers who live only so long as they find work..." as Marx and Engels described it in the *Communist Manifesto*. If there is no factory work to be found, they must find other work — and fast. One alternative is service work, such as Southern California's massive tourist industry, whose better hotels and restaurants (to say nothing of the gentlemen's clubs downtown) could not survive without their outlawed servants; and of course, the fine estates of Beverly Hills and Bel-Air would be positively disheveled without the domestic

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This photo originally appeared in a recent edition of the Buffalo News accompanied by an article with the title, "Area Patriotism Flies at Full Staff With a Wave of Flag Pledges." The heading was odd, and a little misleading, since, for one thing, the whole story started with an "assault of vandals" on the American flag displayed in front of the apartment of Frederick and Susan Lask, of Buffalo. The News says that "Vandals not only tore down the Lask flagpole — a 1980 wedding anniversary gift — but stuffed a brass flagpole eagle into the mud and shredded the flag." That's Mrs. Lask there in the picture, with the flag.

Various reactions to the vandalism are recorded in the

News, which had covered the original story on a Monday. By Tuesday, the Lasks were apparently overcome by offers to not only replace the flag, but to repair the 18-foot flagpole to boot! (The article doesn't mention what became of the eagle.) According to the News, the flag offers revealed "an abundance of patriotism in Western New York," not to mention Buffalo proper.

Oh, yeah... we should give some more concrete idea about the scope of this impressive movement, this "wave of flag pledges." The News pointed out that by Tuesday presstime, "at least seven persons... contacted the couple and the Buffalo News to offer new flags to the Lasks."

**Red White, and Blue we spit on you!
You stand for plunder, you will go under**

In Memory of Comrade Mary O'Leary

On April 29th, 1982, Comrade Mary O'Leary, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party died in New York City, in the course of the intensifying battle for revolutionary May 1st there. To mark the anniversary of Mary's death, her mother sent these lines to the Revolutionary Worker:

I remembered when I heard of Mary's death. And then the pain and the rage returned and I remembered how I looked to revolutionary literature to find something to ease the pain and help fuel the rage. I found *Wild Grass* written in the 1920s by Lu Hsun, who dedicated his life to writing for the revolution in China. One of the essay poems, "Amid Pale Bloodstain", was written after the Tuan Chi-jui government had fired upon unarmed demonstrators. In it he wrote: "A few deserted ruins and a few lonely tombs are scattered over the earth,

reflected by pale bloodstains; and there men taste their own vague pain and sorrow, as well as that of others. They will not spurn it, however, thinking it better than nothing; and they call themselves 'victims of heaven' to justify their tasting this pain and sorrow... all these are the loyal subjects of the creator. This is what he wants to be... a rebellious fighter has arisen from mankind, who standing erect, sees through all the deserted ruins and lonely tombs of the past and the present. He remembers all the intense and unending agony; he faces squarely the whole welter of clotted blood; he understands all that is dead and all that is living, as well as all yet unborn. He sees through the creator's game... then heaven and earth change color in the eyes of the fighter."

I was especially moved by the speech

given by a woman revolutionary from Iran at the Detroit memorial meeting for Mary. She spoke of how, "In conditions where a majority of people are illusioned by their golden dreams and when society's sensitive strata are indifferent to political questions," the existence of people like Mary is important because "they illuminate the path of revolution... Therefore Mary is our martyr... A martyr of the revolution worldwide."

Mary was definitely never "a loyal subject of the creator." She truly hated "the creator's game" and fought fiercely and joyously to eliminate it forever from the earth. To my mind Mary O'Leary's life portrayed all the qualities of a communist woman. Her life exemplified what Bob Avakian calls the "revolutionary patience and perseverance needed to prepare ourselves and bring

forward millions of more people..." Her life testified to the necessity of the class conscious leadership of the vanguard party.

As May Day nears this year, on the first anniversary of Mary's death, I feel a heightened sense of the significance of this day. I feel strengthened and liberated by the memory of Mary's undaunted spirit, and eagerly and proudly anticipate taking up the red flag.

May Day and preparations for it, represent a vision of the bright future for which Mary dedicated her life — a future when the oppressed masses worldwide and all those who hate the oppression of this hideous imperialist system will stand erect, take history into their hands and boldly proclaim "we only want the earth." Long live May Day, Long Live the memory of Mary O'Leary.

Barbara O'Leary

García

Continued from page 1
ting U.S. and Filipino forces against the Japanese at the awful battle of Bataan, often claimed as a feather in the General's cap. He commanded U.S. forces in Korea as part of the drive to extend American domination in Asia; as is well known, his ideas for this war were to bomb dikes inside revolutionary China, and to use nuclear weapons against the Chinese people. This man is indeed a fine symbol of U.S. imperialism, its inter-imperialist wars, and wars of aggression against oppressed peoples.

So the statue of this barbarian reigns over a park where proletarians of many nationalities, particularly immigrants, congregate and attempt to relax in the face of prowling pigs and Migra. And in recent years there has been something else—the park has become an exciting scene of discussion and struggle over the broadest imaginable range of social and revolutionary questions—and through it all, of the seeds of a revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line starting to sprout: a fitting tribute to all that the name *Damián García* stands for.

In the week leading up to the anniversary of *Damián's* murder, a large banner with a likeness of *Damián* was brought into the Pico-Aliso projects. Some were enthusiastic, some didn't get it, some were very uptight. One guy was floored when he heard about the KKK plans to occupy the Alamo on May Day this year. "Is that what this stuff is all about?" he asked shaking his head. He took some more material to read, and when the banner showed up next at the projects he was there. Some young kids began to throw stones at the banner, at which point this youth stood in front of the banner with his fist in the air. "This is for real!" he shot back, which led to some sharp political struggle and during the course of this many of the youth gathered around were won over.

Several youth made up a banner saying "Long Live *Damián/From the Youth in Aliso Village*," which was passed around and literally filled with signatures and messages: "We love *Damián*," "Chicano Power," and "*Damián* died for all oppressed people." The banner was also signed with the names of several gangs—but not before some controversy and struggle over the idea. Finally one youth insisted, "We got to put the gang name on the banner because they say home boys killed *Damián*, but we know it was the police who did it, and we want the world to know."

Perhaps what's most striking is the effect of "overthrowing" the *MacArthur* name, and replacing it with that of a revolutionary, particularly *Damián*. Its effect has been to strongly evoke the clash of two trends in the world, of war and revolution. One should look at the banner written by a 12-year-old at Pico-Aliso and signed by six other kids:

"We want to fight for freedom for poor people all over the world. Ronald Reagan and his rich friends don't care about us even if we're starving to death in front of their faces. Let's fight the rich, not their war."

The political strength of "*Damián García Park*" and of the reverberations felt as proletarians took up the demand, were indicated in another way as progressive and revolutionary people of

other classes united to make this a big social question: these forces included a Chicano student newspaper at UCLA, a couple of lawyers from CISPES, staff members of Feminist Women's Health Center, and people working in a Chicano center in Echo Park.

On April 20, a delegation went to the L.A. City Council to demand the name change. Typically, it was a very untypical crowd for any American city hall: youth from Watts and a couple of punks, people out of the anti-nuke movement along with proletarian immigrants from El Salvador and Mexico... a woman stepped forward to speak for the group:

"We're here on behalf of the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. We demand that you change the name of *MacArthur Park* to *Damián García Park*..."

She got no further before the staid council began gaveling and calling the whole thing out of order.

"...to pay tribute to the life and work of this revolutionary martyr..."

Cops, mainly in plainclothes with the distinct bearing of the LAPD's "intelligence operations" started swarming around the room.

And while the council president continued a din of "out of order's", the pigs began grabbing at a picture of *Damián* atop the Alamo, and then pushing at people trying to hustle them out... and then grabbed the speaker herself, handcuffed her and dragged her through the back door of council chambers!

From the front of the room a voice rang out:

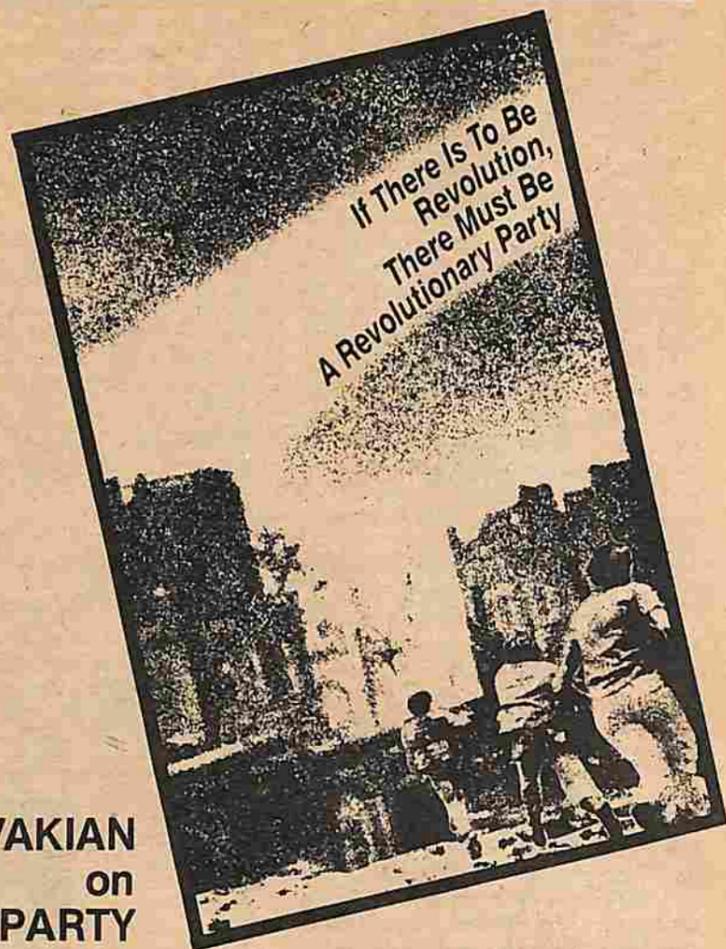
"Friday, April 22 will make three years after police agents murdered *Damián García*. They tried to murder me at the same time. My name is Hayden Fisher...we demand that *MacArthur Park* be named after him!"

Now the cops' attention was focused on Hayden. Even after a group of plainclothesmen managed to push most people outside into a hall, the cops continued to go after anyone who spoke up, and especially after Hayden and those right around him. When at least thirty reinforcements arrived for the pigs on hand, 27 people were arrested — nearly everyone in the delegation — including seven on felony charges (which were later reduced to misdemeanors).

Clearly, the authorities had planned beforehand to squelch the event and right away, upping the political ante on the demand for "*Damián García Park*" and for May 1st, 1983. Only days before, the pigs had tried unsuccessfully to take down a banner about *Damián* draped on a tree in *Damián García Park*; and on another occasion when the banner was in the park, one after another, police cruisers drove onto the park in a threatening manner.

But now, the demonstration had become a major incident. A subject that the bourgeoisie would like very much to bury has once again exploded into the open.

After people were arrested, they were taken to a dungeon deep in City Hall, removed from all normal traffic, with signs posted saying, "Restricted Area." People were locked in plastic handcuffs fastened so tight that some passed out from lack of circulation. One pig pranced about with his nightstick mumbling, "Wait 'til May Day, Wait 'til May Day..." while others of these murdering pigs taunted: "How come you're always



BOB AVAKIAN on THE PARTY

Order from RCP Publications
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Shortly after the publication of "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will" by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (*Revolution* magazine, No. 50, December 1981), Comrade Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s, and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in "Conquer the World?..." Excerpts from this series of questions and answers were published in the *Revolutionary Worker*. This pamphlet reprints the excerpts dealing with questions about the party.

'remembering *Damián García*?' What's so important about *Damián García*?' As if they didn't know — from their own perverse class viewpoint, of course.

People were held in holding cells, with no space to lie down, for as long as 14 hours. Youth without "proper I.D." were all treated as "unidentified" and forced to come up with \$500 full cash bail in order to be released. Meanwhile, an official working at the courthouse openly "confessed" that the misdemeanors were obviously an "harassment charge."

Almost immediately, the airwaves were filled with the news of the revolutionaries who went to L.A. City Hall to rename a park after *Damián García*. The news was an item on CNN (national cable news) and on the front pages of major L.A. newspapers. Naturally, there were rapid efforts to defuse the dangerous publicity; at least one radio station and the *Herald Examiner* ran straight to Art Snyder, reactionary councilman from the area where *Damián* was killed, for a counter-interview; the *L.A. Times* once again managed to ignore their own three-page feature article exposing some aspects of PDID operations and *Damián's* murder, and covered the city council action without mention of *Damián*.

Some indirect but clear threats were also made in the media. Notorious LAPD Chief Gates publicly celebrated the go-ahead given by the U.S. Supreme Court to the deadly police chokehold, a decision handed down that same day; the media didn't miss a trick.

"There's a definite void that exists by not being able to use the hold," a police spokesman said in TV news footage, and went on to threaten: "We could have used it very well over there (the city council) this morning."

All this has certainly stirred up more than the bourgeoisie bargained for. One small indication of this came the following day in court when one *RW* reporter went to the arraignments for some of the cases. When people waiting in the court for cases of their own heard that "that case" was being heard at the time, their eyes lit up and eager questions flew. The impact of the demonstration combined with a number of *Damián* Day events in the area; one important memorial was held on the eve of the Day at Santa Barbara where *Damián* was a well-known activist.

It is certain that all eyes will be on *Damián García Park* come the dawning of May Day, '83.

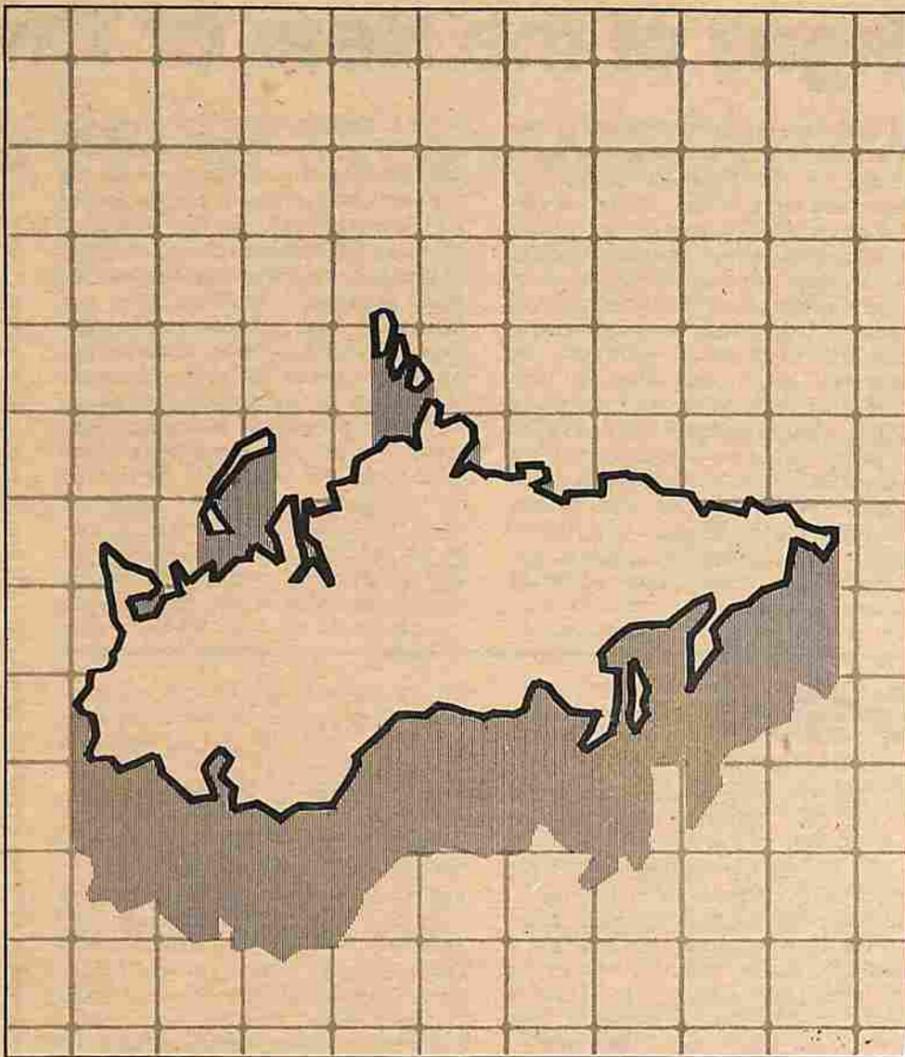
A Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of THE SOVIET UNION: SOCIALIST OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST?

May 19-22, 1983
New York City

The formal debate will occur Sunday, May 22, featuring major spokespersons for the view that the Soviet Union is today a genuine socialist country vs. the analysis that capitalist relations have in fact been restored. The presentations will deal not only with the bases of their opposing analyses but the global political implications which flow from them.

The main debate will be preceded by sessions Thursday and Friday evenings and during the day Saturday devoted to particular topics of Soviet social relations and international involvement, such as "Soviet Aid, Loans, and Capital Investment in the Third World," "The Soviet Role in Various Liberation Struggles Around the World," "Women in the Soviet Union," and "Workers and Management in the Soviet Economy." These sessions will feature speakers presenting diverse views, audience participation, and will be conducted in English and Spanish.

Formal Debate:
Sunday, May 22, 12:30 p.m.
International House Auditorium
500 Riverside Drive (123rd St. & Riverside)



For information and location of sessions contact:

Soviet Union Conference
P.O. Box 924, Cooper Station
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Funds are urgently needed. (Checks should be made payable to "Soviet Union Conference")

Gravediggers

Continued from page 9

service workers. Service workers are expected to put up with even more shit from both bosses and customers — and work even longer hours for less pay — than those in manufacturing. One proletarian, who now works in a factory, remembered with great bitterness the time that he was forced to wash dishes in a restaurant for 36 hours straight. But work in the fields is even worse. The hours are longer, the wages even lower, and the grower is likely to call La Migra as soon as the harvest is over and the workers are no longer needed; one worker told us that Farm Workers' union hacks are also notorious for calling La Migra — a crucial part of their efforts to pressure growers to deal with them. And the abuse on the job is unsurpassed. Before he washed dishes, the above-mentioned proletarian worked picking blackberries; he and all the other workers were required to whistle continuously while they worked — to make sure that they couldn't eat any of the berries!

Given these options, many immigrants consider factory work the best alternative. If they get laid off, they try to remain on the factory circuit, looking up old friends and fellow workers to see if any have heard of available job openings. Important social bonds have also grown up around this factory circuit. One example is the Sunday afternoon soccer leagues. Teams and sometimes entire leagues are sponsored by some of the companies that hire immigrants — a gesture to garner tax write-offs, gambling opportunities and a benevolent image. Such an image, however, is difficult to muster even here: some companies offer jobs for good soccer players in exchange for 60 hours of work a week at \$4 an hour and a guarantee that the workers will perform every Sunday. Those who don't show up are faced with a threat of firing. Still, for the many proletarians into soccer for sport and the chance to perhaps win a few bucks if the team takes first place, participation in a factory league is a big part of life.

The 1982 RCP Central Committee report draws an important strategic conclusion from the situation of these workers: "Particularly if it is viewed flexibly,

potentially covering more than just one shop, the principle of 'factories as fortresses' very much corresponds to the conditions of the oppressed sections of the proletariat Hired, fired, laid off, in a pool circulating from shop to shop, working long hours — for many of these workers (including, but certainly not limited to, immigrants) these factories are often the center of their lives, including their social and political lives."

Of course, thousands of immigrants are thrown out of work and are unable to find new employment, sometimes for months at a time. We spoke with one family that typified the conditions facing the immigrant proletarians who are unemployed — a man, a woman, and two small children living in an apartment the size of an average room in many sections of L.A., for which the rent is \$300 per month and going up soon. After working in a foundry for a few years as a molder's helper (his length of stay is a rarity), the man has been without steady work for over a year. He has hustled for a variety of jobs for short stretches, mostly one or two days at a time, including pouring cement for less than the minimum wage, selling shoes, working in a stereo factory for a few weeks and so forth. Some days, he shows up at the central wholesale market at 1:00 a.m. and hangs around up to six hours waiting for a possible opportunity to help unload a produce truck for an average of a \$20 take; if he hasn't gotten an offer by 7 a.m., there won't be any work that day. Some days, if he has no other prospects, he helps his cousin prepare his lunch trucks for the morning rounds of several small factories in the area. His cousin cannot afford to pay him cash, but he gets a meal and some soda pop and candy that his wife sells from their house to the neighborhood children, just like many of the "stores" that dot the urban *colonias* (impoverished urban districts) and rural villages of Mexico and Central America. The family eats beans and tortillas, just like they did in Mexico, with one important difference: here, they can eat this twice a day, while in Mexico, there were days when they would be lucky to eat once.

Such conditions of life are common for hundreds of thousands of basic proletarians in Southern California, but this family is typical in another way as well. They originally came from a village near

San Luis Potosi in the central countryside of Mexico, where feudal and semi-feudal relations still abound. The man's father has a small plot of land and some communal land rights, but there are too many brothers and not enough arable land to support one family, let alone several. In the '60s, they left their village and went to Mexico City where they lived in a *colonia* while the man was able to get work in a small factory. In the '70s, they left the *colonia* in Mexico City and came to a barrio-ghetto in Southern California.

The majority of immigrant proletarians from Mexico in Southern California — indeed in the U.S. as a whole — come from peasant families in Mexico's central countryside. Their migration is very much a product of world events and the overall workings of imperialism. More particularly, the end of World War 2 brought big changes to Mexico's countryside as investment, mainly (though not necessarily openly) from the U.S., was funneled into the development of irrigated capitalist agriculture (the Green Revolution) in the north, while rain-fed lands (non-irrigated lands — an important distinction in Mexico) in the more backward regions were divided up among the peasantry. This so-called "bi-modal" strategy was praised as necessary, in the words of one World Bank expert, to "maintain political stability" by supposedly giving a sop to the very volatile peasantry while putting the main effort into cash crop export production in the north. With no roads, water supply and so forth being developed for the peasant areas, and all technological developments and fertilizers going to the big capitalist farms, it became more and more difficult for peasant families to survive. By the mid-'60s basic food production of maize, beans and wheat was off sharply and Mexico was forced to import much of its food. And millions of poor peasants were leaving the land; by 1974, two million hectares of rain-fed land had been abandoned. While there was a great deal of industry developed in Mexico throughout this period, it was the type of industry that served the interests and requirements of U.S. finance capital, which meant,

among other things, that nowhere near enough jobs were created in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey to make up for the massive pauperization and exodus of significant sections of the peasantry. Consequently, while many millions of former peasants have become part of the urban proletariat in Mexico, several million have also emigrated to the U.S.

The implications of this rural-to-urban, peasant-to-worker transformation need to be better understood. Considered from the point of view of revolution on this continent in particular, it is a very important development. To be sure, it is contradictory. On the one hand, for example, there are many who still have strong ties to the land. Many peasant families send their grown sons (and sometimes their daughters) to the U.S. to work and send money back home in order to keep the families' small landholdings alive. These and many other immigrants view their tenure in the U.S. as a mere temporary necessity until they can make enough money to go back and live on the land. On the other hand, a significant number of these workers have severed ties to the land and wish no return to what was described as the narrowmindedness bred by enforced backward conditions in the countryside. The people mentioned earlier from the area around San Luis Potosi emphatically informed the *RW*, "We will never go back. We have nothing there."

On the basis of all this, it is clear that different viewpoints will be brought into the revolutionary struggle. It is impossible to imagine a national upsurge in the Mexican countryside (or Mexico in general) passing without impact in cities like L.A. And, conversely, it is equally impossible to imagine an upsurge rooted among proletarians in cities like L.A. passing without impact in Mexico. Which will come first cannot be predicted. In any event, the imperialist system continues to work against itself, sowing the seeds of its own destruction on both sides of the border and daily enlarging the ranks of its own gravediggers. □

World Revolution — Not World War!

Signs of the New at The Old Rat Trap

For the last few months the city of Detroit and the U.S. Department of Agriculture has distributed five pounds of cheese and butter to the "needy" of Detroit on the third Thursday of the month. It's a scene that one proletarian described as "making you feel like you're a rat coming down to a trap for a piece of cheese." This month — with the approach of May First — however, the scene was quite transformed. At one distribution center on the city's east side a May Day agitator stepped out and called on people to take up the battle to Free Darnell Summers and Step Up, Step Out in the battle for May First. First in ones and twos, then building up to a trickle, people began leaving their place in line and crowding around a banner addressed to the masses of people in India. Waiting their turn to use a pen several began to

shout to their friends, "Hey, aren't you gonna come over and sign this banner?" Meanwhile, a little further down the line one youth was trying to raise 50¢ for the RW. When he heard that Bob Avakian's May Day 1981 tape was about to be played his eyes lit up asking, "Is this about the world situation?" His anticipation ran high but the batteries in the tape recorder were low; and in a minute, he booked for his house, running back with a new set of batteries to get the tape-playing underway. After the section of the tape where the Chairman of the Central Committee talks about the drought in Africa and how it doesn't have to be this way in the world, tears welled up in his eyes. He asked that the tape be stopped. "Let me get this straight, he's talking about people around the world getting united? And that while we can't make revolution right

now we have to get educated and do things like May First?" Taking up a bundle of flyers, armbands and RW's, he said, "My friends don't talk too much about the world but I'm gonna talk to them and bring them out."

Meanwhile, people continued to crowd around the banner, some stepping from the distribution center with a box of American cheese under one arm and a red armband tied around the other. From the exit door of the cheese center one brother in his 30's was drawn by the scene around the tape recorder. He had heard about the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants several years ago, had read the *Revolutionary Worker* on and off since then, and was recently wrangling around the Central Committee Report of the RCP. He stepped up to the organizers. "I believe in revolution, I believe it's the way forward

but I know if you step out the pigs are gonna be all over you and I have a family and some responsibilities. But I also know that I want the truth How are we gonna get people to understand who they are fighting, and who the enemy is. There are a lot of proletarians out here but they don't understand that they're the proletariat." Taking a stack of material he asked the organizers what he could do to help build for May Day. As all this happened a debate began to fly with another dude who had been in the Black Panther Party in the '60s, and more people began crowding around the banner. Altogether 50 signed at this one spot. The hunger demonstrated at this cheese distribution was beginning to seek fulfillment in a way the authorities had never anticipated. □

Detroit

Continued from page 5

One guy who wrote his own message put it like this, "Hearing about Darnell brought back a lot of memories for me. I was in the Black movement back in the '70s. And I caught a lot of hell for it. Hearing about this case lit something inside me. Back then I went out and I knew something had to be done. My friends and family said I was crazy. But I knew I wasn't crazy. That's probably how Darnell feels. I put a note on that banner. It kind of expresses how I feel. It said, 'USA Needs Help — No Can Do.' I took that from a Hall & Oates song. Like when somebody is trying to get something over on you and you don't go for it. Well, USA, I ain't going for it." Several people left the "soup kitchen" that afternoon with flyers, armbands and RW's. One student took a stack and urged the RW sellers to come down to his high school and help get the word out there.

Housing Project

At one housing project, the word about Darnell Summers Day had been getting out over the week. The forces of the state were not unaware of this and began stepping up their activity. Residents in the project reported a noticeable increase in arrests and police surveillance. Some very foul-smelling rumors about May First 1980 began to circulate through the courtyards of the project. Over the last weekend a team of RW sellers and RCYBers were canvassing the project. One youth stopped to buy an RW and put on a red armband. Not 30 seconds after he walked away, a cop cruiser stopped him and arrested the youth on some phony weapons charge. The arresting cops — two white officers — made their sentiments about the area unmistakably clear, saying to an RW seller, "You're scum like the rest of the people here." People in the courtyard where this happened were outraged by this blatant attempt to intimidate them, and they knew right where to fix the blame — on the cops. This incident spurred some people forward. One woman stepped out to take up a stack of flyers and armbands and said she would take them right into the city office where she worked. Others called the RW sellers over to find out what had happened and what the armbands were all about. In the meantime, residents of the project organized themselves to call in to the police precinct to make sure the arrested youth was all right and to demand his release.

At the same time, several youth were wrestling with what they saw as the stakes involved in coming forward. They wanted to know what would happen if they took armbands — would they be arrested too? One of them said, "Look, this is heavy shit. Is this thing going to go all the way? And is it going to start on May First? I could get shot for wearing one of these armbands. I just can't do it." Still agonizing over whether he was going to take up the battle, he went over to a nearby apartment where a friend of the guy who had got arrested lives. A number of people were listening to a tape of Bob Avakian's May Day 1981 speech, and a lot of bitterness was being spoken. Later on that afternoon these same people decided they were going to take a bunch

of flyers and armbands into the community college close by where they went to school. They left arguing over who should take them in.

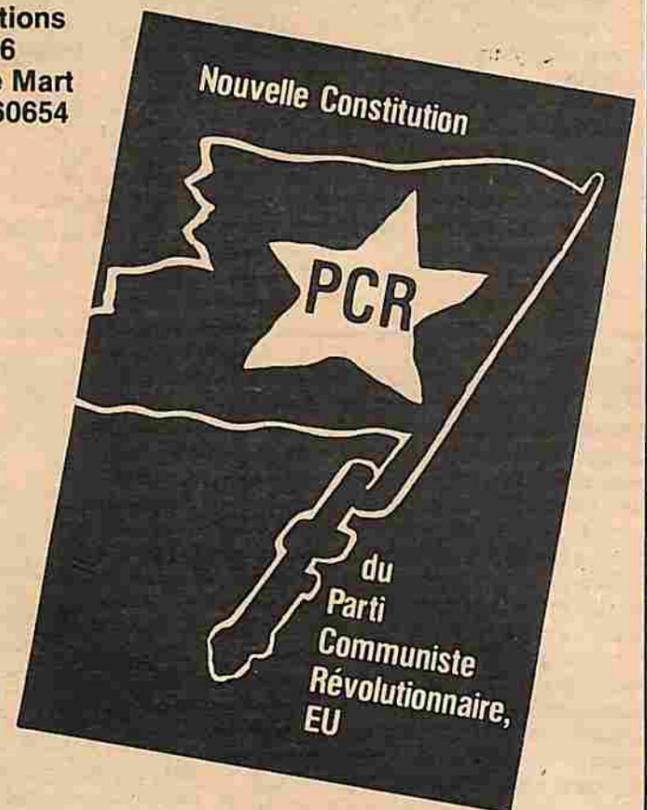
Late in the afternoon of Darnell Summers Day, a sound car, a team of RW sellers and RCYB members pulled into the project. A knot of youth began to gather around an RCYB member in one courtyard. One of those there raised the question, "Why do they want to throw Darnell in jail?" A 15-year-old fighter from the project stepped forward to take that question on. "Because he was speaking to the American soldiers in Germany and because he's trying to revolutionize the people here. He's trying to get people to see they have no business fighting a war for the rich people who feed on the back of the poor. I saw Darnell on TV last summer. They showed a picture of a Black man in chains at the airport, and they flashed the words, 'Communist Terrorist' on the screen, talking about how he killed the cop. I thought, wow, he couldn't have done all that. I met some people up in the project who were organizing to go down to the courtroom where he was on trial. This was at 9:00 one Tuesday morning. My mother was going to let me go — she feels the same way I do — but I would have been suspended from school. The next time, you can bet I'll be there. But me and some partners took flyers they left at our house and got them all around the shopping center. We put them on those big garbage cans they got over there. And then we put them all over the trees around here." After that another youth — a running partner of the first guy — wrote a message: "Dear friends of other nations, I feel we should form a worldwide group to fight to stop what's happening to Darnell Summers. It should be a lesson that if it happened to him, it could affect us very deeply, and if we don't join together, imagine what would happen to the world we live in. So please think about it and wave the red banner on May First. Be cool brothers, and keep fighting. —Signed, T.T."

All this activity among the youth drew some of the "older folks" out to see what was going on. Two men who are in the Michigan National Guard were checking out the scene. They had heard something about the case and put it out like this, "Evidently they're trying to make an example of Darnell. With the kind of understanding he has, he's dangerous. The 'leaders' don't want many people to be aware, and this guy Darnell has some kind of awareness. And you know 'our leaders' don't want anything that might wake the people up getting too well known, because their whole thing rests on getting over on people."

In the Dexter-Davison neighborhood — long a political center in Detroit — a sound car accompanied by a team of sellers moved through the area on the afternoon of the 20th. A number of youth who had been at a nearby high school and had gotten flyers and armbands there were hanging out on the street corners. On the spot, red armbands

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were taken up. Along the business strip in that area a number of stores had already taken flyers and displays about Darnell Summers. A group of guys on one corner took up some red armbands. One guy put his on first, and a second motioned as if to say, "No way." The first guy asked for a flyer. He wanted to read up on the case. Here and there in response to the agitation, armbands were taken up and put on in clusters.

Rally

The day was capped off with a rally called by the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers. A number of people who came forward in the thick of the activities that day from the soup kitchens and neighborhoods came out to the rally. Speakers from a number of organizations — reflecting the range of different social forces taking up the gauntlet around this case — were present. There was a speaker from the Republic of New Afrika, the National Independent Black Political Party, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Revolutionary Communist Party. These forces spoke to how they saw the importance of the case of Darnell Summers. The RCP speaker linked the battle to free

Darnell and the upcoming festival of May First. "We think it very appropriate to link this battle to free Darnell Summers with preparation for the revolutionary celebration of May First. . . . See, May First is both a day to advance our preparation for revolution worldwide, and also a day to bring into being an embryo of that future when we wipe imperialism off the face of the earth and put it in the museum with all the other dinosaurs, pterodactyls, and monsters of a past era. We think May First is linked with the battle to free Darnell in many ways, and what I mean by that, firstly, is that it's the clash of two trends — world war and revolution — that sets the backdrop for both this battle and May First. It's this world situation that both forced the imperialists to launch this attack on Darnell, and it's the same situation that makes the revolutionary process that May First is so much a part of so urgent."

The evening ended with a number of those present hammering out the content of an international exchange to be sent to immigrant proletarians from Turkey who work in Germany. This international exchange offered May Day greetings to the workers there. □

**If Nuclear War Is "Thinkable" . . .
Then Why Isn't Revolution Thinkable?**

Reactionary Flies Swarm Over Decrepit Shrine

The seizure of the Alamo on March 20, 1980, by *Damián García*, *Abigail Bayer* and *Hayden Fisher* was an act of internationalism that drew international attention. It was a bright light and revolutionary inspiration to the proletariat; to reactionaries, it was a direct assault and dangerous portent. One month after the Alamo was seized, *Damián García* was murdered in Los Angeles by police agents; *Hayden Fisher* was severely stabbed at the same time.

Reverberations from the seizure of the rotten shrine are still felt. Moreover, contradictions throughout Texas and the southwest — the U.S. rulers' southern flank — have grown more acute. Economic crisis on both sides of the border, fresh influxes of immigrants and the resultant threat to established order is the

background to a recent multi-leveled campaign mounted by various reactionaries.

The KKK, whose venom has targeted Spanish-speaking immigrants in the region, received a permit to march on May 1st from the San Antonio City Council. A KKK front group, the "Committee to Defend the Alamo," also received a permit for a "candlelight vigil" to "protect" the Alamo throughout the night of April 30. The Klan's focus on the Alamo and on May 1st clearly exposes a highly provocative intent. In various public statements by Klan spokesmen, virtual death threats have been hurled at revolutionaries. The media around San Antonio has consciously aided the Klan by replaying TV footage of the Alamo seizure in 1980. And in

Houston, the RW has received a number of phone calls which threaten to "remember *Damián*."

At the same time, there are other efforts to "remember the Alamo." NBC's Today chose April 21 and 22 to broadcast from San Antonio. The dates are interesting: the first is *San Jacinto Day*, celebrated anniversary of the defeat of *Santa Ana*; the second is the date of the murder of *Damián García* in 1980. Today featured an interview with the Governor of Texas, who complained that the problems of the state could only be solved by a more vigorous effort to block the entrance of immigrants from Mexico.

Meanwhile, a four part series in the Houston Chronicle last week presented an inverted (and perverted) history lesson of the "Texas revolution." The Chronicle

said that, "Some newcomers, Texans who don't know their history and a lot of Mexicans, think it was a war of Anglos against Mexicans." But actually, "it was a war of Anglo Texans and Mexican Texans against a dictatorship" — i.e., Mexico. A Chicano professor on the Today show reasoned the same way. Indeed, this theme seems to have a general currency these days and along with a specific crass appeal to pit Chicanos against Mexican immigrants, it is a virulent defense of past wars of plunder in preparation for future ones.

In light of the reactionary focus on the Alamo, the following article is quite timely. It is a slightly edited reprint of an article which appeared in RW No. 56.

What has been glorified by a crumbling ruling class in the 260 year old crumbling shell of the Alamo — originally built by the Spanish as a mission for enslaving the Indians — is a history of failures never told, replaced by fantasies which extol aggression, oppression and murder. The ruins of the Alamo have long served colonialism and imperialism.

The San Antonio garrison, with the Alamo mission a part of it, was set up in 1718 by the Spanish colonialists as part of their plan to "civilise the Indians and take over the new world." But the resistance of the Native Americans, especially the Comanches, proved to be more than the aggressors had bargained for. Out of 25 garrisons that were built in Texas in the 18th century, the Spanish could only hold onto 3. The San Antonio garrison was one of these, a miserable colonial outpost, constantly threatened with extinction at the hands of the Indian warriors. The mission was known to be a terrible failure, unable to capture any Indians who could be forcibly converted and turned into slaves for Christ. From its very beginning, the Alamo was a symbol of the failure of the oppressors to break the spirit of those it was supposed to help subjugate.

In the early 1800s, American slaveholders and land speculators began hiring private armies of mercenaries — mainly made up of petty criminals — to fight their way into Texas. The southern slave system constantly needed new land to perpetuate its decrepit social order, and the whole southwest territory looked very promising. Meanwhile, the northern capitalists were eyeing this area for open-

ing of trade to the west, as well as the land and minerals there. Texas, part of Mexico, was the gateway and especially important to the expansion of slavery. However, with the Mexican War of Independence against Spain emerging victoriously in 1821 and Mexico's subsequent abolition of slavery, the southern slaveholders (including some big landholders in Texas) were thrown into a frenzy. They stepped up their mercenary invasions, and while these were often defeated by Mexican soldiers, still the number of American settlers rose rapidly, with many small farmers moving in to settle the area.

By 1835, the number of U.S. settlers in Texas outnumbered the Mexicans by 6 to 1 ratio. But the small farmers were not easily won to fighting for the slave owning interests of the large landholders. So *Steven F. Austin*, the biggest slaveowner in the area, issued a frantic call, supported by both the southern slaveowners and the northern capitalists, for a massive wave of Americans to invade Texas. Land and plunder was promised to "each man with his rifle" who would come. These were the famous "Texas freedom fighters" — mercenary adventurers in a war to rip the land away from Mexico in order to expand the chattel slavery of Black people.

While the invaders were able to quickly overrun the small Mexican garrison of east Texas, including the Alamo, the American mercenary force had trouble staying intact. Many of them ended up going home, while others pushed further west. Meanwhile, the Mexican general *Santa Ana* had led an army of 3000 men

from central Mexico to smash this reactionary aggression. In February of 1836, his army reached the San Antonio garrison.

At this point there were only about 200 Americans left, holed up in the Alamo. Two thirds of them were mercenaries, including *Jim Bowie*, a Louisiana slave-smuggler and *Davy Crockett*, a well-known charlatan and professional fortune hunter. This rabble became part of the rubble, as the Mexican army overran their reactionary fortress. However, contrary to modern mythology, they did not all go down fighting with their bare hands. Seven of them stayed alive long enough to surrender including *Davy Crockett*, who was justly executed for his crimes.

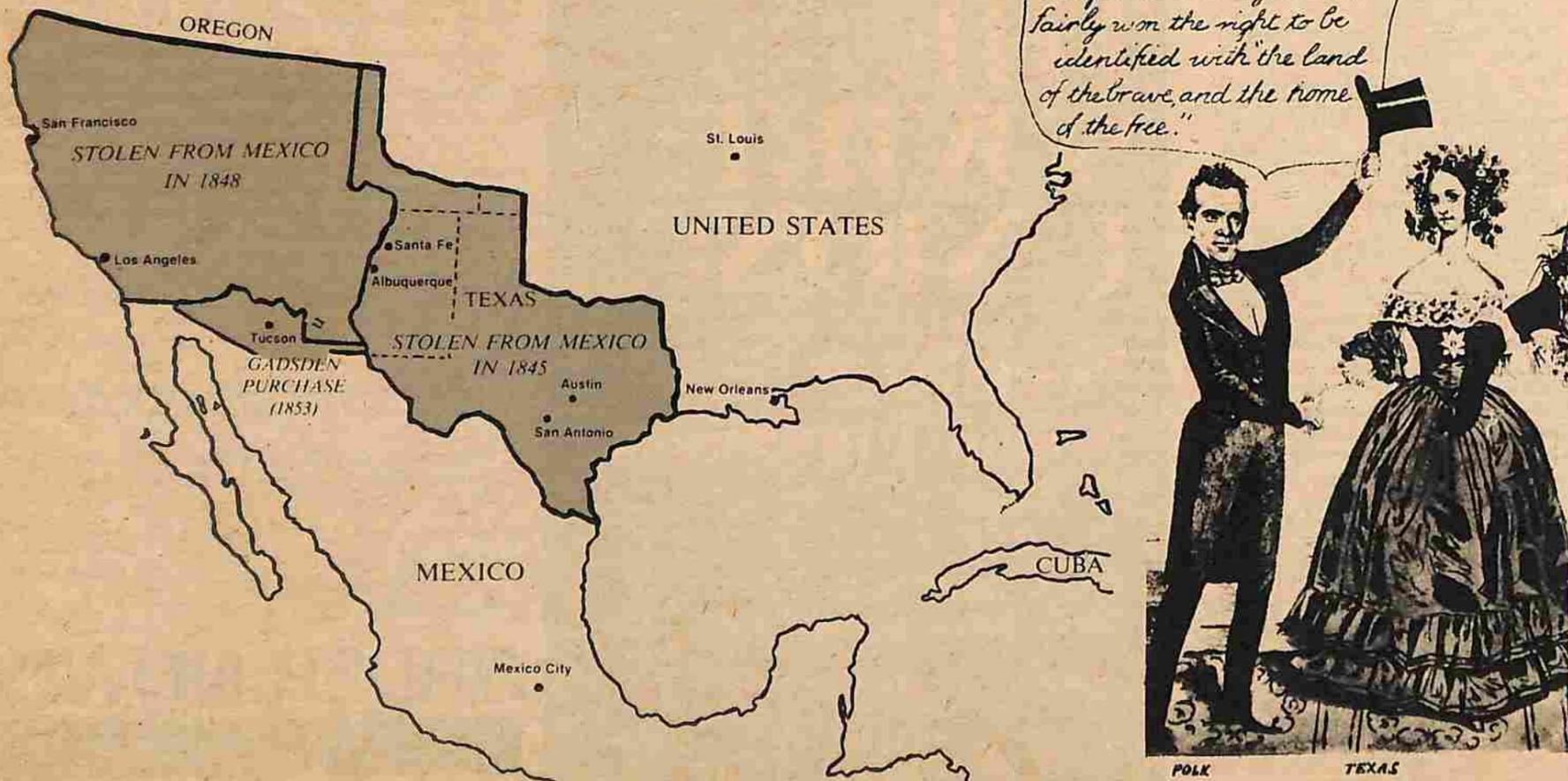
The immediate impact of this Mexican victory and others in Texas, was not to fan the reactionary flames of the Texas "Independence" movement, but rather to nearly snuff it out. Many of the demoralized "Texas volunteers" deserted and packed up their belongings heading for the U.S. border in the face of *Santa Ana's* advance. It was not until *Sam Houston's* mercenaries won a surprise victory in a clash with a smaller part of *Santa Ana's* army and got lucky enough to catch the General himself at *San Jacinto*, that support and money again began to pour into Texas. It was through glorifying this battle, where the mercenaries murdered every soldier who tried to surrender, that the slogan "Remember the Alamo" was created, as a rallying cry for national chauvinism, racism, and all reaction.

The first action of the new Texas

republic was to legalize slavery. But the full propaganda of the Alamo fantasy and its reactionary cry didn't get utilized until nine years later, when Texas was annexed by the U.S. With this action, the American war of aggression on Mexico began — the murder, plunder and terrorizing of the Mexican people to drive them out of the southwest. Actually, the patriotic appeal to "Remember the Alamo" wasn't sufficient to attract enough forces for this ignoble cause, and so once again, the American reactionaries had to issue a crude appeal to criminal elements "to revel in the halls of *Montezuma*." Mexican women were included in the bargain which guaranteed loot and plunder. An American lieutenant described the soldiers in his army as "driving husbands out of houses, and raping their wives ... they are ... without discipline, making us a terror to the innocent!" This was precisely the kind of war the U.S. ruling class had to wage to seize the southwest, and force Mexico under the thumb of semi-colonial domination.

No wonder the Alamo is such a sacred cow of U.S. imperialism. It is truly a monument to the best that this system has to offer — exploitation, national oppression, and more. And no wonder that glorious action of *Comrade García* and the two other revolutionaries was such an inspiration. The shadowy tomb was turned into a monument to the determination of people all over the world to hasten the imperialist system into its grave. □

Between 1845 and 1853 the U.S. ripped off 45% of Mexico's territory. Right: This 1844 cartoon depicting presidential candidate Polk's campaign to annex Texas was an early entry in the American tradition of cloaking bloody deeds with patriotic words.



Fortresses

Continued from page 8

Kerensky immediately after the July events, I, together with thousands of other soldiers, was discharged from the army with ignominy as a "traitor and unworthy son of the country." A document to this effect was sent from my regiment to the district from which I was called up to the army.

That, however, did not trouble me in the least. After spending some time at the front, I was not only theoretically prepared for the proletarian revolution by virtue of my years of membership in the Bolshevik Party but was eager to do my bit in overthrowing Kerensky's government which had shown its colours and had become hated by all.

Not wishing to wait until I got work through regular Party channels, I decided, with the help of some old friends, to undertake some essential rank-and-file military work.

V. Malakhovrky, Secretary Viborg District Red Guards

I came to Petrograd from the front on June 8. I naturally went to the Vacuum Oil Refinery, with which I had been connected. I met some old friends there who told me:

"If you want to do a real job of work, join the Bolshevik Party. Go to the Kshesinskaya Palace, we will vouch for you and you will be accepted."

I went there together with Vasily Ivanovich Kasat who vouched for me and I was accepted.

I offered to help organize fighting groups.

"I'm a soldier," I said straight away, "and that's how I can be most useful."

But I was not known sufficiently and so I was sent to the refinery.

Our refinery had 150 workers, five of them Party members. In those days that was considered a good proportion. At the Semyannikov (now Lenin) Works there were 8,000 workers and only thirty Communists.

Our Party group included Alexei Tykvin, Uncle Varya Grisha, myself and one other whose name I do not recall. We arranged meetings with the workers and discussed different subjects: the war, the economic situation. . . .

We had many sympathizers. During the October days our group numbered thirty-five men. . . .

A. Yegorov, worker of the Vacuum Oil Refinery

In September I was already busy as a Red Guard instructor. I had no use for the old army and was glad to be among working-class people again.

The revolutionary situation was at a low ebb, and the Red Guard was struggling along with difficulty.

Following the July events, counter-revolution went berserk. Bolshevik newspapers, periodicals, and organizations were closed down, some Bolsheviks were murdered and the Provisional Government arrested leaders of the proletariat, outlawed those who went into hiding.

The Red Guard had to be partly disguised as factory militia. Their numbers were, of course, far greater than was necessary for guarding the factories. But the workers took turns in serving in the factory militia and it was no secret that it was actually the Red Guard. The bourgeoisie and the Provisional Government, however, were unable to destroy the Red Guard entirely. . . . they tried to confiscate some of its weapons, but in this they were not very successful. . . .

We decided to make use of the time for military training, seeing how badly the workers needed it. The workers employed at war factories were exempted from conscription and, with very few exceptions, knew little about military matters.

We started with drilling. At first we did not venture to drill in the streets and confined our activities to the factory yards, as we did at the New Lessner and other works.

But as soon as we went over from individual to group training we had to take to the streets. We did not hesitate for long, for we had nothing much to fear in

our red, predominantly workers' district.

We swiftly took possession of empty lots of which there were many close to factories in Viborg District. . . .

Besides intensifying the training of the Red Guard and getting weapons, the headquarters undertook to form detachments, weld them into fighting units and special groups, mostly machine-gun squads.

The number of Red Guards was increasing all the time. I do not remember exactly how many units we had but I do recall that at the New Lessner Works we had one battalion by the end of September, and during the uprising there were 1,000 men, that is two battalions. Since many detachments had received machine-guns, we formed several machine-gun squads and trained them especially. The headquarters was in a small room in the building where the sick benefit fund of the Lessner Works had its office. Arms were not brought there and what we obtained was immediately sent to the factories. . . .

—Malakhovsky

As the day of the uprising grew nearer workmates asked me:

"Well, when will you kick out the capitalists' government?"

Since our factory had many backward workers, they would add:

"But you Bolsheviks will spoil everything with your hurry."

—Sveshnikov

Lenin, who was in hiding, kept on writing tirelessly and Nadezhda Konstantinovna (Krupskaya) often read his manuscripts to us in the (Viborg) district committee. His passionate words reinforced our strength and made us understand things more clearly. I can recall distinctly the figure of Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the room of the district Soviet where the typists were at work; bent over papers, she was carefully checking the retyped copies with the original. Next to her, "Uncle" and "Zhenya" were begging for a copy. This chance to be among the first to read Lenin's writings seemed, in a way, a due reward for the revolutionary activities of the district. Certainly, the members of the district committee who read the copies took it that way. . . .

—Svenshnikov

Events were maturing and counter-revolution was mobilizing.

Lenin was urging the Party to act promptly. There were disputes within the Party, between those who vacillated and those who favoured immediate action. In the Red Guard headquarters there was naturally none who hesitated. We were all to a greater or lesser extent eager for decisive action. All Red Guards were calling for action. "When?" they asked on all sides. I remember my own state of mind, how I was burning with impatience, wanting an end to hesitation and a final and firm decision to begin the insurrection. Lenin's articles had an unusual, unforgettable effect on me, they aroused an enthusiastic response, stirring and inspiring me.

Those articles and the atmosphere itself had the same effect on almost all of us. But in our district, too, there were hesitant, cautious people who called themselves "sensible."

Before the uprising one of these comrades, Kornev (from the Baranovsky Works), began to come to our headquarters and engage in conversations. Zhenya Yegorova was afraid that he might sow doubts in the minds of some of us. But I assured her that the devil himself could not make us change our mind that she need have no fear and that she could take a calm view of Kornev's visits.

On the night of the uprising Kornev came to me to ask for some job. I suggested that he organize a first-aid service. That proved to be a good idea and an assignment suitable for him.

—Malakhovsky

Our headquarters were growing and we had to occupy two or three more rooms, where the incoming and out-going men could stay temporarily.

Our transport service was (unorganized as of) the very first night of the uprising. Stakun was put in charge of it. The problem was solved very simply. Small Red Guard pickets were stationed in the side street of the district and they commandeered the vehicles passing through Viborg District and they operated in other parts of the city as well. In addition, on the very first day we took the vehicles from the Nobel Refinery. We had many motor vehicles and were able to send some to the Smolny to the Military Revolutionary Committee. This notwithstanding, a month and a half later we still had over forty cars and five lorries in our garage at the Mikhailovsky Artillery School. Quite a number of them broke

down and remained in the streets for a long time since no one bothered to remove them. The breakdowns occurred because they were driven by factory workers. Most of the drivers had fled from Petrograd together with their masters.

— unknown

Came the night of October 24. The centre decided to act. Orders were issued to all the districts to hide all books, documents, lists of Party members and of the Red Guard, etc. All this of course was done as a precautionary measure. Everything we did had an air of solemnity. Our nerves were keyed up to the highest pitch.

The Red Guard of our district by this time represented a substantial force in the city and great hopes were placed in it. During the day and especially in the evening we sent quite a number of groups to the Military Revolutionary Committee and some were concentrated at staff headquarters. Since there was little room in our own office the Red Guards stayed near by, crowding the offices of the Viborg District Soviet. On their own initiative they took possession of Liteiny, Sampsonievsky and Grenadersky bridges. Our patrols were so high-spirited and militant that no gangs of Whiteguards and cadets, who were disarming and killing Red Guards found alone in the centre of the city, ventured to come to grips with them. All the other members of the Red Guard were mobilized and stood under arms at their respective factories, waiting for orders to set out in a body or in separate groups.

Reaction offered resistance. . . . on Sunday, October 29, when from early morning bad news kept coming in about our defeats and Whiteguard successes. Uprisings started in the officers' training-schools, there was unrest in Cossack units, the cadets captured the Telephone Exchange and so on. I remember how Orlov came from Smolny and at a meeting of the Red Guard staff told us that the situation was far from favourable. For several minutes despondency reigned. The spectre of failure loomed for a moment. But then we cheered up — whatever may come, we had something to remember: we had driven out the capitalist government for four days. Lively conversations and jokes were resumed and we plunged back into work. . . .

— Malakhovsky

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The Exploding "Peace" In Lebanon

The powerful bomb explosion at the United States embassy in Beirut underscores the difficulties facing the U.S. as it tries to realize its vision of imperialist peace and stability in Lebanon.

One reason for these difficulties, of course, is that the "peace and stability" the U.S. claims to desire for Lebanon is to be built on the ruins of Lebanese cities and the graves of 40,000 people after the U.S.-sponsored Israeli invasion last year. The United States has a lot of enemies in Lebanon. Peter Jennings, ABC News' foreign anchor, when asked to speculate about who could have been behind the attack, could only say, "Well, just flip a coin over here and you'll find someone with a grudge against the United States."

Although in early reports of the bombing the press made great play with a report that a "pro-Iranian sect had claimed responsibility," subsequent reports have tended to adopt a more agnostic tone. On April 21, the *New York Times* wrote in a conspicuously low-key story that "Officials... cannot recall a single important bombing in Beirut since the 1975-76 civil war that has been conclusively solved and its result made public. Many seriously doubt that those responsible for the embassy attack will

ever be found, even if the authorities discover the cause." The article did not mention the "pro-Iranian sect."

A related problem surfaces here: The Lebanese government and the Israelis aren't exactly the best of pals. The post-invasion "order" established in Lebanon — particularly Israel's continued occupation of the country — is a real sore spot. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir reportedly told an Israeli cabinet meeting that the explosion illustrated the righteousness of Zionist demands for a long-term military presence "since terrorism and chaos continue to prevail in Lebanon." When Lebanon's Foreign Minister Elie Salem heard about that, he quipped, "It is unfortunate that Israel yesterday and today has exploited this tragedy to make a case for Israeli troops to remain in Lebanon." He may have been privately thinking what the Syrians on the same day publicly stated over the state-run radio: "Israel is behind the explosion of the U.S. embassy in Beirut to support its intransigence in the current negotiations and to justify its demands for military, economic, and political privileges in Lebanon." Now from any number of angles, Syria itself is

hardly above suspicion. The same thing goes for Mr. Salem and his associates. They do, after all, totally rely on the continuing presence of U.S. (and French and Italian) troops for their political power, and the bombing can just as well be seen as an excuse to beef this up.

One of the numerous problems the United States faces in Lebanon is that its own allies are capable of just about anything, so it's very difficult to narrow the list of "suspects" in a matter like this. Israeli intelligence, for example, is widely credited with having engineered the assassination of Israel's own ambassador to London last June in order to manufacture a pretext for striking at PLO positions in Lebanon as "retaliation." Bashir Gemayel, another victim of an extraordinarily effective explosive device which obliterated the Phalangist headquarters only a few days after Gemayel's accession to the presidency last September, was almost certainly done in by one of his "allies" — the question was, which one?

So, while there is so far no clear indication or special reason to believe that any one party was behind the demolition of the U.S. embassy, neither is there any particularly compelling reason to scratch

anybody's name off the list.

The embassy incident drew an assortment of comments in Washington. Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger chose to portray the U.S. embassy in Beirut as a benign institution in Lebanese life, with close ties to the local populace, absorbed entirely with such business as issuing visas to Lebanese citizens desiring to visit America. Even a fleeting glance at some of the names on the list of mortally wounded provides a rather contrary picture, if needed: Robert C. Ames, Director of the CIA's Office of Analysis for the Near East and Southeast Asia; William R. McIntyre, Deputy Director of the Agency for International Development in Beirut; and so on. "Three of the dead," reported the *Times*, "were United States Army soldiers attached to a Lebanese army training mission..."

Ronald Reagan called the incident a "vicious terrorist bombing" and a "cowardly act." In contrast, we suppose, the U.S. "quest for a Middle East peace" has taken real guts. The murder of 40,000 people, the cluster bombing of tenements, the massacres of unarmed Palestinians — nothing terrorist, nothing cowardly about this, is there Mr. President? □

May 1st Message From A Flagburner

I am proud to be a convicted American flag burner! On April 14, while observing the trial of some other revolutionaries in Atlanta, I was "kidnapped" to begin serving a one-year sentence which arose from my participation in a demonstration supporting the Iranian revolution only days after the Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy spy den. The case had been on appeal and is on its way to the United States Supreme Court.

To me, the Iranian Revolution was an opening blast to the possibilities of the '80s. It reawakened revolutionary aspirations that had been slumbering for a decade. In the first days of the embassy seizure, with patriotic poison spilling

from the media like a backed-up toilet, it was not so easy to see how powerful could be the effect of the actions of what was then a very small minority. "That's not our embassy! We have no country!" Burning the flag — we really were way out on a limb. But among the oppressed there was a widespread feeling that something was rotten with the United States' actions. We gave substance to those feelings, brought them to life. I really think that in those first days we changed the course of history. I consider it an honor to have participated in those actions.

May Day is approaching this year in the setting of increasingly open war preparations by both the U.S. and USSR,

giving rise to fresh forces, bringing new life to the anti-nuke movements in Europe and the U.S.A. Think about the effect that actions, even if by a small number of people, but characterized by a proletarian internationalist outlook, can have — although the "results" may not be immediately obvious.

The ex-CIA/Shah of Iran; U.S. "advisors" in El Salvador; marines in Lebanon; new nukes installed in Europe; nuclear target practice over the Pacific Islands. The U.S. ruling class has no problem being international. They are unapologetic in their global piracy. The class-conscious proletariat must be even more thoroughly *internationalist* in our vision, outlook, actions,

because we represent the future, what is coming into being.

Burning an American flag in support of the Iranian revolution was more than a proud action. In today's world it was a part of hastening the day when on the agenda will be, not only burning flags, but putting an end to the U.S.A. as we know it.

Let May Day 1983 be a part of hastening that day.

Signed Diane Monroe,
from the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta,
April 16.

Mead

Continued from page 5

surplus. The structure of ranking encourages the members of the society to produce a surplus. But in ranking society, no section can as yet claim a monopoly of the means of production or of any organized force which can coerce people to produce. People produce in order to obtain or improve their position in a hierarchy of prestige.

Mead and Freeman emphasize different aspects of these contradictions. Freeman stresses the chiefly insistence on privilege, privileges widened and deepened by several centuries of capitalist penetration of Samoa. Mead described the behavior and ideology which Samoans employed to restrict and protest the exercise of rank and privilege.

The weakness in Mead's analysis of Samoa reflects a weakness in her anthropology overall. She did not explain the relationship between the ideas and customs of the societies she studied and the material basis of each society; in fact, she basically did not analyze the mode of production. Essentially U.S. anthropology since Boas and Mead has been informed by liberalism; thus while Mead waged important battles against biological determinists and eugenics, she was also quite unabashed about offering her services to U.S. imperialism, especially during the '40s, '50s and '60s when the question of "peacefully" integrating former subsistence farmers and peasants around the world into capitalist relations became paramount — see, for instance, her book, *New Lives For Old*.

In the 1960s and '70s there were a number of efforts by younger anthropologists to ground the study of culture in the analysis of different modes of production. Although these efforts often had serious flaws, advances were made by authors such as Marshall Sahlins and some of this work was specifically relevant to rank societies such as Samoa's. Mead acknowledged advances in data

and analysis, while holding, as we have seen, to the basic worth of her work.

But Freeman uses the discrepancies between his data and Mead's to justify a retreat to biological determinism. Of course he doesn't phrase it this way. In fact, he tells us that, "In light of current scientific knowledge, the exclusion of either biological or cultural variables from the etiology of adolescent or any other basic form of human behavior is unwarranted; both nature and nurture are always involved." But what does he mean by "basic form of human behavior"? According to Freeman, "specific cultural behaviors needed to be related to the phylogenetically given impulses in reference to which they evolve."

Freeman's central example of how he perceives the relationship between culture and genes focuses on violent disputes between Samoan chiefs. Such disputes, he writes, are usually avoided through the cultural convention of "respect language"; but at times, "the conventional behavior is replaced, in an instant, by highly emotional and impulsive behavior that is animal-like in its ferocity. It is thus evident that if we are to understand the Samoan respect language, which is central to their culture, we must relate it to the disruptive emotions generated by the tensions of social dominance and rank, with which this special language has been developed to deal. In this case, as in other domains of their society, impulses and emotions underly cultural convention to make up the dual inheritance that is to be found among the Samoans, as in all human populations. It is evident, therefore, that the cultural cannot be adequately comprehended except in relation to the much older phylogenetically given structures in relation to which it has been formed by non-genetic processes."

Note that Freeman has assumed here that social dominance and rank are the genetic underlay, while the respect language is relegated to the domain of the purely cultural; he assumes, in other words, what he supposedly sets out to prove. But why isn't the respect language "phylogenetically given"? Why are

dominance and rank not understood to be cultural adaptations to a specific level of productive forces? Or why, for that matter, does Freeman not see the whole thing as proving that *rebellion* against rank and dominance is "natural"? In fact, the only "phylogenetically given" phenomenon here is the human capacity to develop flexible and varying forms of behavior to deal with social contradictions.

In this example, Freeman's methodology — and his basic assumptions of which behaviors are inherited — is quite in line with the "new paradigm" of sociobiology which he espouses, and quite in line with the political wind being whipped up today. Underneath the media campaign to legitimize Freeman and discredit Mead is a call for anthropologists to "leave our ideological baggage behind," in the words of a *New York Times* headline, and embrace the reactionary outlook of sociobiology as the science of the '80s. Harvard University Press, which in addition to publishing Freeman's book has published several other prominent sociobiologists, is continuing these efforts — in a highly unusual move, it has hired a special public rela-

tions firm to arrange a national speaking tour for Freeman, who has already begun the talk show circuit.

The '80s are a time when U.S. imperialism is preparing, not for a local war, but for a world war. Justifications for aggression, racism, and genocide, always useful, become even more necessary. No wonder, then, that Freeman's book is being so warmly welcomed in some quarters.

Nevertheless, many anthropologists are angered by the Freeman book, and more are actively seeking ways to oppose the political direction of society of which it is a part. While sociobiology has launched repeated offensives in the recent past, many scientists (and others) have taken it on, exposed much of what's at stake, and in large part succeeded in changing the terms of the battle. We should recognize the urgent necessity before us and transform the attack by Professor Freeman, Harvard University Press and the *New York Times* into an opportunity to enter this particular battle, and in so doing strike a blow against the very currents they are trying to whip up.

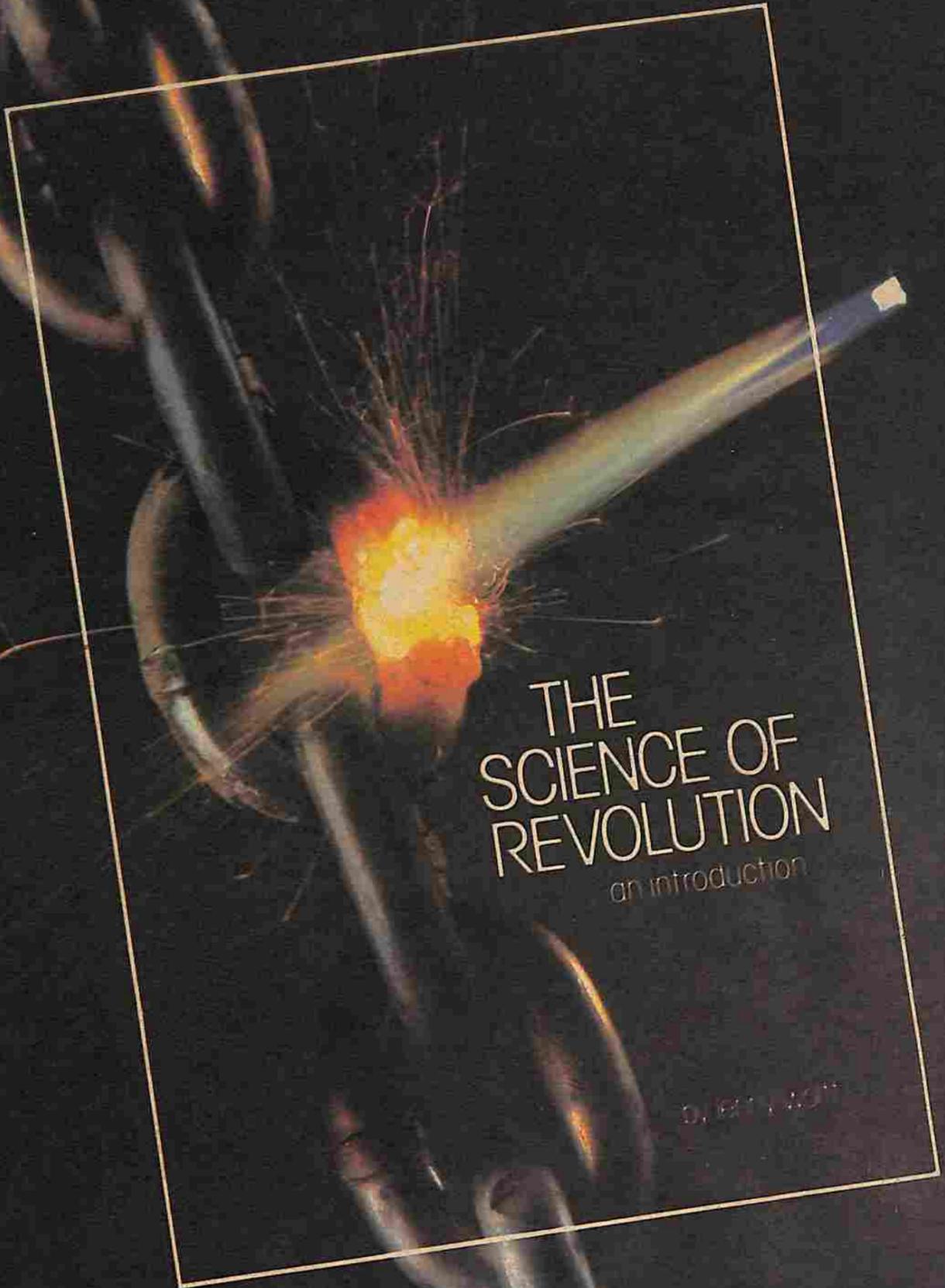
Nina Schiller

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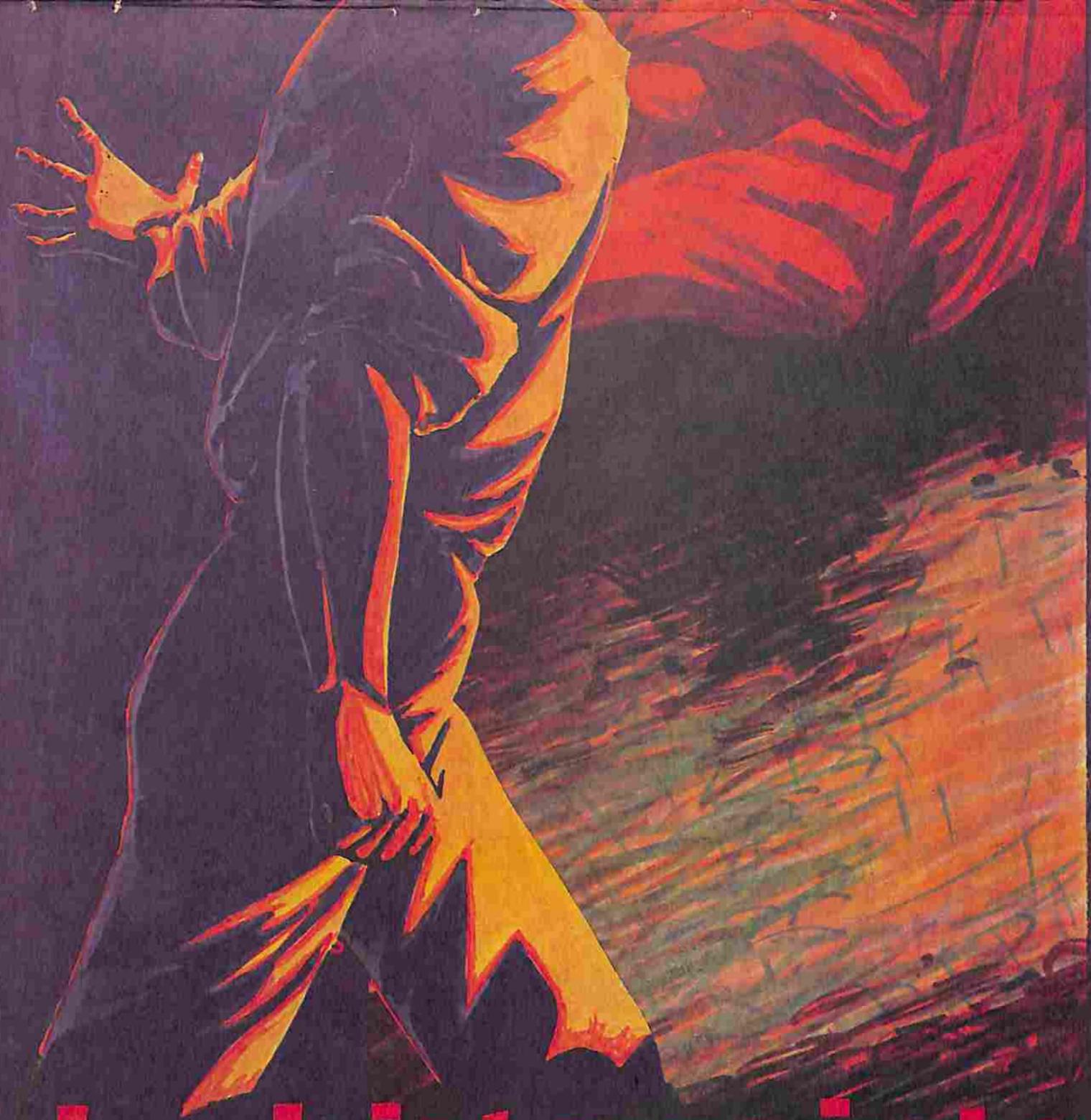
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