



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

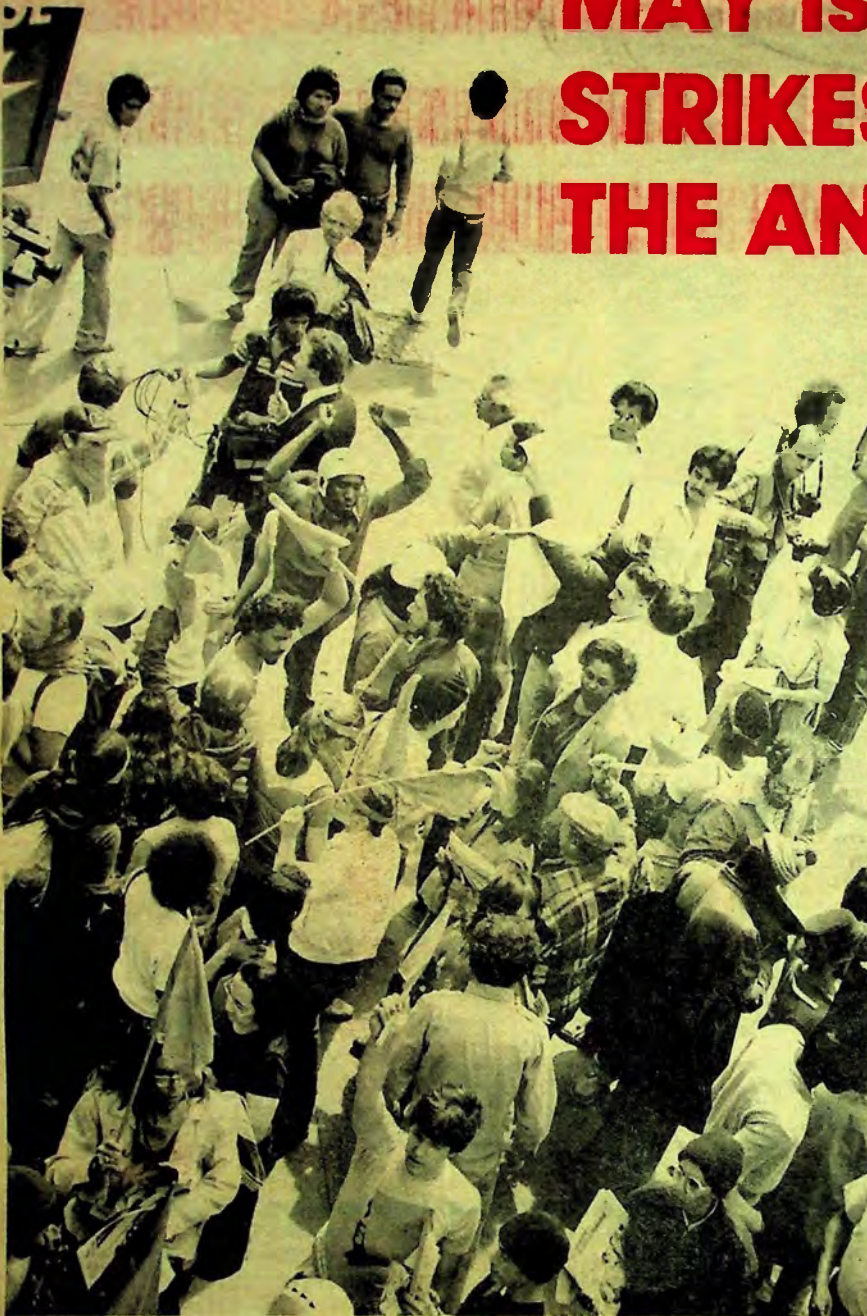
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MAY 1st LIGHTNING STRIKES CITY OF THE ANGELS



7th and Broadway, Los Angeles, May 1st.

Los Angeles. May First in Los Angeles started off like any other day—or so it must have seemed to a meteorologist. Thick brown smoggy haze, with a burnt-orange and yellow sun trying to poke its way through. But by the time that sun went down, the *political* climate had been radically transformed, and a bright red sun was glowing in the darkness. A sprawling city that concentrates both imperialism's decadence and the global oppression on which it is based, had been branded that day with the mark of its gravediggers—and the preparations for the worldwide funeral are farther along.

The brand struck hottest in two key areas of Los Angeles—the downtown area and the neighborhoods in the vicinity of MacArthur Park. Latino immigrants are highly concentrated in both areas, the park being a barrio for Central Americans in particular. The first concentrated signs of what was to come later in the day appeared here. A May Day squad arrived at 10 a.m. and planted the red flag in the street. About 200 immigrants emerged from their tightly packed apartments—some into the street, more hanging out of windows or congregating on the balconies and fire escapes. Water buckets became conga drums—red flags began popping up from all directions. Two formerly undercover officers were hooted out of the area, stopping only to pass a quick report to a squad car up the street.

Many of the red flags, as well as two large banners, including one from the "Proletarian Internationalists of Watts" which was tied across cars parked in the street, had been taken up the night before. Then, the squad of May Day volunteers was international in composition—Blacks, white youth, Nicaraguans, Mexicans, Iranians, Samoans and a Vietnamese comrade—and

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Wingate High

The Day the Maoists Met the Russians



As the U.S. and the Soviet social-imperialists daily accelerate their preparation for World War 3, a spectre haunting both of these superpowers is the possibility that instead of engaging in a mutual slaughterfest to determine which slavemaster will rule the world, the slaves of both sides will openly fraternize and prepare to turn the guns against their own bourgeoisie. This terrible spectre came to life for 15 intense minutes as revolutionaries boarded a Russian cargo ship anchored in Los Angeles harbor on May 4, providing a glimpse of the future when the battlefield of inter-imperialist war could be turned into common ground for the soldiers of the two enemy camps to conspire about the overthrow of their respective ruling classes.

Singing the *Internationale* in English, Spanish, Chinese and Farsi as they headed up the gangplank, three members of the RCYB and several supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party boldly announced their presence aboard the *Harry Pollitt*. They carried with them messages from an Afghan student and a Nicaraguan youth to the proletarians of the Soviet bloc. A banner was quickly hung over the side of the ship inscribed with "An Internationalist Call to May First Action" in Russian. As a poster of Lenin was taped up on the ship's wall, a few amazed sailors reached for copies of the May Day Call in Russian.

A few comrades headed inside to hand out the call and to stash as many as possible in various nooks and crannies in the ship. An Iranian brother went into the kitchen and talked to a group of women cooks standing inside. "I drew a picture of Russia and then a picture of Iran to make sure they knew I was Iranian," he said. Their eyes lit up as they took the Call and read it in Russian. Outside an Asian woman from the RCYB was trying to hang a second banner with the May Day slogans in English. A crewman grabbed her by the leg, trying to stop her. The Iranian approached the sailors, many of whom understood a little English, explaining that the group was representing the international proletariat, and that the proletariat should join together worldwide to defeat U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The seaman immediately let go of her leg and dashed away. Now the captain arrived upon the scene. Heaving a red flag over the side, he demanded to know, "Who are you? What are you doing?" "We are proletarian internationalists," a revolutionary shot back. "Maoists?" he asked. "Yes, Maoist proletarian internationalists," came the reply. The captain flew into a rage, ordering the 15 sailors

who had assembled to attack and leading the most violent assaults himself.

A wild melee broke out as one sailor leaped at his command, grabbing a revolutionary and holding him while the captain kicked him. Another scrambled after a young woman who had lowered the Russian flag from the ship's bow. While pulling her down off the ladder, he attempted to pick up and protect the Russian flag. "Mademoiselle, nyet!" screamed a third sailor at a Latina youth agitating to the crew. Two more sailors grabbed another woman by the hands and feet as if to throw her over the side.

At this point, the Iranian comrade played a pivotal role in turning the tide. "I saw this comrade being wrestled to the ground by the pig social-imperialist officers," he told the *RW*, "and they were trying to get the rank-and-file to participate in this attack. This outraged me tremendously. I thought to myself, this is really a perversion of Marxism-Leninism, seeing the proletariat of one country being rallied to attack the proletariat of another country, all in the service of preserving imperialism. So when I saw this outrageous thing happening, I yelled as loud as I could from deep within my lungs, 'Lenin khoroshô' (which means in Russian, 'Lenin is good; he is the truth'), and 'Brezhnev-Reagan nikhoroshô' (which means 'Brezhnev and Reagan are bad')."

At this moment everyone froze. All skirmishes halted and debate broke out. The higher officers tried unsuccessfully to mobilize the crew to continue the attacks. The sailors, many of whom had been fearful of taking leaflets before due to the repressive atmosphere of "no politics allowed," began to stash the call inside their pockets or jackets. The attitude of the sailor who had been protecting the Soviet flag suddenly changed, as he began releasing the young woman revolutionary. As she ran to the rail and tore up paper replicas of the American and Soviet flags, the Russian seaman relaxed their grip on the revolutionaries they had tackled. It began to dawn on the sailors what this May First fraternization was really all about. The Iranian comrade saw that the eyes of one sailor, who had been fighting the revolutionaries only minutes earlier, were filling with tears. He went over and embraced this sailor, who took a red flag and then joined in singing, as the *Internationale* struck up again.

Just then a huge, burly character, an officer, began smacking his lips over a glass of champagne, trying to strike the intimidating pose of the overlord for social-imperialism that he is. This too

enraged the Iranian comrade, who lunged forward, knocking the glass from his hand and causing the champagne to fly everywhere. It was now very clear where the revolutionaries stood politically.

The seaman who had been the first to follow the captain's order was also ready to break down in tears as he shook the hand of the revolutionary he jumped on moments before. Other sailors retrieved this comrade's glasses, which had been knocked off earlier in the fight, and returned them. "Amerikanski imperialism, Ruski imperialism nikhoroshô" ("Russian and American imperialism are bad"), the agitator told the sailor, who had also backed down in his attempts to stop her. He nodded his head, "Yes." "From Poland to Afghanistan to El Salvador, people are fighting against U.S. and Soviet imperialism!" the Asian woman told a sailor. "We must join with the international proletariat and make revolution." He too nodded his head.

At this point, at least 10 Los Angeles Police Dept. squad cars wheeled up with lights flashing and sirens screaming. "Does this look familiar?" the youth asked the sailor. "Yes," he smiled know-

ingly. All scuffling had stopped as the crew soberly watched the LAPD and Port Patrol police enter the ship. The captain nervously ordered the sailors to their quarters as the pigs began trying to drag the revolutionaries off the ship, but the crew did not move. As the revolutionaries broke into another chorus of the *Internationale*, the cop in charge warned, "Don't hurt them, this could turn into an incident."

All those who had boarded the ship were written citations for trespassing, but no misdemeanor or felony charges were brought. And not surprisingly practically no media coverage of this stunning event has occurred, although at least one newspaper reporter and one TV news station were on the scene shortly after the "incident." Several hours later, the *Harry Pollitt* set sail with Russian language copies of the "Internationalist Call to May First Action" stored in various parts of the ship and in sailors' pockets. A fitting exclamation point indeed to May First, 1982. As the Iranian comrade summed up, "This was a fantastic experience, never to be forgotten in the hearts and minds of many throughout the world!" □

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Lessons From May Day Actions

This issue of the *RW* gives a basic picture of May Day 1982 as the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend celebrated it in this country; it and preceding issues give a beginning glimpse of world developments. Since the First of May is a special, intense and most international day in the world process of revolution — it is possible and very important to begin to draw lessons from it for the continued advance of our trend.

There can be no doubt as to the greatest achievement of this year: On a world scale and in quite a few countries, including the U.S., proletarian internationalism did indeed become a living force on a scale far grander than even a year before. This is no small thing, no mere "bonus." In a world whose future is being forged in the developing clash between the forces of imperialist war and of social revolution — this is a decisive question.

The Call to May 1st Action issued by our party said, "In this spirit and direction class-conscious forces must urgently go forward toward a common program, a common strategy and a common organization on an international scale of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend." Of course this goal remains to be met, but it is clear that May First and the political work which preceded it represented important strides in that direction. If we must — and we should — sum up that such a goal will be achieved only through a deepening process of struggle internationally and within various countries, then should we not also sum up the important advances that we make? This May First, such advances were clearly visible in the banners, messages, statements, etc. exchanged between masses of various countries and carried by them into battle, and in the clearly emerging manifestations of political unity in the actions and statements of various revolutionary parties and organizations from many parts of the world.

The sight of *proletarians* within the U.S., in still relatively small but very significant numbers, taking an internationalist line into their hearts and into the streets, has great meaning for revolution in this and every country. Without a doubt, this basic truth was grasped by the U.S. imperialists, who lashed out the week before May Day with the biggest, most highly publicized blitz of deportation and terror against immigrants they have undertaken in decades. The reasons for their immediate timing were probably varied, but their basic political message — "Americans and America First!" — was obvious. In the face of this, when "native-born" proletarians and others stepped forward on International Workers Day declaring "We're all illegals. We're proletarians, we have no country," their stand had all the more force. And when proletarians from other parts of the world living in the U.S. also stepped out on that day to carry out their proletarian internationalist duty to struggle against imperialism and reaction in one of its central world fortresses — they too gave an inspiring example of the determination to proceed, as Lenin put it, "not from the point of view of 'my' country... but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution." This course of action, which came alive in the streets on May First, must be cherished, deepened and spread.

May First in the U.S. was once again a day of struggle in many different spheres of society, and a day when the forms of revolutionary attack were broad and varied but unified by a common revolutionary internationalist thrust. Of special

significance on May First was the heightening of what one comrade in another country recently described as "scenes of proletarian combat." May First, while a political struggle, is an embryo of and an act of preparation for the armed insurrection of the future. As such a revolutionary May First should be — and in many cases was — a festival of the oppressed, marked by elements of the old order breaking down and the new coming into being. The main demonstrations themselves were no pressure-group parades; rather, they captured some of the future. Under attack by the authorities, the revolutionaries generally continued to develop new forms of struggle to frustrate these attacks and to bring in new forces from among the masses.

This year, in a few places and for the first time, significant breakouts and other similar political explosions by the new took place in this country. As in most everything, the youth were in the lead. While in the past two years there had been elements of such breakouts, in general, as we summed up last year, "the bourgeoisie got the upper hand before things got totally beyond control — though uncontrolled elements sprang up everywhere." This year, in at least two places such controls broke down in a really major way, courtesy of revolutionary youth. The significance of the revolutionary line becoming a material force in such a way should not be underestimated; at the same time, these events were a new "school" of sorts for the revolutionary communists, and much is still to be learned about expecting the unexpected — and being prepared politically and organizationally to lead it forward and spread it to the max.

The net result of all this was that a proletarian internationalist May First asserted itself again powerfully this year in a situation where, in addition to the regular reactionary moves to directly crush May First, others were making an effort to grab the banner of this day away and wash it pink. There is a special, nearly unique, situation in this country where the revolutionary communist forces have a considerable amount of initiative on May First, as compared to most other countries where revisionists and reformists clearly dominate the political landscape on that day right now. This favorable situation here is a result both of the past efforts of our party and others who have joined with it to make this kind of revolutionary statement, and also it is the result of the particular position of U.S. imperialism in the world, especially since World War 2, where its top-dog position has meant there has been less basis (and the imperialists have had less need) for a non-revolutionary "socialist" trend to be a major one in the working class. In a way, our efforts here are another illustration of the fact that strength and weakness are dialectically related and can be transformed, through struggle, into their opposite. We have the responsibility to continue and intensify the struggle in this superpower to raise the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist banner high not only on May First but continually. Asserting it powerfully in any country has impact not only there but internationally. There are features of this imperialist monster that we can and must turn into strengths for the world proletariat.

Especially with this responsibility in mind, we must also look at and learn from our shortcomings. Again, while there were real achievements this year on the breakouts front, these occurred only in the schools. In particular, while in some factories there were back and forth

battles between revolutionary proletarians and the forces of old authority, there were still no factory breakouts on or around May Day that we are now aware of. This weakness is of interest to genuine revolutionaries, not because we want to develop a "mass labor movement." As we have stated, those words and all the reformism and chauvinism they have come to stand for should be a curse to anyone with a revolutionary soul. But while *that* is not our aim, we are preparing for insurrection — and for real material reasons in a country such as this it is hard to imagine a successful one in the absence of a significant number of factories (though not necessarily a majority — and certainly not now) being developed as "fortresses" of proletarian revolution. In fact, many very practical questions of the insurrection and civil war, and of organs of proletarian political power, will require such factory fortresses (along with similar developments in housing projects and other proletarian areas). Today, too, such fortresses can only strengthen the proletarian revolutionary and internationalist character of the movement and help win over allies as well. With this sweeping view in mind, the revolutionary forces of the proletariat must be strengthened in an all-round way in such places — particularly those where the lower, oppressed sections of the proletariat are concentrated.

Related to the above, and more generally asserting itself as a shortcoming in the work around May First, are weaknesses in the degree of consolidation of advanced revolutionary forces. As successful as these demonstrations were overall, including in involving and unleashing the revolutionary initiative of advanced masses, still it is plain that the foundation from which they were launched needs to be significantly strengthened. The numbers of forces who are clearly armed with — and organized around — the revolutionary line and programme must be expanded. These were the forces at the core of those who took revolutionary action on May First — often straight up in the face of the enemy. Broad influence of the party's line, while very important, is not enough; there must be those as well who are armed on a qualitatively higher level with the party's line and analysis and a good number of them should be closely around — *and in* — the party. It is no mystery where, in the main, the greatest successes were registered on May First — it was precisely where this kind of work, and this foundation did exist. Yes, rapid advances are always made in the course of mini-crises and major battles, but that does not wipe out the need for full preparation.

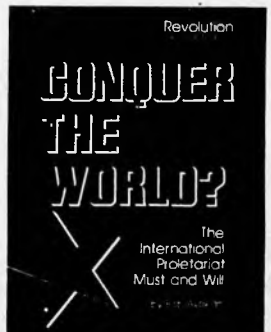
It is still too much the case that each new offensive we launch starts largely with new forces, rather than bringing in still greater forces on the basis of past work. This is very important when one

looks ahead to a revolutionary situation and insurrection. Lenin once wrote, "... in a period of great social turmoil, when the political atmosphere is charged with electricity, when now here and now there, from the most varied and unforeseen causes, outbreaks occur with increasing frequency, heralding the approaching revolutionary storm — in a word, when it is necessary either to agitate or remain in the rear, at such a time *only organized* revolutionary forces can seriously influence the progress of events." ("Preface to the Pamphlet 'May Days in Kharkov,'" *CW*, Vol. 4, Lenin's emphasis). Ultimately, this is a life and death matter for proletarian revolution — having everything to do with whether or not the revolutionary communists will be in a position to carry through to victory or not. And it is very much determined by our preparation now — including as one important element whether the party itself is being built.

In a number of recent works, including "Conquer the World?..." and a series of questions and answers on party-building in *RW* issues 136-144, Bob Avakian has addressed this question. He has pointed out that our overall work consists in "preparing minds and organizing forces" with party-building being the key aspect of organizing forces. The key link in party-building is *quality*, that is particularly the line and the training of party members and those drawn toward the party in theory and in practice. Building the party also includes building it in *quantity*, that is the number of forces in and closely around the party. This, too, is a decisive question for the outcome of a revolution.

Party-building is not some gimmick — the beginning and the end of revolutionary work. Our main weapon now, and the hub of all revolutionary activity, is the *Revolutionary Worker*, and broadly creating public opinion is an important task. The party will not be built in a hot-house, but it must be built. On this foundation, and in the very process of building it, even more broad and powerful initiatives can be and must be taken in every sphere of society.

May First was a significant revolutionary offensive, and one on an international scale. Its significance will be multiplied as the revolutionary forces learn and advance still further from here along the proletarian internationalist path. □



This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

Its sections are

- Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road.
- More on the proletarian revolution as a world process.
- Leninism as the bridge.
- Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up.
- Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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Wingate High

May 1st Youth Enter School of the Future

Brooklyn Breakout at Wingate High

Wingate High School in Brooklyn, a fenced-in detention center for 3000 students of predominantly Caribbean origin in the Crown Heights district, was the scene of a beautiful large-scale breakout on Friday, April 30.

Wingate had been a target of agitation by the RCYB and May Day volunteers beginning only 2 weeks earlier. The call of the party to turn April 30, the day before May Day, into a day of "mass actions and initiative which will transform hell-hole sweatshops and the jails that this society calls schools," was broadly taken out and taken up by students.

On the morning of April 30, there were dozens of students hanging out expectantly in front of the school. Inside, blackboards all over the school were covered with the message: "Breakout—11:00." A Haitian youth told an *RW* reporter, "See all those kids outside, these are the kids I spread the word to. Look in front of the school. All of them are ready for you. These kids know what you really mean." Another young Haitian told of the administration's attempt

to stop May First actions, "Yesterday at 8th period the teacher told us: What are we going to prove?—May Day was something from the 19th century, right, when the workers couldn't get what they wanted, and that's the whole definition of May Day. He said the people outside with red flags, what the hell are they going to prove, that's what he told the whole class."

The school authorities had organized comprehensive propaganda against May First in most classes on Thursday. Many students said the teachers had warned that "The communists come to make trouble here because they know you are immigrants and don't know too much—they think you are ignorant and so they can influence you." Some Wingate students had spraypainted May Day and breakout slogans on school walls. The teachers said that "These people have no respect for you or your school, see how they deface your property." Little did they know the real trouble that was in store.

The authorities had nearly tripled the

Board of Education School Task Force—the security force employed by the school district—at Wingate from 15 to 40 in preparation for possible disruption. A Wingate student told the *RW* that "Lots of the kids here are illegal—like a bunch of kids say they just got off Air Jamaica and came and registered here." Against a background of thousands of arrests of "illegal" immigrants across the country in the week leading up to May Day, getting suspended for participating in the April 30 breakout could mean imprisonment and the threat of deportation, and a number of students raised this problem with May First agitators. People were making up their minds—weighing things.

But the administration's half-baked counter-insurgency propaganda and the government's anti-immigrant pogroms failed to smother and intimidate those looking for a chance to unleash a rebellion; these things helped fuel the flames. The situation at Wingate was incendiary—yet even those who were actively organizing for a breakout there

were amazed by the depth and breadth of what was to go down on April 30th.

11:00 marks the beginning of the staggered lunch periods (4th, 5th and 6th periods) in which 3000 students are processed through the school cafeteria in two hours. Usually, the scene of the cafeteria is totally packed. But on this Friday, there were at the most 75 to 100 students in the cafeteria, while the crowd outside swelled to between 300 and 400. A student who was in the cafeteria at 11:00 a.m. told the *RW* that "We knew there was going to be a riot. 'Cause somebody wrote with red paint—6th period, everybody cut out. And then when they (the RCYB with red flags—*RW*) came, everybody, I was in the cafeteria at the time, everybody started to get out of the building, taking flags, the papers and they were reading them. They mainly wanted to be with you all, but the guards, they were holding them back in the school. They didn't let nobody out, by blocking the exits. People that was in the cafeteria, see, I was out of it at the time 'cause I was

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High and Wild at L.A. High

For weeks the administration at L.A. High School had been battling to contain the growing upsurge among the students, to somehow derail the preparations for May Day. They had tried everything: when students disrupted "Career Day," (March 29), exposing the "future of opportunity" offered there by the military recruiters, unleashing revolutionary agitation, literature and internationalist calls to May First, two activists were expelled and the inflammatory *RW* and *RCYB* newspapers and *RCYB* (Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) T-shirts were banned from the campus. Announcements in classes said that one of the two was thrown out for "distributing communist literature" (even while the "official" version was that he was being transferred because he lived in another school's district). Other activists were threatened with not being able to graduate. The authorities attempted to sow divisions among the students, putting out to the Black students that May Day and revolution are only for the people from "other countries," that is, the

Central Americans who have been most active. Many Black students had held back from joining in the fight for May First. But by the week before the First all these efforts had failed to stop the growing momentum, and the administration was forced to rely more openly on the repressive apparatus of the state; by the middle of the week, the school was put under a total police lockdown.

Even the expulsion/transfer of the student to a high school in Watts blew up in their faces. Once there, he immediately began putting out the Call to May Day, making statements in all of his classes. He agitated during lunch one day, drawing about 40 students.

Among the core of the class-conscious youth there was a lot of struggle and preparations for a breakout on the 30th and activities building up to it in the days before. Questions over how to get the Black students involved and how a small number of fighters can be a catalyst to politically transforming the whole situation and bringing many, many more into struggle were hotly debated and wrangled

over. The basis was being laid for new advances and these advances were powerfully manifested in a breakout which burst forth not on Friday, April 30th as had been planned but even earlier on Youth Day, Wednesday, April 28th.

Early on that day a squad of May Day youth, including *RCYB* members, entered the campus and were met by two students who had been waiting for them. Significantly a group of Black students came and grabbed a bunch of red flags; leaflets and newspapers went out. The class-conscious youth, including the two students, began to sum up that the conditions existed to push things much further, to call for a break-out and an L.A. High contingent at the demonstration against the INS (Immigration & Naturalization Service) raids later in the day. As events moved forward things looked more and more favorable, and with May Day rapidly approaching, they decided to go for it. At lunchtime a squad of youth showed up at the school, slipping through a hole in the chain-link fence surrounding it. Some Central American students ran

up, warning that there were security guards all over—the enemy was also prepared. The whole group raced over to the open-air cafeteria where an *RCYB* agitator jumped up on a lunch table. About 200 students gathered around. Within a minute security guards jumped the agitator, but then another leaped out, and was also jumped. A Black student yelled out, "Follow the leaders!" Some Ethiopian students ran to get some friends who had left to bring them back. Another group of Black students came up to a squad member and said, "We want to hang with you, what are we going to do?" This was the first time Black students were taking up May Day at L.A. High. And their action came right as the bourgeoisie's vicious INS raids and chauvinist propaganda campaign was reaching its high point. The whole area was in an uproar.

Suddenly the security guards were being pelted with food and garbage. A Latino youth, one of those expelled from the school for agitating, had returned for

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The Cincinnati Kids

The two schools are a few miles apart. Withrow High, a Black and white, mainly working class high school and Walnut Hills, Cincinnati's public "college prep" school where before school a small number of instigators gather. Walnut Hills has a history—in the late '60s a third of the school walked out to hear Jerry Rubin, a former student at the school, speak. By the end of the day, today, the Friday of May Day 1982, a lot would erupt at both schools.

Yesterday 60 or 70 students had gathered around the *RCP* agitator for the highest level of struggle yet over what to do on May Day, and why. While some of the people were curious, others were urgent. "Last year we walked out on May Day but nobody knew why, they'll just say it was some kids walking out over something..." "Will we really get across what we want to?" "I gave some leaflets to a friend of mine to take to his school, but over there they think May Day is Black freedom day." "Nobody realizes it's about internationalism."

But this morning a small group of instigators, including students from Walnut Hills who have come forward, are recruiting. Those who won't come now are called on to lead people out at lunch and take up Red flags. "XXX, do you know what you're doing, can't you just

walk out at lunch with us?" "Let's go in and maybe we can get passes." "You're going to Atlanta tonite?" The questions are taken seriously.

It's time to head for Withrow High. At Withrow large scale race-riot fights between white and Black students have taken place more than once this year. Again, the question of what the content of today's breakout will have is closely tied into whether it will happen. The word had spread like wildfire that everyone was walking out Friday. The question was, what for. Among a significant section of the white students, the question of "Fuck the system, fuck school," had "fuck Blacks" mixed into it. There was a lot of struggle over this. One of the instigators made it clear, "Anybody who thinks this is against Blacks can get off right now." The question of how to get the Black students to join in the May First actions and to overcome the division at the school was a burning one. In the midst of the struggle on Thursday, a white student who had been taking May Day the most seriously, a rebel young woman, walked into a group of backward Blacks and laid out the stakes. "You fools will go die for this system in World War 3." "No we won't," they replied. "You will, because you're brainwashed and you believe what

they tell you about this country that they'll get you to go." Everyone checked this out. The debate went on, with it becoming clear to all forces that what May First was about was uniting AGAINST national oppression and the system, not going along with the American brainwash, it stood for international unity of all the oppressed people in the world.

Friday morning the instigators arrive at the meeting place near the school where people hang out. Today it was empty—Oh, oh. A brother from Walnut Hills showed up with his banner, a huge, spray-painted banner that read: "DOWN WITH U.S., RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM." Another banner was on hand. It read: "DOWN WITH THE OLD AND FIGHT TO BRING ALIVE THE NEW."

The instigators head for the school grounds. Tension. The place is awful quiet. The usual clumps of students smoking, hanging out on the lawn, yelling at girls through the windows, they're gone. A minute to 10 a.m., the set time. The instigators cross the street and set up their banners. The agitator lifts the bullhorn to his mouth and the air is cut with a wild scream, but it's not coming from the bullhorn. It's a sister hollering at the top of her lungs, a scream of libera-

tion, as she comes barreling out of the front door with 25 people, Black and white right behind her, waving her big red flag as she zig-zags across the schoolyard calling for everyone to follow. Forty or so other youth pile out, checking out the banners and the whole scene. Twenty red flags are gotten out instantly, and even in this chaos money is collected for them. About 25 students stand with the banners, and help agitate. More just end up splitting the scene especially when the pigs show up. Some leave with red flags. The authorities send out the American flag squad. Some who have broken out think this is "supposed to be our flag" and at first cheer the patriots and greet them. Confusion. An agitator goes over to the scene and asks the Black students in the group with the rag how any Black person can be rallying around the flag that murdered those youth in Atlanta, and kills oppressed people around the world. Now this crowd breaks up, drifting back to school, or splitting the scene to ponder it all. Three pathetic fools take the flag back home to the classroom.

Next it's the administrator's turn. "Are you enrolled in school here..." "Not any more." One girl whips out her withdrawal papers. She quit that morning! All the administrator could stammer

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MAY 1st LIGHTNING STRIKES CITY OF THE ANGELS

Continued from page 1

their agitation resounded in many different languages. The comrade from Iran declared: "I am called Iranian, but I am not. I am a proletarian. I have no country. We are all proletarians, and we don't want too much... We only want the earth!"; a volunteer from Vietnam blasted life both under U.S. and Soviet imperialism and the necessity to make revolution worldwide; and a Vietnam vet stepped up next to him to proclaim: "For 10 months of my life, I murdered and plundered in Vietnam—it could as well have been El Salvador, Nicaragua or Panama. Tonight, on May Day, I will march with my Vietnamese comrade, the Salvadorans, the Nicaraguans, all the people of the world. I murdered the Vietnamese people—I am not guilty! Imperialism is guilty for sending me to Vietnam. U.S. imperialism will regret the day that I came back from Vietnam alive, because I have dedicated myself to the oppressed people of the world. We call on people to spit in the face of imperialism, to take the bold step, to cast aside the old for the elimination of imperialism, both U.S. and Soviet." After this, the Vietnamese and Iranian agitators went up into the balconies and brought a Spanish translator with them. The masses had put banners on a number of balconies—such as one saying "We are all illegals, we are proletarians, On to May First," and they had taken red flags to fly. When the pigs busted it up, they were only able to confiscate one banner—the rest were hidden in the apartments along with a number of revolutionaries.

But on the following morning, the pigs moved more quickly to bust up the rally—and the people moved more quickly and more broadly to hide volunteers, flags, etc., in the apartments. After conducting a futile search for the dangerous people and items, the cops came up with the brilliant idea of distributing baseball cards to the kids in the area. That didn't seem to convince too many; for example, a group of 4-to-7 year olds began putting up May Day posters on apartment building staircases and marched with red flags up and down the block. One father came over and told his kids to hand over the baseball cards to an *RW* reporter, saying it would be "muy malo" to keep them. He added, "The cops are scared most of the kids. These kids will rise up tomorrow with their eyes opened." But when the discussion with him and another father turned to the question of their role, particularly on May 1, there was some hesitation; one said he would be at the convergence, but the other said he had to stay home and take care of the kids. A Salvadoran volunteer who had just arrived from Seattle had something to say about this: "I'll go for it, no matter what it takes to make this force grow up and make a worldwide revolution. I joined the revolutionaries for real six months ago... I am ashamed to say last year I couldn't be in May Day, I couldn't break through, but I began to read the paper and that made me conscious of my role... I know what it would mean for me to be sent to El Salvador, they would be waiting for me, but I'm not fighting just for me and my liberation nor just for my family, but for humanity worldwide."

The bourgeoisie must have been worried that such sentiments were widespread, and would become manifest at 7th and Broadway, the downtown convergence point. The reports on a certain local all-news radio station were quite different this year. In '81, the morning broadcasts had all stressed the overwhelming police presence that was being geared up at the rally site. But this year, the same station gave out the *wrong* location—naming a desolate street corner that had been "granted" in a secret eleventh hour meeting of the Police Commission in opposition to the actual convergence point. This station knew quite well what was happening here—because May Day spokespeople had immediately unmasked the subterfuge and rejected the

"offer," and this particular station had broadcast an interview with one of them late the night before that specifically went into this point.

The Convergence

1:30 p.m.—7th & Broadway. It is unusually quiet at this historic intersection, especially for a Saturday afternoon. This is the heart of the shopping district for Latino immigrants, but the street scene has gone from vibrant to desolate in the overall atmosphere of the week long Migra raids. That same atmosphere had cleared out the nearby garment district and the corners where day laborers gather to wait for job pick-ups, sharply changing the terms of the breakouts that had been planned for April 30 in the garment district. In fact, many garment shops simply closed their doors for the entire week. At the same time, the LAPD escalated its patrols of the area, creating a massive police presence for the whole week leading up to May 1. Today, six riot-clad pigs are stationed at each of the four corners in the intersection, and some are handing out leaflets to the few passersby, telling them to go to the permitted location. Hundreds of their fellow riot-squadders are staging just a few blocks away. A 35-course cavalry team is forming on an adjoining street. But where are the forces for revolution?

1:45—More people are in the intersection now, hanging around and waiting. This includes a bunch of undercover pigs, a handful of American flag-waving bible thumpers, and a vendor trying to sell more American flags. He is having no success with the approximately 20 people hanging around, but perhaps business will pick up in a little while.

2:00—Now there are about 100 people in the intersection, but they are not potential customers for the flag vendor. Some have bits of red hanging out of their pockets, many have rolled up *RW*'s tucked away in their pockets, with the flash of the back page just barely showing. Up the street on Broadway and down the block on 7th there are expanding pockets of people just hanging around. Still no red flags, no May Day.

2:30 approximately—A May First squad is visible marching down 7th St. Suddenly, red flags go up on one corner, a squad moves in from another direction, and the May Day march is on. All four corners are now swarming with people, as hundreds press in closer. The pigs tense up and put their hands on their batons. Two LAPD squads of 30-40 each march up, and the mounties move up closer to the intersection. Many on the packed-in corners comment that the pigs are getting ready to attack; their words and voices reflect the struggle between determination and apprehension.

For the vast majority of this crowd, just to be on this corner at this time represents a significant degree of the former. It is well known that 7th and Broadway on May 1st is not going to be a picnic. Two years ago, the LAPD launched a vicious police attack on the May Day '80 march, precisely to prevent it from reaching this busy downtown area. Due to the exposure they suffered from this, they decided not to attack last year's march, instead surrounding it with phalanxes of police and setting up a scene of heavy intimidation. But in the face of this history, there are between three and four hundred people packed in tight on all four corners of the intersection. They are mostly youth, but with a good number of older folks, and overwhelmingly from the real proletarian social base of the party—Latinos, Blacks, and a smaller number of whites and Asians. They include groups of youth from L.A. High which rocked with rebellion earlier in the week (see article page 4), and from an all-Black housing project in Watts, where an English/Spanish rally had brought forward first the youth and then some older people to sign a bi-lingual banner, and call on others to do the same. The banner reads: in Spanish, "An Internationalist Call to May First Action, Down with Deportations, Forward to Revolution," and in English, "We're Not Americans, We Are All Il-

legals—From the Proletarian Internationalists of Watts." On May First, it has 44 signatures on it. Also in the crowd are Latino day laborers from downtown street corners, garment workers from the downtown garment district and people who regularly shop at Grand Central Market, just five blocks north of the intersection—areas where the party and the May Day volunteers have concentrated all-around preparatory work leading up to May First, including propaganda sessions to dig into the worldwide revolutionary process (based on *Conquer the World*) and the possibilities of revolution in an advanced imperialist country like the U.S. (based on *Charting the Unchartered Course*). And there were more—a group of Black youth from Compton, a number of Central Americans, again mainly youth, from the MacArthur Park area, a group of ex-'60s radicals "who always come out to May Day," former Black Panthers and other revolutionaries from the Black liberation struggle of the '60s—including ex-prisoners—some of whom have come to find out if this is the party "that's going to do it." And there were broader forces, who had come particularly because they were against imperialist war, or the oppression of Black people, or especially because of the stand the party took against the immigration raids of the previous week. In a general sense, they all felt that May Day would register the sharpest blows at these manifestations of the old—and they "had to be there."

There were also hundreds more "spectators"—hanging at the back edges of the intersection or further up Broadway. In most cases they were there to "see what would happen."

Within this convergence crowd, there were a relatively small number of people with whom the party had forged not only tighter political links, but beginning organizational links as well. They had become class-conscious *leaders* for May Day in their different areas, and had waged a struggle with others to grasp its significance, leading mini-contingents to the rally site. This was an important qualitative change from previous years' May Days in L.A., when such participation was nearly exclusively on an individual level. Still, the level of participation by their friends was far from a settled question. This was clearly a May Day crowd, but whether, especially in the face of reactionary force, this would be reflected in anything more than standing on the corners of 7th & Broadway—whether significant numbers would find the forms to take more conscious initiative, put the stamp of the international proletariat on L.A. and send shockwaves around the world—remained to be seen.

"Let's Go For It!"

Despite their historically dull-witted view of the masses, the bourgeoisie still *sensed* that this was a crucial question. Their boys in blue were very visibly itching to attack from the first, but they were limited by a few factors. One, of course, was the previous exposure that they had suffered for their attacks on the party, in this case especially for May Day '80—an attack which had blasted out the day, and the politics it represented, as a mass question for literally millions. Another factor was their lack of surety about whether such an attack would explode in their faces *on the spot*; that this was a question became more and more evident as the day progressed. And a third factor was the tactics of the May Day squads—tactics designed to enable the broadest participation in a situation where severe and immediate attacks seemed to face any who stepped out.

Such tactics were in evidence from the very start. The sudden emergence of the May Day march—about 75 people at first—did not include several other squads that were still at different spots downtown, heading toward the convergence point. But the 75 starters crisscrossed their way around and through, moving diagonally and from side-to-side through the four corners of the intersection—stopping now here, now there, to

sing the *Internationale* or to make a sharp agitational point about the need to step out as part of the world proletariat. Within a short period of time, the march had grown to 150—with more coming in and some dropping back at different corners. A Black youth came walking up toward the intersection and asked another what was happening here. He answered, "It's the revolutionaries, it's May First, they've got all these groups fooling the cops, it's really cool."

This was no orderly parade with everyone marching lock-step to a plodding beat. It had the popping rebel character of those who have nothing to lose but their chains. Time after time, the cops told the crowds on the corners to move back away from the intersection, and time after time the crowds refused to move. After a while, the police figured out that most everybody there was in some way a part of May Day; they made a tactical decision to split up the demonstration. They moved horses and more riot-clad cops into position, and started pushing the crowds away from all four corners, leaving a section of the demonstrators behind the police lines. But this half started up a brief rally on all four corners... with a party speaker and another person leaping up on a light standard to address the crowd, and people pushing in against the police lines to hear. Suddenly, the rally broke through the police lines and turned into a rapid march up Broadway, with both cops and horses, and most of the crowd breaking ranks and rushing to catch up. The march jumped off the sidewalk and into the street, police lines up the block broke down and the ranks of the march swelled dramatically as those in the forefront of the onrushing 7th & Broadway crowds were able to make it into the street before the police sealed it off. These included mostly Latino youth—but also a contingent of older Latino day laborers, Black youth in small groups and couples and a number of Black women. To give you a picture of what it was like: One young Black couple were watching for an opening to join the march. All of a sudden, the guy yelled, "Let's go for it!" And they went running into the street, holding hands with red flags held tightly in their other hands. And when the police moved, he shouted, "Don't stop. Don't fail. Power to the people."

The police recovered and moved an entire platoon of troops into the street—two footsoldier lines and mounted cavalry, backed up by police cars parked immediately behind them, were standing between the hundreds on the sidewalk on both sides of Broadway and a small section of the street march that the police had managed to cordon off in front of a shoe store. The rest of the march had escaped through other stores, helped out by shopkeepers and store workers, and would soon reappear at other locations in the area. On the street, the police cordoned and surrounded about 40 marchers, but they were, in turn, surrounded by hundreds pressing right up against the police lines on both sides of Broadway. Looking back over their shoulders, the police decided to let some of the marchers go and move in tighter on those who were left. A number of the masses that were caught in the cordon stepped forward to fight to keep the red flag up, including a Black woman who stepped in front of the pigs beating on another marcher and challenged them. When baited by a reactionary, she shot back, "Shut up. Who the hell even wants to save this shit. We gotta start a whole new society."

Of course, any police attack in the midst of hundreds of oppressed is an instant cause for bitter agitation and a potential powderkeg. A demonstration such as this could hardly be an exception, and even in the realm of opposing police attacks, there was a certain higher level and international quality to these sentiments—such as the woman who paced up and down Broadway yelling at the top of her lungs, "Poland, California." Even better was a scene of Black youth, joyously pelting some pig cars with eggs, fruit, garbage and whatever else they could get their hands on, with one yelling to the others to "Seize the time. We've got to get rid of it all—half-stepping it won't do." They were all getting into the

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Comrade Mary O'Leary: She Craved Not Spring For Herself Alone



Revolutionary Communist Party Statement on the Death of Comrade Mary O'Leary

Comrade Mary O'Leary, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a May Day volunteer who had gone to New York City, died on April 29th, 1982, in the course of the intensifying battle to put the stamp of the international proletariat on New York, Atlanta and Los Angeles on May First.

Mary O'Leary came of age in the tumultuous upsurges of the 1960s. She exemplifies the best qualities of the many who came to the fore at that time, who stood firmly with the oppressed the world over, and in their thirst for liberation grew more thoroughly rebellious — challenging all the profane reality bourgeois society holds sacred.

These qualities led her to embrace, study, and apply the living science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. A member of the Revolutionary Communist Party since its inception, she committed her life to communism, the elimination of classes worldwide. Those who knew her will never forget her revolutionary enthusiasm and determination to achieve this goal. Her seriousness and audaciousness served to stir, challenge and inspire thousands in the Detroit area, including many in the large Arab community there.

It is no surprise that, in the midst of the escalating stakes posed by accelerated world events, in the challenge posed by May First of this year to make the greatest possible contribution to advancing the worldwide revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, comrade O'Leary was to be found in the front ranks.

Two days ago, at 6 p.m. Mary O'Leary's body was found in the lower East Side, a major site of preparations for May Day. Very shortly after the ambulance had taken her body away, a New York pig approached the nearby May Day Center. "One of your workers has had a tragic accident," he said. Asked, "Are they alive?", this pig replied, "No, but it's not murder."

Such virtually instantaneous protestations of innocence, such mocking disavowals of murderous intent, adds to other as yet-unanswered questions surrounding her death. Given the nature of the imperialist beast, there is no reason under the sun not to suspect their hand in this. Every step will be taken to ascertain the circumstances and cause of her death.

It is certain that in the death of a revolutionary, others come alive. This is all the more so when great upheavals of war and revolution loom near and the forces of imperialism and reaction and the international proletariat clash over the destiny of the earth. While our sorrow is great, so too are the fires that burn more hotly within, calling forth deepened convictions and strengthened resolve. The example of her life and contributions to May Day '82 are a great and profound inspiration. Memorials will be held in Detroit and New York.

"This meeting is the celebration of the life of a revolutionary comrade and an expression of the great loss to the international proletariat her death represents. And more: It is a call for those here and still others to pick up the red flag and carry forward the battle to change the world. That is the way we will honor Comrade Mary O'Leary."

So began the memorial meeting held in New York on May 2 for Comrade Mary O'Leary, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and May Day volunteer from Detroit. Guided by a vision of the future, and with great enthusiasm, Comrade O'Leary had taken her place on the front lines in the May Day target city of New York. On April 29, amidst circumstances that remain yet unanswered, Mary's body was found at the bottom of an elevator shaft on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Police maintain that this was an accidental fall, but both the unanswered circumstances and the timing—her death coming only hours before the dawning of April 30—have spurred continued investigation.

Some 100 people crowded into the memorial meeting for Mary, held in the West Village. At the front of the room and set against the backdrop of a bright red banner, stood a huge bouquet of red roses. Another wall was adorned with a banner sent for May Day by comrades from Turkey living in West Germany, depicting the hand-painted portraits of two of their martyred comrades. As friends, family and a spokesman for the RCP arose one by one to give testimony, an inspiring image of a communist woman emerged: a woman who had cast off the chains that were meant to keep her "in her place" and had instead dedicated her life to the emancipation of all humanity. Barbara O'Leary, Mary's mother who was in Detroit preparing to leave for the May Day demonstration in Atlanta when she received word of Mary's death, deeply moved the people gathered with her undaunted spirit:

"I was saying to somebody just a little while back that when a child dies in a family, you look to your family for consolation and you turn to one another. I should start by saying, comrades, you're my family. I mean I really feel like I'm at home now with all of you here"

"Mary was like the vanguard in our family. She really exemplified the statement by Bob. I can't even say it exactly; let the young people lead us and the old people not be far behind. . . ."

"And the real sorrow that I felt was that we've all lost a very precious comrade, not my little girl, my baby, but a precious comrade because she really was an inspiration to me all the time The biggest thing I feel right now is that she laid down that red flag for me to pick up because she's been struggling with me for years. Sometimes I'd do things and sometimes I wouldn't. Like the night before I'd made up my mind to go to Atlanta and I'd been struggling with myself, saying, 'Well, I don't know.' I know everybody has this question about the risk involved and all. I just felt so good because I had made that decision, the whole next day I just felt so good. And then I got the news of her death. I thought, well, now she's gone, I'm going to take up her red flag — this is going to be mine now."

On May Day itself Mary's life was memorialized in exactly the way she had lived. In Atlanta, a group of women from the Houston area formed up into the Comrade Mary O'Leary Brigade and plunged head up into the May First demonstration and the actions that followed. In the men's section of the Atlanta City Jail, arrested volunteers held their own memorial to Comrade O'Leary, spreading her example among their fellow prisoners. And on the streets of downtown L.A., Carol Garcia, who was married to Damián Garcia (a comrade assassinated by the political police in 1980), stood and read the statement an-

nouncing Comrade Mary O'Leary's death to those gathered at the rally there.

Mary O'Leary had been an activist in the Detroit area for years, working among various sections of the people and among different strata. She played an important role in developing and propagating the revolutionary proletarian press, and over the years had become well-known in the Arab community of south Dearborn, where friends and comrades remember her challenging centuries of feudal tradition as she struggled with the women and men of that community over throwing off the chains of women's oppression. She became well-known to the authorities as well. Last year, in building for May Day in Detroit, Mary was a member of the Chiang Ching Brigade which marched into the Ford Company's River Rouge Plant. After her arrest there by Dearborn police, they produced a stack of files and reports exclaiming: "So this is the infamous Mary O'Leary."

At the New York memorial, a poem by Mao Tsetung, "Ode To The Plum Blossom," was read and dedicated to Comrade O'Leary: "Sweet and fair, she craves not Spring for herself alone, / To be the harbinger of Spring she is content."

The spokesman for the RCP described the life and death of a revolutionary communist:

"In Mary's life we see the foreshadowing of the future of society; a vision of the unleashing of the fury of women as a mighty force in knocking down this putrid system and breaking with all the hangovers from the old society, totally transforming the face of the earth. Mary O'Leary was a part of the generation that was propelled into political life in the 1960s. Like many of that period she was inspired by, and stood firmly by, the oppressed worldwide. From this beginning she went much further, growing more thoroughly rebellious, challenging everything that bourgeois society holds dear. These very qualities propelled Comrade O'Leary forward to study and take up the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and to become a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party"

"What is the significance of an individual's life? How can one person make a difference? Comrade O'Leary's life and her death, in a very profound way, answers all of that."

At the close of the memorial, Barbara O'Leary was presented with a red flag and a red rose, and the entire assembly stood as one to sing the anthem of the international proletariat, *The Internationale*.

There will be a major memorial meeting in Detroit on Monday, May 10 at 7:30 p.m. It will be held at the 1st Unitarian Church located at Cass and Forest Streets. □



More on the '60s and the '70s

Class Polarization

Among Black People

by Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob 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 the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of Revolution magazine (issue No. 50). Earlier excerpts in this series dealt with questions about the party (RW issues 136-144), about anarchism (issues 145-6) and "'60s people" (issue 147). Bob Avakian's remarks are edited from a tape. This segment began in issue 148 and was interrupted in the three issues around May First. The series will conclude next week.

Q: I wanted to talk a little about the differences between the Black national question now and what happened in the '60s, particularly in regard to the point you were making that the imperialists had some reserves. One of the reserves was that out of the '60s and the Black liberation struggle a real class structure developed among the Black population. You see it in some of the larger cities where they have really large Black populations, like Atlanta, Detroit and Oakland, California, where the mayor is Black and a lot of the whole power structure in the city is Black—this whole rise of the Black petty bourgeoisie. I'd like to discuss what's that going to mean for things that are shaping up.

BA: Initially, the presence of the petty bourgeoisie was one of the things that marked the movement in the '60s, if you include the students who were at the forefront of the civil rights movement and if you take overall the forces that were active and at the forefront of the whole Black liberation struggle in the '60s. A significant part of the movement of that time was an expression of the frustration, sometimes formulated into more concrete demands and sometimes a more general expression of frustration, of a lot of the petty bourgeoisie among the Black people—frustration at their basic conditions as a part of an oppressed nation and their resulting concrete position in society. On the one hand, there was a whole transformation of the Black nation going on and the Black masses were being liberated from the land—in the form of being thrown off of the land—but also from an historical standpoint being liberated from the land, being transformed from largely scattered peasants in semi-feudal relations to proletarians, although at the bottom layers of the proletariat, concentrated in the urban ghettos. But along with that whole transformation there were the rising expectations among a lot of the Black masses generally and particularly those out of the professional and intellectual strata. Even with all the discrimination that they suffered, there were rising expectations—and those expectations were largely frustrated. Relatively speaking for the society as a whole, including even for the Black masses, the '60s was not a period where from the strictly economic standpoint their position and their conditions were more backward and more difficult than they had been previously. If anything, somewhat the opposite was true. But precisely in the society as a whole the changes were better than for the oppressed nationalities, including Black people.

In other words, in society as a whole, the '60s was a period of expansion in the economy, not very much unemployment, wages going up, earnings going up, and in a certain sense because of that the lower level, and the depressed level, the discriminated situation of the Black people stood out. This was true for Black people in general and particularly in certain ways it was very sharply expressed among the Black petty bourgeoisie. A lot of the movement at that time sprang from that and was an expression of it.

The Slip in Status of the "Responsible Negro Leaders"

And there were further developments especially as the Black masses on the other hand got more into motion and took their own direction—gave a slight "inkling" of how they felt; Eldridge Cleaver once said to Terry Francois, a Black bootlicker as he called him (and Cleaver was soon to know a lot better what *that* was) maybe Detroit and Watts gave you an inkling of how the Black masses felt. As they began to do that, there was a response on the part of the bourgeoisie. There was a lot of repression, but there was also the liberal line, as represented in the Kerner report, and specifically a very important tactic was to inject a lot of financial, political and ideological support into the Black petty bourgeoisie and build it up very rapidly—and in particular a lot of new Black petty bourgeoisie. Before that you remember your famous "Responsible Negro Leaders"; among them were never included people like Malcolm X who really voiced the aspirations and represented the interests

of the Black masses in rising up; they were never included. "Responsible Negro Leaders today denounced Malcolm X's call for a violent uprising on the part of Black people," etc. If you remember the Martin Luther Kings, the Roy Wilkinses, and so on were always dragged out as Responsible Negro Leaders. Well, they were largely discredited through the upsurge of the '60s—even discredited among major sections of the Black petty bourgeoisie. A lot of those old leaders should be considered bourgeois anyway.

But it wasn't these old forces who were built up so much as new ones—even people who'd been active and militant but came out of the petty bourgeoisie; a lot of them were co-opted in various ways. There were the poverty programs, broadly speaking. I wouldn't say a tremendous amount, but relatively speaking a large amount of money was injected into the minority businesses through the Small Business Administration, and in other ways, you know, "openings for Black professionals" and so on. Some of these concessions are still around; for example to cite a couple of cities, in Atlanta and Oakland, there are Black mayors. And throughout the south there are hundreds of elected Black officials, whereas previously such a thing was very rare, in fact people got killed trying to vote and trying to elect and be elected in the south on even the local level. That was a concession made in the face of the struggle. Similarly, look at the media. It's true that they still don't like to have any significant, serious Black movie actors; they keep them downgraded even more so now than, say, ten years ago. But it's also true if you look on the news programs, for example, and in other areas of the media, you see a lot of Black faces, which you would never see before. Black faces in "High Places."

Those were some of the concessions they made and also in my opinion (and this is something that needs to be looked into much more deeply) they launched a real, very concerted cultural offensive; there was an ideological offensive, especially concentrated in the cultural arena, against a lot of the Black youth. This may not be literally how it began, but what marked it for me was *Shafiq*, and then on to *Superfly* and all these sorts of things. They gave some room for "Black expression" in the cultural sphere, which wasn't really something coming from out of the uprising of the masses, nor certainly an expression of it; it was in fact aimed directly against the section that they were especially concerned about which was the extremely volatile Black youth, the basic proletarian Black youth. A lot of that was aimed specifically at confusing, disorienting them, and derailing their militancy, which had manifested itself in a very powerful way. It was aimed at derailing and misdirecting that militancy and rebelliousness into harmless, channels, individualistic channels, and at promoting this whole line that goes along with the material promotion of the Black petty bourgeoisie that the way to get back at the system is to beat the man at his own game, to be slicker than he is at his own thing.

In all of this, both in the ideological sphere and culturally in particular, as well as in the material sphere, there were some real concessions made and also some real steps taken to steer the offensive back at the masses, including by misdirecting their upsurge and rebelliousness and their volatility and channelling it into highly individualistic directions—making "me" the message. By the late '70s, the cultural expression of this was disco (and some other things). You have to be careful because the opposition to disco does divide sharply into two; there is some outright racist opposition to disco because it tends on a certain level to mix Black and white. But there is also the fact that disco was, I think, an extreme expression of the highly individualistic, even narcissistic, ideology that they were trying to promote among the youth generally and particularly the Black youth as well as the masses more broadly. It's extremely cynical and even somewhat consciously the expression of "we tried to change things before, we did all that political stuff, all that struggle stuff and now, get what you can out of life, good clothes, good cars; take shit all week and then go to the club on the weekend." That's the kind of mentality they've been able to promote in the late '70s to a certain degree. These are scattered ideas that I have that need to be looked into and synthesized to a higher level. But in the ideological expression they were very concerned to do what they were also very concerned to do in the material sphere, which was to build up petty bourgeois forces among Black people, a petty bourgeois social base and petty bourgeois ideology and also more outright bourgeois forces, although they had to bring forward new ones; they had to bring forward Andy Young in place of Whitney Young. They had to have somebody who could say he was part of the '60s who could talk a lit-

tle bit different, a little more militant line, a little bit more hip, up with the modern times.

All this is different expressions of the fact that through the '60s, through the '70s and moving into the '80s, there has been an increased class polarization among the Black people. Within the Black nation there are petty bourgeois strata and forces, and more so now, even though they're being undermined and having a lot of their material concessions yanked away from them as the crisis is deepening. But still the bourgeoisie is not going to yank that away completely because it recognizes the important political and ideological role these forces play as a buffer. I don't think this is the *main* factor accounting for the ebb in the Black liberation struggle as well as the overall movement of the late '60s and early '70s. I think that a lot of the other things we talked about, especially on the international plane as well as things more broadly in the U.S. society itself, account *mainly* for that ebb. But within that, one important thing to recognize, which has implications for the future and the sharpening struggles of the period ahead, is the class polarization and the role of these Black petty bourgeois forces and even bourgeois forces in acting as a social base for reformism and even for American patriotism. Look at the Muslims—Wallace Muhammed's World Community of Islam—with the American flag now. Some, like this organization, have gone from their earlier sharp denunciation (however much it may have been distorted by a religious and nationalist orientation) of U.S. society, to one of promoting patriotism and the flag—all that's personified by Muhammad Ali.

Revolutionary Nationalist Trend

So this whole question of the sharper class polarization among the Black people has to be grasped and explained with a materialistic dialectical analysis to the Black masses and also more broadly to the masses of people—all that's true and important. But on the other hand it would be a mistake to think that there will be or can be no more revolutionary expression based among the Black petty bourgeoisie. It would be a mistake to think that no more revolutionary program or organization can arise out of, and be an expression of, the sentiments and in a certain way the interests and position of the Black petty bourgeoisie in the present period. In fact, already we've seen there have been various expressions of a radical opposition to U.S. imperialism of this sort; revolutionary nationalist sentiments, programs, organizations have even experienced a certain resurgence in the recent years. So it would be wrong to think that that kind of thing no longer can exist and that there can no longer be any positive role or any significant positive role for that. There already is and there will increasingly be radical petty bourgeois, even revolutionary petty bourgeois, revolutionary nationalist sentiments, programs and organizations, and their influence will grow, not diminish among the basic proletarian Black masses. In terms of the struggle for what line leads, it will be in struggle against the proletarian line, the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line, among the Black masses. However, just because they'll be locked in struggle doesn't mean that there won't be any basis for unity. In fact, we've been pointing out that the revolutionary nationalist forces can be a powerful ally of the proletariat in the struggle for revolution against the imperialist system. But, on the other hand, there is a dialectic there. The more strongly and correctly the struggle is waged for leadership of the proletarian line, the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend, the more it will be possible to build unity with those kind of forces because the unity won't be possible without struggle. But an attitude of all struggle and no unity would be quite wrong. It would be depriving the proletariat of its allies; it also would lead in fact to the isolation of the proletarian forces, not to the isolation of the petty bourgeois forces who have a great deal of spontaneity going for them. Spontaneously there are a lot of things that tend to favor those kinds of forces.

So there will be a radical and revolutionary expression and movement among the Black petty bourgeoisie in the coming period because of the fact that this is *not* the early '70s, this is a period when the crisis will hit with full force in society, in the imperialist system as a whole, and is now deepening; they're heading towards a situation of historic conjuncture where all these contradictions are coming to a head. What is on the agenda on a world scale is world war and revolutionary developments and heightened prospects for revolution internationally including heightened possibilities for revolution in the U.S. And all this is going to bring more Black petty bourgeois radicalism or revolutionary nationalism. But still that's

Continued on page 25

Banner written by Techwood Homes youth who requested assistance to be able to do it in English, Polish and Spanish.



Saturday, May First, at Fort McPherson in Atlanta, the forces for proletarian internationalism and the forces for imperialist war stood in a close-quarters face-off. It was a truly insurrectionary vision of the future. In the face of 52 arrests in the hours preceding the action, and over 90 the two previous weeks, 120 people, revolutionaries and those not yet revolutionaries but fired with a vision of internationalism, marched defiantly to the rallying site in the shadow of the Fort's main gate.

Home of FORSCOM, the Fort is the command headquarters for the entire U.S. Army based on "home territory" (the U.S., Puerto Rico, Guam, Panama and the Virgin Islands) as well as all the training facilities for the National Guard and Army Reserve. Tucked away quietly in the heart of southwest Atlanta, Fort McPherson is a little fort with country clubs instead of barracks, void of the pounding of marching boots. It is here that the largest concentration of Army brass outside the Pentagon plots their solution to the crisis of imperialism.

On May First, the whole scene around the Fort burned red, concentrating the intense and powerful struggle that had raged in the projects, jails, the high schools and all throughout Atlanta for weeks before. As the march lined up several blocks from the Fort the air was electric. From a block away the youth contingent marched to the lead position, their voices soaring above the noise of the police helicopters hovering above. They pounded out the words to a Polish revolutionary song, "Whirlwinds of danger are raging around us/O'erwhelming forces of darkness assail/Still in the fighting, still advancing/Red flag of liberty yet shall prevail." The spirit and energy of the youth swept through the crowd, as they joined with communists, artists and musicians, anarchists, punkers, Black nationalists, foreign-born and others at this convergence point in the battle for May First.

A citizen of the Republic of New Afrika stepped up to speak to the still gathering forces before the march. "What we're about is power. We're about taking power, and that's why we're out here today. I'm a Black nationalist, a Pan-Africanist, and an internationalist as well Ours is a revolution against oppression, our own oppression and that of all the people in the world. A revolution for a better life, for a better station for mankind, a sane harmony for the forces of life in the universe."

Chants rang out down the street as the march moved toward the Fort. "Break-out, break free, into your hands take history! Pick up the red flag!" "We're all illegal. We're proletarians. We have no country. But a world to win!" Red flags cut through the air, waving alongside banners carrying messages and greetings from cities in the U.S. and around the world. Pictures of revolutionary leaders and martyrs from the worldwide struggle adorned the posters. A sea of red stretched in front of the Fort, pulsating to a revolutionary tempo.

A police dispatcher's voice screeched the alert over a city-wide police band. "All units be advised . . . the marchers have reached the main gate . . . all units be advised . . ." The Atlanta Police Dept.'s SWAT team tensed behind the Fort's entrance. A line of MP's stretched the length of the fence beside the rally site, rolls of barbed wire lying nearby. A regiment of cops (reported by the media to have been "brought here by the busload") stood guard in front of the gates, a barricade between them and the rally site. And, safely crouched behind all this were the Army brass and their wives.

Across the street was a truly pitiful sight. A handful of police, police agents and reactionary whites shouted, "Kill the commies." A small group of Moonies (depicted in news reports simply as "local residents") stood behind the cops and the press, sporting small American flags and inane placards. A few idiots drove by honking horns, flying the red, white and blue on their antennas. May First was a bad day for the patriots and national chauvinists.

Shining instead was the light of the fu-

ATLANTA: INTERNATIONALIST SALVO AT PENTAGON OF THE SOUTH

ture. A vivid portrayal of the rally in TV film clips couldn't help but highlight this festival of the oppressed. A spokeswoman for the RCP blasted out this message, "Today the dream is becoming a reality . . . it's a global chain breaking as the angry slaves of the world raise up the red flag. And we're raising it, as the call for May Day says, not from the perspective of 'my country,' but from the perspective of our share in the preparation, propaganda and acceleration of the world proletarian revolution . . . for a bright future when there are no more bourgeois dictatorships anywhere in the world."

Banners were lifted higher as the crowd cheered. A huge artistic statement signed by 67 artists entitled "May First Internationalist Greetings to Reggae Rebels of Jamaica from Rebel Artists of Atlanta" was held up near a banner made at the Kingston Housing Project in Birmingham, Alabama, which was signed by 70 people. The latter read: "May First — Forward to World Revolution, from the People of Kingston to the Palestinian people." Some high school youth from Cincinnati brought their own banner: "Down with the old, fight to bring alive the new." These youth had been suspended from school for May Day activity back in Cincinnati. A line of police had literally surrounded their banner to prevent other students from signing it.

Hanging from the sides of the speakers' truck at the head of the march were two banners: one from the ATIF, an organization of revolutionary workers from Turkey in West Germany, dedicated to the martyrs of the Haymarket Square, and the banner painted by 12 younger kids from Techwood Homes, in English, Spanish and Polish. Several banners sent to the march (among them, one from the residents of Cabrini Green in Chicago) had been ripped off by the pigs during the arrests that morning.

Two Iranians, supporters of Peykar, led the singing of the *Internationale* in Farsi. The verses pierced the air in English as well. An anarchist who had come straight to the march from the ticket lines for the upcoming Clash concert told the *RW* of how inspired he felt by this singing of the *Internationale* in different languages, "I felt inspired to go forward. It really gets you up! I thought the speeches got to what's really going on — the war moves — and that the working class needs to not be divided by national boundaries."

In memory of the death of comrade Mary O'Leary, a contingent of women led the singing of "Bella Ciao" (adopted from a song popular in the women's movement of the late 1960s): "We are women and we are marching/Bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao, ciao, ciao/We are fighting/for liberation/we want revolution now!"

Right on the base itself, the MP's were seen kicking out several groups of Black GI's who had come to the fence to listen and watch. At least one group retreated only to re-emerge a little later and a little further down the fence. A civilian employee on the base drove through the gate waving a clenched fist, dressed in red for the occasion. It was a little taste of the contradictions the imperialist armies face once again as they gear up for war.

Among the revolutionaries and others who had come forward at Fort McPherson on May First, there was a real strong sense of exhilaration that they had been part of an action of such political significance. Though the city officials had decided to "offer" the May Day Center a rally site and permit for sound equipment after weeks of insisting there would be no rally, there were other plans for stopping this march.

One TV newsmen at the Fort bragged, "I asked Major Herman Gliner of the Atlanta Police Dept. if he thought they needed such a show of force here. He said that after what had happened in Techwood earlier, 'No!'", a none-too-subtle reference to the massive arrests and beatings that the cops had carried out in the projects that morning. This open and crass admission of the authorities' strategy to try to stop the march on Fort McPherson became even more apparent in the hours to come. One of the 52 people busted in the projects before the march was taken into police custody and subjected to two hours of questioning about the leadership of the march and the plans for it. When this tack failed, a GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) agent sarcastically replied, "We busted 90 of you. There will be no march." And to drive the point home, none of the imprisoned May Day activists were released from jail until 12:03 a.m. on May 2nd — even though the legal work and bail had been completed for hours.

These attacks were an attempt to physically, politically and ideologically stop May Day from surging from the projects to the Fort on May First — projects which, along with the high schools and other pockets of proletarians throughout the city, were becoming staging grounds for such actions in the weeks prior to May First. It was an attempt to cut off this growing revolutionary sentiment at the roots.

This battle had been waged down to the wire, until a Starsky-&-Hutch show of police force swept in for the arrests Saturday morning. In both Techwood Homes (scene of last year's "Bat Patrols") and Bowen Homes (site of the murderous day care center explosion), reactionary residents organized by the presidents of the tenants' unions and the police were unleashed to attack the May Day activists. At Techwood, some youth were seen taking bribes of money, beer and bus

tokens from the hands of police. At Bowen, a goon squad of so-called residents was seen getting out of a police van. The lines of battle were very sharp and the struggle fierce.

But right in the face of this attack, a number of residents from both projects stepped forward, making banners, posterizing the projects up red, and picking up the red flag. On Saturday morning in Techwood, after a full night of such actions, coupled with clandestine propaganda sessions, several residents took the bullhorn to call on others to converge on Fort McPherson. At Bowen, there appeared an "internationalist wall" filled with May Day posters that were put up by women inspired by the RCP leaflet on INS raids against immigrant workers. One Black veteran stayed up most of the night writing a call for others to be at the Fort: ". . . I have nothing against Ethiopians or Iranians, etc., because what runs through my blood is international water May Day will light a flame, put fat on the fire . . . I wouldn't mind showing up at Fort McPherson tomorrow and seeing more of my kind."

When the police attack came down, many residents of Bowen helped to hide, disguise and get the May Day activists out of the projects and on to Fort McPherson. Jubilation swept through the march when it was announced that the latecomers had managed to escape the arrest. One of the Atlanta volunteers, a Black woman with two teenage children, jumped onto the speaker's truck to read a statement sent from Denmark. "To the Black Residents Living Beneath the Rusty U.S. Iron Heel in Atlanta, Georgia, where the bourgeoisie has orchestrated the murder of at least 28 Black youth We will support your rebellion and struggle against our common enemy, the overlords and all their flunkies. We wish you a successful International Workers Day, May First, 1982."

On Monday, a newsmen commented on the weekend of struggle. "May Day in Atlanta is becoming as predictable as thunder showers in spring," and reverberations were still being felt through the city. Yes, indeed! And so are the budding red flowers of proletarian internationalism which broke into full bloom in front of Fort McPherson this year. □



May First, 1982 and the days leading up to it in New York were truly a wild proletarian internationalist festival. From the mass breakout at Wingate High School on April 30th to the bold and determined march and rally in the East Village on New York's Lower East Side on May First itself a powerful manifesto unfolded amidst sharp battle with the enemy. While the full impact of all the events around May First has just begun to be assessed, a basic picture is clear.

In the garment district where work was going on to spark off breakouts in the shops on April 30th the situation was very heavy. The effect of the recent immigration raids was very real. On Flatbush Ave. which runs through a lot of the Haitian community in Brooklyn the INS was stopping buses and prowling all around. This raised the stakes of actually breaking out even higher. While no breakouts materialized, the question was debated more broadly and seriously than ever before. Whether or not to take this step and how was agonized over and weighed. Garment workers took up distribution of revolutionary literature—the local May First leaflet, the immigration raids leaflet, the internationalist call (at least 18,000 total were distributed), and the *RW*. Red was frequently visible as workers donned red ribbons and provided material for more. Red politics were struggled over in at least several shops. In one, 25 garment workers, mainly women, struggle over whether or not to break out. A Nicaraguan woman goes up and down the line, calling on workers to take up the *RW*. Throughout the day other proletarians facilitate the movement of May Day activists and carry out other supportive activities.

Teams fan out to different parts of the city where the impact of the day's earlier activities are felt. Learning of the death of comrade Mary O'Leary people redouble their efforts and determination (see page 8). In Brooklyn, students who had broken out of Wingate High were organizing for planned midnight actions, as were others who had been locked inside the schools. The youth were definitely in the forefront, a distinct feature of May First. A group of Dominican and Cuban six-twelve year olds sing chorus after chorus of the *Internationale* in the northern tip of Manhattan. Youth on roller skates leaflet people at the Utica Ave. subway station in Brooklyn.

The idea of midnight torchlight marches at two places bringing in the First definitely gripped people's imagination. The march on Eastern Parkway was a big social question, though it did not go exactly as planned. It was led by several carloads of people waving red flags and drew forward a number of Black veterans of the '60s and Black youth in particular. 30-35 people comprised each of the midnight marches.

The march on the Lower East Side had an electrifying and galvanizing effect as torchlights lit up the sky in preparation for the next day. Five or six Greek youth request Greek material. They saw the May First Call and said, "All right! It's May Day!" and joined the march. Several youth bring their own torches. Two others who were in Los Angeles for May First 1980 appear. An Iranian, seeing the call in Farsi rounds up some of his friends. A man from India joins the scene too. That night the bourgeois places official looking CANCELLED signs on every May First poster in the city.

After converging at Union Square on the afternoon of May First, about 120 people gather for the initial rally where a revolutionary Haitian and a revolutionary Iranian spoke. 75 others watch and listen intently. The MC calls on people to sign a banner to send to Soviet proletarians. People step forward to do so. The *Internationale* is sung as a march of 70 people seizes the street led by a banner from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF) saying, "Long Live May 1st! Working Class and Oppressed Peoples Shall Be the Victors! Imperialists and Social-Imperialists Will Perish in the Rising Tide of Revolution! In New York and All Over the World ATIF Stands in the Revolutionary May

NEW YORK CITY: WILD RED ROSES ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE

Day Ranks of Its Class Comrades!" The march goes through the East Village, which has been a political and cultural center since the '60s. Students from Wingate are among those at the head of the march.

In response to a call to turn the Lower East Side red, various stores and newsstands had readied themselves for May First in different ways displaying instant red flags, posters, and having sales of revolutionary literature. The normally lively street scene in the East Village begins to come much more alive. People from throughout the city had made it their business to be in the Lower East Side that day to help turn it red in one way or another. Red shirts, scarves and arm-bands are sprinkled among the people on the street. As the march passes St. Mark's Place a woman from the squatters movement in Holland reads a support statement. The contingent marches around the block returning to St. Mark's Place. As the agitator begins the cops go after her. As people rush forward to get her out of their clutches, the police move in viciously, clubs swinging, and bust two people. Meanwhile bottles and garbage cans are flying in their direction. Quite a number of people who said they'd "be there" when shit went down were there rescuing sound systems, leaflets and carrying out various and sundry other self appointed responsibilities. Waiters in restaurants help store material for the revolutionaries.

The march was split in two, people dispersed and pig cars went squealing throughout the area "hunting commies," even driving into a fruitstand they thought was hiding someone. At Tompkins Square Park (one possible place for the marchers to regroup) reactionary Cubans were trying to help the pigs find the marchers. Meanwhile, back on St. Mark's, hundreds were engaged in debate with many defending the march in its absence. There was general outrage at the pigs. But more importantly there were those defending the march on the basis of what it stood for. Reactionaries did their foaming as well.

Chaos ensued as the march tried to regroup, but the lid was off, the march and the ensuing police attack had jolted things way out of the ordinary and there was debate everywhere. Friends struggled with friends, husbands with wives and relatives with relatives. Customers engaged countermen in political discussion and vice versa. In one coffee shop the debate went on between defenders of Gus Hall (the revisionists had held their May First rally nearby) and fresh forces wielding the *RW*. In another such instance, a CPer who was trying to patiently explain the gradual development of things to a young couple was sharply challenged by a guy who said, "What do you think about the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, and what do you think about these forces (revolutionary May Day) that have been attacked by the forces of the state?" While the police suddenly couldn't find the marchers anywhere, the politics of May First were everywhere.

As the sun went down, the enemy

hoped May First would go down too. But just the opposite proved to be the case. The red flag flew, higher, higher on into the night. In a bold offensive the march took the corner of 2nd and St. Mark's. An agitator, standing on the stacks of the next day's *New York Times* set the terms of things. It was touch and go with the pigs and unclear what they were going to do. Suddenly the youth led a breakaway march and lured away all the pigs—50-60 of them out of the area. As the march reentered the block, for the third time, headed by an enormous red flag, with the pigs forced to trail along behind, inspired cheers, whistles and applause went up from the crowd. A 16-year old Iranian youth spoke, saying "I was in Iran when the revolution happened. I have the same feeling today that I did then. You don't know just how wonderful it feels to make revolution. People always think it can't happen. Nobody thought it could happen in Iran, but it can in the U.S. too and what we're doing today proves it." Forces began amassing as he spoke and as a youth from Wingate High spoke.

Excitement stirred the crowd as the party speaker appeared. He was immediately surrounded by a wall of people so the pigs could not get close. He began by saying that we spit on the status quo, and most especially what the American flag represents. As he was speaking, the pigs—who obviously could not get him—in what turned out to be their desperate last attempt went after the sound car, pulled the driver out and 8 cops beat him, as he raised May Day chants and sang the *Internationale* all the while.

People in the area from many countries came by both with May Day greetings and searching for news of what happened on May First in other parts of the world. Three people from Italy said they would bring news of the march back to Italy. The area was now seething politically. In restaurants, clubs and theatres, revolution, internationalism and May First were the order of the day. What happened at Wingate had reached the punks. Friends were calling each other—did you hear about the battle of St. Mark's? A more or less typical comment was, "This is some-

thing new to me. I've never seen anything like this in the United States, against the United States and the Soviets both. Please spread out and get this word out to more people." Many, particularly from European countries like France and Switzerland were shocked to run into "red May Day" and said that in Europe May Day has become a day for picnics.

As always the question of socialism, what it is, what happened to it in the Soviet Union and China, was sharp. Also there is great struggle over what happened to the '60s and why. The *RCP Programme* and other literature, especially the journal, *World to Win*, were the focus of keen interest. Talking about revolution became "normal," and even "typical" if only for a while.

The media began flocking into the area. ABC local TV news reported a clash between internationalist May Day and police at St. Mark's Place in the East Village and that the march was initiated by the RCP who were communists against both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. On WPLJ, a DJ read the internationalist call interspersed with reports on the battle.

The scene continued into the wee hours of the night. Before the activities ended the march went through the East Village again to the West Village. (As soon as they left, the pigs attacked the banners that had been hanging from fire escapes, doing what they could not do earlier in an attempt to exact revenge.) But clearly the red flag had carried the day in the East Village. The area was still buzzing on May 2nd as May Day volunteers went out to build for the memorial for Comrade Mary O'Leary. Support and funds for those arrested began coming in, including money from members of the Union of Iranian Students in the U.S. (supporters of Peykar) in Washington, D.C.

The proletarian internationalist stand and revolutionary vision that came through so strongly throughout this wild night on the Lower East Side of New York City had made a very significant political impact along with many of the actions leading up to it. It was a proud part of the common revolutionary actions across the globe that took place on May First, 1982.

THE SOVIET UNION

A Call for a Debate

Socialist or Social-Imperialist?



World events pose profound questions about the Soviet Union ever more forcefully — questions that are being intensely debated and must be answered by all those seeking to understand and influence world politics, by all those striving to understand the prospects for and take up the tasks of revolution in today's (and tomorrow's) world.

In the spirit of taking responsibility for the future, the RCP calls on foreign students, professors, immigrant workers, feminists, revolutionary youth, activists from the diverse social movements, artists and class-conscious proletarians — on all those who see the importance and the urgency of these questions — to organize for and participate in a CONFERENCE AND DEBATE ON THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION to be held this Fall, in New York City.

In recent years rich experience has been accumulated, new research has been done, some have changed their position, others have deepened their original analysis. Overall, there is an upsurge of interest, great controversy and much new thinking. This event must aim at concentrating all this, with the presentation of diverse views and an opportunity to thrash these things out to achieve greater clarity. We envision workshops, with panels presenting opposing positions, and a more formal debate aimed at the sharpest confrontation between the view that the Soviet Union today is socialist, versus the analysis that capitalism has been restored.

Such an undertaking will require an enormous and all-sided effort to realize the broadest possible participation and support. The RCP is calling upon individuals and organizations to come forward with suggestions and ideas for this conference and debate and to take part in its actual organization.

The Nature of the Soviet Union

—an Urgent and Decisive Question

The long raging debate over the nature and international role of the Soviet Union is intensifying again all over the world and needs to be made sharper and clearer still. The heightening is a product of important world developments over the relatively recent period, including both the reversal in China after Mao's death and the sharpening of the conflict between the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism.

Splits have emerged over this question within revolutionary movements, and long-standing alignments have broken with new ones forming. New research and theoretical work has been published and has been welcomed, provoking still newer controversy and debate. Some who claimed to be Maoist have "reevaluated" their stand on the Soviet Union—while the Chinese revisionists themselves, despite all their proclaimed anti-sovietism are unable to find anything in Mao's revolutionary scientific analysis of the process of capitalist restoration that they can uphold.

Wherever revolutionary minded people gather, and wherever new forces break into mass struggle—the question pushes itself into the front; "Soviet Union: friend or foe; capitalist or socialist?" What is its underlying nature, its fundamental class relations, what laws of motion motivate its actions across the globe—and fundamentally, how does this superpower confront the revolutionary struggles of the world? As an ally? Or as one more imperialist power to be fought, overthrown and destroyed?

This debate is required because it is demanded by the very alignment of forces in the world, and by the quickening urgency of events. It is demanded because every revolutionary movement is inseparably linked with the developments on the international plane and emerges intertwined with the thrust and counter-thrust of international preparation for war. And it is demanded because the contradictory developments in the world revolutionary process sharply pose the question of the ultimate goal of revolution: is it possible to advance past one form or another of class society to the actual elimination of all oppression and class distinctions?

Exactly because the Soviet Union heads a world bloc, and because it at the same time claims to be socialist, the threads of a thousand political decisions and the struggle to understand the final goal constantly lead people back again to the controversy surrounding the USSR:

POLAND—millions of workers act boldly in instinctive rejection of the shit they have been force-fed for decades. Deep alienation and a violent chasm erupts between the rulers and the ruled—what question can have more importance than to scientifically understand the nature of Polish and Soviet society? Understanding that this is not the "failure of socialism" being acted out, but the explosion of capitalist contradiction is the key to understanding the events and their significance—for the Polish workers themselves, and for millions around the world.

CENTRAL AMERICA—guns blaze at the puppets and the death squads of the hated Yankees, and even as the junta totters a Pandora's box of unsolved questions opens and defines the struggle of the future. Is it really possible to win liberation from the U.S. imperialists without the protection and aid of the Soviets, is it possible to build on victory and maintain independence without the continuation of that tie? A look at the Cuban road, at a revolution that has traveled toward an unmistakable version of neo-colonial dependency and economic lopsidedness—and for those who dream of more than formal independence and who dream of real emancipation, the question bounces back, "Is it possible to imagine real liberation with such an alliance to the Soviets?"

IN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA—millions mobilize against nuclear war and immediately the question poses itself: what is the source of

the galloping war preparations? Spokesmen of every imperialist power, whether U.S., Soviet or European, produce the same ready answer—it is their rival's fault. In cutting through this, grasping the literally imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and on that basis exposing its pretense of "a completely peace loving and defensive posture" is a crucial part of understanding the real source of war—the crisis of the entire imperialist system itself.

New Questions Based in World Developments

It is a simple fact of the politics of this epoch, that vastly different ideologies and social movements, even systems, confront each other, each claiming the common banner of Marxism. Revolution cannot be waged without the class struggle in the theoretical realm—where repeatedly and inevitably revolutionary theory confronts the world view of the enemy, in the form of revisionism, as a barrier to the revolutionary way forward. It is the unprecedented development of the last decades, that revisionism is not just an ideology of capitulation within revolutionary movements, but emanates from countries where it actually holds power, and does so with the ability to offer a strategy based on the establishment of state capitalism, backed by the major military and economic resources of its state. Without being able to distinguish sham from genuine socialism where will we end up in today's world?

As part of the preparation of war an offensive has been launched—rooted not in strength but in necessity—where the Soviet Union and its political supporters are straining to herd various class forces, including rebel ones, throughout the world into their military and political camp. In the confrontation of blocs, they insist, there is no equality of evil. There is only the confrontation of socialism and capitalism—with the Soviet Union gathering around it all that is progressive in the world, bearing on its shoulders the heaviest burden of the "struggle for peace" and ultimately for the abolition of exploitation itself. Here after all, they say, is a superpower that has internally fundamentally abolished fragmented individual ownership, and with it the reactionary cravings bred by capitalist anarchy. Here is "socialism as it has actually emerged in the world": certainly blemished and imperfect—but nonetheless a powerful and progressive political force, the "natural ally of the oppressed." World revolution becomes in that perspective nothing less (certainly nothing more) than the extension of the "socialist camp" led (and dominated) by the Soviet Union.

To launch such an offensive, and to broaden some very real beachheads among revolutionary forces, these forces have had to openly confront the line of Mao Tsetung and everything he represented—and in particular what has come to be called his "capitalist restoration thesis," his summation that the "rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie" and that the Soviet Union today is thoroughly capitalist.

This, they claim, is a theory that stands completely in opposition to reality, based on a complete distortion of any facts of Soviet society and on a profound idealist revision of Marxism. It is the fantasies of utopians and dreamers, fueled from underneath by the narrowest of nationalisms and implicit anti-communism.

There has been a material basis in the world for significant, if sharply contradictory, inroads by this pro-Soviet revisionist line. There is always after all a class basis for forces who seek pragmatic alliances in the hope of painless progress. But even more significant has been the result of shifts in world alignments over the last decade: the ebb in revolutionary struggle, and with it the reversal of some previous advances. These inroads made by the Soviet Union and some of the confusion caused by a lack of a broadly held scientific understanding get concentrated

in questions like the following, posed to Bob Avakian in 1979 by an African student during a speech in Madison, Wisconsin (quoted from RW No. 21, Sept. 28, 1979):

"I was provoked when you mentioned the question of the so-called social imperialism of the Soviet Union. And as far as I am concerned, I still take the Leninist definition of imperialism as being the highest stage of capitalism, and I associate imperialism with economic exploitation. By that definition, I still don't see exactly how the Soviet Union, however expansionist their policy has been, has been able to entrench itself economically. In other words, when I look at such countries like Angola, like Vietnam, etc. I don't see the multinational corporations from the Russian sector like we see them from the capitalist western areas which promote the cause of imperialism.

"And secondly, for a long time we have associated the Soviet people as having sided with the liberation movements in Africa. While the western camp was arming the Vorster/Smith regimes it was only the Soviet people and the Soviet government that came to aid the liberation struggle until today. Now we find this orchestrated cry about Soviet social-imperialism as having been a dividing influence among the rank and file of the communist movement, especially among the working class and the people who are still trying to liberate themselves.

"Now can you clarify this issue?"

The Legacy of Mao Tsetung

All this is one, and only one, side of the picture politically. There is opposed to that a powerful reserve of experience and with it understanding of the reactionary nature of the USSR.

Wherever people dream of emancipation there is a deep and powerful revolution in the thought of embracing the Soviets, even to defeat the U.S. Oozing through countless crevices are the signs that something extremely foul is concentrated within the Soviet system. A stench stretches from Afghanistan around the globe to the napalm in Eritrea. Even perceptually, the Soviet Union gives the impression of a web of jealously guarded lies: of exploitation disguised as socialism, of gross chauvinism disguised as internationalism, of a stultifying, suffocating, stagnant and cynical society masquerading as the hope of mankind.

Out of these conflicting pulls and impressions emerges the raging interest in digging deeper into the Soviet Union.

It is only fitting that the theories of Mao Tsetung should stand at the center of the controversy. Exactly when it was becoming clear that something had gone very, very wrong within the Soviet revolution, and when the Soviet leaders were coming out in open opposition to revolution throughout the world—it was Mao who dared to scientifically analyze this literally unprecedented event: the reversal of the first socialist revolution, and draw far-reaching conclusions about the nature of transition to communism—pathbreaking conclusions which were founded on, but also further developed, the theories of Marx and Lenin.

What had happened here was not the inevitable outcome of socialist revolution—but the seizure of power of a bourgeoisie forged within the very state and party created through revolutionary struggle. Socialism, Mao concluded, cannot be seen simply as a machinery of institutions and legal property-forms erected by a victorious revolution which would thereafter tick away contentedly. It would be a revolutionary transition period, riddled with contradictions and struggles and the real chance of temporary reversals, defined by the bitter war to eliminate that dead hand of class society which still has its stamp on everything, even the new socialist relations of production themselves.

Applying that revolutionary understanding to the class struggle in China, Mao led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. What revolutionary then, in

the 1960s, would have dreamed of saying that the Soviet Union was "socialism as it has actually emerged in the world"?

Who could embrace this "socialism" where the highest goal is to produce more to get more, and who could defend the Soviets' Swan Lake ballets in tu-tus, or their generals caked in medals? Certainly not when the sharp contrast of revolutionary China existed with its mass upheaval to transform society in every sphere, where peasants met in the fields to discuss art, rebel students brought revolutionary politics into hushed laboratories, where the eyes of workers were fixed on cardinal questions of society and the world. What contrast could have been sharper than that between Soviet tanks clamping the "limited sovereignty" of the Brezhnev Doctrine onto Czechoslovakia, while Mao's China acted as a vast internationalist base area of world revolution, as both a beacon of revolutionary ideology and as a reliable source of material aid?

World events, including the fact that unprecedented revolutionary opportunities are shaping up in a historic conjuncture, have given new fuel and a new context to the great polemics that raged in the 1960s. There is new and even richer experience to understand and synthesize and there is even more urgency to the questions. Two sharp and bitterly opposed poles present themselves: the line of the Soviet social imperialists and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line associated with Mao—sharply representing the two opposing summations of the nature of the Soviet system, and with that sharply opposed summations of the world situation and of the very nature of revolution, of socialism and the transition to communism.

In addition, there has been the development of new work, posing new questions and theoretical problems—demanding that theory be developed and not just enshrined. A lively, exciting atmosphere exists around this question. Clearly this eruption of debate and interest is an excellent thing. It is itself a part of the awakening of new forces to political life, drawn there by the intensification of world contradictions. The fact that old verdicts (even correct and revolutionary ones) are subject to new scrutiny, new questions, and challenges in light of new experiences—is also quite a fine thing; it creates exactly that kind of arena in which further theoretical advances can be made, and in which broad forces are trained, and are either won to revolutionary understandings or are lost to reactionary ones.

Not only does this confrontation need to be supported and joined—above all, it needs to be far more sharply concentrated, with clear representatives of opposing lines clashing openly in principled debate in front of numbers of politically awakened forces.

The Revolutionary Communist Party issues an invitation, and a challenge, to join with us to organize and intensify this debate, and to raise the theoretical level of principled struggle. We call on people to join with us in organizing a conference with workshops on many questions and a formal two-sided face-to-face debate focusing on the question "Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist," and in the process of building toward that conference, through polemics, position papers and other vehicles, to provide an arena for the struggle along the entire range of political and theoretical issues raised by that question.

Our Basic View

For our part, it is well known that the Revolutionary Communist Party has struggled for the view that the Soviet Union is thoroughly imperialist. We have the particular task of presenting that stand, and we intend to answer straight on the sharp questions that have been raised:

—How is it possible for capitalist relations of production to exist within a state-owned and planned economy? Where in

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U.S. Slaps China with Taiwan Arms Sale

Rubbing the Running Dog's Nose In It

Following the U.S. decision last December to continue arms sales to Taiwan (see *RW* No. 139), the Chinese revisionists howled indignantly that such a move "encroaches on China's sovereignty and interferes in China's internal affairs" and "violates ... the basic principles of international law." Deng & Co. also tried a humbler approach, openly appealing to (or perhaps it would be more accurate to say begging) the Reagan administration to amend the decision and offering to swallow the sale of arms to Taiwan if the U.S. would only admit verbally that Taiwan is part of China and agree to set a definite time limit for an end to the sales. The U.S. rulers, of course, would never think of "encroaching on the sovereignty" and "interfering in internal affairs" of another country or "violating international law." Don't the countless examples of El Salvador, Vietnam, Korea, etc., etc., prove this? So taking due notice of the pleas and protests from Peking, the U.S. proceeded on April 13 to make the formal announcement of the sale of \$60 million in military spare parts to Taiwan. The sale is expected to breeze through the Congress.

One White House official was quoted as saying about the sale, "We have some experts who believe that China may grumble but in the end do nothing to set back relations. But there are others who say that they would not be surprised if China downgraded relations by pulling back the ambassador." China has been issuing repeated warnings that if military sales to Taiwan and the general trend toward a "two-Chinas" policy continues, it might be forced to downgrade diplomatic relations with the U.S. to the level before the 1979 Normalization or even to that before the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué. Judging from China's reaction so far to the April 13 announcement, the first group of experts were right on the nose. The official statement from China's foreign ministry registered a perfunctory "strong protest" against the U.S. sales to Taiwan, but the same statement also offered an excuse for not carrying out the threats to downgrade diplomatic relations by pointing out the "explanation" that the U.S. had made to China in December — that the transaction with Taiwan was not a new military sale but one that had been promised to them from before; that the sale did not involve weapons but only spare parts; and that while U.S.-China talks to resolve the Taiwan question are in session, no new military transfers would be made. In fact on April 12, just a day before the Taiwan deal was sent to the Congress, China opened with some fanfare a brand new consulate office in New York.

Although the threatened downgrading of diplomatic relations has not come off, it is clear that there are real and intensifying contradictions in U.S.-China relations that are finding expression in this row over the Taiwan question. Taiwan is a sensitive issue for the U.S. as well as for Deng & Co. "Abandoning" the long-time pro-U.S. hacks of the KMT in Taiwan in favor of the friendly but still "communist" Peking would knock some air out of the U.S.'s get-tough stance, as personified by Reagan, of 100% support for faithful puppets. Moreover, from the time of MacArthur and the Korean War, Taiwan has often been called an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" because of its strategic position near the important sea lane between Northeast Asia and the rest of Asia. For Deng, a humiliating acquiescence on Taiwan would leave him even more dangerously vulnerable for attack from other revisionist factions in China, including pro-Soviet revisionist forces, as well as from genuine revolutionary forces. In the heady days of Normalization in 1979, the ruling revisionists could still paint a glowing picture of huge Western aid rolling in and thus divert attention from the concessions they were making on the Taiwan question, but now

they are no longer able to do the same. Although Taiwan itself is not at the heart of the U.S.-China contradiction, still the fact that an open quarrel is taking place over this delicate issue underscores the sharpness of that contradiction.

If the refusal to discontinue arms sales to Taiwan was a punch in the midsection, the U.S. is furthermore dragging China through the mud. The sale of \$60 million in spare parts could very easily have been split into two smaller packages and approved without much to-do, since anything under \$50 million does not require formal notification of Congress. Already last month, \$37 million of the total \$97 deal was approved without creating so much as a stir. But Washington chose to keep the remaining \$60 million in a single block, thus forcing China to make a formal statement of protest. China accused the U.S. of being behind Taipei's plans to display the KMT "national flag" and broadcast their "national anthem" during the opening ceremonies of the upcoming World Women's Softball Championships to be held in Taiwan, to which China has also been invited. The invitation to China had originally been hailed as a breakthrough in relations between the revisionists and the KMT. China also claimed that a recently approved amendment to the U.S. immigration law "not only refused to recognize Taiwan as a Chinese province but treated it as a separate state."

Cosmetic changes in China's blatantly pro-U.S. international line of the past few years have also been noted. The revisionists recently restored the use of the phrase "U.S. is seeking hegemonism in the world." Unlike the eagerness with which they participated in the U.S.-led boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, the Deng regime publicly took an uncooperative stance toward U.S. actions around martial law in Poland. And in a new shift, Chinese commentaries on the situation in El Salvador now place the main blame for the "turmoil" on the U.S., not the Soviet Union or Cuba as they had done before.

Of course such rhetorical shifts mean nothing in substance. For China's own ambitions (mainly regional) within the third world, such rhetoric is a must. And even the U.S. imperialists can manage a wink of the eye at most of this talk, since they too realize how essential it is for China to be able to play an effective pro-U.S. role in these circles.

Soviets Maneuver

Meanwhile the Soviet Union, looking to fish in these troubled waters, expressed its willingness to mend Sino-Soviet relations and offered to reopen talks on the border dispute. The talks had been suspended since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan two years ago. Significantly, the Chinese side not only agreed to reopen the talks but announced they will go into them "with no preliminary conditions whatsoever." The two sides have already reached some minor agreements in the past few months, for example on the problem of waterways and navigation on the border and on expanding Chinese trade through Russia to Eastern Europe and Iran. There are more signs of something cooking in this pot of goulash. For the first time in two decades, China recently sent a delegation of three economic experts on an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union to study, among other things, "Soviet management systems." The Chinese Communist Party is also establishing party-to-party relations with the French CP, which just happens to be the most pro-Soviet of the Eurocommunist parties.

To top it all off is Brezhnev's March 24 speech in Tashkent on major policies. Brezhnev declared that the Soviet Union fully recognized Peking's claim to Taiwan and rejected the "two-Chinas" concept. Dripping with sweet poison, he stated that, "We remember well the time when the Soviet Union and the People's

Republic of China were united by bonds of friendship and comradely cooperation. We have never considered normal the state of hostility and estrangement between our countries."

These recent developments in the U.S.-China-Soviet triangle have fueled speculations among various quarters about an imminent U.S.-China split and Sino-Soviet rapprochement. In the U.S. the Communist Workers Party (CWP), recent converts to the muddleheaded view that both the Soviet Union and China are "socialist," buzzed about how Deng & Co. are finally coming to see the "true nature" of U.S. imperialism and created grand visions of the two "socialist giants" getting back together in common unity against the U.S. The CWP licked its chops at the thought of such a powerful ticket to ride.

In reality, although there are actual contradictions between the U.S. and China, and the possibilities down the line for the Chinese ruling clique to switch allegiance to the Soviet masters are real enough, both the U.S. and China are not about to break up their alliance so readily. For the U.S., it remains of crucial importance to keep China wedded to its bloc. The '60s saw the full development of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower and its increasingly aggressive challenging of the U.S. for world domination. The response to this development by the U.S. and then-socialist China led to the 1972 signing of the Shanghai Communiqué. Reeling from blows it was receiving in Indochina and needing to regroup its forces, the U.S. ruling class did not want to face a challenging imperialist Soviet Union and a hostile revolutionary China. On China's side, Mao and other revolutionaries correctly saw the danger that Soviet imperialism posed to China (although as our party has analyzed, there were errors made within this analysis, even by the revolutionaries, along with pressure from the revisionists using the Soviet threat to preach capitulation to the West) and decided to take advantage of the U.S.-Soviet contradiction. Ten years later, the U.S.-Soviet contention has become even sharper and spread to every corner of the globe. Although since the 1976 coup the U.S. rulers no longer need to fear a revolutionary China, they more than ever need a China that is in their camp and opposed to the Soviets.

Why Turn the Screw?

But why then the recent series of humiliations heaped on the Deng regime by the U.S.? Has the real Reagan finally stood up to back to the hilt his old favorites, the staunch anti-communists of the KMT? Perhaps it's the latest episode in the Reagan administration's bungles in foreign policy, unnecessarily antagonizing China when the whole Taiwan deal could have been approved and packed off under dimmed lights.

Looked at in light of overall U.S. strategy in tightening up its bloc as the world war approaches, it becomes clear that the flak over Taiwan is no mere "bad diplomacy" by Reagan. It is a calculated move, and a gamble, by the U.S. ruling class — part of whipping their allies (and flunkies) into line. The U.S. wants China even more firmly tied to its bloc, and the principal way this is being done, in fact the principal way the bloc is being tightened up overall, is not by sweet talk and expensive gifts but by blatant words and the turn of the screw. And if such tactics are applicable to such respectable imperialist allies as, say, Britain — then why not to China, a neo-colonial country?

But such gangster methods by necessity involve great risks — of actually pushing China over the fence into Soviet pastures. Thus U.S. Secretary of State Haig was not exaggerating when he used the words "extremely sensitive" to describe the current negotiations going on in Peking on a proposed declaration on the Taiwan question. The U.S. is reportedly pushing

for an agreement to keep military sales to Taiwan at current levels, with promises of reduction as China and Taiwan move closer. In an even more sober tone, Richard Nixon warned in a Feb. 28 *New York Times* article titled "Ten Years After The Visit To China" that "some in this country insist that we can go as far as we wish in arming Taiwan — that Peking has no choice except to swallow its opposition and stay with us. This is a dangerous illusion. Peking does have a choice, however unpalatable. China, like Russia, is still communist. If it lost confidence in us, China could move back toward accommodation with Russia. This would be a tragedy." Still, the U.S. imperialists overall seem to feel that the necessity to demand even more craven capitulation from the Deng regime makes this risk of "tragedy" worth taking.

As the revisionaries in China pointed out, restoring capitalism and the revisionist line of technique and experts in command and relying on foreign assistance in a relatively backward country like China will inevitably lead to capitulation to imperialism. This certainly applies to Deng & Co., despite their pompous statements to the U.S. that "there is a limit to our tolerance" and that "we absolutely will not barter away principle." At the same time, being a bourgeoisie, the revisionist rulers of China naturally seek to protect and further their own interests as much as possible. Although within the present-day world there is no material basis to enable China to become a superpower or even a "lesser" imperialist power, nevertheless they have wild (and fundamentally silly) ambitions of being able to deftly maneuver in the field and manipulate the contradictions among various imperialists to become a world power, perhaps maneuvering their way through world war. At this time, the revisionists see doing this within the context of the U.S. bloc. They still have high hopes of attracting more Western capital and advanced technology in their quest for capitalist "modernization." In a recent bid for oil exploration rights on China's coast, for example, 24 of the 26 eligible companies were American. There is also a certain truth to Nixon's comment that the choice of jumping into the Soviet bear hug is "unpalatable" for China. The mess in Poland and Vietnam do not exactly conjure up an encouraging picture for prospective Soviet satellites. And the mere fact of geographical proximity of the Soviet Union (compared to the U.S.) would certainly mean very tight military and political control if China were part of the Soviet bloc.

Going one step further than striking an "independence" pose, the Chinese revisionists have also been dropping none-too-subtle hints intended for U.S. ears about the possibility of China turning to the Soviet Union. In reply to Brezhnev's Tashkent speech, China's foreign ministry stated, "We firmly reject the attacks on China contained in the remarks. In Sino-Soviet relations and in international affairs, what we attach importance to are the actual deeds of the Soviet Union." Interestingly enough, the foreign ministry statement reproached the "attacks on China" but did not reject Brezhnev's call to improve relations. A more extensive commentary the same day from China's *Xinhua News Agency* remarked, "Brezhnev chose this troubled moment in U.S.-China relations, due to U.S. insistence on selling arms to Taiwan, to affirm that the USSR opposes the 'concept of two Chinas', to recognize that the People's Republic of China has sovereignty over Taiwan island" and to express willingness to 'improve' Sino-Soviet relations. This gives people much food for thought." After giving the U.S. a few days to chew and choke a little bit on the possibilities of a Sino-Soviet thaw, China's Defense Minister Geng Biao declared that Sino-Soviet relations can

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Spring Barricades In Poland



"We'd like everybody to feel the rush of blood we felt out there!" This comment by one Polish youth captured the defiant sentiments in Poland during the week that followed May First. By the time it was over, Poland had been rocked by rebellions in practically every major city as thousands busted out from beneath the hated jackboot of the martial law regime that has stamped its oppressive imprint on the face of Poland for the last four and a half months. With the youth in the forefront, these explosions rocketed beyond the bounds of traditional and tired protests, blowing the government's insipid claims of "normalcy", "stability" and "order" to smithereens and leaving Poland's revisionist overlords reeling in the wake of the biggest disorders to convulse the country since martial law was first imposed.

The week before, Gen. Jaruzelski had been crowing that a "growing climate of law and obedience" was permitting the junta to relax a number of more onerous martial law measures. It was announced that the nightly 11 pm to 5 am curfew was being lifted in a number of cities, none-too-cleverly scheduled to go into effect on May 2nd. Direct dialing without the assistance of the secret police was to be put into effect for domestic calls, as well as certain other "concessions". And as a final sop, one thousand of the several thousand still detained were released just before May 1st on the condition that they behave themselves — an obvious and

wishful attempt to blunt any impetuous May Day plans that might be blowing in the winds.

Jaruzelski opened the official May Day ceremonies — surrounded by nervous security men who checked and rechecked identity cards and official invitations — by magnanimously declaring that "There is a place for everyone in the May Day parade". As those in attendance on government orders moved toward the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier for the umpteenth wreath laying in recent months, one paper described the inspirational scene: "The official marchers walked slowly to the heavy strains of martial music, past the television cameras and an announcer intoning the names of party and factory delegations coming into view. A government official standing on the sidelines in Victory Square remarked privately that never before had he seen such a sparse turnout. Unlike previous years, he noted, there was no applause and practically no one lined the parade route." In what would prove to be a prophetic choice of words, Jaruzelski remarked that "Many are still living through distraction, bitterness and doubt, but let us not make a barricade of it."

Meanwhile just blocks away in Warsaw's Old Town, something quite different was in the air as between 20 to 50,000 people were filtering into the big square in front of St. John's Cathedral. In line with their usual exhortations for

the masses to put up only passive resistance to the government, underground Solidarity leaders had issued a call for people to demonstrate for "peace, bread and work" by celebrating mass in a boycott of official May Day ceremonies. But the largely youthful crowd was clearly up for something more defiant than passivity and prayers. Leaflets and clandestine newspapers (which reportedly have proliferated in recent months as various underground groups have struggled over the road forward) circulated throughout the square. Then suddenly coats came off to reveal illegal Solidarity T-shirts and out of knapsacks banners began to be unfurled as young agitators led the demonstration in the direction of the official May Day ceremonies. Chants went up: "Long Live Solidarity!", "Dictatorship, NO!". Riot police and armored vehicles rushed into the area to intercept the marchers, forming a wall to seal off the government sponsored proceedings.

But the government apparently thought better on this particular day of inflaming a volatile and, for them, politically dangerous situation (there were reports of a similar march of as many as 50,000 in Gdansk opposing the official May Day there as well). The marchers had cleverly seized an opportunity presented by the government's cynical claim that it presides over a "workers' state". Indeed, a violent confrontation with Polish workers on their day would have been a devastating embarrassment to every revisionist regime in the entire Soviet bloc. The government warned, however, that illegal demonstrations would not be permitted again. Hopefully, some steam had been let off, cooler heads would now prevail and the government's martial law concessions would be reluctantly accepted as an "improvement".

No such luck! On the morning of May 3, Jaruzelski conducted the official ceremonies of Poland's Constitution Day in Warsaw's Castle Square. As a wire service report put it: "The authorities had wanted May 3rd to be specifically a symbol of national accord." We might add that such a gesture is entirely fitting in a country like Poland, where the national banner is firmly held by the revisionist (in this case) bourgeoisie.

But that afternoon, even as the Parliament was passing a sonorous resolution heralding the possibilities of a "national rebirth", on the very same spot where Jaruzelski had stood earlier in the day thousands were spilling in from side streets to continue their protests — the majority of them youth who, as the government would later scream, "do not want to understand anything, who have learned nothing".

Hundreds of heavily equipped ZOMO riot police quickly faced off against the crowd which grew in number to between 15 and 25,000. The scene that followed would blow the government's cherished

dreams of "a return to normalcy" right out of the water.

The police loudspeaker began to blare. "Turn back! Turn back! You are ordered to turn back!" It was drowned by the thunder of jeers, hoots and catcalls as the crowd held its ground and inched forward. "This is your last warning! Turn back!", the loudspeaker pleaded. "Down with the junta!" came the roaring response as the crowd began to surround a division of 400 police and the chants went up: "Gestapo, Gestapo!" "Prepare chemicals!...Fire!", the police commanders yelled. The ZOMO attacked, unleashing mobil water cannons, firing hundreds of rounds of tear gas and wading into the crowd with truncheons, viciously beating those within reach. Momentarily, the crowd fell back as knots of people were blasted up against buildings by the force of the water cannons. Then...

Tear gas canisters began sailing back into the ranks of the police as the crowd melted into the side streets, breaking into knots of several thousand which then roamed the area engaging the pigs in hit and run battles. The barricades were going up in Old Town, constructed from cafe tables, chairs and anything else that came to hand as, from behind them, stones and wooden milk crates were flung furiously at the helmeted upholders of revisionist order. A bus was commandeered by a crowd and turned into a street blockade over which the police were showered with ripped up paving stones. Groups of demonstrators broke off, carrying the rebellion to other parts of the city and entering the downtown area where riot police fired flares point blank at crowds which attacked public buildings, including the Parliament and the main revisionist party headquarters.

Street fighting continued long into the night as ambulances screamed through the gas-choked streets of Warsaw. But as reports began to filter through the blackout, it was clear that Warsaw was not alone as Gdansk, Szczecin, Lodz, Bydgoszcz, Cracow and a host of other cities exploded along with "quite a number" of small villages and towns. (One official whined, "It was remarkable. Some of these places are just little towns and haven't had any trouble over the past two years!"). In Gdansk, the local party headquarters was attacked by a crowd several thousand strong which attempted to overrun the city center. In Szczecin, 2000 youth clashed with police as one group reached the city center and attempted to assault the provincial party headquarters. Failing this, they erected street barricades and destroyed some police vehicles, a streetcar and torched a hotel, stoning firemen who tried unsuccessfully to douse the blaze.

Indeed, the direct attacks on offices of the Polish United Workers Party were something that has not been seen in Poland since the Radom incident in 1976.

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Salvadoran Revolutionaries Face Deportation Hearings

The latest and most decisive legal round in the battle between the U.S. government and the two Salvadoran revolutionaries who took part in the recent national speaking tour began April 28 in Los Angeles. On that day the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) scheduled deportation hearings for Emilio Henriquez and David Mendez. The timing of this hearing was transparent in its purpose, coming right in the midst of massive deportation raids and chauvinist frenzy that week and coming exactly three days before May 1st.

But the government threw a particularly slimy twist into the scheduling of these hearings. Neither the Salvadorans nor their attorney of the last six months were sent notice of the hearings, as the INS was hoping to catch the defense off guard and quickly bring down deportation orders when no one showed April 28. Yet while the government looked to score a great coup with its secretly scheduled hearings, the hearings were discovered Tuesday night, April 27, and before they opened at 8:30 the next day, the INS was deluged with phone calls from around the country, and a lawsuit was filed against the INS District Director in Los Angeles. Immigration judge George Indelicado was forced to postpone the hearings one

week.

In the week that followed, both the INS and the federal court with whom the lawsuit has been filed refused to grant the Salvadorans' demand that their application for political asylum in the U.S. be dealt with separate from the deportation proceedings, and that these proceedings be thrown out. (The federal court set a May 24 hearing to decide whether the deportation hearings should take place, which will be after these proceedings have already begun.) This demand was based on the fact that Emilio and David filled out and signed applications for political asylum with an attorney last October 9, before their arrest October 12, and before embarking on the national speaking tour. The Salvadorans knew that by carrying out broad public exposure on the tour of the role of U.S. and all imperialism in El Salvador and the U.S. puppet regime there, as well as taking an uncompromising stand for the liberation of the Salvadoran people, they would even more become prime targets for execution if the junta got its hands on them. They also knew that applying for political asylum would very much open them up for attack by the U.S. government, and that the U.S. routinely denies political refugees from El Salvador asylum. But

they were confident of others coming forward to defend and support them in this fight. The risks involved couldn't stop these brothers because they felt compelled to take up this great internationalist task.

On May 5, before the deportation hearings began, the hallway outside the courtroom was swollen with Salvadoran, Mexican and other immigrants seized in the raids the week before. As the press began interviewing the two Salvadoran revolutionaries, others began crowding around. The rebels explained what all the commotion was about, detailing the politics of the speaking tour and the government's assault on the tour and themselves, and laying out the plans to use this battle in and out of court to deliver powerful and resounding blows for all foreign-born and oppressed in this country and to advance the world revolution. If the judge and prosecution were expecting to be faced with two docile, downtrodden and remorseful "aliens" when the hearing actually began, they were rudely set straight. The judge was put on notice that his courtroom would be transformed from a hidden chamber for the rapid and silent dishing out of INS terror, to an arena of exposure and confrontation. In what was supposed to be

the simple and routine opening of a deportation process, the actual terms of the battle were bared and the gauntlet taken up.

The defense put the lie to the protests of the government that these were just "typical deportation cases" — which themselves are run in the infamous tradition of military hearings to begin with. The past and present involvement in these cases of such agencies as the FBI, the Secret Service, and the State Department's "Threat Analysis Group" shows clearly what and who is involved here. It also shows the utter horror of the bourgeoisie confronted by two revolutionary immigrants who have spoken in programs before over 2500 people in some 25 cities, and to the press throughout the country. It was made plain that the boundaries of the battle would not be the INS rules and regs, but rather the stakes and course of global developments toward world war and revolution. In addition, the fact that the line and activities of the RCP and its youth group organization, the RCYB (which sponsored the speaking tour nationally) would become an important

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MAY 1st

Correspondence

All the Way

This letter came from a Puerto Rican man who lives in a hotel in downtown L.A.

I went to the May Day demonstration because I wanted to be part of it, because I like your ideas which are my ideas, too. In a way I saw something down there that day that I have been looking for to see happening in the United States for a long time now. I just hope what happened down there also gets spread to all parts. I'm from Puerto Rico and have a lot of questions about the type of revolution that took place in Nicaragua. Nicaragua has ties with Puerto Rico. I have a relative who died in the revolution down there, but I sometimes wonder what he would be doing if he was alive — maybe occupy some government position. He even has a street named after him in Nicaragua. His son became deeply involved after the death of his father. But it bothers me that the revolution is not complete emancipation. You see, Somoza was like a tiger. People were afraid. They couldn't say anything. When the revolution started, the idea was to have elections every four years — you know like the United States. After the revolution, many people had given their lives in the streets and countryside — young people, too — some only 12, 14 years old. And they did this not for some half-baked transformations but to be rid of all kinds of oppression being brought down on the masses from the likes of Somoza. But we don't want just a little more "freedom" or breathing space which is bullshit anyway because it really isn't any free society here either. But what I really want to say is that if there's going to be a revolution this time — any place — let it be with the goal of communism in mind — like what Marx was referring to — classless society. That would be the best, beautiful, political system in the world. Also you know why I came to May Day was that I had in mind to talk to the leader — Bob Avakian — to hear from him and any ideas the party has on how to make revolution. Before I met you guys, my walls were empty. Now I have a picture of Bob Avakian and then I stole a Chinese flag from the lobby of this hotel I live in because I wanted to have red on the wall.

A Puerto Rican who wants to go all the way

Vietnam Vet In Ohio Prison

Dear Red Alert,

I am a Vietnam Veteran and on April 8th I picked up the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and read the AP story about the Ft. McPherson Two and I had joy in my heart and I still get excited when I think of what is to come on May Day '82 in the U.S. and around the globe. I am a prisoner in the Ohio Prison system and I have been watching May Day on TV for two years now. When I was with the Americal Division in Vietnam we had a guy that barricaded himself in a bunker with his M-16 and refused to fight the Vietnamese or leave the bunker. The MPs came with flamethrowers and after they lost two MPs that tried to rush Ed Gilliam then they burnt him alive inside that bunker and listed him as a (K.I.A.) killed in action. I support the Ft. McPherson Two. Stop U.S.-Soviet War Moves!

A Progressive Prisoner
O.S.P., London, Ohio

Holland

Dear friends,

I bring to you the First of May greetings of Holland especially from the squatters' movement in Amsterdam.

I tell you that you have friends over there fighting the same enemy — all the imperialists including our own bourgeoisie. The Dutch bourgeoisie has committed crimes too like in Indonesia, Timor and against the Moluccan people. My contacts with friends of the RCP are very inspiring. Let us keep united the spirit of the First of May high, or in my own language:

Laten use geramenlyk de geest van de eerste mei hoog houden.

A Dutch squatter in New York
on May 1st

Garment Worker

A group of garment workers came down to 7th and Broadway in downtown L.A. to be part of the May 1st convergence there. This is a statement for a leaflet that was written the night before the 30th.

DECLARATION FROM A WORKER AT THE GARMENT DISTRICT: ON MAY 1st
Fellow workers:

In these moments when our brothers and sisters and fellow workers are suffering from the ambitious attacks from the masters, at the work centers in different parts of the world, it's time to comprehend the grand necessity to uphold our determination and our consciousness, being present at the demonstrations on this day May 1st, a day of protest to push forward revolution.

We have all been victimized, here or there, (this country or that country) because they have in their hands the power and they are responsible for the problems that we as the workers and people face in these difficult times. But we have the ability to seize the earth from them this time around!

Luis

Friday—Break out of your jobs!
Saturday—Converge to Demonstrate!

Iranian Students

This statement is from Iranian students in Los Angeles. It was written for the May 1st rally but it was not given due to the circumstances downtown — rally on the run

We are proud to be here on this historical occasion, May 1st 1982 standing with our comrades from all over the globe, breaking the national boundaries which the imperialists force on us. This is what internationalism is all about, people from all over the world standing together, spitting in the face of imperialism, letting them know that their gravediggers are assembled here in force and ready to take up our historical task which is no less than the liberation of all mankind and achieving the lofty goal of communism. Today the question of world war is ever more looming on the horizon. The war that the blood thirsty U.S. and Soviet Union imperialists are about to unleash on the people of the world. A war that is definitely not in our class interest. The decadent imperialist blocks of the west and east are counting on the U.S. proletariat, and oppressed masses to line up behind them to carry out the dirty work of killing our brothers and sisters of the so-called "enemy's camp" to preserve their top dog position. The in-

ternational proletariat has the understanding that if there is going to be a world war and bloodshed we must turn it into civil wars and shed the blood of the international bourgeoisie. All the reactionary forces around the world are trying to show the world proletariat their power knowing what May Day represents. As we saw several arrests of our comrades building for May Day including one of our Iranian comrades. This trend of fascism is also evident in Iran by the fact that the Islamic Republic has officially ordered women to cover themselves with what we call a symbol of oppression and what they call a "chador" or veil. This order is to be enforced today May First. The bourgeoisie is giving us a taste of what they have in store for us in the future but more importantly today we are showing them what is in store for them. We are confident and understand that our day is coming when we can put these bloodsuckers in their grave and open a bright new chapter in the history of mankind.

Sparrows Point

To the shipyard workers at the Lenin Shipyard: Greetings on the 1st of May. We're the shipyard workers sending you our greetings on the 1st of May. We know that our capitalist rulers as well as your capitalist rulers don't want to see May Day happen. May Day 1982 signals an upsurge in the struggle worldwide that will lead to the overthrow of our capitalist rulers.

signed by nine shipyard workers
at Sparrows Point Shipyard,
Baltimore, Maryland

Krome Rebel

This statement came from a Haitian brother who was active in last September's Krome Rebellion and has since then been shifted to four different prisons. Despite being kept isolated from other Haitians — and often in solitary confinement — he still managed to get out this call for May First. (This was translated from Creole.)

As a refugee and a Haitian brother in jail I think it's my duty to express solidarity with all other workers in the world on this May First. May First is a day all workers who are conscious of the struggle they have to wage for the future, should celebrate. It's a day every worker should stand up and fight against those who rob their labor power and exploit them. We the workers are the builder of this world, and we should also be the destroyer of everything that is stinking in our nose and make this world a better place.

In the world today there are rich and poor people. The rich are getting fatter from sucking our blood. While we are slaving to build this world the bourgeoisie are busy stealing the product made from our sweat and blood. This May First should be when the workers of the world should be conscious of their situation, and they should also be conscious how they're going to change it, that is by revolution, because that's the only way we are going to stop the bourgeoisie from kicking our butt, and that's the only way they would stop looking at and treating us like garbage. This May First is the time all of us workers and exploited of the world should stand together and be one class.

Look Out!

To the RW:

Solidarity for Humanity—
May Day was a special day for me. It gave me a chance to do what I always wanted to do. To show I hate this god-damn system. There I was carrying a poster of Lenin, wearing a youth brigade T-shirt, marching past the army who were dressed in full gear. We did not stop until we got to the front gate which had barricades and barbed wire which they put up to keep us from marching on army property. May Day gave me the chance to show my solidarity for the poor and exploited and the oppressed. It was a day I told capitalism to look out, I'm coming for your ass. A day I put aside all my individual needs and all my selfish ideas. A day I cast aside all the brainwashed garbage that was pumped into me by the bourgeoisie. It was like the capitalists were walking in the desert of no return and they looked up and saw the culture of communism flying above waiting for them to show the first sign of helplessness.

Black high school youth from Atlanta



Everywhere the red flag was raised on May 1st, 1982 and during the days immediately leading up to it, readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must seriously take up the task of quickly reporting the historic events that occurred. News of these events from every city and every sphere of society is essential for maximum worldwide impact. As Lenin pointed out, an important role of the revolutionary press is to insure that revolutionary actions do not remain "secret" actions. While in the past two years many reports on May 1st have come in right away, there have been more than a few cases where important events have not come to light for months. Comrades, every May 1st outbreak in every sphere must become part of the manifesto in our press. It is crucial that proletarian internationalists take the initiative on this front, acting in the interest of our class brothers and sisters worldwide. Reports hot on the heels of May Day actions are key in enabling the Party and the masses to sum up the deep chords struck among the proletariat and oppressed and the broad impact throughout society, and, in doing so, deepen our assessment of the strength and influence of the revolutionary movement. As we have seen in the battles of May 1st, 1980 and 1981, accounts of May 1st this year will not only enable us to assess the situation, but also will further enable the proletarian forces to step up our work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion, inspiring hundreds of thousands more with the sights and sounds and profound significance of this truly international revolutionary holiday, through our revolutionary press. Already, some reports have come in but much more is needed.

Comrades. Pick up your pens! Send written reports, tapes, and photographs right away to the *Revolutionary Worker*. Because of the great

Send May Day Reports Right Away! No May First Secrets!

importance and difficulty in obtaining news of May 1st actions in various countries, those in contact with the revolutionary struggle in other countries should also try to get reports on May 1st from these countries. All of these reports, even if they are brief, should be sent to the *RW* immediately. In the coming issues we will continue to publish further reports and more detailed information, including photos, news clippings (both from the revolutionary and bourgeois press), cultural materials from other countries, and so on. Send all materials to the *Revolutionary Worker*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Or deliver them to the RCP in your local area (see addresses, page 2). Keep in mind that the Post Office is part of the bourgeois state apparatus when writing reports and selecting photographs.

Santa Barbara

This report was phoned into *Revolution Books, L.A. on the morning of May 1st*

The rebuilt Bank of America, which had been burned to the ground in Isla Vista during student riots in the 60s era, was appropriately decked out for May Day today with May Day posters calling on people to join the convergence in L.A. and help put the stamp of the international proletariat on the three target cities and also calling on them to "Take History into Our Hands." The red flag flew from the flagpole where normally the red, white and blue rag hangs. The bank also revealed its true nature in that its sign was changed to read: BANK OF A CIA.

from some Santa Barbara May Day Rebels

May Day Concert

To the International Proletariat and Cultural Workers:

May Day '82 proved to be a day of learning and inspiration for myself. A May Day concert that my band and a few other musicians were to play had been cancelled (the powers that be exerting a little muscle); however, some eleventh hour searching by supporters led to a May 1 date at the Inner City Cultural Center (located in the heart of a primarily Mexican-American proletarian neighborhood).

The music we were to perform was free improvisation, a form rooted in jazz,

rock, and ethnic styles. Previously I had felt that this form of new music was one that belonged to the intelligentsia and the scholared. However, due to some excellent last minute (two days worth) promotion, the small hall was filled with a good-sized crowd of comrades from all walks — from the poorest to the upper classes. Our improvisations received enthusiastic applause — I realized then that we were breaking barriers. (At the beginning of the concert my main emotions were primed by the news film of police attacks on the downtown rally, but the response of the crowd replaced my rage with a sense of unity.) The music we were performing belonged to all: idioms were irrelevant. After the concert, several well-wishers spoke to me, including a fellow from El Salvador who had heard nothing like it before, but he enjoyed it immensely. National borders were broken — the three worlds "theory" was completely meaningless. The local powers may have upset the day, but the evening was ours.

Comrades! Culture is not a commodity; it is a necessary part of our existence. Let all those involved in cultural processes unhesitatingly criticize our enemies and unite with the proletariat and oppressed classes — this is where true culture is born.

Venceremos,
A member of Apes of God
Los Angeles

Defending the Red Flag

From an Atlanta youth on Youth Day:

I got in my first fight today. It was about this guy who knocked the Red Flag on the floor. I told him not to do it anymore, and I backed it up by jumping in his face. Things did not work out the way I planned. He pushed me into the wall and by the time I tried to counter-attack some backwards guy jumped in and I grabbed his leg by mistake. Then I finally got a hold of him but by that time a mob of backward guys broke up the fight. There I was mad as hell, in anger and the other guy gets all the credit for winning the fight. I learned one important fact. Never get into a fight unless you have comrades with you.

An Atlanta youth

P.S. There is one thing about this event. It planted a lot of seeds which is good. The students in the room saw me defend the Red Flag. It made them wonder what is so important about the Red Flag. Tomorrow I will fertilize my little garden.

FUCK YOU

Fuck you Fuck you Fuck you Fuck you Fuck you.

Signed,
A sane American citizen

If the soldiers at Ft. McPherson have any sense at all they will blow your ass away on May 1.

Salvadoran

RW: What is your opinion of what went down on May Day?

A: It was marvelous, well organized and planned out. How it was able to realize the enthusiasm of the youth and galvanize the support of the youth to join in the demonstration so they know the injustice of the system. Especially this happened through the role of the sister who was agitating and inspired the people to participate in the march, to demonstrate that we have no country; that our struggle is international.

We talked about after the march that many more people did not come to the group because of the terror of the authorities, and are too much resigned to the system and are conforming to it. We need the unification of the proletariat and the oppressed people under the line of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. We have to demonstrate, and we demonstrated, that we want revolution worldwide and not just indicating through our words and desires. We will put an end to this system so the people will wake up and unite in the struggle.

May First was a leap which enabled the people to see the difference in the proletarian movements and the strength of the people participating with consciousness. I want to help collaborate because I know it is beneficial for all.

A Salvadoran sympathizer who joined in at MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, the night of May First

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Coming Next Week:

As we go to press, reports are still coming in on the activity of rebel artists who linked themselves with the international proletariat this May 1st, and we will have a full report in the next issue of the *RW*. Correspondence from artists and proletarians who took part in such revolutionary new things in this sacred sphere should be sent to the *RW* without delay.





Friday, April 30—on the Mexican border at Tijuana. Right in the face of the Migra raids and the mountains of chauvinism being spewed out by the U.S. ruling class, 20 people converge to make a bold internationalist statement. They march right to the bridge that goes over the border. Along with May Day volunteers the ranks include Iranians, U.S. college students, a shipyard worker, and a Mexican farmworker. Atop the bridge an American flag is burned while the red flag is waved high. A banner from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Ger-

many that was carried on *Damián García Day* is unfurled. The message resounds loud and clear. Traffic backs up as hundreds of Mexican people returning across the border stop, honk their horns, and raise their fists in the air. The pigs move in arresting three people including the farmworker who is dragged across the border still clutching the red flag. But the statement had been made in terms all proletarian people clearly understood. The day is coming when that border is going to be torn down for good.

Red Flags, Paint Fly in Oakland Steel Plant

The foundries and steel smelting plants are strung along the east shoreline of San Francisco Bay, filthy outposts of "America's productive capacity." You can't walk a few feet in these places without being covered with a nameless stuff that fills the air, mucks over the machines, and swirls in the vats. So it was that workers on a morning shift in one foundry took some time, staring at the brownish liquid oozing among some oil drums out in the yard, before they realized it was blood. They pulled the mangled body of a young Latino from among a pile of oil drums which had collapsed on him during the night.

On May Day 1980, not a few of the workers from these plants made their way to the march in downtown Oakland, threading their way through the police barricade which had literally sealed off the entire march route from the masses. During the following year co-conspirators began to inject debate around the burning questions of revolution and internationalism into the bars, shopping centers, and other meeting places of this area. This spectre of these overwhelmingly foreign-born and Black workers raising their sights above plain survival certainly left the bourgeoisie severely shaken, more than most of the class-conscious must have known. Most, including May Day activists, were not quite prepared for the reactionary counter-assault on May Day '81, when the bourgeoisie organized and armed squads of reactionaries and foremen, saturated the area with Red Squad and other pigs. Even so, the battle stirred tremendous debate and outrage in the plants.

In the weeks just before May Day '82, both sides tensed. 7:00 in the morning, *Damián García Day*: A police sergeant approaches an *RW* seller at the street-corner in the Oakland industrial section

where many of these plants are situated. "Look, you can have your rally with a legal permit just like everyone else," says the cop, "but stay out of these plants."

The activities of organized bands of foremen and brainless reactionary workers stepped up. One activist was followed for days around some plants by some motor-mouthed mummies literally screaming in his ear, so that he could not speak to anyone.

But the battle really went into high gear with the sweeps carried out by the Migra (INS). Overwhelmingly, the raids on foreign-born workers in the Bay Area were concentrated in these East Bay industrial plants, and within that, political centers of activity were clearly targeted. Raids hit most of the plants which had witnessed May Day and other revolutionary activity, some were raided more than once; bars and other distribution points for the *RW* were swept. The INS stalked a junior college, where a tumultuous scene and minor breakout had occurred before last May Day, and San Antonio Park, scene of May Day for many years in this area and of a rebellion last year the day after May Day.

Something in the advanced workers was beginning to crack, including, even especially, among Black workers and others who weren't targets for the Migra. "I'm sick of this shit, this is the last straw," one Black worker spat as he bought an *RW* and took literature while the foreman looked on, scowling.

In another place, revolutionaries invaded a plant which had been raided. They were jumped by organized reactionaries; 3 of these idiots were needed to stop a woman activist, who continued to shout agitation to the workers who had gathered. "Even though these guys were holding my head, I could see some women workers we know," the revolutionary

said later, "their eyes were burning with hatred. They wouldn't go back to work. But they wouldn't step into the fight, either. I could see they were so torn . . ."

Thursday, the morning of the 29th. A team of revolutionaries quietly moved around one of these plants, but a different door, a different time, a different plan in mind. This was no time for patient "publicity." Bam! A steel door rattles loudly against concrete as the team goes running in, a line of foremen and supervisors beginning to gather facing the charge, but then they're down, skidding wildly back across the floor. Several workers are close enough to see the action and dig it right away. "Whooaa," they shout out together, grinning. This is gonna be heavy.

"We're all illegals!" shouts an agitator, "we're proletarians without a country, bring that kind of force to life on May Day, break out!"

"Right!" a worker calls out. People are jogging up, grabbing for leaflets. Fists start flashing in the air.

The march moves on the run, round the corner, and there's a huge grimy wall. Somehow the wall begins to blossom with enormous red painted letters: "We Are All Illegals." And then on a line of machines you can read: "We Are Proletarian Internationalists!"

Another stretch of concrete, another corner, and as the march sweeps around there is a long line of Black workers, smiling and laughing, and stopping work, as the old bounds of authority crumble for a few delicious moments. Fed up with pogromist, race-riot shit all over the TV, they are intently reading the Party leaflet on the INS raids (see page 23). Some run up and take red flags and plant them on these metal posts on the side of their machines. A forklift driver drives off with a red flag proudly waving off the lift.

In a corner, the foremen and reactionaries have been huddled, muttering, following the action at a distance. Now a foreman is stupid enough to stride into the center of this festival of rebellion and demonstratively spit on a red flag. Immediately he is drenched in paint and the workers are slapping five. One takes a couple of steps toward the boss, pointing, "Now we gonna spit on you, mother-fucker!" he shouts to more laughter.

This is too much for the reactionaries. Even though the pigs have not yet arrived, they suddenly bolt after the revolutionaries in a group, hoping to tackle at least someone.

"Go on, run, we'll stop 'em!" shouts a worker.

The revolutionaries hardly know where they are in the plant any more, but some workers quickly show them the way out. A metal cart falls in the way of the wildly charging cavemen. The revolutionaries are out the door, to the tune of more shouts, and police sirens in the distance; the reactionaries are nowhere to be seen. Then the revolutionaries are in their cars and they are gone.

Before you go to work in some of these places, you can look out across the water at sparkling high-rise downtown San Francisco with its ultra-modern pyramids, like the "cities of the future" you used to see in the comic section of the newspaper. The scandal about these high-rises is that there exists no solid foundation for them, they are all built on muddy landfill, standing on a web of wooden piles: a minor earthquake might spell disaster for them. So there's one thing in common between these and the hellhole foundries across the Bay — the bourgeoisie is certainly standing on some shaky ground. □

Immigration Raids

We Are All Illegal, We're Proletarians, We Have No Country

The following is the text of a leaflet by the RCP, USA distributed broadly throughout the country in response to the bourgeoisie's recent terror campaign against the foreign-born, cynically (and chauvinistically) labelled "Operation Jobs."

This week, in a loudly publicized and highly political terror campaign, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Migra) has launched deportation raids on a large scale nationwide. The "surprise" raids were publicized for days in advance — complete with full-page ads in a number of Spanish language papers. Advertised as "Project Jobs," these raids have absolutely nothing to do with jobs and everything to do with suppressing immigrants (as well as Latinos and others) and whipping up a reactionary blitz of "Americans — and America — first." Let the Migra and any lathered up troglodytic patriots be damned. On May 1st, International Workers Day, and before, there must be a powerful response from internationalists and all those who know disgusting chauvinism when they see it.

Far too much flammable material has gathered in this country for the liking of the authorities. It was bad enough for them in the 1960s to have to deal with the Black people, youth, angry vets, women, and other oppressed peoples of all nationalities. But add to that new and grow-

ing waves of people, large numbers of whom have lived the "other side" of this U.S. system of world domination and have fought against it in revolutionary struggle, and it's clear our rulers have a problem. Yes, their economic system requires that they suck these proletarians' blood in sweatshops all over the country, just as they have sucked vast sums of "American" wealth from the countries these people came from. But ages of violence, torture, torment, robbery and exploitation by this government and ruling class have paved the way for struggle of a sort this country has never seen. What is of concern is not some myth of "jobs these people are taking from poor Americans" but rather what these proletarians are bringing to this country — political consciousness and revolutionary experience with the potential for further "infecting" sections of the population here. That combination is a potential time bomb especially in times when loyalty to the Red, White and Blue will be absolutely demanded. *We welcome these brothers and sisters — let's bring this mother down.*

In Los Angeles, where through these raids and a lot of publicity they have tried to terrorize entire districts, the TV proudly showed a Black man jumping over a fence into a plant as an immigration raid was taking place, yelling, "Now I'll get a job!" Sure, fool. And while you're at it, make a jackass and a flag-sucker out of yourself for some chump change. Seeing

this spectacle, a Black Vietnam vet who has been part of the forces building for May First in that city made plans to go to the immigration office downtown and burn a giant replica of a green (immigration) card. These two different roads have a lot to do with two different futures for the people of this country and the world, as the trends of world war and revolution collide.

These raids represent a challenge, a gauntlet thrown down. To the "native born" in this country, there is a great responsibility to act in an internationalist way in solidarity with these foreign-born sisters and brothers. It is time to demonstrate an understanding of the international nature of the proletariat and its struggle. A time to forcefully demonstrate that the oppressed proletarians of the world — including right here in this bloated superpower — truly have no country, but have a world to win. The proletariat as a class came into the world exploited and propertyless, with nothing to lose but its chains — a true "outlaw" class as Marx once said. "Illegal" defines the condition of all proletarians in bourgeois society.

There is also a challenge to the immigrants who are under direct attack to refuse to be intimidated and to join with your U.S.-born sisters and brothers and exercise your right — and duty — to join and strengthen the revolutionary struggle right here, especially on May First here in the belly of the beast whose oppression

extends worldwide.

It is no accident that these raids began on April 26, in the final days before May First, 1982. The bourgeoisie has moved to erase the mark of the international proletariat — this is all the more reason to counterattack and powerfully stamp it on New York, Atlanta, and Los Angeles on May First. We call on all proletarians to leap across boundaries of language, nation and race to do just that.

MAY FIRST — PUT THE STAMP OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT ON NEW YORK, ATLANTA, L.A. — MAKE A LIVING FORCE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

There are many creative ways to help make "the enemy" (of the state) invisible and the opposition to these reactionary raids very visible. Iranian students in this country wore masks as they demonstrated against the Shah; Palestinians in their own homeland occupied by Israel hide their faces behind a kafia (scarf) as they raise the illegal flag of Palestine; Central American youth fight U.S. imperialism and its henchmen wearing outlaw-style scarves. We call on every internationalist now to wear a Red headband, scarf, ribbon — anything — and to inscribe on it the timely message: *We are all illegal. We're proletarians, we have no country. On to May First.*

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Militant L.A. Action Hits INS Raids

Los Angeles—April 26 marked the beginning of a highly political nationwide terror campaign unleashed against foreign-born workers by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Dubbed "Operation Jobs," and billed as raids to secure "American jobs for American workers," the imperialists let loose a wave of patriotism and jingoism. With TV cameras in tow at every L.A. factory the INS raided, the media worked overtime, ferreting out whites, Blacks and "legal" Latinos who exclaimed that they were just itching to fill these now vacant jobs. The situation in L.A. became very acute as thousands of immigrants and others decided not to go to work at all rather than risk being caught in La Migra's dragnet. The downtown garment sweatshops became ghost towns, virtually cleared of immigrant labor while the attempts by the authorities to foment national and racial divisions catapulted the INS raids onto the center stage in L.A. as a hotly debated issue.

Knifing through the confusion, fear and racist chauvinism being stirred up, a demonstration called by the RCP on April 28 laid siege to one of the federal detention centers in Hollywood that was being used during these raids. Forty May Day volunteers and others, chanting "We are not Americans, we are proletarians," threw up a picket line in front of the detention center. A huge red banner, proclaiming "From the Slaves of the U.S. to the Slaves of the World — Hold High the Red Flag of Proletarian Revolution!", was unfurled immediately.

Recognizing the serious damage being done to the well planned and highly orchestrated "Operation Jobs," an assault force of LAPD riot cops was assembled. Using as a pretext the fact that a few flag-waving America-firsters who attacked the picket line had been fended off, the police charged the demonstration. With clubs drawn they moved in on the demonstrators, particularly targeting the



L.A. garment worker wearing ribbon which says "We are all illegal."

women. The demonstrators dispersed into the surrounding neighborhood, attempting to break the pigs' square-block cordon around the area. With the aid of a helicopter, the cops ran amok, rushing into people's backyards and through driveways and alleys, brandishing their weapons and demanding to know which way the demonstrators had gone. Their

frenzied forays eventually netted 18 arrests (amounting to a total of \$80,000 bail) and the anger of the outraged people of the neighborhood.

But attempts to clamp the lid on the exposure that ripped through their chauvinist campaign backfired, and so did the brutal attack on the picket line. News of the action at the detention center and the

subsequent skirmish was the first thing to break the major media blackout that had been imposed on all May Day activity in L.A. And no matter what distortion or omission the media mouths came up with, it was impossible to bury the proletarian internationalist challenge to La Migra and the imperialists' reactionary round-ups. □

L.A.

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mood, but there were also doubts. One of these youth said to the others, "Why stick your neck out for something that doesn't directly affect us? A red flag isn't going to stop those murderers." But the "no-half-stepping" leader answered back, "But what you don't understand is that this kind of murder is going on all over the world!"

There were countless examples of this kind of struggle going on in the midst of very broad unity and opposition to the police attack. And this struggle did not take place mainly in the form of conversations—it was loud agitation by scores of unprofessional agitators who had obviously grasped something of proletarian internationalism and were determined to make it a living force among the broader masses. At one point, a Black woman yelled out to a red-white-and-blue flag-waver—"You fool, you're the only one out here with *that* flag," setting off huge howls of laughter from the crowd; while elsewhere an Israeli explained why the police attacked, saying, "Because they raised the red flag. You may be shocked to hear what this means to me as an Israeli, but I support the Palestinian people and this demonstration will help not only the Palestinians, but the people of the world."

One point to note about the scene downtown at this time—the reactionaries were thoroughly isolated, and much of the political struggle took place between those grappling for higher levels of understanding in the context of standing with May Day. Like this loud exchange in the street: a youth from Central America, wearing a cross around his neck, was being arrested. He yells out, "Viva Revolución," then adds in English, "In Guatemala, in El Salvador, all over the world! And we're going to do it here too!" Then he yells at the pigs, "Do you have to have blond hair and blue eyes to speak your mind around here?" A young woman getting busted next to him, turns toward the youth and laughs. She has blond hair and blue eyes. Then she yells out in Spanish, "We're not Americans, we're proletarians, viva revolución!"

The role of women in carrying forward May First in downtown L.A. was critical to its success. From the Black women who went around making fools of the reactionaries to the young women who sang an "international women's song" all up and down Broadway, a mighty force was truly unleashed and brought forward many more to step out as part of the forces for revolution. And the point was not lost on the men in the vicinity, like the young Black brother across the street from an arrest of five handcuffed women. His voice dripping with sarcasm, he yelled to all within earshot, "This never would have happened if these women had stayed in their place, staying home to do their job like cleaning, cooking and taking care of the kids!"

These are some of the new things that were breaking out all up and down Broadway at the time, and the old guardians of the bourgeois state didn't like it one bit. They hauled out a huge sound system and a tear-gas toting tac-squad to announce that the whole thing was an illegal assembly—and everybody should disperse and go home. A few split, but the vast majority just ignored their words. Meanwhile, mini-convergences were taking place all over a 10-block radius, as other May Day squads jumped up at many different locations and people would immediately swarm to the site.

One of these squads, pushed off Broadway by a police attack, marched to another corner with 50 people following close behind. The squad had a banner at the head, with the words: "From the Farmworkers of Salinas to the People of Ceylon" and a number of signatures on it. One of the Latinos who had joined the squad at the outset of the day came up and signed the banner—then turned and handed the pen to one of those following the march, then he turned and handed it to another and so on, and so on, and so



MacArthur Park.

on. Meanwhile, about 5 blocks up Broadway, the Grand Central Market, where in the past week INS scares and security guard threats had gone to great lengths to intimidate the Latino immigrants who shop there, was also the scene of a May First mini-convergence. A squad appeared on the scene, holding a rally out in front of the market and then marching through, singing the *Internationale*. The masses inside exploded in a cacophony of whistles and cheers, and joined in the singing of the *Internationale*, while the security guards stood by helplessly. About five blocks to the south, the call went out on police radios to rush to the "disturbance." Scores of nigs arrived on the scene, formed up in three groups of 10-12, and swept through the market—although they knew damn well that the squad had already left. The lid on what had been unleashed for a moment had to be quickly slammed shut.

Slamming the lid shut had been the goal of the police all afternoon, but they failed miserably at every turn. Their main form of assault was an effort to swoop in quickly on those who could be identified, especially when they could be isolated from the rest of the crowd, and to remove them from the scene before any more damage was done. In the four hours of Internationalist May First there were 36 arrests. While a few involved bloody beatings, where they thought they could get away with it, they were more constrained by their fear of the masses and of the conscious rebellion that had been demonstrated going even further. It wasn't until 6 o'clock in the evening, when the crowds had largely dispersed, that they felt they had regained control of the situation—cruising the streets slowly four goons to an unmarked car, searching for anyone who might look like a revolutionary.

Even then, there were still 75 or so people in the intersection of 7th & Broadway, picking up leaflets and red shreds of armbands. An *RW* seller stopped by, and a group of these people formed a fundraising squad for bail money. But overall, the revolutionaries were no longer in downtown MacArthur Park would prove to be a better locale to carry forward May First on into the night.

The Nighttime Is the Right Time

At 7:30, the second convergence occurred on the corner of 7th and Alvarado bordering MacArthur Park, where the party has been carrying out all-around revolutionary work for quite some time. This one had not been publicized very broadly, but there were more than a few youth from Central America who had expected the eventual arrival of internationalist May Day activities in the neighborhood—and were ready to break out. Out comes a huge RCP flag, made by a

student in Santa Barbara who did it for a class project and sent it to L.A. for May Day '82. The rally erupts with the singing of the *Internationale*, as red flags wave atop the walls of the park's entrance gate. Then a most significant banner is unfurled—it is from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF). It reads "Long Live May First! Working Class and Oppressed Peoples Shall Be the Victors! Imperialists and Social-Imperialists Will Perish in the Rising Tide of Revolution! In Los Angeles and All Over the World ATIF Stands in the Revolutionary May Day Ranks of Its Class-Comrades!" The masked youth who holds it demands that a picture be taken. Having read the *RW* account of young squatters in West Germany who spit in the face of German chauvinism directed at the immigrants from Turkey, he wants the caption on the picture to read, "I'm a Turk, too."

This banner sends internationalist electricity surging through the neighborhood; the sparks it gives off are indeed profound. Sparks picked up by the two young Salvadorans who stare at it intently, grab red flags and run home to put them on the roof of their apartment building. They run back to the park—one of them now wearing a red beret with a Mao button on it—and immediately dash off a statement to the workers from Turkey. Sparks picked up by two more Salvadorans later on, who make their own statement to send. Sparks picked up by an old white man, walking with a cane, who spots a Latino youth trying to climb a lamppost with a red flag: the old man looks at the youth, and then at the ATIF banner—he lays down his cane, cups his hands and says to the youth, "Here let me give you a boost." Sparks picked up by the Filipino truck driver who stops his vehicle at the corner, looks at the flag and breaks into a Tagalog version of the *Internationale*, adding, "I can sing it in English, too."

As these sparks reverberate throughout the neighborhood, it isn't long before the corner of MacArthur Park is jammed with people grabbing up red flags and finding the nearest high spot to put them up—lampposts, traffic lights, tops of apartment buildings. Red flags are also sticking out of 7 or 8 cars that drive around and around the intersection with some of the drivers yelling out, "Long Live the Party." But what about those old ugly billboards on top of the 5-story edifices? The women on the top floors open up their doors and point out directions to the roof. One billboard now has a bright red banner—"We Are All Illegal . . ." And right on the corner of 7th & Alvarado, a new billboard displays a shimmering portrait of Mao Tsetung.

Up to now, this fine celebration of internationalism has been "ignored" by the police—that is, in the manner of a lone

gang member trying to tiptoe through enemy turf. They have been driving by with their eyes riveted straight ahead. But this banner of Mao—that is a spectre that cannot be tolerated, especially in such a neighborhood. The TAC squad is called out, the sergeant barks the orders, and the boys go running up to the roof to take it down—hoping that not too many have seen it at the same time hoping that not too many see *them* ripping it off. As quickly as they can get the feared banner down, they hightail it out of the neighborhood.

May 1st demonstrators fan out into the residential hallways. Those who have not already done so, now spill out of their apartments to joyously discuss the day's significance, and snatch up red flags and *RW*s. An older man at the end of one hall asks, "You want me to buy this paper?" He steps into his apartment for a moment and comes back out with carefully preserved copies of *Obrero Revolucionario* from May Day '80 and May Day '81. "Sure, I'll buy one."

The youth were most definitely in the forefront in this area, just as they had been downtown. In particular the MacArthur Park neighborhood is the home for many youth who live in the rooming houses, picking up jobs wherever they can and roaming the streets in rebel youth bands. They're often here because their families have been killed, or have scraped together every cent they could to get them out of El Salvador, Guatemala, etc. And they also include many recently arrived youth from Nicaragua. They have been strongly attracted to the all-the-way revolutionary line, in opposition to the stifling and "compromising" influence of revisionism. And the effect of their role helped to unleash very broad sentiments among the intermediate on May First. Not only was this reflected in the red character of the entire area, but also in the questions that the broader masses wanted to get into. What is the strategy for revolution? Is it possible in an imperialist country like the U.S.? What about the Soviet Union and Cuba? Just what is this worldwide process of revolution? The fact that so many were openly and seriously debating these questions was a further reflection that the suffocating revisionist blanket, which has a big influence on this section of the people, was broken through on this night in the park. (No one doubts that it will be a protracted struggle to tear it up for good.)

Even though it was by now approaching midnight, May 1st was not yet over. To cap off the night, there was a flare light march of about 50 people into the park organized. It stopped in front of a local bar where just before May Day last year, everyone with a copy of the *RW* had been busted in a pig sweep. When the march halted and began to sing the *Inter-*

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Class Polarization Among Black People

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occurring within a different context than it occurred in the '60s, a different world context, and as part of that a different context within the U.S. And specifically in terms of the point we've been touching on, it's occurring in terms of a deepened and a sharpened class polarization among the Black masses. This is something which in the long term is actually more favorable to the proletarian trend, to the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line, as opposed to even a revolutionary nationalist and certainly to a reformist pro-imperialist patriotic trend—even though it now has more material base than before among Black people and will of course be given tremendous ideological and political support by the bourgeoisie. Given the overall world crisis and the overall situation not just among the Black people, but in U.S. society as a whole, this polarization will be favorable to the proletariat if it is correctly grasped and correctly explained to the masses and if the correct policies are employed in relation to it as well as of course overall.

Class Analysis of Revolutionary Nationalism

I was looking at a short essay written by Lenin in the period between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions on the subject of the Russian author Tolstoy. And there's a certain analogy here, though it's certainly not very direct and there are differences. Lenin was making the point that some people want to hold up Tolstoy as the voice of the Russian people. That, he says, is a distortion. In fact, Tolstoy did give expression in a very vivid and sharp way to the sentiments of a broad section of the Russian people, but precisely that section which stood between the two major classes in modern society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (which were also the two major classes coming to the fore on the stage even of backward Russian society).

In particular in Russia, Lenin says, Tolstoy gave expression to the broad peasant masses. And Lenin said in that sense there was much to be learned from Tolstoy, much that's positive in what he did, but precisely if you take Tolstoy's work as the voice of the Russian people as a whole, or the most advanced expression, or the line and orientation and outlook to follow, then it turns it from a good thing into a bad thing, it turns it into its opposite. At the same time as Tolstoy's work involves denunciation and exposure of the system, and the suffering of the people and their outrage, it also involves and gives expression to the limitations of those class forces that are precisely between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and which are potential allies of the proletariat but do not have the same interests nor the same outlook as a class.

The rough analogy that I'm making here is to these revolutionary nationalist trends. In other words, it would be quite wrong not to see in them an important expression of the outrage in U.S. society, the outrage of an important section of the people, even if numerically relatively small, that is the Black petty bourgeoisie and those strata among the Black masses that tend to gravitate spontaneously toward the outlook and program put forward representing the Black petty bourgeoisie. But, on the other hand, if a clear distinction isn't drawn and if it's thought that some of this revolutionary nationalist expression is really an expression of the sentiments and still more so of the interests of the proletarian masses of the Black people, and of their class interests as part of the broader proletariat, broader in the U.S. but even more than that of the international proletariat, ultimately and most fundamentally—if that confusion is made, and the very clear class difference there is slurred over or not brought out clearly and sharp-

ly, not only in our own understanding but to the masses broadly, then in terms of our work, that will turn into its opposite. It will work against our ability to correctly unite with and to seek to divert and channel toward the cause of proletarian revolution, even the most revolutionary of the nationalist sentiments and expressions that ultimately represent Black petty bourgeois strata, even if they attract sections of the Black proletarian masses at different times and to different degrees. That analogy may have limitations, but I think it's helpful to pose it in that kind of way.

International Arena Primary

Well, on the other hand, having stressed the importance of the deepened and sharpened class polarization within the Black nation, it's necessary however, to recall and re-emphasize a point that was made sharply in the struggle against the Bundists, that is against the nationalist deviations of the Black Workers Congress, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, and a few forces even within our own organization at that time, the Revolutionary Union, which was the forerunner of the party. In the polemics with those forces, we made the point that the main arena of class struggle, and the most basic class contradiction in which the masses of Black people were involved was not the class contradiction between the Black proletariat and the Black bourgeoisie. And the main enemy of the Black masses was not the Black bourgeoisie. The main bourgeois force they had to struggle against—the target of their struggle—was not the Black bourgeoisie. In fact, sections of it might be able to be won over or at least neutralized in an all-around revolutionary struggle. But the target of that struggle—the all-around revolutionary struggle—had in fact to be the imperialist bourgeoisie and those social forces which were allied with it. And the basic class force in opposition to them, of which the Black masses were a crucial part, and which had to be developed as the leader of the revolution was the proletariat as a class, that is, the proletariat of all nationalities, with of course its vanguard forces, in particular its party, at the head. Now, ironically, those forces such as the Black Workers Congress and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, the Bundists, because of their own nationalism (and this was something we stressed in polemics against their line at that time) because of their very nationalism; they tended to make the Black bourgeoisie, or bourgeois forces among the oppressed nationalities more generally in U.S. society, more of an enemy, saw them more as an obstacle than the imperialist bourgeoisie itself. Actually this was an expression of their narrow nationalist outlook.

There is an important lesson there which has to be drawn and applied particularly in today's situation where there is not only the deepened and sharpened class polarization that has gone on among Black people, but more importantly there is the deepening and sharpening crisis, sharpening class contradictions in society as a whole and more than that in the world as a whole. In that context particularly, it's important to recall and to develop much more fully an aspect or dimension to this that was not entirely left out at the time of those polemics with the Bundists, but which we've deepened our overall understanding of a great deal since, and that is that even more fundamentally than the class contradiction in U.S. society itself, the basic class contradiction that the proletarian masses, including as a very important part of that in the U.S. the Black proletarian masses, are involved in is ultimately the class contradiction on an international scale; that is, there are in fact particularities to different countries, there are different processes and dialectics to the revolution within different countries, and within different types of countries, but that does not negate the fact that all that is integrated into a single process which takes place overall on a world scale. The single process of the advance from the bourgeois epoch to the communist epoch on a world scale is made up of very diverse streams and currents and processes, but they are integrated on a higher level into that overall process on a world scale. And this is a point that is very important to bring out to the masses, the proletariat and its allies. In general it's extremely important, and also it's important to deepen that understanding among the Black masses in terms of winning those proletarian Black masses away from the nationalist orientation and ideology and nationalist perspective to an internationalist and to a proletarian outlook and political line.

As we've stressed, and recently for example in the response I wrote to a "Black nationalist with communist inclinations," if the arena is presented as merely one of the nation, and if the class contradiction is treated as taking place within that arena, even if you say you're taking the standpoint of the proletariat ("I'm for the Black proletariat against the Black bourgeoisie" or whatever it might be), that arena by itself is too narrow and favors the bourgeoisie. In particular it favors not only Black bourgeois forces, but ultimately the imperialist bourgeoisie. Precisely in order to win the masses of proletarians—and here in particular we are talking about Black proletarians—in order to win them to a proletarian stand, to an internationalist stand and programme, it is necessary to present the framework and the arena and the horizons as they really fundamentally and most importantly exist; that is, certainly not limited to just the Black nation nor even just limited to U.S. society, but first of all and fundamentally the world as a whole and the process and the revolutionary struggle taking place on that level with its various diverse currents and subordinate processes, but as an integral overall process itself. This in fact is the only way in which the proletarian masses—including again particularly we're talking about the Black proletarian masses—can be won to the proletarian line.

One of the forms of class struggle is "What is the arena?" Is the arena the nation or is the arena the international situation and the world situation and the world struggle? And if the arena is presented as just the oppressed nation—that is, Black people—or just the U.S. society, then that's ultimately favorable to the bourgeoisie. It is precisely a point of class struggle to fight for people to grasp that the arena objectively is and must be reflected in their consciousness as being, first of all and fundamentally the world arena and that the basic contradiction that they are involved in, in class terms, is between the proletariat and its allies against the imperialists and their allies on a world scale through all its various different processes and streams and currents. Without doing that it's not possible to win people to and continue to lead them on the basis of the proletarian line and proletarian politics. And also importantly, if secondarily, it is the only way in which the possible allies among, for example, Black petty bourgeois forces or even some Black bourgeois strata and forces can be won over or at least neutralized with the development of a strong proletarian revolutionary current, and especially with the development of an overall revolutionary situation, revolutionary movement, and the actual struggle for the seizure of power and the transformation of society. So even as we stress the importance of the deepened and sharpened class polarization that has gone on within the Black nation, among the Black people, yet this can only be correctly understood, and the understanding only correctly utilized and turned into a strong weapon for the proletariat and for its struggle, if in an overall sense it is presented in this light and in this framework and with this kind of orientation and those kinds of horizons are what people's sights are directed toward. □

(Continued next week)

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nationale, the cops finally mustered up the courage to get out of their cars. They confronted the march, while a dozen of the men in the bar came over to pick up red flags right in their face. Then, the march quickly moved out, leaving the captain yelling weakly after them. "Please stop."

But there were some twenty others who ran after the march to join in. Of particular significance were two Latino women who came charging out of their apartment building, carrying a huge red flag that one of the women had made for the occasion. It turned out that their husbands had tried to prevent them from joining, saying it was too late for a woman to be on the street. They would have none of this. A Mexican youth came up to the one who had made the flag and offered to carry it, because it was so heavy. She answered that she could carry it just fine.

The march ended up at an old statue in the park. After a brief rally, some of the youth tried to pull the statue to the ground via ropes. They seemed to have some knowledge about how this is done, since they were offering directions as to

the best way to bring the damn thing down. Unfortunately, however, it was just too sturdy. While the symbolism would have been most fitting, it can nevertheless be stated with complete truthfulness that there were a great deal of old that went down in MacArthur Park that night, and a whole lot of new that came alive.

As the march left the park, it circled back in front of the bar. The police captain was sitting in his car, and the marchers decided to do one more round of the *Internationale*. Not surprisingly, the captain's gaze never deviated from the dashboard.

In the wake of May 1st, it was reported in the press: "They have apparently lived up to their rhetoric on this occasion, police Commander William Booth said. He said the Revolutionary Communist Party had promised to spark 'revolution in the streets' when they applied for a demonstration permit." Well, sir, when the revolution happens, you'll certainly know it, but it can be plainly stated that what went down on May 1st 1982 was a real advance in preparations for an embryo of that future. □

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Wingate

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in the bathroom, so they held my program card until I come back so I could easily get out. But a few kids got out of the cafeteria and the rest was standing on the desks, watching. That was around 11:00, 11:30, somewhere near there. They were talking about the riot. They were telling the history teacher, you're going to have an empty class 6th period, nobody is gonna be here, you might as well go home."

The cafeteria doors are usually wide open, though the Special Task Force does check people's program cards to make sure they are entitled to a cafeteria meal and that they aren't cutting class. This day, the doors were locked on the students inside, and they wanted to get out: "They were going wild, they wanted to get out, standing on the desks, yelling... People started jumping everywhere wanting to get out. 'Breakout, breakout,' that's all you were hearing."

From the windows in the cafeteria, it is possible to look out at the area in front of the school. The students locked inside the cafeteria were shouting greetings to the crowd. When a contingent of the RCYB arrived with red flags and began passing out the flags to the students gathered out front, those watching inside the cafeteria began shouting, "They're here, they're here! The breakout people are here!"

When the STF sized up the seriousness of the situation, they tried to enforce a ban on any student leaving the building. Several students who tried to break through the STF cordon say they were caught and beaten severely. Others fought their way out, and eventually groups were streaming out in waves. The general consensus of the students was that a third of the student body, or about 1000 students, left the school. At the height of the action, between 300 and 400 students, in a number of different groups and knots, were gathered in front of the school. 30 or 40 of them were carrying red flags which had been brought by the RCYB.

The sheer exuberance and initiative displayed by the hundreds of students involved itself constituted a phenomenon: banging on the windows, stomping on tables, shouting "Break Out, Break Out! in unison, fighting Special Task Force

guards assigned to keep students in the building, grabbing up every red flag brought by the small contingent of RCYB'ers who arrived after the breakout was already underway, swarming around security vans to free captured students, laughing and yelling and smoking and joking and politically debating, demanding more leadership one minute and stepping forward to improvise leadership the next minute, slightly dazzled by what was going on and glowing with a dangerous mixture of adrenaline and boisterous pride—the students of Wingate, in the process of brandishing their

Some people read history. Some people think of history. Some people study history at school. But I do not want to only read it and study it in books, but I want to be part of history. I want in 200 years children to know who changed the world, the face of this world. I want to make history."

collective power and testing the capacity of this thing called "Break Out" to transform deadening order and stale prison routine, had completely lost their cool. A young woman student, asked why she walked out, replied, "Because tomorrow is May Day and they're not going to shut me in any more." One of the students who went on the march in the May Day demonstration said that "A lot of people ran out because they wanted to get their hatred out, because they feel that what we are doing is right. When we came with the flags they just wanted to run out and be with us... they were turning against the guards. The teachers didn't even come outside."

For the next several hours, the STF tried to disperse the crowd, first attempting to push students back toward the school, then attempting to force them to leave the area. Three STF vans pulled up about noon, but no attempts were made to arrest any students until near the end of the school day: "What they started doing was arresting a couple of youth—one who was on a bicycle and who was riding up and down the street being pretty rowdy—they put him in the van and youth surrounded it and they let him go—they were all up and down the street running the youth away..."

By 2:30, the official school day was over. But the word had been spread around to show up that night in Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn for a torchlight parade to usher in May 1st. At about 9:00 that evening, at the subway stop at Utica & Eastern Parkway, five Wingate students emerged from the subway with cuts and bruises on their faces, above the eyes and on the chin from the day's action. They were proudly displaying pink "summons slips" they said they had received for fighting with the Special Task Force. They heard their pictures were taken at the school and they were trying to find the photographer to see their pictures. Suddenly, one of them turned to a May Day agitator, smiling from ear to ear, and said, "Hey, man, so what is this May 1st supposed to be all about anyway?"

Among the population of Crown Heights, word of the breakout spread rapidly. About half a dozen Wingate students showed up at Utica & Eastern Parkway in the evening, and a few stepped forward to play a leading role during May Day itself. On Eastern Parkway, shouts of "Wingate, Wingate, right on!" could be heard from rolled-down car windows as veterans of the breakout recognized each other or spread the word to friends from other schools. A Wingate student gave a speech to the crowd massed at Second & St. Mark's on the evening of May 1st. He wore a red bandana to conceal his face, as did many other youth from the New York area in the march. At one point, a white news vendor called him out around the bandana, yelling, "Why don't you take off your mask so we can see who you are?" He shot back, "Man, when I'm wearing this you know damn well who I am."

On the following Monday morning, this same student showed up at school wearing a red headband, a red armband, and a red flag, and carrying a stack of RW's. "Hey, you know, when I went there I had everything on, you know, I said to the guard, 'Hey, yeah, I go to Wingate,' and he said, 'No you don't! No you DON'T! Stop lying!' So I had to show 'em my bus pass and they still didn't believe it, and then I showed them my report card, and he said, 'I still don't believe you go to Wingate.' I walked into school with everything on, I had the flag. I passed by the principal's office and he was on the phone with his back turned, and I put a paper on the principal's

desk."

In the wake of the breakout students have been excitedly discussing and debating what went down and how to sum it up, what to do next. While there is a whole spectrum of opinions and people broke out for a variety of reasons, the overwhelming opinion is that the April 30th action was great. Even the backward students have had to admit defensively that the action had its strong points. And clearly throughout all the righteous chaos of the day it was the internationalist slogans of May First and the red flag which were the focus of the struggle and the banner under which the advanced students marched. The revolutionary communists too were summing things up. Things had quite unexpectedly gone further than was dreamt of. There was more freedom to be grabbed to spread the flames of this breakout to other places on that day than was seized. But nevertheless the flames spread throughout the area and the advanced youth joined the rest of the May First battle. The sentiments of these youth were powerfully summed up in a statement prepared for the breakout by a Wingate sophomore. It reads:

"Those who do not remember history are condemned to relive it. That's right, that's just the same thing that is going to happen. You must look into history before you make a revolution. Read the history of the world and see what is wrong with the world before you start making revolution. If America and Russia start fighting, the working class people, their sons and daughters are the ones who are going to be drafted. The rich people will just keep their daughters in some high, fancy college. Or just keep them at home, don't send them to war, someplace in a good bomb shelter. That's what's going to happen. The working people are the ones who are going to the front lines, not them, not the president of the United States, not the president of Russia, we are the ones who are going to fight. We are the world, we are the working class of Russia, France, America, England, all the people of the world. That's what we are. Some people read history. Some people think of history. Some people study history at school. But I do not want to only read it and study it in books, but I want to be part of history. I want in 200 years children to know who changed the world, the face of this world. I want to make history." □

A Memo

From

The Principal

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE
LOS ANGELES CITY SCHOOLS

TO: All Staff

Date April 27, 1982

FROM: JEB Ball, Principal

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE

As you are aware, we have been subjected to external pressure by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade for the past few weeks. They have illegally distributed their information on campus through newspapers and flyers, have painted up the interior and exterior of the campus, and have solicited students to participate in their activities.

On at least one occasion the adult leaders have tried to illegally enter classrooms as guest speakers. We anticipate an increase in street activities and campus activities at least through the remainder of this week.

I am asking that the beige phone be limited to emergency calls only through Friday afternoon.

We anticipate increased activities from them and, consequently, have coordinated security plans with LAPD and Security Section. If you are approached by an adult or young adult who wishes to speak to your class and you have not extended an invitation to that person, remind them that all guest speakers must be cleared through the Main Office. Please direct them to the Main Office and call immediately when they leave.

As more information becomes available, I will communicate with you.

LA. High

Continued from page 5

this day. He leaped onto a table, agitating his heart out, exposing the INS raids and how they showed the bourgeoisie's weakness, calling for a break-out for May Day. The principal started tugging on his leg, pleading "Get down from that table, we're losing control." Students raced through the school grounds and hallways, some yelling, "May Day! May Day!" Suddenly the principal was jumped by some of the students and given a number of good licks. In the midst of the melee, somehow, a copy of a memo sent out by the principal warning all personnel about the RCYB made its way into the hands of the squad. Teachers were running back and forth trying to get the students to calm down. As the security forces (which included LAPD plainclothes) were able to grab a few of the squad, one of the guards screamed to the principal (over a deafening BOO coming from the students), "Can we take them to your office?" "No!" came the answer. "That's across campus, we'll never make it." The LAPD arrived at the scene with a helicopter overhead and riot pigs at the ready. They called over their walkie-talkies to the guards inside, "Should we come in?" The guards answered, "No! You guys come in and we'll really lose control of the situation."

But a major incident had already occurred. The people arrested were roughed up and held in an office. Three times police cautiously opened the door a crack, peering out to see if it would be safe to take those arrested to the LAPD squad cars out on the street. Each time the din of the continuing uproar outside dissuaded them. Eventually, the May Day volunteers and four students were taken out as the rebellion ebbed, and security could report over their radios, "I think we've got it under control, the students are returning to their class-

rooms." Still, some 200 to 300 students hadn't returned to class but were pressed up against the school fence as the arrested people were being led out, many flipping off the pigs escorting the revolutionaries. And the principal and two other equally popular administrators would wear bandages and splints the rest of the week.

Even in their jail they could not put the lid on the rebelliousness of the students. The students who had taken part in the battle continued to be defiant while in jail, and one woman student who never stopped agitating the whole day, upon being released to the custody of her father, continued agitating to the others and turned back to the others as she was leaving, yelling, "And remember. Don't fucking talk!" One of the arrested students had a backpack full of revolutionary literature and a banner the students had made and planned to use that day confiscated by the police. The banner had a brick wall painted on it and a youth climbing over it with a red flag in hand. The banner read, "Behind every barrier let the sights and sounds of internationalist May Day resound. Let the youth be in the forefront and the older folks be not far behind."

The students had overcome to a large extent the police lockdown, but also some even more significant obstacles. A great deal of pressure was put on any student that stepped out as it immediately brought the heat down on them (the Central Americans referred to this as "acquiring color"). The revisionist-influenced students especially promoted the view that it was wrong to take advanced action because of this. Even among the most advanced there was the feeling that most students felt that things just weren't all that bad and that therefore the situation couldn't be transformed. The "Haitian Revolutionaries Call For May Day Action" in RW No. 152 had a profound impact on some of the advanced in

Continued on page 2/

From St. Louis Flag Burner

April 27, 1982

AW.

The Regional Parole Board in Dallas has ordered me to be paroled on May 5, 1982, after doing a little over 6 months of my 18 month sentence. In March I received the customary pre-hearing guideline statement. It listed the severity of offense as "low"; my salient factor (no prior convictions, no drug use, etc.) was "10" (the best score possible); and they set my guidelines (normally, the upper and lower limits on how much time they think you should do based on the offense) at "up to 6 months."

So then comes April 5th, my parole hearing date. They rehash some details of the case. Then one hack asks a few political questions like, "You were ac-

tive in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, correct?" That's right. "And, let's see now, you burned this flag to protest the Vietnam War?" No, the Vietnam War ended four years before we burned this flag. "So why was it you burned the flag?" The Embassy seizure in Iran, 1979. The U.S. role in Iran. "Do you plan to just go through life picking causes like this?" Yes. "OK, sleep outside. We (the two parole commissioners) will talk this over."

A few minutes later they call me back in and one hack reads a statement he's scribbled down. "Well, Mr. Bangert, there's been some disagreement over your guidelines between myself and the other commissioner here. Originally your guidelines were based on the pro-

perty value of the flag. But we can't view the flag of our country as merely a piece of property. It stands for our country and places like Iwo Jima and Normandy. So really this is a political case, but we don't have guidelines for something like this. So we're just going to set your guidelines at 22 months because we think you should do every day of your time (18 months)." Now mind you, they made up these new guidelines out of the clear blue.

So then I proceed to wait the 21 days after which I should have a written statement of their ruling. It would have been a choice exposure. And I think someone higher up figured that out, too, and decided the bourgeoisie's best interests would be served at this time by

cutting me loose.

As a footnote to all this, the original date of release after doing 6 months would have been April 23rd, a week before May Day. I guess it's entirely within the scope of their operations to put on that farcical "hearing" and then "overrule" it just to keep one more person from participating in the May Day activities, which I intended to do.

I'm reminded of a statement that Bobrovskaya made in the book *Twenty Years In Underground Russia*. She had just been released from doing a year in Kharkov prison. In looking back she said, "Not bad for a year's work in Kharkov." For the awakening that flag-burning brought to St. Louis, any time is not bad.

Richard Bangert

Cincinnati Kids

Continued from page 5

was, "Uh, oh ... is your locker cleaned out?"

But order is being restored now. Some people have drifted off for the park to evade I.D. checks and the squad cars. The instigators have been joined by a few Withrow students and move on. Using the well-worn escape routes developed by the "truants," the group makes its move, and packs into cars with red flags hanging out.

On the way back to Walnut Hills, after a stop at a local radio station, five squad cars pull the cars over. It seems that while cruising through the school driveway, horns honking, red flags waving, someone "littered." Pigs consult with pigs who call more pigs on radios. Fifteen minutes later the net result is a warning, straight out of the ordinance book that if they are going to drive around with banners sticking out, they have to have ... red flags ... the pig realizes what he's reading and mutters, "Well, I guess you have plenty of them." And a \$50 ticket for littering.

The group parks and marches up the road to the entrance to Walnut Hills, which is both a high school and a junior high. The chant is "Break Out, Break Free, We're the Ones Who Make History." The banners are set up and the entire school empties into the front yard. Several students head for the banners and take up red flags. What follows is an hour of wild debates and struggle, actively involving hundreds. In ones and twos the advanced, true to their promises that morning, come over, get their red flags, and stand with the banners. As each one joins, the stakes get raised. Their lifelong "friends" are shocked. A respected teacher comes over to ask a student does he realize what he's doing to his academic

career? Food and stones fly. The May Day people respond in widely different ways, throwing flowers back, losing their cool, catching the fruit and eating it. In the course of the battle they sum up that the most effective weapon is agitation (although catching the food and eating it falls well within the creative aspect of this weapon). The tide begins to turn.

As the junior high lunch begins, a big shift takes place. The first 50 people line up across the police lines from the banner people, checking it out. A dozen red flags are waved, snatched back and waved again.

As the backward sang some patriotic songs, one of the Withrow students asked if we didn't have a song for internationalism? Three people knew the *Internationale*, but thanks to the words and music being printed in the *RW*, everyone standing with the banners joined in a powerful version. The red flags from the back of the paper were also being utilized widely by the advanced, although they had the disadvantage of not standing up well in a tug-of-war.

Finally, well after lunch was supposed to be over, the principal had rounded up most of the students to go back in. But a half dozen or so rebels, who had been demonstrating on the school side of the police lines, defiantly and victoriously ended the hour-long battle of the chants ("Better dead than red" vs. "Bet - ter Red!") with a resounding final chant BET - TER RED! and marched back to school.

The core of fighters that remained split up to repair flattened tires, go to the local alternative radio station to be interviewed, and take care of other tasks. Already people who didn't think they could handle the sacrifices involved in going to Atlanta were changing their minds. Before the people left that night, more would decide to go, too. □

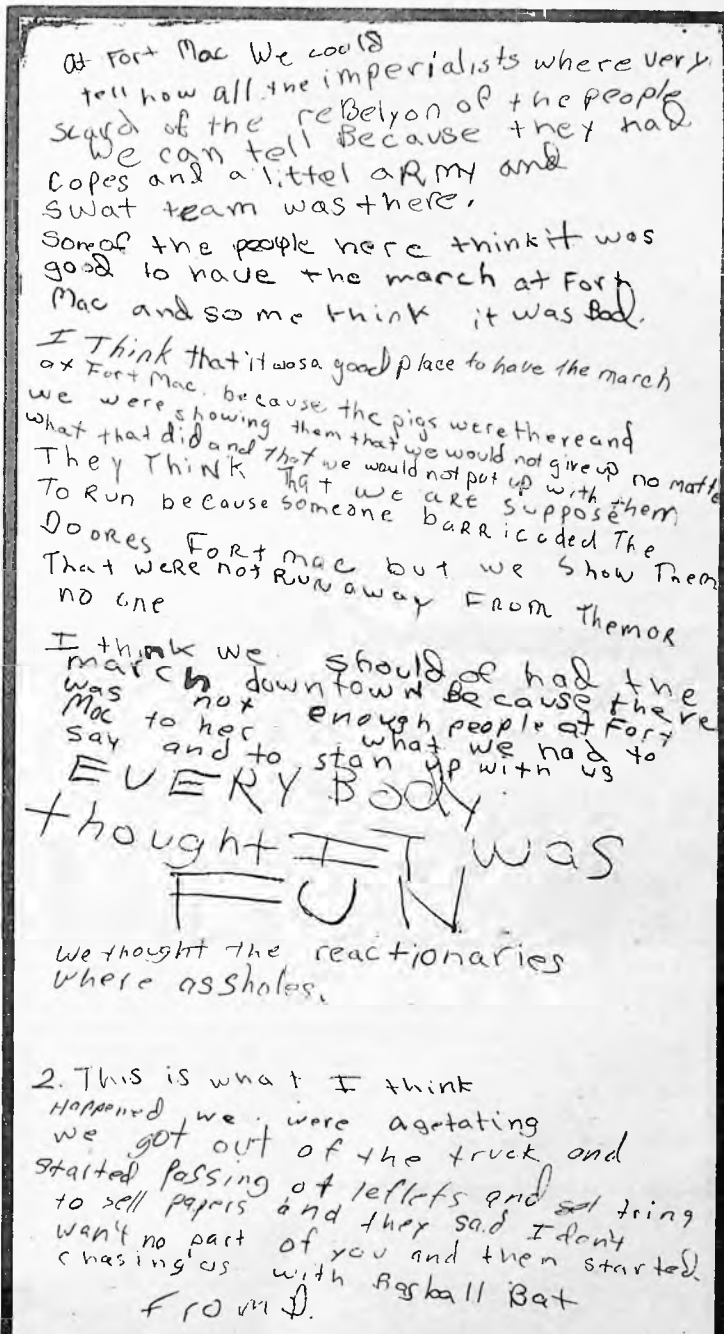
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countering this view. The article "Stepping Up, Stepping Out" by Bob Avakian, and sessions on "Charting the Uncharted Course" began to arm the advanced with a deeper understanding of the significance of May Day as part of the preparation for seizing power for the international proletariat. One student pointed out after a discussion of this that he "hadn't realized how serious May Day is," he had been thinking of it as a tradition, a day to take a stand for revolution. (As for participating in the actions on May First, the same student said, "You're not just serious about seizing power, you just might do it!")

After the Youth Day breakout the school was put on total lockdown for the next two days. LAPD constantly circling the school, security guards posted everywhere. On Friday the 30th, the students reprinted and distributed the principal's internal memo on a leaflet with a call to May Day. With its talk of extensive security operations and dire warnings to the teachers to be on the lookout for the RCYB, the memo was an embarrassing exposé of the weak position of the bourgeoisie and their fear of the rebelliousness of the students. Right under the authorities' noses, the leaflets

and red armbands were distributed, and a banner was smuggled in, as the students prepared further May Day activity. Two people were arrested as they attempted to sneak through police lines to get on campus in an attempt to break things open again. The administrators, who could be identified by the bandages they still wore from the previous day's battle, had even barricaded the administration building with a roll-down fence normally protecting the building only when school is out.

Even under those tight conditions, students gathered at lunchtime waiting in expectation for agitators to pop up and start things off once again. Unfortunately they had been picked off by the authorities earlier. The students waited until the announcement was made on the PA, "go immediately to your cells." How appropriate a choice of words. But the impact of Youth Day continued to reverberate. The entire week's struggle and Wednesday breakout had been a powerful force in building for May First among the youth in the L.A. area. Word spread far and wide. Many L.A. High students, including several Black students as well as Central Americans, came to the convergence point on May First in downtown L.A., and a few were in the forefront throughout the area on the 30th and the First. □



The above comments on the May First action in Atlanta were written by youth from Techwood Homes who came to the Fort McPherson action—W. age 10, L. age 14, C. age 14, D. age 12.

Running Dog

Continued from page 18

not be improved unless the Soviets withdraw from Afghanistan and Vietnam from Kampuchea (which everyone knows they will not do, at least voluntarily). A clear message lay beneath all this diplomatic jargon: cut out that shit around Taiwan and give us a little space, or we might be forced to use the Soviet card — but not just yet.

Real Contradictions

But as the Chinese revisionists maneuver, strike an "independent" pose and even flirt with the Soviets, all in an effort to further their own bourgeois interests, they come into contradiction with the U.S. imperialists who are battering those in its bloc to fall into line and subordinate their separate bourgeois interests to those of the U.S.-led bloc as a whole. Because of their fundamental capitulationist nature, the Chinese revisionists will not go far with their "independence." At the same time, what threatens to break the whole thing wide open, if not immediately then sometime in the future, is the actual possibility that sharpening contradictions will drive China into the Soviet camp for real. The basis for this had already been laid with the revisionist seizure of power in China. No longer were there ideological obstacles to Sino-Soviet rapprochement, only conflicting bourgeois national interests reflected in the disputes over foreign policy. Brezhnev himself made it clear in his speech that

this is how the Soviet clique sees the situation: "We did not deny and do not deny now the existence of a socialist system in China, although Peking's association with the imperialists' policy in the world arena contradicts, of course, the interests of socialism." The Deng clique's line on the Soviet Union is the flipside of the coin — the Soviets are only attacked for their "hegemonism," not for revisionism or social-imperialism.

For the Soviet Union, winning over or at least neutralizing China is of major importance. China by itself does not pose much of an offensive threat to the Soviet Union. But the nightmare for the Soviets is a China, with its sheer size, resources and population, backed up by U.S. and Japanese economic and military might. The last thing the Soviets need is to be forced into a messy, and in all probability long and drawn out, conflict with China while having to deal with the U.S. on several other fronts. On the other hand, winning over China — either now or in the context of a war — will forcefully tip the scales toward the Soviets in the whole of Asia and put tremendous pressure on the U.S. bloc, especially Japan. The Japanese imperialists are acutely aware of this. A recent editorial in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, one of Japan's major dailies, praised China for its "restraint" in the spat over Taiwan and urged the U.S. to show restraint in return. Obviously they share much of Nixon's concern.

There are some economic inducements that the Soviet Union can offer China to attract them to their camp. Fiascos like Baoshan Steel Mill in Shanghai showed

that wholesale importation of advanced Western and Japanese plants and machinery just doesn't work out because of China's low technological level and underdeveloped infrastructure. In many ways, Soviet machinery and their technological level might be more suited to China's level. Many plants still operating in China are from the era of close Sino-Soviet relations, before Khrushchev's capitalist restoration and the split with revolutionary China. Large numbers of China's managers and technicians were trained in the Soviet Union. According to *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "in recent months Soviet technicians have been discreetly invited to inspect some factories, to repair machinery and suggest improvements."

But as is the case with the U.S. imperialists, the main way the Soviet imperialists are "persuading" these days is by using the stick, not the carrot. The Soviets wield a menacing stick indeed over China with their 51 well-armed divisions poised on the border and Soviet-armed Vietnam providing more than a minor irritant on its southern flank.

Military pressures are not all. From the late '50s, such pressure from the Soviet Union has led certain forces within the Chinese bourgeoisie to argue that the best way to deal with the Soviet threat was to capitulate to it. Other revisionists advocated capitulating to the West and seeking their gangster protection. Although it is the pro-West line that predominates within the revisionist clique now, the pro-Soviet forces still exist and are no doubt attempting to take advan-

tage of difficulties Deng is having in dealing with the U.S. as well as with the chaotic internal situation. The Soviet Union is openly, and behind the scenes, trying to foster the pro-Soviet forces within China. The December issue of *International Affairs* published by Moscow contains a special article singling out Zhou Enlai for attack. Zhou is well-known for his pro-West stand. At the same time, the Soviet revisionists enshrine such "internationalist" (i.e., pro-Soviet) leaders like Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, Gao Gang, Wang Ming and others. The large numbers of Soviet-trained managers and technicians, now threatened by up-and-coming personnel trained in the West, could provide a definite social base for the pro-Soviet forces.

Provided the pressure over the Taiwan question will not lead to a quick self-explosion and collapse of the Deng regime, the U.S. will come out of all this with a more well-behaved lackey, having proven the point that respect for "sovereignty and internal affairs" of another country and "international laws" are all fine-sounding phrases that even the U.S. may use when needed, but they don't have a damn bit of significance in the real, vicious workings of imperialism. But what happens in the longer run might not be so simple, as the contradictions of imperialism battering the Deng regime from the outside and, related to that, the contradictions tearing it apart from the inside, can only intensify. □

Soviet Union

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Soviet society is the fragmentation of ownership into competing capitals that inevitably accompanies generalized commodity exchange and the enforced sale of labor power as a commodity?

—If the Soviet Union is a capitalist society, then where are the "classic" and characteristic signs of capitalism—recurring and worsening crisis, unemployment, sharpening impoverishment of the masses, profound class differences?

—And how could a counter-revolution happen relatively peacefully without an armed uprising, without the forcible dismantling of the institutions created by the socialist revolution? And in particular without the broad masses sensing the destruction of their dictatorship and fighting to the death to prevent the restoration?

—How can new relations of production and all-round restoration emerge from changes in political and ideological line, within a ruling party, and obviously concentrated in the superstructure of the society? Isn't this in its very essence a reversal of the correct understanding of the relation between thinking and being, a denial of materialism and an idealist revision of Marxism? And even if not, couldn't that change in line then be reversed, and the emergence of a more "hard-line" anti-U.S. position in the Soviet Union be taken as a return to the socialist road?

—How can an imperialist Soviet Union still support struggle against the U.S., wouldn't the underlying logic of their common social system lead them to unite against every spectre of genuine communism and against the threat of revolution everywhere?

—And where is the evidence that there is a material basis in the process of production and accumulation in the Soviet Union, for an international compulsion to wage a war of world revision with the U.S.-led bloc of western imperialists?

—Wasn't in fact the theory of capitalist restoration the first step for the Chinese Communist Party to the reactionary three-worldist conclusions that the Soviet Union was the main (and basically the only) reactionary force in the world, and that capitulation to the U.S. was required?

Obviously this article is a statement of our intent, and our plans, and there is no room here to sketch out even the outlines of our answers. We simply want to say that it is a fact that the Soviet base

operates as capital—it is provable and we will prove it. And scientific analysis of history and of Soviet reality proves that wherever the revolutionary process of social transformation is stopped in a society, the structure of society (no matter what its *legal form*) will in essence become nothing other than the form through which blocks of capital confront each other in competition for the extraction of surplus value.

The obvious fact that Soviet social-imperialism is a capitalism with some unique and historically unprecedented features is not at all surprising, and should not be allowed to continue as a major source of confusion. It has all the particularities of an exploitative society that has emerged out of the state-owned forms created by socialism, rather than emerging out of feudalism and competitive capitalism. And it is an imperialism whose necessities, and appearances internationally, are shaped by the fact that it arose in a world already carved up by competing imperialist interests — meaning that it is both "innocent" of the last century of plunder in the colonial world and to a great extent cut off from the bulk of that plunder today.

Despite all these particularities, it is a major form of imperialism "as it has actually emerged in the world today." And with such a restoration, all the contradictions inherent in capitalism are inevitably unleashed including in particular the objective necessity driving the Soviet ruling class (along with all other imperialists) to ever more consciously prepare to wage war to redivide the world. And finally a scientific understanding of the nature of the period of transition to communism is completely different from the viewpoint the above questions betray—because the process of world proletarian revolution does not proceed fundamentally by the securing of one country after another in a straight ahead fashion with the erection of inherently stable and established structures—but rather it develops through a worldwide epoch of revolutionary transformation, where, while the restoration of capitalism in any one country is not inevitable, the process on a world scale is a vast and complex spiral of advances and retreats, victories and defeats developing inevitably toward final victory.

There will undoubtedly be forces who attack the very idea of sharpening the struggle over the Soviet Union. And we anticipate the charge that such struggle only aids U.S. war preparations, because the socialist nature of the USSR should be axiomatic, because even to raise such questions shows infection with anti-communism, and because such discussion can only be a diversion from the real "concrete" concerns of the masses. But

in fact there is not only an objective need to air and thoroughly examine these questions; there is, among revolutionary and progressive minded people, tremendous interest and enthusiasm for doing exactly that. And for this reason alone, this

debate and conference will happen. To be sure, the imperialists of any stripe dread the prospect of people taking up these questions with this kind of urgency and sweep. But the struggle to topple imperialism demands it. □

Barricades

Continued from page 19

This, along with the fact that molotov cocktails were reportedly used against police in some cities, is an indication of the intensity of the latest rebellions and of the fact that the Polish rulers have a quite serious problem on their hands. By the end of May 3, police had arrested over 1300 people — more than they had graciously released a few days before — and there were untold numbers of injured, including at least 72 riot police who received their just deserts from the crowds.

The Polish Press Agency screamed long and loud that the rioting had been fomented by "anti-socialist elements" and "foreign centers of imperialism". But the notably low-keyed editorial response in the U.S. media indicated that — while quite willing to milk the disorders for an added bit of leverage — the U.S. rulers were not particularly thrilled with these developments which were obviously out of the hands of moderate Solidarity leaders and not particularly conducive to the U.S.'s preferred "Polish scenario". Perhaps the most telling indication of this was the reaction of the Polish Catholic hierarchy. On the one hand Church officials used the riots as a club to bolster their appeals for immediate reconciliation talks between the authorities and the Solidarity union in order to restore "social peace". What stood out, however, was that for all the Catholic Church's pious condemnations of martial law, they now leaped to condemn not the government, but *the disorders*. A hasty meeting of Catholic bishops presided over by the U.S.'s man-on-the-spot, Archbishop Glemp, issued a statement declaring: "The new unrest that shocked the country delays social agreement and slows down already started steps toward normalization, as well as disorients young people." All this is yet another object lesson in the imperialist role played by the Catholic Church and should open some Polish eyes (especially of those who, at the demonstrations, chanted "Long Live the Pope") to the craven treachery of those who "minister" to the struggle there on behalf of the West.

The U.S. media was, however, quick to seize on the fact that during the upheavals a number of people ripped up and/or burned red flags ("the flag of their com-

munist rulers", as the press generally put it) that had been placed about for the revisionist May First. The people in Poland don't like the government, and they don't like the Soviets — now, *that's* news. Of course, the point was to run out the tedious fairytale that the Soviet style state capitalism of the Eastern bloc represents real socialism and communism. But the words of one youthful streetfighter, while reflecting the contradictory nature of the struggle in Poland, (specifically the social-democratic trend), don't quite reinforce the image desired by the U.S.: "We tore down or burned red flags. But we also put up May Day decorations because these symbolize the workers' blood."

The rebellions sent a lightning bolt ripping into the treasured schemes of the revisionist rulers. Legislators in the Sejm (parliament) gasped as the Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak informed them of "serious street incidents" (i.e. street battles) in at least nine cities. After an emergency meeting of the 21 member junta, the vaunted martial law concessions were hastily revoked as telephone communications were again cut off, private cars banned, and curfews reimposed in Warsaw and at least six other big cities. The clampdown was back in full force, and it was little secret just who it was especially aimed at. In Warsaw, for example, all student clubs, discos and youth entertainment centers were closed down and a general 12 to 5 curfew extended an additional 3 hours for all Poles under the age of 18. Meanwhile, on Tuesday, what was described as "wild street fighting" continued in Szczecin as youths erected barricades, hurled stones at government buildings and engaged in bloody fighting with police.

The events of the past week have dealt a stunning blow to the hopes of Poland's rulers for making some progress in manufacturing their "reconciliation" at the point of a gun. And these upheavals along with the government's response have provided yet another vivid exposure of the imperialist essence of Soviet bloc-style "socialism" — an essence quite visible in the TV film of ZOMO thugs hosing and beating the demonstrators. There is clearly something quite dangerous here for the exploiters of the East, as well as the West, that is blossoming once again from fertile Polish ground and taking expression in the magnificent "disorientation" of those who are snarling the tank treads of the martial law regime. □

An International Bus Ride

Seattle, April 28, 1982, 9:30 a.m. The Northwest contingent for May 1st in Los Angeles is forming up. The bus stands waiting. A Samoan brother is there. He'd been struggling with his friends over May 1st for three weeks. And now he is their representative. Black proletarians arrive, some with rich experiences from the '60s, others are young and anxious for some revolutionary practice. They each hold their copy of the *RW*. One brother greets a comrade, "I read this paper every week." (It's his boarding pass.) A Vietnamese brother arrives. Hearts soar. Two high school-aged women come dancing up, waving red flags. There was struggle right down to the wire among a number of these people; should I go? What can a minority do? What difference could I make? Right in the face of the immigration raids going down around the country, a number of people who had come to see the bus off, decided to go to L.A. on the spot and jumped on board.

A pick-up truck swings in, and from the back, out jump Cubanos, Mexicanos, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans. "Del Mundo! Del Mundo!" This is the cry they'd raised earlier at the Pike Place Market, a major focal point of the party's public work. A circle of Cubanos had made going to L.A. for May 1st a major social question throughout the missions where many immigrants stay. They'd fought to raise the red flag, going straight up against those who said this communism stuff was the same politics as Cuba and besides they were nuts, it couldn't happen. But the Cuban brothers responded — this is *revolutionary* communism, not bourgeois communism. The whole world is worth these stakes.

The bus pulls up. People begin to board. An Iranian revolutionary arrives! Shouts of joy fill the air. He's swept off his feet in a bear hug. The Latinos greet him, "Ah, Iran! Shah!" with obvious respect for the Iranian revolution. Other revolutionaries from the U.S. arrive red flags unfurled. As a final send-off, the Northwest contingent sings the *Internationale* in no less than four languages, some struggling for the first time over the words of the proletariat's anthem which they would sing many times in many places over the next several days. As the motor roars, a Black youth says, excitedly and with a little wonder, "I think this will change my life."

The bus alive with political struggle and debate. The night people boarded, the tape of Bob Avakian's May 1st 1981 speech played in English and Spanish. Party *Programmes*, and pamphlets — especially *Summing Up the Black Panther Party* by Bob Avakian and *Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth* circulated throughout the bus. Revolutionary experiences from around the world began to be shared — there was a wealth of experience concentrated on this wild bus. Questions shot out ranging from what to expect in L.A. to the status of the revolutionary movement in different parts of the world. The following day was an intense day of political struggle. Over breakfast an Iranian comrade pulled out a calendar with paintings portraying the struggle there, especially focused on the many revolutionary martyrs. He and the Latinos pored over it page by page.

Throughout the day group discussions were held over Bob Avakian's article "Stepping Up and Stepping Out". Heated debate broke out, especially over Cuba's so-called internationalism, Che and Castro; Mao's communism vs. the Soviet's brand, and the various rewrites of the *Internationale*. During a "lull" between discussions, an Iranian brother piped up in Spanish with "Levante la bandera roja," the product of careful study and practice on his part. A cheer went up from the Latinos and others, all demanding to learn it in Farsi. Heads shot down from the bunks above, with some of the Black comrades checking to see if they'd learned it right. Syllable by syllable people fought to get it straight. Then from the front came Chinese; the whole back of the bus practiced it in unison. Demands went out for more. French came next. Then German. English. The bus stopped and people rolled out, chanting every language they knew.

A final orientation was held that night

on the eve of arriving in L.A. The RCP spoke briefly to the challenge people had accepted of stepping onto the bus and the responsibilities they had to the international proletariat, that we were going to L.A. with a vision of nothing less than advancing world revolution. And introductions began around the bus. Youth from El Salvador and Nicaragua, and an older Salvadoran active in the movement against national oppression for many years in the U.S. spoke. Internationalists from Cuba, including one brother who said, "I was active in the youth and other movements in Cuba. Through this I learned the Soviet Union is imperialist like the U.S. I'm going so people can understand there's more than one enemy. I want to be part of this revolution that is out to end all oppression, like that of men over women, I'm here to contribute to that revolution." The youth especially captured the optimism and uncompromising stand of May 1st. As one student said, "I'm going to L.A. because this is the most important period the people of the world have ever seen. I know we can take over the world and build something better for us. I know we can and that's why I'm going!" Iranians spoke to their internationalist duties in the "war against U.S. imperialism and to take L.A." on May 1st for the struggle worldwide. One Black brother said that although he had years of experience in many struggles, "I've never seen so many nationalities with different experiences united like this."

But the high point was the internationalist exchange between the Vietnam vets and the brother from Vietnam. "I'm a Vietnam vet. My country is the world. For ten months I fought for U.S. imperialism, killing the families of people like this comrade on the bus. Now the one thing the imperialists are going to regret is that they sent me back alive."

The Vietnamese comrade spoke: "The Party came to South Vietnam and gave the people hope for the poor. But they followed the line of the Soviets and did the same as the U.S. After I left Vietnam, I followed the revolutionary movement. I never thought I'd be a part of the struggle for the future again. I thought the people in the U.S. were like the U.S. soldiers in my country. But then I met the *RW* people. I hope my past experiences with the new kind of imperialism can make a small contribution to the U.S. revolutionary movement."

And yet another vet added, "I too am a Vietnam vet from Samoa. Our country did not know about the war. We had no books or pamphlets like these. We are only now beginning to understand. I came to help translate these into Samoan so my people are never again used in the cause of imperialism... We should struggle together as brothers and sisters so our blood is not shed in vain."

As one brother summed up, "I came because I want the world to be more like this bus." The *Internationale* soared to new heights that night and a few hours out of L.A. people caught some sleep.

"Strengthening the resolve and the daring of the convinced, firing the imagination and giving conviction to the hesitating, striking panic and paralysis into the enemies and those that might support them. Above all, as the *Call for May 1st* stresses, it must be a living manifesto of proletarian internationalism." Bob Avakian, "Stepping Up and Stepping Out!"

As soon as the bus arrived in L.A. on April 30 till late into the night on May 1st and after, these revolutionaries became an integral part of the force — through many diverse acts and spheres of struggle — fighting for the leap of May 1st in the streets of Los Angeles. Leaping over boundaries of language, nation and race, proletarian internationalism became a living force.

Some people immediately fanned out on their own to hook up with family and friends in Watts and downtown, to struggle with them to take part in May 1st. Some of these people found their own food and lodging, checking in with reports like this: "12 midnight, April 30, I've got 14 people here with me and they're all bound for May 1st. I got Blacks, Latinos and whites. I even got some women!" (Why was he surprised at

that!) Others joined up with May 1st volunteers headed out to MacArthur Park on the eve of May 1st. Vietnamese, Samoan, Iranian, Latino, white and Black. Agitation rang out in numerous languages and borders started breaking down in front of people's eyes. More headed downtown, bringing home two Mexicano youth who stayed with the contingent for two days, stepping boldly onto the stage May 1st.

On May 1st itself, many from the Northwest joined up with others and formed the Internationalist Brigade. At a rally protesting I.a Migra, the effect of such a force came shining through. Coming from at least ten countries, the group sang the *Internationale* in several languages in the heart of the rally, drawing out friends — like the woman who came running forward singing it in Russian — and enemies such as revisionists who said it was disrupting the unity of the march. This was followed soon thereafter by agitation by the Vietnamese comrade targeting both U.S. and Soviet imperialism; the impact was quite fine.

The atmosphere of fighting for the new took another leap at the convergence point. Again and again people fought to advance and take things higher. Native-born Black people were agitating on every corner. One comrade from Central America staged pirate actions throughout the afternoon downtown, passing literature, chanting and singing with other groups they met up with to get away before the pigs descended. One time one Latino was not so lucky. But he was quick to point out in jail that the chanting and singing never stopped, and the red flags he managed to get past all the frisking had flown in the holding cell while he talked about the significance of May 1st. That night Black revolutionaries climbed as high as possible on buildings in the heart of the MacArthur Park area to raise the red flag. One woman whisked away the foreign-born out of the hands of La Migra and the police, even including taking a bus to prevent their arrest.

As the bus pulled out of L.A., these travellers who had seen the future in embryo, felt a great determination to find the ways to make further leaps on the path to world revolution — and the need to more deeply grasp the party's line.

More than one summed up, "I've always dreamed of a Party like this," asking further, "How do I join?" One youth began to read the *Programme* to a Black proletarian who didn't read too well. Another youth and a Latino took up "Conquer the World," comparing the English and Spanish translations. *Programme* discussions were planned.

On the trip home, the political life of the bus seethed with discussions on internationalism, the state of the international communist movement, the new issue of *World to Win*, and other topics. Of particular importance among the decisive questions that intense struggle raged over was that of women's oppression and the revolutionary role of women. The Vietnamese comrade offered to sing a revolutionary song from China. He sang "The Helmsman," honoring the greatest revolutionary of our time, Mao Tsetung. First he translated the words into English. But it wasn't until he began to sing in Chinese that many people recognized the song and hummed along. Looking around the bus you could see quite a few people with tears in their eyes.

The bus stopped to drop off two Latinos to look for work. They left making plans to distribute the Party's press and develop ways to maintain contact. When the bus arrived in Seattle, the revolutionaries hit the parking lot, chanting, "Somos Todos Llegados." As everyone rounded up their gear, one Black brother asked a comrade to translate something for him into Spanish. He walked up to one Latino guy and said, "It has meant a lot to me to know you. I'm gonna learn Spanish, I want to see you every day so I can learn faster and we can get down." When one of the Latinos returned to the Pike Place Market, dozens of others greeted him, shook his hand and asked, "What happened in L.A.? What did you see? What did you do?" He immediately began to set up circles to dig into the major questions facing the international communist movement.

It's a common sensation when you've been riding all day in a bus to feel like you're still on the road after the bus stops...but on this trip, a whole new dimension was added. []

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Kamkaruwa

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time, white youth joined their black brethren in fighting the organs of state power. The struggle of the Irish people for independence has reached new heights while reactionary Israel and its patron, the U.S.A., are being increasingly isolated and drowned in the sea of resistance of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. The struggles of the people of Namibia and South Africa have reached new proportions.

While undoubtedly, some of the peace marches in "Western Europe" have been orchestrated by the revisionist led peace movements and others have a measure of anarchist influence, there is no doubt that the movement represents people's resolve not to get involved in the next inter-imperialist war. It was not an accident that a peace march in Milan, Italy was headed by a banner that read:

NO TO THE YANKEES!
NO TO THE KREMLIN!

That about sums up most people's feelings.

It is unfortunate that since the death of Comrade Mao Tse Tung, the international communist movement has had to experience reverses due to the emergence of new variants of revisionism represented by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. Although the international revolutionary forces who uphold Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought may be a small force at present, they represent the emerging and growing force as the vanguard of the revolutionary forces all over the world who are in the thick of struggle against all forms of revisionism and opportunism and against the worldwide oppressors grouped in the two imperialist blocs headed by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They represent the future.

West Germany

Continued from page 15

in other words, to some of the very forces who do threaten the imperialist "social fabric" in W. Germany. This "international trade union solidarity" is not only narrow reformism meant to squelch any opposition to imperialism; in West Germany the slogan is particularly sinister since along with more overall repression, the West German imperialists have always tried to use Social-Democratic political and trade union leaders in Turkey to keep it under the thumb of imperialist domination.

Of course there was the usual revisionist "opposition." The mainline pro-Soviet DKP issued a May Day call almost identical to the union's, with the major difference being that the revisionists disagreed with the social-democratic contention that full employment could come from cooperation between West German "big capital and labor," unless West Germany itself became part of the Eastern bloc of "socialist" countries. The shriveled pro-Albanian KPD confined itself to criticizing the Social-Democrats for not being as militant champions of "Arbeit für Alle" as they were.

In contrast to this, some fresh air blew in the window to the world opened by ATIF (Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany), who in the weeks before May 1 as well as at the DGB rallies themselves made extensive use of a leaflet titled, "With an Internationalist Spirit — Out On May 1st." Zeroing in on the imperialists' preparations for world war (a possibility never mentioned by the Social-Democrats and revisionists even when chiding armaments spending), this leaflet said:

"For the interests of a handful of monopolies, they are trying to ignite a fire, where millions of people will be brought to their deaths, hundreds of thousands crippled and the suffering of hunger and poverty will be even further spread to millions of people. . . . As with the last time, this May Day too will see the chieftains of the West German state and the union bosses of the DGB hand in hand in opposition to the working class, spouting their lies about 'peace'.

"In light of these questions it is very important that among those forces who are attempting to divert the struggle of the proletariat, that it become understood that it is also vital to combat

Sri Lanka

It is in this context that we must view the developing anti-imperialist struggle within Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has become a prime target in the confrontation between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism because in Trincomalee we possess one of the best natural harbors in Asia. Both imperialists are eyeing it as a forward base in the Indian Ocean from which they could control the oil routes.

Both imperialists have their local supporters. While the UNP (United National Party, the ruling party — RW) openly serves U.S. imperialism (not for nothing is J.R. Jayawardene (Prime Minister — RW) called Yankee Dickey!), the Cotta Road revisionist clique and the JVP (People's Liberation Front often described as "Che Guevarist" in the past, which now puts forward more electoral politics — RW) are equally openly pro-Soviet social-imperialists; and all three partners will willingly serve their masters by attempting to secure Sri Lanka bases for them. The next world war might well be fought on our door steps.

But the development of the inter-imperialist contradictions into a Third World War would trigger revolutionary situations not only in the world but inside Sri Lanka too. While the international proletariat and all oppressed people must fight to turn such an inter-imperialist war into an international civil war, the working class and its allies in Sri Lanka must unite, under the leadership of the working class, all the forces that can be united against imperialism and the UNP and march forward to overthrow the UNP by revolutionary means and thereby lay the basis for our march to our cherished goal of socialism:

(Reprinted from the May 1, 1982 issue of *Kamkaruwa (The Worker)*, Central Organ of the Ceylon Communist Party

social-chauvinism." Referring to the political position in West Germany today that "only targets U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism", the ATIF leaflet goes on, "In this way it hinders the struggle against West German imperialism. West German imperialism is the main enemy of those working people that live in West Germany. Without fighting against it, it is impossible to even talk about a fight against imperialism." And then, "We have to even more decisively take up the spirit of internationalism in the fight against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction, and make this evident on May 1st this year throughout the entire world."

At the central DGB-sponsored demonstration in Hannover, Social-Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and George Vetter (the Lane Kirkland of W. Germany) addressed a crowd of 10,000, while 4000 people took part in a counter-demonstration that marched up to the official rally for a round of speeches directed against it and then marched off to hold a separate rally. This counter-demonstration was sponsored by 84 different organizations encompassing a very wide range of opposition forces, including revolutionary forces. In the southern city of Stuttgart, a large number of forces in opposition to the DGB line turned out, including about 1000 in the ATIF contingent. In Hannover and several cities in the Ruhr valley, May Day banners and posters sent from the U.S. as part of an internationalist exchange were prominently carried, raising excitement and questions among foreign-born and German-born people alike. Copies of the Internationalist May Day Call of the RCP, USA in Turkish and German were also widely distributed in the Ruhr area.

In W. Berlin, apparently the scene of the largest DGB demonstration and of the largest counter-contingent, a "revolutionary alternative bloc" included various immigrant groups, anti-nukers, squatters, anarchists, punks and other revolutionary minded Germans. Here too, banners and posters — and RCYB T-shirts — sent from the U.S. made their appearance. On the evening of May 1st there was an internationalist cultural festival and program in Berlin that was attended by over 800 people. Further details are not yet available. □

International Solidarity

Continued from page 15

We live still today in the era of imperialism — capitalism in its sickest, most decaying form. The imperialist powers today commit outrageous crimes and prepare for worse. The imperialists, starved for more profit, deep in crisis, frantically prepare for an all-out showdown — each aims to recarve up the world at the expense of its rivals.

But May 1, 1982 is hardly a time for us to be intimidated by the power of the imperialists. Tremendous opportunities exist today for revolutionary struggle against them.

The Horn of Africa is a good example. What is going on there holds great lessons for the oppressed all over the world. Events there have given the people of the world a preview — the heating up of contradictions between the imperialist blocs is not a terrible thing for the oppressed.

As recently as 1974, the U.S. was the main imperialist power behind the oppressive Ethiopian regime, then headed by Emperor Haile Selassie. Meanwhile, the Soviets backed Somalia. Then the situation suddenly changed. The Soviets began their support of the Ethiopian government which has continued its role as a regional gendarme — oppressing not only its own people but others as well. And the U.S. suddenly switched to supporting Somalia.

In this situation of reactionary intrigues and changing alliances, an excellent situation has emerged. The liberation forces in Eritrea, Tigray and Oromia have marched forward, winning tremendous victories and today have liberated large sections of their homelands.

Or look in the imperialists' back yards. We here tonight hail the armed struggle of the people of El Salvador against the U.S. installed puppet regime. Or look at the other side of the world at the recent upsurge and clampdown of the just Polish workers' struggle. Where ever there is oppression, no matter what the name that the oppressors use to mask their crimes, the people will rise against it. The fact that the struggle in a particular area may be aimed against the U.S. and its allies or the Soviet Union and its allies in no way justifies losing sight of the nature of the struggle of the people all over the world. We must expose, for example, the attempt of U.S. imperialism to play "the great friend and ally of the oppressed" in Poland and the similar behavior of the Soviets in areas under U.S. domination. And in that spirit we raise the slogans:

HAIL THE PEOPLE'S ARMED STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND ALL STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND ALL REACTION!

DOWN WITH ALL IMPERIALISTS!

Also, in the world today are forces preparing for revolution within the imperialist countries, including the U.S. Through its top-dog position, gained as a product of being victorious in World War II, the U.S. was able to maintain some stability for several decades. From the enormous wealth lashed out of the oppressed in all parts of the world, it was able to make certain concessions, to pass a few crumbs of its imperialist plunder and bribe and deceive a significant section of the workers.

But the imperialists could not continue like this forever. Battered by liberation struggles from without and also struggle from within, sinking into deeper crisis, these imperialists must intensify their attacks on the people and broad sections of the masses are being propelled into political life, with each intensification of the imperialist crisis and as it becomes even clearer that the imperialists have no solution to their crisis short of a new re-division of the world, an expansion of the world empire through war.

Struggle is on the rise in the imperialist countries, from Miami, Florida to Brixton, England to West Germany, and as the imperialists call on the masses not only to live under their blood-soaked rule, but to fight and die and kill to defend and expand the imperialists' rule, even more will be propelled forward. Quite significantly, there are forces emerging in the imperialist countries who are preparing millions to totally reject the imperialists' flags of plunder, to take up the red flag of internationalism and prepare for revolution in the imperialist countries at the soonest possible time.

With the imperialists beset by deeper crisis and inter-imperialist conflict, the proletariat and the oppressed face tremendous opportunities to finally redraw the whole political map of the world — finally in the hands of the oppressed. This is cause for great celebration this May First and cause for serious preparations in even closer unity on this day as well.

Two mighty revolutionary streams are gathering force — revolution in the imperialist countries and revolution in the countries dominated by imperialism. While the stages and paths are different, both these mighty streams can and must be led to a common goal and unite as one mighty fist to defeat the imperialists all over the world.

**VICTORY TO THE EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!
LONG LIVE MAY FIRST!**

Deportation Hearings

Continued from page 19

focus not only inside but also outside the courtroom was underscored when a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* arrived to cover this hearing and asked right off, "What does the RCP have to do with this?"

While the federal court and Judge Indelicado are saying they will rule later on whether they consider the political asylum claims of last October valid, in fact this is mainly pap for the press and the government is moving right ahead with its attempted railroad. The legal question here is that if these October claims were considered valid, the Salvadorans would not be facing deportation proceedings at all today, but instead would be able to have their claim for political asylum heard in its own right and not in the context of deportation hearings; they would be officially considered "legal." But the government does not want to deal with Emilio and David's application from last fall as legitimate; they want to deal with the two Salvadorans as "illegals," and they want to be able to say the brothers only applied for political asylum once they'd been arrested.

The hearing May 5 ended with the defense given only 30 days to prepare and file new political asylum applications and all the materials that need to go with these. The El Salvador Tour Legal Defense Committee has begun soliciting supplementary material throughout the country, asking immigrants, journalists, lawyers, GIs, veterans, and others to contribute before the end of May personal testimony, press reports and other documentation of the role of the American Empire in El Salvador and around the world and on U.S. immigration policy towards Salvadorans and other immigrants.

This documentation, statements in support of the Salvadorans' demand for political asylum, and funds urgently needed to step up the political and legal offensive should be sent to:

El Salvador Tour Legal Defense Committee
P.O. Box 30922
Los Angeles, CA 90030
Temporary phone number: 213-382-5428
Also send statements to and call the judge at:

Judge George Indelicado
Immigration Judge
300 N. Los Angeles St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 688-2811

Correspondence

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May 1st Girl

Here are some excerpts from an interview with a 16-year-old girl who came from the Northwest to L.A. for April 30th and May First. She decided to go only the day before the bus was to leave: "I wanted to go so bad I left without a penny in my pocket. . . . I thought if there was any chance I could help out in any way to help revolution, then I would go. And I had the chance, and if it was going to help the future and change the world then I was going to do it. . . . I came here and I've done a lot of agitation and selling the paper, and I think when I go back home it will change my life alot. . . ."

She said that she was never "prejudiced against communists or anything" but she was afraid to talk to those she knew because she felt like she might seem dumb, but they would sit down and talk to her and "open my eyes to things I didn't even know existed" . . . "Damián Garcia. I read about him and that made me want to come down here too."

When asked what she thought about the call for youth to be in the forefront, she said, "I think that's right on. The youth will make the future. And their minds are more open to what's happening because they haven't lived as long as old people, whose minds are pretty well made up sometimes."

"Going into Watts, April 30th, for me it was a real experience because all the people there were Black and they weren't prejudiced at all. I was meeting different people and talking to them about revolution. And while I was talking to them I was actually learning more, trying to answer all their questions, like what is revolution, what does the red flag stand for . . ."

"At May Day this guy said, 'What are

you fighting for? What are you for? You'd better get out of the street, the pigs are just going to bust you in the head.' And I said, 'I'm fighting for revolution.' 'You don't even know what revolution is, you just a little girl.' And this guy from Germany was screaming at me, 'You know in Germany you wouldn't be allowed to do this shit, you commies!' I told him, 'Fuck you, fuck off' and flew the red flag in his face. When they had us backed into the corner, at first I was afraid and then I thought why be afraid? And then I felt like fighting back and I started singing the *Internationale*. I just felt like spitting in their faces. It was really far out, I don't know what to say about it."

"I have a lot more to learn, but I really want to learn it. . . . What they teach you in school is bullshit, it really is. They try to make the Americans look good. The Americans in the history books always look good and foreigners are the bad guys. At school they have this thing where you have to stand up and say the pledge to the American flag in the first period every morning. I think our peer group is afraid, they really don't know that much about it. We have to get a few more youth involved, reach out more to youth. We just refused to stand up and said, 'That's bullshit! I don't salute the American flag. They send people off to different countries to shoot innocent people and I'm not gonna salute the fucking American flag.'"

"Another thing that made me start getting into it is because of my mom. Her eyes aren't really open to what's happening, she just goes to her job every day, tries to supply food and she thinks like school is the thing and if you go to school and graduate you'll get a good job and get married and have kids. That's just not what I want for myself. I want to be a part of the revolution. . . . I don't think she really knew what I was

coming down here to do, she didn't tell me to be careful or anything."

"I see myself fighting for revolution, getting more involved and helping to open everybody's eyes so everybody can see what's happening in the world. . . . When I got here I started reading this book about how men just wanted us to be housewives, and you see it on

TV commercials advertising women's pretty faces. That's not what I want for myself."

"I just really thought that May First was great, just fantastic. I really didn't give a fuck whether they arrested me or not to tell you the truth. I just kept on fighting. . . ."

Bowen Homes

This statement was written by a Black proletarian from Bowen Homes Housing Project in Atlanta shortly before May First:

Poor people are all immigrants, because poor is outcast, white, Black, Mexican or Jew. In America, if you have no money or job, if you are a worker, you are looked upon as an immigrant. Speaking as a Black man, people in the projects are like people in Africa, because we've been pimped, mentally prostituted. I have nothing against Ethiopians or Iranians etcetera, because what runs through my blood is international water.

They got this stone granite statue in New York, a gift from France, saying give me your poor. The statue of liberty is a farce. When I heard John F. Kennedy say, "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country", I knew they were after blood, sweat and tears. They want you to put your hand over your heart at baseball games, but how can you believe in something that's a monster? The beast lives for the blood of the poor, a blood-sucking vampire. Like those murdered children. They say it was a lone Black man. I don't believe it. It was a conspiracy of the highest conspiracy.

I was born and lived in the U.S. and I've seen it all. I was born in the '50s, but I seen the '60s and Vietnam. I'm a firm believer you won't have change unless you change it yourself, through violent revolution. Cause non-violence only brings violence, look what happened to Martin Luther King. He's buried here on Auburn Avenue.

I believe in peace, but not when some live in luxury and so many in hunger. We live under the slave syndrome, believe too much in jobs. We collect our hundred dollars and forget about world hunger.

We've got to stop believing in welfare checks, that is just crumbs. A job is easy to find, they'll switch you 'till you die, like a mule. They want you to keep asking for crumbs. They don't want to see no worldwide revolution. The police is your mafia. Those people in Beverly Hills with their caviar, you are non-existent to them. But one day the mass of poor people around the world will join together against the rich who eat caviar.

Come May Day, a lot of people will believe in this cause, although some people will still be trying to destroy the world. May Day will light a flame, put fat on the fire. It will make people on the sidelines say "why shouldn't I put my two cents in." People will be celebrating May Day on the other side of town you won't even know.

May Day is like a people's movement. The cause is the people. I wouldn't mind showing up at Fort McPherson tomorrow and seeing more of my kind there.

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What does it mean to join the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA?

Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

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