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Bourgeoisie Backs Off In Mao Defendants Case



Bob Avakian

A major breakthrough has been made in the battle to overturn the government railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. On May 10th a settlement proposed by the government was agreed upon by both sides: On June 3 all of the charges against Bob Avakian will be dropped, the 18 felonies against each of the remaining 10 defendants will be dropped and these defendants will plead guilty to two misdemeanor charges, assault and rioting.

While the removal of the charges hanging over Bob Avakian's head is by no means a sign that the attempts by the ruling class to attack Bob Avakian have ended, it does mean that they will not be able to use these specific charges to do so. This is not merely a symbolic victory. In fact,

as Chairman Avakian himself stated over a year ago, the Mao Defendants' battle is "one important factor influencing the conditions under which, the specific ways in which—and perhaps even the extent to which—I myself and our party as a whole are able to make our contribution and fulfill our responsibility, especially in the crucial period ahead." Building off of this, there are very favorable conditions for carrying out the important struggle that remains in order to bring this battle to a victorious conclusion. On June 3, the remaining Mao Defendants will appear in court to enter their plea and be sentenced. A political battle must be waged off of this position of strength to avert any attempt by the ruling class to exact a price for its retreat in the sentencing of these

defendants.

The settlement of the case is nothing less than a complete reversal of the government's three year assault in this case against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. It is well worth recalling where the government started out in this battle. On January 29th, 1979 a massive club-wielding police assault was launched against a demonstration exposing and opposing Deng Xiaoping's visit to the U.S. Seventy-eight demonstrators, including Bob Avakian, were arrested in a police sweep of the demonstration. Former Chief U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert appeared at the arraignment demanding a felony charge and \$10,000 bail against all of the 78 defendants. Singling out Bob

Continued on page 15

**Floating Crap Game in
the South Atlantic** see page 2

**The Pig on the Spot at
the Murder of Damián García** see page 5

Payoff Uncertain in Falklands Affair

Floating Crap Game in the South Atlantic

With the arrival of 66 of her majesty's royal navy ships in the Falkland Islands and the subsequent takeover of South Georgia Island, the bombings of airfields and ship sinkings, etc., the cute little jokes in the press about the silliness of fighting over thousands of sheep and millions of penguins have disappeared from the scene. Blood has flowed on both sides, though as of this writing the number of deaths totals *merely* in the hundreds. The fighting, however, has been more than symbolic, more than a glorified version of war games. None of the parties involved in this crisis are playing any games and clearly the stakes are infinitely higher than who gets those islands' sheep, penguins, kelpers and all, and much more is involved than the immediate resolution of this particular territorial dispute between Britain and Argentina. What has been taking place is a live action preview of a much larger conflict on a world scale that is already taking shape and even how this preliminary action turns out has a bearing on those bigger developments.

Throughout this entire affair the grotesque features of imperialism have stood out for all to see. The living dead from 10 Downing St. to Pennsylvania Ave. have bared their blood-dripping fangs and licked their chops for more. The putrified and petrified remnants of the British empire have whipped themselves into a froth of chauvinist frenzy, even vying with each other for who is the better at their patriotic orgy. Her majesty's loyal and royal socialists have played their part in the classic manner. The TVs throughout the Western bloc have been turned into war maps with generals and admirals giving lessons in military tactics and strategy and their suggestions for the next British and sometimes the next Argentinian war move. Those who supported the sailing of the British fleet but couldn't stomach the sinking of the HMS Sheffield and the death of British boys were chastised publicly. After all that is what war is all about and everybody better get used to it and be prepared to give all for the greater glory of queen and country. Henry Kissinger commented in England that he wished that the U.S. had been able to pull off the kind of patriotic display during the Vietnam War that England has. Argentina, however, is not playing the same role in opposing imperialism as Vietnam did at that time. As nice as it is to see British ships being sunk one can hardly call the actions of the Argentinian junta anti-imperialist. In fact the regime and forces in the opposition including the revisionists seek to tie Argentina to one imperialist superpower or another, demagogically playing upon nationalist sentiments to further these along.

The fighting itself has turned into field trials for new weapons and tactics for the imperialists. The British got to sink their first ship with the new wire-guided tigerfish torpedo which has a range of 20 miles and travels at almost 60 miles per hour underwater. It was designed to counter the Soviet submarine fleet. The French

got to see their Super-Etendard fighter and Exocet missile blow away a British destroyer from 30 miles distant. The runway at Fort Stanley was bombed with the new JP-233 bomb designed to crater Soviet airfields in Eastern Europe, while the new time delay BL-755 anti-personnel bombs were scattered about to inhibit repair work. Foreign military observers expressed the keenest interest in the performance of the Harrier Jumpjets which don't require any runway, and at the emergence of the helicopter as an effective weapon against surface ships. Even logistics arrangements with friendly countries were put to the test as British planes flying south landed in Senegal and Gambia to refuel.

U.S. Seeks Maximum Advantage in Crisis

The U.S. has tried to appear as merely an observer to the action in the south Atlantic, first as a neutral party using its "good offices" as an "honest broker" to settle the unfortunate dispute, and then as a supporter of its closest ally, Britain, in seeking a resolution to the conflict while condemning the "Argentine aggression" in seizing the Malvinas Islands.

The fact is the U.S. has played a central role in the entire unfolding of this crisis from the very beginning. And while the immediate battle is between two countries that are part of the U.S. bloc, it has everything to do with what Alexander Haig and friends term the "East-West conflict," that is the developing showdown between the U.S. and its bloc and the Soviet Union and its bloc. At various points Reagan, Haig, and others have seen fit to make this clear in a number of statements including warnings to the Soviet Union to "butt out" of the affair. While this is of course the typical Reagan rhetoric, it is not being used idly and points to aspects of this crisis that are not immediately apparent amidst the barrage of media coverage and distorted analysis for public consumption.

As has been pointed out in these pages in past issues the U.S. (and Britain for that matter) knew about plans of the Galtieri regime to retake the Falklands in advance. It is in fact the case that the U.S. did not oppose this move and could very well have brought pressure to bear on the Argentinian junta to stop its move. Not only did it not bring such pressure to bear, it was very careful to initially leave the distinct if very discreet impression that it tacitly supported Argentina. More than a few observers commented on the fact that while the U.S. remained officially neutral in the conflict, such events as the arrival of Thomas Hayward, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, in Argentina on the evening before the taking of the Malvinas, Reagan's half-hearted attempt to persuade Galtieri not to go through with it via a phone conversation which

took place *after* the Argentinians had already landed, and finally a gala dinner given at the Argentinian Embassy the evening after the move in honor of UN Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick which was attended by not only Kirkpatrick but also Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel and Undersecretary of State for Latin America, Thomas O. Enders. This tacit initial support was due to the fact that the U.S. had obviously quite calculatingly decided that given a whole range of considerations, not the least of which was the instability of the Galtieri regime and continued U.S. dominance in the government there, the move on the Malvinas could not be opposed and might actually end up benefiting the U.S. and its bloc in a number of ways. There were of course many risks involved in such a thing and key to minimizing these was to work to keep events as much under U.S. control as possible—this is why Washington immediately put itself in the position of "honest broker" and has been centrally involved in all the diplomacy that has gone on so far even after declaring itself on Britain's side in the conflict.

Chief among the potential benefits of the Falklands crisis for the U.S. has been a massive show of Western bloc unity. They certainly knew full well what the general terms of British reaction to the taking of the islands would be. What better shot could there be to those among the Western imperialists promoting "neutrality" and shying away from the fullest participation in the bloc, hoping to advance their own imperialist interests and leave possible options open for the

Continued on page 14

No Peace for Zionists



As the U.S. made routine noises about reactivating its Camp David framework for new talks on Palestinian "autonomy," and as Israeli jets again swooped over Lebanon to reemphasize the principal aspect of the U.S. imperialists' "Middle East peace process," in the past two weeks the Palestinian masses in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip have continued their defiant rebellions. On May 1st, Palestinian youths attacked a police station in the village of Dura in Jerusalem, pelting it with stones and hoisting the Palestinian flag on top. Eruptions also occurred in the West Bank towns of Ramallah, Nablus and Bethlehem as well as in Hebron where youths attacked and trashed the offices of the Village League (an armed Arab security force that collaborates with

the Israeli occupiers). In the Gaza Strip, a young Palestinian woman was shot in the back as students at the Al Awda girls school in Khan Yunis poured into the streets heaving cinderblocks at an Israeli patrol, bringing the number of Palestinians killed by Israeli troops and civilian settlers to at least five in the past two weeks, as they shot into crowds, with dozens more severely wounded. Last week, in answer to the Begin government's establishment of a dozen new settlements in the occupied areas and its rabid threats to eventually annex these territories, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon himself was stoned by masked Palestinian youths as his entourage toured the Jabaliya refugee camp near Gaza City—a stronghold of Palestinian resistance.

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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), anarchism (issues 145-6), "60s People" (issue 147) and from the '60s into the '70s and today (issues 148-50 and 154). This excerpt is the final one in this series. Some of these excerpts will soon appear in pamphlet form.

Q: I want to ask you a question on something you said earlier in our discussion here. The *Basic Principles* document* says that Mao Tsetung Thought is the crucial dividing line in the international communist movement. But when we were talking about the party and "Leninism as the bridge," you said that the key thing to grasp in the international communist movement is that there is no Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought without Leninism. I'm not posing these as in contradiction to each other. But are you saying that there is a shift right now in terms of what has to be struggled out particularly within the international communist movement?

BA: I think the answer to that is that, at least in significant part, we are dealing with different contradictions. We said in our polemics with *En Lutte!****, and we, along with others, stressed in the *Communiqué**** and the *Basic Principles* document, that the contributions of Mao to the proletarian revolution and Marxism-Leninism and his further development of them in theory and practice was a crucial dividing line in the international communist movement and that a wrong stand on that question could only mean that you were bound to have, or degenerate quickly into, an opportunist position. There was a period of time more or less from the coup in China in '76 over the next several years, including the time up to the issuing of the *Communiqué*, when that question was extremely acute and crucial in the international communist movement. Today it remains a very important and crucial question and a key dividing line and we have to continue to wage a struggle around that. But there has been a certain process within what could generally be called the international communist movement. With that meeting, and with that *Communiqué* in particular, there has been the establishment of a certain pole; even if only in a beginning way, still in a very important way and in the way of qualitative advance; there has been the basic establishment of that pole which includes as a crucial question the upholding of Mao's contributions. It includes the stand that without upholding Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism, by repudiating Mao Tsetung Thought instead of upholding it, you are bound to go into the opportunist swamp. That pole has been planted, including insisting on that question as a crucial dividing line question within the international communist movement.

At the present time, however, there is still the process of continuing advance, and advance means motion through contradiction. That's the nature of motion: motion itself is a contradiction and the motion of things proceeds through contradiction. The process of the development of the international communist movement does not remain the same and the questions which are posed in that development don't remain the same or exactly on the same terms. And what I'm speaking to is a different contradiction which has arisen more sharply precisely because of the motion and development and the advance, including the planting of that pole which in turn includes drawing sharply that dividing line around Mao. So, what I'm speaking to more is a question within the camp of people very broadly speaking who stand on the basis of and assert their support for and their adherence to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, or Marxism-Leninism and Mao's contributions to it and his further development of it. This is the context in which I'm bringing forward the importance of Leninism, "Leninism as the bridge." Based on some initial observation, some study and some experience, I would say that particularly among those broad forces now (the kind

* *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement*, draft document prepared by leaders of the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA, January 1981.

** "The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight For It", *Revolution* magazine, July 1980, a polemic against the Canadian group *En Lutte!* (In Struggle!).

*** Joint *Communiqué* of the Autumn 1980 International Conference—"To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries."

Mao As the Dividing Line Leninism As the Bridge

by Bob Avakian

who would identify with that pole or the kind who would at least proclaim their adherence to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought or the contributions of Mao as a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism), among those forces broadly speaking this question of Leninism is a very sharp one and the question of Leninism as a bridge, Leninism as the key to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as an integral ideology, is sharply posed and has very acute importance.

Speaking more broadly, if you include all the pro-Albania forces, for example, it would be ridiculous to say that the main problem with them is that they don't at least in words adhere to Leninism, because all they talk about is "Leninist norms." Now, in fact they don't adhere to Leninism in substance including on some of the most crucial questions of Leninism, such as opposition to social-chauvinism. The Albanianites promote the same kind of line as the Soviet revisionists and as the Chinese revisionists to a large degree on the question, for example, of the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of the Western European imperialisms. The Albanians stress independence and sovereignty against U.S. imperialism as do the Soviet revisionists, while the Chinese stress it in opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, but it's just opposite poles of the same stupidity and they have the same position fundamentally on defending the fatherland and they all take a social-chauvinist stand in regard to the lesser imperialist countries (that is the ones other than the U.S. and the USSR). So when I'm speaking about Leninism as a bridge, I'm not talking about the international communist movement in its broadest terms including all the opportunist forces, including all the centrist forces, particularly those who have refused to recognize and take a correct position on the question of Mao Tsetung and Mao Tsetung Thought as a dividing line. I'm talking about those who *have*, at least in words, recognized that question and upheld Mao Tsetung Thought as a continuation and a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not those forces have directly (or even at all) identified themselves with the pole as represented by the *Communiqué*.

Among those forces there are the tendencies which I spoke to earlier in rather provocative terms. There is the tendency to say, either openly or in substance, that Mao Tsetung Thought has rendered some key principles of Leninism obsolete, that they are *passé*, are no longer relevant, no longer true, no longer valid, they've been superseded. It is said, for example, that this is the case on the question of the need for a vanguard party, a Leninist party, and also on the question of defending the fatherland in an imperialist country. These forces pick up on what is definitely secondary in Mao, but still amounted to some errors of his in the direction of the united front against the two superpowers, meaning that that united front could include the "second world", that is, certain imperialist powers; there were even tendencies in Mao toward the idea of a united front against the Soviet Union involving imperialist forces other than the Soviet Union. These tendencies which we've summed up as errors on Mao's part have been picked up by some and used to say either in substance or even directly that on a number of these questions Lenin's positions and basic Leninist principles are no longer valid. Some people say, "Well, in World War I Lenin was correct in fighting

against defending the fatherland but this is different—now we have a new situation." Basically they echo the three-worlds line, even if they denounce the Chinese revisionists: "Now we have two superpowers in the world and that means that these two superpowers will be fighting not just to redive the world, but for hegemony in the world as a whole, and they're really the only two that are capable of *that*, so all the other forces and states in the world will in fact find themselves confronted with the need to fight for national independence against the two superpowers; therefore the defense of the fatherland is justified in that circumstance." There are people who claim to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought who take that position.

There are people who claim to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought (or to uphold Marxism-Leninism and say they are basing themselves on Mao's contributions, too, as a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism) who want to let in social democracy through the back door by distorting Mao's views on the relationship between the party and the masses. These people promote tailism in the name of the mass line and in fact promote social democracy and liquidationism with regard to the Leninist party in the name of the mass line and the "correct relationship between the party and the masses," in the name of opposing the Albania-type vulgarization of "Leninist norms." In "Conquer the World . . ." where I stressed this question of Leninism as a bridge, I pointed out that to try to use Mao's leadership in the Cultural Revolution or breakthroughs that were achieved and socialist new things that were created in the Cultural Revolution in terms of the masses taking initiative—to try to pose those things against the need for and the leading role of a vanguard party organized on Leninist principles is to make a mockery out of the Cultural Revolution and particularly of Mao's role in leading it and the line that he further deepened through that whole process. Nevertheless, there is that tendency that masquerades as "Maoist".

There is a group here in France which is called the UCFML (Union of Communists of France, Marxist-Leninist). Why they call themselves Marxist-Leninist I don't know, because they claim that the experiences of the Cultural Revolution, the mass democracy and so on, renders Leninism *passé* on the question of the party; it's necessary, they say, to come up with some whole new principles of the party that incorporate and draw on the experiences of the Cultural Revolution. They completely distort the real principles of the Cultural Revolution as if the masses could replace the party or at least a Leninist-type party. As I stressed in "Conquer the World . . ." that was never Mao's point—it was quite the opposite. In fighting to unleash the initiative of the masses, he recognized the dialectical unity between that—and also that means contradiction—but the *dialectical* unity between that and the leading role of a party based on Leninist principles. The UCFML also puts forward the three-worlds theory in not very much disguised form, including even the Soviet main danger line. This is another one of the ways in which they try to separate Maoism from Leninism. This group is one particular example of this, but it's not limited to them. And it's not limited to France. So it was on the basis of summing up some of this and studying more deeply some of the questions involved that I stressed the question of Leninism as a bridge. When I say a bridge, I mean the bridge of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. As for those who not only don't accept but attack and repudiate Mao Tsetung Thought—obviously Leninism can't be the bridge for them, because we are talking about the bridge of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. *That's* the context in which I raised it as a bridge, and it's in that light that I'm stressing it. □

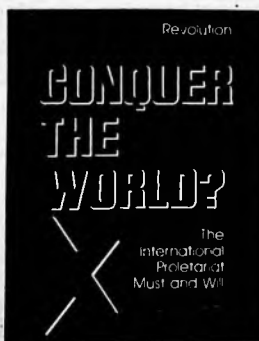
This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

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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V.I. Lenin On . . .

What Is Internationalism?

We are reprinting here a chapter titled What Is Internationalism? from Lenin's penetrating and ruthless exposure of social chauvinism, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky. In this chapter as well as the book as a whole, Lenin is addressing the arguments and justifications of the leaders of the Second International headed by Karl Kautsky, leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, who deserted to the camp of the bourgeoisie as WWI approached, adopting the principle of "defense of the fatherland" and offering their services to the ruling class as socialist apologists for imperialism in direct opposition to the proletarian internationalist line of Lenin. All asterisk footnotes are Lenin's. Numbered footnotes are ours and appear at the end of the article.

Kautsky is absolutely convinced that he is an internationalist and calls himself one. The Scheidemanns he calls "government Socialists." In defending the Mensheviks¹ (he does not openly express his solidarity with them, but he faithfully expresses their views), Kautsky has shown with perfect clarity what kind of "internationalism" he subscribes to. And since Kautsky is not alone, but is the representative of a trend which inevitably grew up in the atmosphere of the Second International (Longuet in France, Turati in Italy, Nobs and Grimm, Graber and Naine in Switzerland, Ramsay MacDonald in England, etc.), it will be instructive to dwell on Kautsky's "internationalism."

After emphasizing that the Mensheviks also attended the Zimmerwald Conference² (a diploma, certainly but . . . a tainted one), Kautsky sets forth the views of the Mensheviks, with whom he agrees, in the following manner:

" . . . The Mensheviks wanted a general peace. They wanted all the belligerents to adopt the formula: No annexations and no indemnities. Until this had been achieved, the Russian army, according to this view, was to stand ready for battle. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, demanded an immediate peace at any price; they were prepared, if need be, to make a separate peace; they tried to force it by increasing the state of disorganization of the army, which was already bad enough." (P. 27.) In Kautsky's opinion the Bolsheviks should not have taken power, and should have contented themselves with a Constituent Assembly.

Thus, the internationalism of Kautsky and the Mensheviks amounted to this: to demand reforms from the imperialist bourgeois government, but to continue to support it, and to continue to support the war that this government was waging until all the belligerents had accepted the formula: no annexations and no indemnities. This view was repeatedly expressed by Turati, and by the Kautskyites (Haase and others), and by Longuet and Co., who declared that they stood for "defence of the fatherland."

Theoretically, this shows a complete inability to dissociate oneself from the social-chauvinists and complete confusion on the question of the defence of the fatherland. Politically, it means substituting petty-bourgeois nationalism for internationalism, deserting to the reformists' camp and renouncing revolution.

From the point of view of the proletariat, recognizing "defence of the fatherland" means justifying the present war, admitting that it is legitimate. And since the war remains an imperialist war (both under a monarchy and under a republic), irrespective of the territory—mine or the enemy's—in which the enemy troops are stationed at the given moment, recognizing defence of the fatherland means, *in fact*, supporting the imperialist, predatory bourgeoisie, and completely betraying Socialism. In Russia, even under Kerensky, under the bourgeois-democratic republic, the war continued to be an imperialist war, for it was being waged by the bourgeoisie as a ruling class (and war is the "continuation of politics"); and a particularly striking expression of the imperialist character of the war was the secret treaties for the partitioning of the world and the plunder of other countries which had been concluded by the tsar at the time with the capitalists of England and France.

The Mensheviks deceived the people in a most despicable manner by calling this war a defensive or revolutionary war. And by approving the policy of the Mensheviks, Kautsky is approving the deception practised on the people, is approving the part played by the petty bourgeoisie in helping capital to trick the workers and to harness them to the chariot of the imperialists. Kautsky is pursuing a characteristically petty-bourgeois, philistine policy by pretending (and trying to make the masses believe the absurd idea) that putting forward a slogan alters the position. The entire history of bourgeois democracy refutes this illusion; the bourgeois democrats have always advanced and still advance all sorts of "slogans" in order to deceive the people. The

point is to test their sincerity, to compare their words with their deeds, not to be satisfied with idealistic or charlatan phrases, but to get down to class reality. An imperialist war does not cease to be an imperialist war when charlatans or phrasemongers or petty-bourgeois philistines put forward sentimental "slogans," but only when the class which is conducting the imperialist war, and is bound to it by millions of economic threads (and even ropes), is really overthrown and is replaced at the helm of state by the really revolutionary class, the proletariat. There is no other way of getting out of an imperialist war, as also out of an imperialist predatory peace.

By approving the foreign policy of the Mensheviks, and by declaring it to be internationalist and Zimmerwaldian, Kautsky, first, reveals the utter rottenness of the opportunist Zimmerwald majority (it was not without reason that we, the Left Zimmerwaldians,⁴ at once dissociated ourselves from such a majority!), and, secondly—and this is the chief thing—passes from the position of the proletariat to the position of the petty bourgeoisie, from the revolutionary position to the reformist position.

The proletariat fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie; the petty bourgeoisie fights for the reformist "improvement" of imperialism, for adaptation to it, while submitting to it. When Kautsky was still a Marxist, for example, in 1909, when he wrote his *Road to Power*, it was the idea that war would inevitably lead to revolution that he advocated, and he spoke of the approach of an era of revolutions. The Basle Manifesto of 1912⁵ plainly and definitely speaks of a proletarian revolution in connection with that very imperialist war between the German and the British groups which actually broke out in 1914. But in 1918, when revolutions did begin in connection with the war, Kautsky, instead of explaining that they were inevitable, instead of pondering over and thinking out the revolutionary tactics and the means and methods of preparing for revolution, began to describe the reformist tactics of the Mensheviks as internationalism. Is not this apostasy?

Kautsky praises the Mensheviks for having insisted on maintaining the fighting efficiency of the army, and he blames the Bolsheviks for having added to "disorganization of the army," which was already disorganized enough as it was. This means praising reformism and submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and blaming and renouncing revolution. For under Kerensky the maintenance of the fighting efficiency of the army meant its maintenance under bourgeois (albeit republican) command. Everybody knows, and the progress of events has strikingly confirmed it, that this republican army preserved the Kornilov⁶ spirit, because its officers were Kornilovites. The bourgeois officers could not help being Kornilovites; they could not help gravitating towards imperialism and towards the forcible suppression of the proletariat. All that the Menshevik tactics amounted to in practice was to leave all the foundations of the imperialist war and all the foundations of the bourgeois dictatorship intact, to patch up details and to daub over a few trifles ("reforms").

On the other hand, not a single great revolution has ever taken place, or ever can take place, without the "disorganization" of the army. For the army is the most ossified instrument for supporting the old regime, the most hardened bulwark of bourgeois discipline, buttressing up the rule of capital, and preserving and fostering among the working people the servile spirit of submission and subjection to capital. Counter-revolution has never tolerated, and never could tolerate, armed workers side by side with the army. In France, Engels wrote, the workers emerged armed from every revolution: "therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state."⁷ The armed workers were the embryo of a new army, the organized nucleus of a new social order. The first commandment of the bourgeoisie was to crush this nucleus and prevent it from growing. The first commandment of every victorious revolution, as Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasized, was to smash the old army, dissolve it and replace it by a new one.⁸ A new social class, when rising to power, never could, and cannot now, attain power and consolidate it except by completely disintegrating the old army ("Disorganization!" the reactionary or just cowardly philistines howl on this score), except by passing through a most difficult and painful period without any army (the Great French Revolution also passed through such a painful period), and by gradually building up, in the midst of hard civil war, a new army, a new discipline, a new military organization of the new class. Formerly, Kautsky the historian understood this. Kautsky the renegade has forgotten it.

What right has Kautsky to call the Scheidemanns "government Socialists" if he approves of the tactics of the Mensheviks in the Russian revolution? In supporting Kerensky and joining his Ministry, the Mensheviks were also

government Socialists. Kautsky cannot get away from this conclusion if he as much as attempts to put the question as to which is the ruling class that is waging the imperialist war. But Kautsky avoids raising the question of the ruling class, a question that is imperative for a Marxist, for the mere raising of it would expose the renegade.

The Kautskyites in Germany, the Longuetites in France, and the Turatis and Co. in Italy argue in this way: Socialism presupposes the equality and freedom of nations, their self-determination, hence, when our country is attacked, or when enemy troops invade our territory, it is the right and duty of the Socialists to defend their country. But theoretically such an argument is either a sheer mockery of Socialism or a fraudulent subterfuge while from the point of view of practical politics, it coincides with that of the quite ignorant country yokel who has even no conception of the social, class character of the war, and of the tasks of a revolutionary party during a reactionary war.

Socialism is opposed to violence against nations. That is indisputable. But Socialism is opposed to violence against men in general. Apart from Christian-Anarchists and Tolstoyans, however, no one has yet drawn the conclusion from this that Socialism is opposed to revolutionary violence. Hence, to talk about "violence" in general, without examining the conditions which distinguish reactionary from revolutionary violence, means being a philistine who renounces revolution, or else it means simply deceiving oneself and others by sophistry.

The same holds true of violence against nations. Every war is violence against nations, but that does not prevent Socialists from being in favour of a revolutionary war. The class character of the war—that is the fundamental question which confronts a Socialist (if he is not a renegade). The imperialist war of 1914-18 is a war between two groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the division of the world, for the division of the booty, and for the plunder and strangulation of small and weak nations. This was the appraisal of war given in the Basle Manifesto in 1912, and it has been confirmed by the facts. Whoever departs from this view of war is not a Socialist.

If a German under Wilhelm or a Frenchman under Clemenceau says, "It is my right and duty as a Socialist to defend my country if it is invaded by an enemy," he argues not like a Socialist, not like an internationalist, not like a revolutionary proletarian, but like a petty-bourgeois nationalist. Because this argument leaves out of account the revolutionary class struggle of the workers against capital, it leaves out of account the appraisal of the war as a whole from the point of view of the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, that is, it leaves out of account internationalism, and all that remains is a miserable and narrow-minded nationalism. My country is being wronged, that is all I care about—that is what this argument amounts to, and that is where its petty-bourgeois nationalist narrow-mindedness lies. It is the same as if in regard to individual violence, violence against an individual, one were to argue that Socialism is opposed to violence and therefore I would rather be a traitor than go to prison.

The Frenchman, German or Italian who says: "Socialism is opposed to violence against nations, therefore I defend myself when my country is invaded," betrays Socialism and internationalism, because such a man sees only his own "country," he puts "his own" . . . "bourgeoisie" above everything else and does not give a thought to the international connections which make the war an imperialist war and bis bourgeoisie a link in the chain of imperialist plunder.

All philistines and all stupid and ignorant yokels argue in the same way as the renegade Kautskyites, Longuetites, Turatis and Co.: "The enemy has invaded my country, I don't care about anything else."⁹

The Socialist, the revolutionary proletarian, the internationalist, argues differently. He says: "The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed; it depends on what class is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the

Continued on page 13

* The social-chauvinists (the Scheidemanns, Renaudels, Hendersons, Gompers and Co.) absolutely refuse to talk about the "International" as "traitors" to . . . Socialism. They regard the enemies of "their" respective bourgeoisies as "traitors" to . . . Socialism. They support the policy of conquest pursued by their respective bourgeoisies. The social-pacifists (i.e., Socialists "internationalist" sentiments, protest against annexations, etc., but in practice they continue to support their respective imperialist bourgeoisies between two capitalists—one with bitter, and the other with sweet, words on his lips.

The Pig on the Spot at the Murder of Damián García

April 22, 1980. Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was knifed to death by a police agent at the Pico-Aliso Housing Project while building for May First in East Los Angeles. The murder occurred just one month after Damián had become known to millions worldwide, although they did not even know his name, when he and two other comrades had raised the red flag over the Alamo. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) quickly issued a cover-up story, claiming it had been a gang killing.

April 22, 1982. The Los Angeles District Attorney made a motion for dismissal of criminal charges against all defendants in three legal cases stemming from May Day 1980 and from actions in 1981 in support of Chiang Ching and Mao's other revolutionary comrades condemned in trials in China. These cases included the infamous LAPD attack on the 1980 May Day march, after which a number of revolutionaries had, of course, been charged. The judge quickly agreed with the D.A. and charges were dropped. But "justice for the defendants" was not behind the dismissal; instead another case was lurking behind this ruling — one the authorities most definitely wanted closed. For in the course of the ongoing investigation into the murder of Damián García, an undercover agent of the LAPD was uncovered. This pig, called "Ernie Sanchez," had been standing only five feet away from Comrade Damián at the time of his murder. "Ernie Sanchez" was working at that time for one of the LAPD's main intelligence units, the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID). Testimony from this agent and his superiors in the course of various legal cases has shed even more light on the role of the political police in this planned execution. Despite the fact that nearly every mention of Damián's name — and certainly every question pertaining to police involvement in his murder — had been ruled "irrelevant" or "privileged" by the judge, much too much had already been revealed. Whether or not "Ernie Sanchez" was involved in the murder remains hidden in the annals of the police department. Any further delving into the details and interconnections had to be prevented.

The date for this dismissal in court was delayed several times by the prosecution so as to insure that it would fall on the most appropriate day — the 2-year anniversary of Damián's murder. (During this time, a prosecutor commented to one of the defense attorneys that April 22 "is a significant day for you, isn't it?"). On the 22nd, the District Attorney came into court waving a letter signed by none other than L.A. Police Chief Darryl Gates. The text read, in part:

"I am concerned about the ability of the Los Angeles Police Department's Public Disorder Intelligence Division to fulfill its responsibilities and maintain the integrity of ongoing criminal investigations in light of the current status of the above-enlisted cases.

"... certain court orders have issued which require the production of information which, in part, could jeopardize the successful completion of ongoing investigations as well as possibly endangering LAPD personnel.

"... Based on the above-described concerns, I believe that it would be in the best interests of the citizens of this City as well as the People of this State to dismiss the above-entitled cases ..."

Why, Chief Gates, what seems to be the problem here? Haven't we heard your officers say so many times that Damián's murder was "gang related"? This is notwithstanding the fact that Damián received numerous death threats from LAPD officers just two weeks before he was murdered. In fact, much more evidence has been produced pointing to the role of the police in this planned political execution than is normally used to convict and imprison thousands of alleged criminals.

And now, with the information pertaining to this undercover agent threatening to tear open what few threads of cover remain, you are forced to drop these cases and try to sew the tatters up tight. It would seem that the "gang" involved in this murder cannot tolerate any investigation into its activities. Despite the bourgeoisie's loud proclamations that the political police's COINTELPRO activities have ended, this case gives off the unmistakable odor of a COINTELPRO-type operation.

One week after Damián and 2 others scaled the Alamo and lowered the flag of Texas and raised the red flag, agent "Sanchez" infiltrated the May Day Brigade. Thus, he was present in the Pico-Aliso Housing Project in East L.A. when the Brigade was suddenly confronted by a man who said: "You hate the government. I am the government. Your flag is red. Mine is red, white and blue." This man, joined by several others, jumped the marchers in what at

have acted beforehand to offer "medical assistance," such as in the murder of Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton; he was secretly drugged by an undercover pig the night before the Chicago Police raided his house, thereby insuring that he would be asleep when the police attacked.

It is well-known past practice of the political police to have had another trusted agent standing nearby at the scene of these executions carried out by their operatives. When Black Panther leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were killed by FBI operatives at UCLA in 1969, there was at least one other agent on the premises. He later stated that his assignment had been to see if the others "did what they were supposed to do."

"Target"

The fact that "Ernie Sanchez" had a particular assignment with respect to Damián has also been uncovered through the course of court proceedings. In one

"targets," but this has far greater significance than their claimed "object of investigation." In fact, "target" is a term picked up from another organization that has had many dealings and interconnections with PDID — the FBI. In the infamous COINTELPRO and similar operations, the FBI's "targets" were those people singled out to be discredited, framed up and/or murdered — or in FBI parlance, "neutralized." According to the U.S. Senate's Church Committee, COINTELPRO actions "involved serious bodily injury or death to the targets." Such revolutionaries as Fred Hampton, Bunchy Carter, Geronimo Pratt, and Leonard Peltier were, or are, FBI "targets." A former high-ranking officer of PDID has testified in a different case that an agent would be given the name of a target when "the target was a particularly dangerous individual." Given the inspiration that raising the red flag over the Alamo supplied to millions around the world, in the context of the advanced within this country stepping forward for Revolutionary May Day 1980, there is no question but that Damián was looked at as a "dangerous individual" by the bourgeoisie and its political police. "Sanchez" has testified that over the entire period of his operations against the RCP, he saw Damián an average of once every week and a half; but after the Alamo takeover, such contact occurred at least once every day.

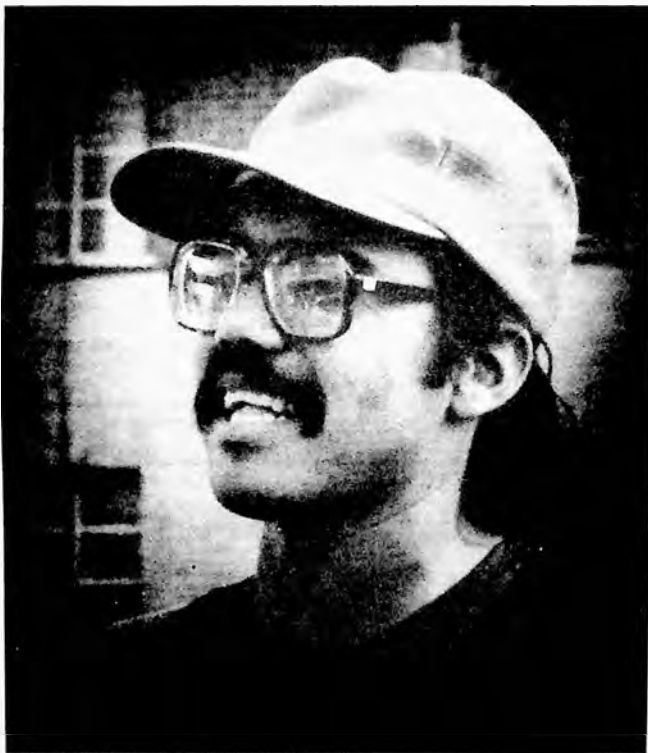
Agent's Behavior

This change is very significant, and helps to reveal some of the methods through which the political police attempted to operate in this case. "Sanchez" first had "contact" with Damián and the RCP in January of 1979, although he began working for the LAPD in February of 1978 and PDID in September of that year. Apparently, it took them a few months to figure out the approach for this agent, since he has admitted that his first PDID assignment was "infiltrating the RCP." But he never made any attempt to join the party; in fact, until the period leading up to May Day '80, "Sanchez" showed little initiative — remaining in many respects aloof, attending public events and participating in some party-led activities (and funneling information on these to his superiors), and basically doing nothing to promote himself as a serious candidate for party membership. "Sanchez" came on more like a "regular Joe," and some have noted that at times it was difficult to engage him in very deep discussion of his political views. When he finally did become a sometime participant in a *Revolutionary Worker* selling team in East L.A., he was very careful to stay in the background. This was especially true during the times when uniformed police would confront the team and attempt to disrupt *RW* distribution, and it was noted early on that "Sanchez" was one person who never seemed to get arrested. He also held down other jobs under his phony name, generally complained of being broke and would often decline to participate in important events because "he had to go to work."

In other words, "Sanchez" took great pains to keep his distance from the RCP exactly to avoid coming under more scrutiny where his fabricated persona would not hold up so well. His apparent lack of political sophistication at times was, in fact, part of a very politically sophisticated operation by the political police — and designed to enable him to be kept "in reserve." Part of this involved avoiding the more obvious pitfalls through which undercover agents have been unmasked in the past, especially in the late '60s/early '70s, when openly disruptive behavior or lack of any visible means of support often led to the detection of such slimy characters. All of this was apparently designed to save "Sanchez" for something very important.

Of course, the point of exposing this

Continued on page 18



Damián García

first appeared to be only a fist fight. But very suddenly, Damián fell to the ground. He had been slashed in the neck, abdomen and back by a previously concealed blade — a very professional job. Despite the fact that none of the others on the May Day Brigade noticed that Damián was being attacked in this manner, Agent "Sanchez" seems to have been very aware of what was happening five feet away from him. When he was asked in a court deposition what he was doing at the moment that Damián was killed, he replied, "Looking around a lot ... to make sure nobody came up on me ... Make sure nobody did to me what they did to Damián or reasonable facsimile."

Was self-preservation, to cover the possibility that the assassin might not have been previously tipped off to "Sanchez's" true colors, the extent of this agent's concern on that particular day? In the same deposition, "Sanchez" stated that immediately after the assault, he gave Damián some "first aid." There is ample precedence for such activity in the annals of the political police. For example, when Malcolm X was shot by FBI operatives, there was another undercover agent standing nearby — his bodyguard. Immediately after the shooting, this agent rushed over to administer "first aid." There are also cases where agents

particularly intense line of questioning, the agent admitted that he had a "standing instruction" to focus on a particular individual, and that this individual was not arrested on May Day '80. When asked how he knew that to be true, the agent simply replied, "I know." Pressing further, the defense attorney asked if the individual "was dead, or something?" By now, the agent was nervously shifting his body in the witness stand. He answered the question with, "He was no longer with us." When asked outright if the individual was dead, "Sanchez" hesitated and replied, "Yes."

The judge repeatedly interrupted questioning of this agent to prevent the word "target" from being used to describe any particular individuals that "Sanchez" might have been assigned to deal with. However, there was one PDID report turned over to the defense — out of 59 that PDID admits "Sanchez" turned in, all the rest of which were ruled "irrelevant" or "privileged" — and the word "target" appears quite prominently on it. The judge cut out the name that appeared next to this word. In two other places a name is also cut out. But from the context and subject of the report, there is no doubt that the "target" referred to was indeed Damián.

In other cases, PDID has openly admitted that they use the concept of

MAY 1st

Correspondence

Report from a Salvadoran Internationalist

The First of May, that has sown the seeds of internationalism of thousands of Internationalist revolutionaries from all parts of the world, there were revolutionaries in the concentration cities — N.Y., L.A., Atlanta . . .

I got to go to L.A., where we had to fight to put the stamp of the international proletariat and hold high the red flag, although we had to fight with the police, the flag will never fall while we live — part of the struggle was won by the leadership of the most advanced, true Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought — but it was the proletarian masses that will assure the final victory.

At one moment 40 internationalist revolutionaries and a part of the masses who had grasped the internationalist line were surrounded — it was in those moments that I understood what it was to be a revolutionary and what our red flag meant — for we were trapped but we never abandoned the struggle because of our line and we held the red flag very high — but it was the masses who freed us, they realized we were there, our voices were clearly heard and they demanded our liberty.

The struggle had begun much earlier (around 7-9 a.m.). It was our first direct action with the proletarian masses, in a project where we entered the neighborhood and began agitating and the masses came out on balconies and more came out as the agitation grew. They grasped our internationalist position: we marched in the street and the people took the newspaper, posters and flags and put them on their balconies — then the pigs came and we understood that this territory had been liberated. The action of the masses grew and they came to the street, the imperialists' pigs understood the thing was getting "ugly" and they couldn't let the masses be free so they began to try and arrest us. In my case, 2 compañeros and I were at the entrance of a building and someone unlocked a door and said enter, it's my apartment and I will guard the door. When he saw the danger was past, he came back in and we began to debate about whether he would join the march. He bought a *Programme* and asked for a flag to put on top of his building.

12 noon McArthur Park:

Having infiltrated into the revisionist CISPES/FDR march, we began to put forward our line in practice and once again the masses responded, taking flags and papers. We quickly arrived at the march's destination, where the battle sharpened up. A worker got close to me and asked me why on the platform with the speakers there were so many different flags of many colors, but we upheld only one, the red flag. I explained there was only one flag that represented the interests of the exploited working class worldwide, the red flag, and he said, give me one because I too am a worker, and exploited, and he took one and marched with it.

2 p.m.:

We went to wage the biggest battle of the day: liberating the center of L.A. Thousands of ideas passed through my head as we marched to the center — if you think we weren't an internationalist force, you should've seen our own team: one Iranian, one Mexican, one American and two Salvadorans. We arrived at the battlefield, crossing the last corner — what happiness to see the other teams who had begun the battle — hundreds of red flags were waving very high. We had united with a huge internationalist march and there were the imperialists' pigs — the battle would be tough.

It began and in the middle of the battle I realized that we were all leaders of the masses and that our most powerful weapon was the *RW* — it is what has prepared us in internationalism. I did not see my own team again, but on each corner we formed anew to continue the struggle, because we really didn't need a leader to tell us what to do, the paper and our own previous actions had made us leaders of these situations. There we had the enemy: the reactionaries, the police, the pro-imperialists; but we also had our allies — the workers, the students, the masses, and if we had not given leadership each one of us, the masses would've judged us later.

4 p.m.:

We had taken the city (the center of L.A.) and our own groups had taken different zones and we marched up and down in our free territory and the police followed us and at each step were judged by the masses who had witnessed how they repressed brave communist Marxist-Leninists. We paraded with banners from different countries.

5 p.m.:

At the time we left I took a bus and I told the driver I was being followed because I had celebrated May First, Worker's Day, and he answered, "get to the back of the bus, I'll tell you if they follow us." I got off when he told me to and walked to a gasoline station and

talked with a Mexican guy and explained my situation and he immediately said he'd take me where I wanted to go because he'd been downtown and saw what happened.

6 p.m.:

I arrived at the concentration point: what joy to see my brothers, to see their faces, what joy to see each soldier arrive.

We summed up the events (of the day) to prepare for the festival — the true festival of the workers.

7 p.m.:

We arrived at MacArthur Park and began the festival, the celebration of the victories we'd won. Hundreds of red flags in the warm air of the sunset, people took proudly the red flag of the *Revolutionary Worker*. We shared our freedom, we knew it was a little taste of the future when we would fight to overthrow the old order. But for those hours, we had established the dictatorship of the masses, cars stopped at the corners to ask for red flags, posters, papers — they responded by blowing their horns — people getting on the bus also took up the flag which you could see in the windows of the buses; people opened their doors so we could climb upstairs to the tops of their buildings to place that beautiful banner that said, "We are all illegal, we are all proletarians, Long Live the First of May," and on the other corner was the photograph of the

greatest revolutionary of our times, Comrade Mao.

The night was warm, the stamp of the proletariat had been placed on this city and the masses awoke to the sounds of the First of May and raised their hopes that in a short time we will make revolution.

Let the actions of May Day be of much inspiration to the international proletariat all over the world and let the masses who took part make every day a May Day. Greetings to all Revolutionaries in every corner of the world who make this May First possible.

Atlanta City Bus

A few days after May Day I boarded an Atlanta city bus and asked the driver for directions. "Excuse me, are you from Guatemala," he asked me. "No, do I look like I am," I replied. "Well, you know what you really remind me of . . . those May Day people. You know the ones who march around downtown with the red flags." I asked him back, "Why do I remind you of May Day people?" "You look international. They're international, you know." As I pulled an *RW* out of my bag, I responded, "Well, I am a May Day person." The driver was amazed and claimed he must be psychic. I suggested that he'd probably seen me downtown with a red flag and con-

Continued on page 7

May 1st Rebels Charged With Conspiracy To Demonstrate

As the impact of May First continues to reverberate it is not the least unexpected that the bourgeoisie is moving to retaliate both against the RCP itself, as well as those more broadly who were moved by, and involved in May Day. In L.A. some of these moves have been quite sharp. Of the people arrested on May Day itself, charges have been filed so far against more than 20. But added to each of the usual "battery on an officer" and "failure to disperse" charges is a further one, conspiracy to commit those acts (a charge adding a possible one year in jail if convicted). In the papers filed with the court describing the alleged "overt acts" of the defendants, the prosecutor has added that the defendants must have met before May Day to plan the demonstration, and in particular to plan the convergence point at 7th & Broadway. After all, these papers say, the police commission had granted a permit for gathering at another (isolated) area, and that therefore, there had to be a "conspiracy" to converge at 7th & Broadway which led to the alleged crime. (We might add that some of the bourgeois media had been publicizing all morning on the First that the demonstration would be meeting at the "approved" site, even though they were made well aware of the real convergence point.) Of course, this so-called "conspiracy" is nothing but the May First action itself which was set to take place at 7th & Broadway and publicly announced on tens of thousands of leaflets, on radio talk shows, press conferences and elsewhere in the weeks before the First. The addition of these overtly political charges is an escalation in the bourgeoisie's moves to counter-attack against May Day and to more generally lay the basis for wider use of their con-

spiracy laws. They have also so far filed charges against 11 people who were arrested at the April 28 demonstration at a federal detention center in Hollywood against the recent INS raids, including 6 who were charged with serious felonies with 5-year-maximum sentences.

The LAPD has also been active since the First including a 2 a.m. appearance at Revolution Books on May 3rd when four squad cars suddenly pulled up and the 8 cops jumped from them with guns drawn. Five of them barged into the store under the guise that they had seen a "possible burglar" on the roof of the building. Once inside, still brandishing guns, their "search for a burglar" quickly turned to threats to call in the Fire Department and close the place for supposed code violations. One cop added a further threat, saying, "I know you guys do your own security but you'd want us around if you're attacked by the Nazis." Another cop shined a flashlight on a May Day poster saying: "You put up these posters showing people with guns and rifles and I don't like it. I consider it a threat to my life." The May Day poster doesn't have pictures of guns on it but clearly the sight of the masses of people around with the red flag has struck fear in this cop's heart as it most certainly does for the entire class he serves and protects.

The day before this late night visit, people from the bookstore had set up a display of RCP and other revolutionary literature on a red cloth at the entrance to MacArthur Park. Red flags from May First were still posted on light poles and street signs, and were hanging from balconies, windows and stairwells, and a banner reading, "We Are All Illegal, We're Proletarians, We Have No Country," that had been put high atop one

building on a billboard defiantly remained. Within an hour more than 100 people had come by to buy literature and to debate and discuss. Here and in other areas where there was concentrated preparation for and activity on May Day there is a broad sense of elation off of the day. The political situation in these areas has not settled down and the authorities are finding this very worrisome. When some squad cars and a paddywagon pulled up to the park, the police whined about how all these flags being posted and the literature display were illegal. They were ignored. Plainclothes cops were in evidence as well. Some very suspicious characters even tried to rally backward people. They were hooted down by those who had gathered.

The bourgeoisie's efforts have been quite overt in other areas as well. In the area of Grand Central Market in downtown L.A. they have picked up people and held them then released them with a clear message to stay away from the revolutionaries. In one case, on May First, a youth was picked up after he yelled "Viva la Revolución!" and taken to the police station "for his own protection" and later released. In the garment district, at three places where there was a lot of building for May Day, guards and elevator operators have now been posted to keep the revolutionaries out.

All of this is indisputable testimony of the impact of May First, 1982 and the bourgeoisie's very real fears of what it portends. These attacks are being met head on. Particularly the fight to defeat the legal frameups is a key part of the battle coming off of this year's proletarian internationalist May Day. □

Continued from page 6

nected it up. "So tell me," he asked, "why are you trying to make a revolution in a country like this?" We struggled over it all the way into town.

Some of the ways he looked at it were: Was a revolution really possible against *this* ruling class? Wouldn't it ultimately come down to white people against the third world? People have been tricked by so many "false prophets" before — how can you know this party is "for real"? According to the route, the bus was to pass on the interstate two blocks from my destination. Yet I was supposed to have to ride all the way downtown and then catch another bus back out. But as we got to my exit the driver swung off the freeway and drove to the shopping plaza where I wanted to go. "You don't mind, do you? He's May Day," he told the other passengers.

Thinking to bring him some literature, I asked him when he would drive that route again. Misunderstanding my question though, he replied, "Any of the other drivers will do the same for you. Just tell them you're May Day."

May Day activist from Allanta

From Afghan Student to Russian Sailors

This statement from an Afghan student was sent with the revolutionaries who boarded a Russian ship to get the Russian translation of the Internationalist Call to May First Action into the hands of the sailors (see RW No. 154). Due to the sharp struggle and brief time on the ship it was not possible to read it, but we are reprinting it here in the hope that it may somehow reach its destination.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of Afghan people for independence and democracy is a part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle of oppressed masses from El Salvador to Iran. The oppressed masses of Afghanistan on the one hand are fighting against Russian invaders, on the other hand are refusing to be dominated by U.S. imperialism. The crimes and atrocities of U.S. imperialism under the cover of "democracy and freedom" in Central America and other parts of the world is opposed by people worldwide.

There is a challenge to accept and a world to free from imperialist oppression.

Nature of the Beast

This letter comes from a Southeast Asian refugee who's been in the U.S. for a year. He went down to the L.A. demo with a contingent from San Francisco. (Translated from Chinese by the RW.)

One commander-type cop, all decked out in his gear, was leading a group of human-headed, pig-brained cops. They waited in the streets for when there were only a few pedestrians, and then swung their big sticks, their eyes set on people's liberation. It reminded people of poisonous snakes set to strike. Like beasts, they attacked people's liberation, breaking heads and drawing blood. People could see that beneath their "civilized" front lies their vicious beastly nature. People's liberation forced the cops to attack so viciously and caused blood to flow — don't tell me they are not guilty. We could really see the injustice of this society. Even I, a refugee, can't tolerate this. May First is a day for internationalism for us worldwide. So we must take action in the U.S., and not only in the U.S. but people worldwide must do so, in order that people will open up their eyes. Comrades, I write this letter because I can't put up with these brutal acts by this bunch of cops.

Detroit Arab Community

In Detroit the period around May First saw significant developments in the large Arab community. In the preceding weeks, the Joint Communiqué and Internationalist Call both in Arabic were widely distributed and debated, several people taking them on trips to the West Bank and other parts of the Middle East. Most of the politically active forces in that community view revolu-

tion as one youth said, "As something you did back in my home country." But the proletarian internationalism of May First drew out forces with a broader view, such as some Yemenis and Lebanese who've tasted both brands of imperialism. Hands began to grab red flags; gatherings, out of the view of the state, got deeper into it: "You can't talk to these people here about internationalism. You know what they'll be talking about on May Day, just Free Palestine, Long Live Yemen." A group of youth eagerly debated the article on the foreign-born in the Russian Revolution wanting to know how could "outsiders" play a role in this country. Others were torn about taking a vanguard stand among Arabs: "If I went I would be the first." The Internationalist Call was taped in Arabic to be broadcast in the streets and the apartments; and the Arabic "Put the Stamp of the International Proletariat" posters appeared on the walls facing an international wall of May Day posters.

Intensifying the situation in the Arabic south end was increased activity by the police and INS. Much of this took place in the context of the sharpening situation in the Middle East itself, with the battles raging by Palestinians on the West Bank and the Israeli bombings of Palestinian camps in Lebanon. In restaurants where normally political discussions took place, more and more people wouldn't talk in the open as undercover police sat for hours just drinking coffee. But despite the attempts to intimidate the community, including stopping residents and checking visas, etc., all the stores, restaurants and coffee houses closed in conjunction with the worldwide boycott in the Arab world. Revolutionary sentiment was high. It was no mistake that in the Detroit area many of the places raided in INS "Operation Jobs" were those where Arabs were concentrated. And most of those arrested were Arabic. The state grasped well the potential powderkeg of the foreign-born in this community.

In the week before May Day, police attacked RW distributors and Revolution Books tables on the main strip. Under the watchful eyes of the law some Arab reactionaries tried to whip up backward sentiments among those on the street, particularly making racist comments against a Black comrade. Others responded, "Look you don't know what it means to have Americans talking about the whole world." The two trends—one of the imperialists and their stooges in the community and the other, revolution, particularly the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend were bound to clash on May First.

One small band of May Day organizers who had not gone to Atlanta arrived in the community early in the evening. One of them was a Black Vietnam vet who had come forward in the recent period himself straining to break out of the bonds of nationalism and religion.

In the first spot, a coffee house reputed for its political character, confrontation broke out. Earlier that week it was the scene of sharp struggle with some forces running around saying, "Don't talk to the internationalists" and others mainly youth basically telling these backward elements to Fuck off. But on this day, the backward were ready and pushed a squad into the street. "Get off this street and get out of this community. This is a good country so stick that red flag up your ass," and, "Didn't you hear what the police said the other day?" (Referring to an earlier threat where these same reactionaries were told by cops, "You take care of them and we'll be back in half an hour with an ambulance.")

Immediately, a small group of residents determined to make proletarian internationalism a living force jumped up and were joined by several who had come out of the coffeehouse with the May Day organizers. They denounced these agents of imperialism and urged the agitator to speak out. The sidewalk was filling up with people coming out of the other coffeehouses and stores. Animated debate in Arabic broke out everywhere and the backward slinked away. A somewhat fluid march of about a dozen took off down the street, some would join in and then drop out—others coming to take their place. The staunchest formed a solid core. In a

living testimony to pro-imperialist bourgeois nationalism one of the backward yelled out, "Go back to El Salvador" to a person wearing a bandana.

By now four or five squad cars arrived. Immediately the police began yelling to break it up and push people away. "Isn't May First over, we don't want a disturbance here." But the disturbance was already in progress and under the glares of those on the sidewalk the police retreated to the other side of the street. As soon as the police moved away those who had retreated, returned. "Don't let them give you trouble." "But it is they who have the trouble," came the reply. And so it went the rest of the evening, when the police moved in the entire march evaporated into the shops and coffeehouses only to reappear. As the crowd dwindled, police swept through the area for any signs of red. But the indelible red mark of May First had been made.

A Detroit comrade

An Internationalist Contribution

Dear Comrades,

Here is a small donation to the *Revolutionary Worker*, the only voice of revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalism in the U.S. With the bad financial situation which most of us "illegals" face, we couldn't donate more, but we know that we made a correct decision in giving it to you, the only internationalist force in the U.S. who has made great contributions to the unity of the revolutionary communist movement worldwide. The one and only force who has exposed every revisionist trend in every color and form. Here I'm asking all the other "illegals" to contribute to the RCP and its combat against all forms of reaction.

In struggle,
Two Iranian Students

Nigerian Students

This poster message was taken to Atlanta May Day actions on May First by Nigerian students in North Carolina.

Message to revolutionary May Day from Nigerian Students in the U.S.,
There are those who say we Nigerian students in the U.S. should be only concerned with our studies, that the "road to independence" lies with us pursuing our careers. They advise us to turn our backs on the oppressed of Nigeria, the U.S., and the whole world — whose struggle bursts forward again and again, reaching not for a savior to hand over a few reforms but to turn the whole world upside down. To this we answer: Unite and free ourselves from the chains of oppression and exploitation! Let's come together under proletarian/internationalism to bury the shackles of the capitalist oppressors and exploiters and all that goes with it. Up with international/proletarian revolution — down with imperialists of the world! Let's march forward to dig their graves!

Banner to Sri Lanka

Dearest Comrades,

A banner was sent to Sri Lanka on the occasion of Revolutionary Internationalist May Day. Sorry that this gets to you so late. The banner read:

"To the Oppressed in Sri Lanka:
ARMED REVOLUTION IS A WORLD PROCESS
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM
DEATH TO U.S./SOVIET IMPERIALISM
Revolutionary Masses U.S.A."
A Comrade in Los Angeles

Idaho Surprise

Dear RW,

A couple of RW readers came across this unusual sight a few days after May Day. Was it deliberate or accident? Who knows. But what a wonderful little preview of what's to come. And how fit-

ting for this citadel of Imperialism and for all the capitalist slop they serve. (And we don't mean just the food.)

Yours truly,
Some readers in Idaho



2 L.A. High Schools

This is from a high school youth that was originally at L.A. High and was expelled and sent to a high school in Watts. He took part in the L.A. High action on April 28th.

The gentlemen teachers never really expected that May First would occur in L.A. High School. A school of approximately 2,400 students made up of Asians, Blacks and Latinos. One week before May First, the Brigade realized that accelerated preparations for May First were necessary. Especially at L.A. High School where there is a huge revolutionary spirit among the students, a great potential for the mentioned May First action and future offensives. Like we all know by the last week in April was beginning to be something dif-

ferent, the scene had been completely changed. That week was one of big problems for the bourgeoisie and big victories for the revolution in this country, and the world.

After all the tensions that developed, we learned that there are more conscious sentiments than we thought. We were shown that here within imperialism there are people tired of the system and that revolutionary action can be taken, more than we suppose. Who says that a revolutionary movement is impossible in this country? On the contrary, it's even more than that, an internationalism is rising, unity among Blacks, Latins and Asians was born.

What significance and what impact did it have on a world scale? I think it
Continued on page 16

Nepal Communist Party/On Counter-Revolution in China

The following is from a document we received, "Counter-Revolution in China," by the Nepal Communist Party. It was the main item on the agenda of the first plenum of the Fourth Central Committee of the NPC, which took place in July 1981. These excerpts comprise the first and last sections. Other excerpts from this important document were reprinted in the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper Mass Line (Dec. 1981 and Jan. 1982), available through Revolution Books.

The first extended session of the 4th Central Committee holds that a counter-revolution has taken place in China on 6 October, 1976 and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has been established there. The renegade Teng Shiao-ping clique is reversing the correct verdicts of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and achievements of the socialist revolution. The rightist counter-revolutionary line of renegade Liu Shao-chi is being rehabilitated in China. They have recognized the revisionist clique of Yugoslavia as Marxist-Leninist and her economy as a socialist one. The present revisionist leadership has fully rejected the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and have condemned the post-Revolution thoughts of Mao Tsetung as "ultra-Leftist".

The counter-revolution in China is not quite unexpected as it is generally supposed. From the very beginning the founders of Marxism-Leninism have expressed the

view that even after revolution the danger of the restoration of capitalism continues. What has happened in China proves the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist theory. The Chinese revisionists are not alone to assail Mao and Mao Tsetung thought. Albania also is making violent attacks against Mao and Mao Tsetung thought from "Left" sectarian angle. This plenum resolutely rejects and condemns both the right and "Left" attacks made against Mao Tsetung Thought.

To go against Tides is Marxist-Leninist Principle

The counter-revolution in China has made the revolution of Nepal very difficult. But we should not be disappointed from it. We should never forget this teaching of Mao: to go against tides is Marxist-Leninist principle. There is no difference within our party about the fact that the leadership of the CPC has become a revisionist one. But some of our comrades hold the view that we should not publicly condemn the CPC. This is a mistaken idea. Such a wrong thinking is based on the understanding that the open opposition of the Chinese party will make the revolution of Nepal impossible. But after the revisionist take-over in China, we cannot hope of China helping our revolution. After when the system of a country becomes reactionary, it does not help the revolution, but helps a counter-revolution. No doubt, China is our neighbor. From geographical point of

view India is more near too. But this geographical factor does not make Indian expansionism an ally of our revolution. The same holds good with China too. A political system deviated from revolutionary principles can not help our revolution. So we should not hesitate to criticize and oppose the revisionist leadership of China.

The question of supporting Chinese revisionism is not only an external matter, but it is closely related with our party. If we support Chinese revisionism, it will make our party — the nature of our politics, organization, movement and united front policy — also revisionist. So the question of opposing the Chinese leadership has decisive importance for us.

Kathmandu Student Conference Brutally Attacked

The following is reprinted from Mass Line, May 1, 1982.

The 7th National Conference of the All Nepal National Free Students Union (ANNFSU) scheduled to be held at Kathmandu from 1st to 3rd April was brutally attacked by the fascist state forces. Hundreds of students were arrested even before they reached the venue and the armed forces occupied the venue. The organizers had to hurriedly shift the venue and the conference was conducted in underground conditions in the jungles. The arrested student revolutionaries are still being tortured inside the jails and a reign of terror is let loose on the university and college campuses.

ANNFSU is the student organisation working under the political and organisational guidance of Nepal Communist Party. The conference, though conduct-

ed in the teeth of fascist repression, was a very lively one and questions of ideology and politics were actively debated. The national and international developments and the role of students in the revolutionary struggle were subjects of prime importance in the conference. After the discussions, a representative of Revolutionary Students Union (India) addressed the conference extending fraternal greetings. After the conference the student revolutionaries returned to Kathmandu in small batches and after regrouping took out a militant march through the city. This march was brutally attacked by the fascists and many students were beaten up and arrested. Many students fought back and instead of dispersing they formed small groups and continued to tell the masses the news about the conference. □

The Secret of Saudi Arabia

King Khalid and the several thousand family princes who rule Saudi Arabia have always insisted that U.S. military bases will not be allowed in their country. From time to time they have even voiced "stinging criticism" of U.S. military activities in the Middle East. Last year, for example, there was quite a fuss when the Saudis demanded that the AWACs planes the U.S. sent them, and the intelligence gathered thereby, had to be "Saudi controlled."

Such posturing is, of course, necessitated by the fact that the Saudi rulers do have a certain image to maintain in the Arab world, despite the fact that they have long been one of the U.S.'s most thoroughly dependent and controlled client regimes in the Middle East. And while it is well known that Saudi Arabia has regularly been supplied with plenty of modern weapons systems, advanced jet fighters, etc. purchased from the U.S. bloc with prodigious sums of petrodollars, it is also true that it has not played the role of U.S. enforcer in the region on anything resembling the scale of Israel or, say, the former Shah of Iran — nor has it been intended to.

But the patent ridiculousness of such airs put on by the House of Saud is readily apparent in what is perhaps less well known — that is, the tremendous, if relatively unpublicized, extent of U.S. military involvement in Saudi Arabia and just what, precisely, it is being focused around. While in recent years much public attention has been devoted to U.S. negotiations for strategic bases in Oman, Somalia and Kenya, etc., precious little has been said about the fact that for the past decade and more the U.S. rulers have been "unofficially" converting Saudi territory into a giant military staging area — and not mainly for the use of the Saudi armed forces.

Consider for a moment the following: between 1955 and 1979 Saudi Arabia was the recipient of some \$30 billion in U.S. military-connected sales, a figure which some have estimated rivals the amount of foreign military sales to any country in U.S. history. Be that as it may, it is a matter of public record that in the past two years alone such sales to the Saudis totaled more than \$10 billion. Yet, paradoxically, one U.S. armed forces journal

pointed out that the Saudi rulers "face the prospect of having the world's most expensive military forces in terms of dollars paid for firepower delivered without being able to deal adequately with a single major regional threat." Why? Because since 1968, some 70% of these military expenditures have gone not for weapons, but for "military infrastructure, training bases and manpower skill levels on American advice" — i.e. what the Saudis euphemistically refer to as "modernization."

This "modernization" campaign, which has been going on for years, has consisted largely of the construction of a number of huge military bases and airfields, military training facilities (among them several military academies in the capital of Riyadh), deep water naval ports (like those at Jubail on the Persian Gulf and Jidda on the Red Sea), and troop housing complexes as well as sophisticated communications and logistics systems, new roads and other methods of transport. Every bit of it is overseen and contracted out by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers which brags that Saudi Arabia is "the largest military construction program the Corps has ever had" — and history will bear out that the Corps has certainly had the lion's share of the world's biggies in the past.

Saudi Arabia has over 10,000 U.S. military and civilian personnel engaged in supervision of these projects. Most of the "civilians" just happen to be ex-military men with "special skills" as are the civilian employees from Britain, France, W. Germany and a number of U.S. clients like South Korea with expertise in military construction who are participating in this effort. And while an important side benefit of all this is the recycling of Saudi petrodollars back into the U.S. bloc economy, via the Western corporations who reap many of the contracts handed out, the main purpose has been that, as one source put it, "much of the infrastructure, logistical manpower and command apparatus required for an American intervention is now already in place (for) what is in effect a forward base in Saudi Arabia."

That what is being built here is something more than a few runways for the Rapid Deployment Force, etc. is indicated by the scope of one of the most recent pro-

jects — what is known as King Khalid Military City, considered "one of the largest and most sophisticated military installations in the world." This huge octagonal complex with a projected cost of \$8 billion is scheduled for final completion in 1990, located near Al Batin ("in the middle of nowhere" — nowhere except the Persian Gulf, that is) will have, among other things, airfields, missile ranges, training facilities, and ammunition depots. Indeed, something of the scale of this particular venture alone is indicated by the fact that a deep water port had to be built at Ras al-Mishab just to bring in the construction materials. But perhaps the most interesting thing about King Khalid Military City is that, while it is only one of a string of U.S. military projects, it alone is designed to accommodate some 60,000 troops and 70,000 additional support personnel — a most interesting statistic since there is nowhere near that number in the entire Saudi armed forces!

Of course, we have the Saudi rulers' word for the fact that there is not a single U.S. military base on their national soil. All these are Saudi bases, Saudi airfields, Saudi naval installations intended for the training and use of Saudi armed forces. This might seem a bit silly in view of the fact that: 1) the Saudi Naval Expansion Program is directly managed by the U.S. Navy, 2) the Saudi airforce modernization programs, known as Peace Hawk and Peace Sun which include construction of airfields for U.S. F-5 and F-15 warplanes (and, in some cases, long enough for B-52's to take off and land), are managed by the U.S. Air Force, 3) the Saudi National Guard is directed by the U.S. Army Material Development and Readiness Command with the help of the California-based Vinnel Corporation (which describes its employees as "executive mercenaries" and whose prep briefings state "We are not here to win the hearts and minds of the people"), and 4) Saudi intelligence and internal security programs are supervised by the CIA.

It need hardly be said in view of the above that Saudi Arabia is being built up as a mammoth military complex for the U.S. rulers as part of their contention with the Soviets in this region of the world and especially in preparation for World War 3. The stakes are quite high here: to the west,

control of the Red Sea, the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, and to the east, control of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman with their vital oil routes, not to mention the capacity to deploy huge numbers of American ground forces, ships and aircraft able to strike at the Soviet-bloc forces throughout the Middle East. But in consideration of Saudi Arabia's diplomatic role for the U.S. in the Middle East, as well as for its highly unstable internal situation (open flaunting of the full U.S.-Saudi military relationship could well be the kiss of death for the House of Saud), all this has been kept decidedly low profile with the understanding that, as the *Washington Post* once put it, while the Saudi regime "is favorably disposed to U.S. facilities . . . it is not going to advertise the idea and may even criticize it occasionally."

Of course, the huge U.S.-built military complexes in Saudi Arabia have already been put to some use in dealing with certain regional crises. For example, in early 1979 the U.S. supplied North Yemen against Soviet-backed South Yemen with \$300 million worth of bombers, tanks, etc. (paid for by the Saudis) via Saudi bases in an operation that utilized hundreds of U.S. military personnel. In 1980 Iraqi MIGs used the U.S.-constructed Tabuk airbase in Saudi Arabia for refueling in between attacks on Iran. But compared to what the U.S. has in mind for such "Saudi bases" in the future, this stuff was a mere drop in the bucket.

Ironically, there is yet another related reason for these bases and their capacity to accommodate large numbers of U.S. military personnel. One of the U.S.'s main concerns about the region as a whole is the maintenance of its oil supply to grease the Western-bloc war machine as well as the denial of such resources in any case to the Soviet enemy. And after all a good portion of this oil comes from Saudi Arabia itself. Considering the preparations that are being made for the eventual arrival of U.S. forces at King Khalid Military City down to the last rec room, swimming pool and jacuzzi, it is little wonder that a 1979 congressional report concluded that, in light of the dubious ability of Saudi military forces to defend its own oil fields, if the U.S. decided to go ahead with it, "the desert kingdom — Saudi Arabia — would be comparatively easy to invade."

They Will Be Millions. . .

May 1, 1982 . . . something happened in this country, something that has never, ever happened before. It was not as though lightning struck. It was more like an embryo was conceived in its mother's womb, microscopic in its size, and yet destined to grow large and strong.

From MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, a small number of proletarians from El Salvador left the battle there to go to a May 1st concert performed by the Apes of God band. After the concert one of them initiated a discussion with the musicians, saying that while this music was something new to him, he could tell that it was rebellious and going up against the acceptable. Another said that he disagreed and thought the music was "decadent" and "too anarchistic." The discussion continued. Later the proletarians went off into the night to raise the red flag elsewhere.

These workers, and their comrades in some other few-and-far-between places in this country this year acted in the real revolutionary tradition of the international proletariat.

Like the Chinese proletariat of the 1960s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they are changing the image of proletarians from that of begging seekers of a crust of bread, a dime to a dollar, to one of tribunes of the people, fighters to conquer and transform all the world.

That their numbers were small, that their arguments were not always correct, is not nearly so important at this time as is the fact that they actually dared to take some responsibility, in the context of May 1, 1982 for that bastion of bourgeois ideology, that sphere of "innate talent," of "the private appropriation of knowledge," that place where "you either have it or you don't," that most "unknowable of things," the "sacred" sphere of culture. They will be millions. And they will learn to be correct.

Rebel Artists Link Themselves Pell Mell With the International Proletariat

The international proletariat has its representatives, REVOLUTIONARIES, and its allies, in every sphere, including the cultural. There is a very broad "left" upsurge among artists in this country at this time, and the most advanced among these acted significantly and historically, forming a stream into the worldwide river that rode the rapids on the First of May. Proletarians everywhere should know what they did and know their name.

On Friday, April 30, a group of revolutionary proletarians and May First volunteers attended a performance of a new play by Sonia Sanchez, "I'm Black When I'm Singing, I'm Blue When I Ain't," which had its world premiere in Atlanta one week before May Day. Off of discussion and struggle over the Internationalist Call to May First Action, the party's call for "A Revolutionary Offensive in the Sacred Sphere of Art" (RW No. 150), and especially the challenges posed by the call to proletarians to "Leave No Sacred

Sphere Untouched!" (RW No. 152), members of the Jomandi Productions theater troupe, an Atlanta-based Black theater, set aside a block of tickets to assure that seats would be available for the April 30th performance.

The play, in which some of the characters are based on the lives of Black women artists Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday and Nina Simone, powerfully portrays typical contradictions in the struggle and suppression of Black women artists and women in general, and by implication poses some sharp questions as to the necessity of the proletariat to wage some fierce struggle in this arena against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to crush and demoralize progressive and revolutionary artists. Excited informal discussion between the proletarians and many cast members and musicians followed the play. They grappled with the questions and challenges posed by the call to artists and the play itself. The success of this development is certainly no light-weight matter, as can be seen in the intensity of the struggle to carry it through — in one case, a Black proletarian woman from Techwood Homes, who had picked up the red flag earlier Friday afternoon and was very enthusiastic about attending the play that night, was only prevented from doing so when her husband literally locked her in the bedroom.

It was very fitting, after what has gone on in Atlanta over the past two years, that tickets for the upcoming U.S. tour of the Clash went on sale the morning of May 1st in Atlanta. This was the second year in a row that a major appearance of the Clash has opened ticket sales on May Day, and as thousands of youth queued up to camp out the night of the 30th, red flags cut from the back of the RW could be seen marking some spots on line, and revolutionaries were greeted with a yell, "All right! I knew that the May Day people would be out here!" Also hitting the stores by May 1st weekend was the new Clash single, "Know Your Rights," with flipside, "First Night Back in London," taken from their about-to-be-released album, tentatively entitled *Rat Patrol From Fort Bragg*.

At the On Broadway Club in San Francisco, the Dead Kennedys ushered in the First of May, headlining concerts on April 29 and 30. On April 29 the bands included Bad Posture, Millions of Dead Cops and Rebel Truth. Members of the four bands united to hang International Workers Day/Take History Into Your Hands posters on both sides of the stage. Bad Posture's lead singer kicked off the show with a bit of May Day theater by taking off the Uncle Sam hat he was wearing and stomping it into the stage. Millions of Dead Cops highlighted their set with a ferocious tune called "John Wayne Was A Nazi." When the Dead Kennedys took the stage, lead singer Jello Biafra teased the decidedly rebellious audience of punks and youth which had swelled to about 400. "Who's dumb enough to work tomorrow? Who's really

dumb enough to work on May Day?" Then Jello asks, "What should I play for May Day?" and comes up with a short and sweet song from their new album called "Dog Bite" — which goes, "Dog bite, Dog bit my leg. But it's supposed to, it's supposed to beg."

Out in the parking lot after the show political struggle raged especially hot on the difference between anarchism and communism; and 'long about 5 o'clock in the morning, one of the musicians pulled a comrade aside and said that while he still has questions about the line on homosexuality, he would like to know how one goes about joining the party.

Other manifestations of May First bloomed on the air waves. On the eve of May Day, in Berkeley, California a leading reggae D.J. and popularizer, a revolutionary-minded Rasta, Karen Lippman, put on a powerful program "dedicated to May First and international workers." Her weekly show, "Rasta Reggae" broadcast from KALX, a popular Berkeley station, featured the uplifting "storm music" of the oppressed and revolutionary Black masses, performed by reggae artists from Jamaica, England and the U.S. The show opened with "Breaking Down the Barriers" by Sons of Jah and "The Revolutionary Step" ("the dance you'll never forget . . .") by Pablo Moses. Throughout this delightful hour, and woven between the songs and poetically linked to their content, the D.J. sent her message to the masses and challenge to the powers that be, "Break out, Break free" and "They're the vampires . . . We're no robots." During the show people called in excitedly to express their appreciation of the revolutionary music and to find out more about May Day, and some said that they were going to find ways to break out too!

May 1st spilled across the FM airwaves in Atlanta as well. A DJ at the Georgia Tech FM radio station, Jamila, whose "Solidarity Confinement" show before May 1st focused on punk and new wave songs of rebellion, called on people to think about all the songs that night "in the light of the upcoming holiday." She topped off her show with a long taped interview with the Clash, intercut with songs from their album, *Sandinista*. On the community-supported Radio Free Georgia station, another DJ — whose program format is "World Music" — several times announced the May 1st march during his April 30 show, which featured music reflecting the internationalism of that day. And on the same station's weekly "Revolution Rock" program, described as "entertainment for people who want to change the world," DJ Miller Francis built his shows preceding May 1st around the theme of the clashing trends of war and revolution, drawing on a wide array of reggae, punk and jazz — linked to the challenge of May 1st to break out, break free.

In other developments, a banner was made which applied the internationalist content of May 1st to the cultural arena

and challenged people to look at art in those terms. The banner featured a Rastaman rising up with a red sun in the background, inspired by the album cover of Bob Marley's last album, *Uprising*, and the poem from the call to artists in the RW. Accompanying the banner was a statement entitled, "May 1st Internationalist Greetings to Reggae Rebels of Jamaica From Rebel Artists of Atlanta." The banner and statement were taken to places where revolutionary and progressive artists congregate: pubs, radio stations, bars, concerts, art schools, a reggae club, punk and new wave clubs, and so on, spreading debate over rebel art in general and reggae music in particular wherever it went. Eventually destined for Jamaica, by Saturday May 1st the banner had 67 signatures on it, including from dancers, designers, artists, students, painters, a record company executive, musicians, actors, DJ's and more than half the cast and musicians of the Sanchez play. With many signatures, a personal comment was added, ranging from "Oppression is worse than death" (from the Koran) to "Overthrow Babylon."

This May Day also saw rebel artists doing new and creative things to "paint the town red" on the occasion of May First. At the video taping of a Los Angeles TV show called New Wave Theater, the bands assembled to perform on the show were quite delighted with the May Day posters and Internationalist Calls that circulated during the taping. A May First volunteer who was working as sound woman on the set improvised on the sound check, transforming the standard "Testing . . . one, two, three . . ." into "May First, International Workers Day . . . Into Your Hands . . . Take a Holiday." When some uptight producer offered her \$10 to stop this, she took the money, didn't stop, and made a fine donation to the RW. (A bit of creative fundraising, eh what?) On Damián Garcia Day, in the spirit of "stepping out and making history like Damián did," one rebel punk hung a red banner from a high balcony of the San Francisco Art Museum that read "May Day/Damián *Retrospective*." Looking like a banner announcing a show inside, it stayed up for most of the day. And right in the middle of the gala preparations for the resurrected-from-the-dead "Black and White Ball" — a most flagrant flaunting of bourgeois culture and wealth held in San Francisco — one youth decorated one of their most precious new music halls with "May Day In Your Face" at the entrance, and as of last week they have not been successful in totally erasing it.

Such were a number of the highlights of the unabashed rebellious political activity in the arts. Further reports are published in this week's correspondence, and readers are encouraged to continue to report on all the sights and sounds of May 1st, in the spirit of keeping no May 1st secrets from the international proletariat and its allies. □





Frankfurt, West Germany

May 1, Frankfurt, W. Germany. Respectable leaders of the W. German labor movement, perched safely on a balcony 30 feet above Paul Kirsche Square, were having their regular May Day rally. Their security was effective; nobody could enter the locked building from which they spoke and turn their mikes against them this year, as was the case in other cities last year. But the scene down on the ground was not theirs. Over half of the 5-10,000 people gathered there were immigrants, mainly from Turkey, as well as some from Afghanistan, Eritrea, and other places, joined by widely (and wildly) varied clumps of youth and people from the various social movements in W. Germany. The pro-imperialist blather from above fell down like some nasty but barely noticeable mist

on banners and booktables, leaflets and newspapers, as everywhere people were talking and arguing about "citizens' initiatives," national liberation, Startbahn West (the U.S. military's "Gateway to Europe" airport), nukes, prospects of war and revolution and a myriad of other things. From around the corner poured a column of 200 or so reactionaries screaming, "Foreigners Out—Germany for Germans." This mob, a bit less polished and vague in their support for W. German imperialism than the Social Democrats who after all are burdened with the actual responsibility of running the government at the moment, was made up mainly of soccer fans, with a few notorious neo-Nazis among them and some Grey Wolves (Turkish reactionaries) lurking in

the background. They had been shepherded from the train station for nearly a mile by the police. They made straight for the workers from Turkey, ripping down their revolutionary banners and throwing punches. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats tried to restrain the crowd both through pleas (in Turkish, of course) and their own goons. The question of proletarian internationalism which had been the theme of the ATIF contingent (Federation of Workers from Turkey) and the center of much discussion had become a question for action. In a way it was a civil war in miniature: the nation vs. the revolution. At first there was confusion. Then banners came down and the sound of cracking wood filled the air as banner poles joined the class struggle in another form.

Workers from Turkey, Iranians, German-born youth and others and people from a dozen countries gave the reactionaries a few licks of the future and sent them scurrying back behind police protection. With banners gone but fists held high, the chant "Hoch die Internationale Solidarität!" (Long live international solidarity) filled the square. The youth in the last picture is wearing a kafir (symbol of the Palestinian struggle) and above the anarchist symbol has written across his jacket: "We Are the Turks of Tomorrow." He explained, "The Turks are getting fucked over and we the young people who are not for this system, we're catching the same thing." This tomorrow of his has thrown real fear into the hearts of the authorities.

May Day Reports Criss Cross the Planet

Ceylon Communist Party

We have good news about the success of the May Day rally and demonstration held in Colombo on May 1st.

This year's main May Day demonstration and rally were organized by a group of the main anti-government parties, including our Party, which got together for that purpose. It was not a united front with a common programme but an ad hoc committee for rousing the people into action against the government on day-to-day issues.

The parties that got together for this year's May Day celebrations were: the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike (former Premier), the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) — social democratic/trotskyite, our Ceylon Communist Party, and two other left groups. The pro-Soviet revisionist party and the main Trotskyist party refused the invitation for a joint rally.

This year's demonstration and rally were the biggest that Sri Lanka had ever seen. It took 4-1/2 hours for the demonstration to pass the platform. Despite all the obstacles placed on our path by the government, it was a huge success. Of

course, the overwhelming section of the demonstration was that organized by the SLFP. The parliamentary elections are expected next year and this was a kind of dress rehearsal and a show of strength. Yet, it was a unique phenomenon that so many thousands of people of all ages (over 50, 60 and even 70) — not just youth — and of all classes marched in a demonstration for 4-1/2 hours, side by side with communists and with a communist leader as one of the leaders leading the demonstration in front. The slogans were all anti-government. Some were quite revolutionary. One float by an SLFP branch was an armoured car (built around a jeep) with a man peeping out of the peep-hole with a machine gun in his hand.

Our Party's demonstration was headed by the Party banner and a more-than-life size picture of Mao. Pictures of Chiang Ching were also carried. Hoisted prominently in the front was a huge banner which read: "Oppose U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism who are dragging humanity to a third world war!"

Other slogans were:
Expose bourgeois parliamentary democracy!
Choose the path of revolution!
Unite, under a revolutionary leadership, all the forces opposed to the UNP (governing party)!

Reinstate all workers dismissed during the 1980 general strike!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Of course, there was a contradiction between the slogans of the SLFP and our slogans. While the SLFP staged the demonstration with the cry: We will come back in 1983; we called for the rejection of the parliamentary path.

This unity is temporary but it gave us a chance to reach thousands upon thousands whom we could not have reached otherwise. I have already sent you our May Day call which was printed as the lead story in our May Day issue of our paper. Our article which appeared in the second issue of "A World To Win" was published in a pamphlet form in Sinhalese and sold at the rally.

Organisationally, we were no match for the SLFP. We were nowhere near. Neither were the other left groups. But our participation gave us a platform and a national status which we could not have obtained otherwise. But this is temporary — till the elections are announced. But, there is a real possibility that the next elections would not be free and democratic — even in the bourgeois sense. We have reached a critical stage in Sri Lanka where the comprador bourgeoisie sees no further use in elections and fears them. Then, the ball would be back in our court.

I am enclosing a precis of my speech at the rally, which was presided over by Mrs. Bandaranaike. As you will note, we did not compromise on principles nor sacrifice our initiative. We are obviously walking a tight rope. But we are trying, to the best of our ability to put into practice Mao's teaching: Make use of contradictions (among the enemy), isolate the few, win over the many, and destroy your enemies, one by one.

We will not take part in the coming elections nor support anyone else.

N. Sanmugathasan
5/5/82

Chile

The U.S.-backed generals in Chile almost seem to have borrowed a page from the revisionist countries in their efforts to co-opt May Day into a festival of oppression by blending economism and terror. It was a day dedicated to the "interests" of the workers, explicitly forbidding, of course, any expression of their interests in overthrowing the imperialist flunkies who run Chile. They called it "Labor Day," but it might as well have been Pinochet Day, filled as it was with scenes of the junta-head pinning medals on "model workers" in a big public ceremony, visiting sick workers in a hospital, addressing a hall stuffed with 3000 police-picked union leaders to announce the suspension of layoffs in the public sector so as to combat rapidly spreading unemployment, etc. The official spirit of the day was best exemplified by the junta's outstanding "labor leader" Guillermo Medina who, speaking "in the name of the workers," asked the government to loosen some controls on unions while at the same time declaring, "In our country we shall never again allow the return of Marxism."

In the face of such grotesque arrogance and despite the especially massive police

Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista

Dear Comrades,

As we did last year, we are sending you a short report on what happened on May Day in the Spanish state.

Also enclosed are some pictures of the violent confrontations between 3000 demonstrators and the police in Iruña (Pamplona), which reached the level of hand to hand combat. The same happened in Donostia (San Sebastián). Both cities are located in Euskadi, a nation oppressed by the Spanish state and in that area national oppression is a powerful mobilizer of the masses.

But the most important feature of this May Day has been the persistent apathy of the mass movement. According to the daily *Egin* (identified with the Herri Batasuna coalition, whose politics coincide with the ETA (a Basque nationalist organization — RW),) the number of demonstrators in southern Euskadi (the part of that nation controlled by the Spanish state) has fallen from 110,000 in 1978 to 17,000 this year. And in the rest of the Spanish state there were less demonstrators in 1982 than last year.

That, we point out, has a very positive aspect. Because what is ebbing is a mass movement controlled by the revisionism and reformism of the PCE and the PSOE (Communist Party and Socialist Party — RW), together with the groups of the revisionist "far left." The new conditions of the class struggle are opening up a very deep gap between opportunism and the masses. Right now, the latter, not understanding the situation due to the absence of a Marxist-Leninist party, are becoming inactive and confused, but given that all the conflicts typical of monopoly capital continue to worsen, sooner or later they will become active once again, in a new situation not controlled by the opportunists, but probably against them; and then we Marxist-Leninists here will have a new opportunity to play an important role for which we have to be preparing ourselves now in the spheres of politics, ideology and organization. Things advance towards the seizure of power through the ebbs and flows of the movement and Leninism



teaches us to know how to use them both to bring us closer to the final objective. Thus it falls on us to know how to work in an ebb period.

That's all we have to say for now. We are preparing a more extensive analysis of the significance of May Day, which of course we will send to you.

We have followed with interest your efforts to make May Day a day of struggle in the USA and you have our complete support.

With greetings:
Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista
Madrid, Spain



Sumar workers take to the streets.

and army presence which backed it up, still relatively widespread disorders broke out on May 1. According to reports in the reactionary Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, workers from the Sumar textile plant, a well known political hotspot until the U.S.-backed 1973 coup, held a more or less legal indoor meeting in a Santiago union hall, then poured into the streets,

where illegal leaflets blossomed. Ignoring a police order to disperse, they marched up Vicuña Mackenna Avenue shouting slogans and, according to *El Mercurio*, repeatedly attacked police with barrages of rocks. Unfortunately, *El Mercurio* did not disclose the contents of the leaflets or the slogans. About 100 people were reportedly arrested in various clashes

with authorities. In the nearby seacoast city of Viña del Mar, illegal leaflets and leaflets also appeared on the streets and a bridge was set ablaze, perhaps to distract police. Clashes and several apparently significant street demonstrations against the junta also reportedly took place in the southern city of Concepción.

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.

Crap Game

Continued from page 2

future. This crisis compelled firm action by Britain, the closest ally of the U.S. in Europe, to avoid an open demonstration of weakness to the world and further humiliation and erosion of the already decayed British empire. The other Western European countries were compelled to stand behind Britain and take economic sanctions against Argentina. All the Western European imperialist governments from the socialist Mitterand and Helmut Schmidt to "tiny neutral" Switzerland issued appropriately chauvinist and rabidly imperialist condemnation of "the fascist Argentine regime." Japan joined as well. This most certainly warmed the tender and peaceloving hearts of the U.S. imperialists as did the eventual ship sinking, bombing and strafing. And once Britain had made its move the U.S. showed its appreciation by declaring itself officially on the side of its closest ally.

Crisis in Argentina Sparks Move on Malvinas

It was with these worldwide considerations in mind, which had everything to do with the Western bloc vs. the Eastern bloc, that the U.S. went along with the Argentinian move on the Falklands. This is not to say that they planned the whole thing in advance and told their puppet regime to go do it. It was more a situation that presented itself to the U.S. And what immediately touched off the crisis seems to be the rapidly worsening economic and political crisis inside Argentina itself. Argentina is an extremely important part of the U.S. bloc strategy for Latin America. It has tremendous economic, political and military significance. It is also extremely unstable internally and there is important Soviet influence in the country. In fact the Galtieri regime, which was installed through a bloodless coup with the open support and best wishes of Washington, replaced the beleaguered Viola regime in which the Soviet Union had significant influence.

Among Galtieri's first acts was the appointment of the openly pro-U.S. Costa-Méndez as foreign minister, the appointment as interior minister of the general who had publicly offered to send Argentine troops to Central America, and the dispatch of the Chief of Argentine Military Intelligence as ambassador to Panama to beef up cooperation with U.S. moves against Nicaragua. The U.S. responded by sending three U.S. senators to Buenos Aires in January of this year, including Reagan's man on Capitol Hill, Senator Paul Laxalt.

Considerable effort has been put into strengthening relations with the Galtieri regime and propping it up by the U.S., though there has been substantial disagreement within the U.S. ruling class over this. From its inception the regime has been on shaky ground, as had its predecessor. A brief sketch of the underlying economic and political situation in Argentina reveals why. Due directly to the imperialist domination of Argentina by the U.S. and other U.S. bloc countries since World War 2, Argentina has been turned from being potentially one of the most developed capitalist countries in the world to a country in economic shambles whose main role is to supply meat and grain to the imperialist countries, including the Soviet Union, its main buyer of grain. Inhabited almost entirely by the descendants of European settlers, the country is the most industrialized in all of Latin America with abundant natural resources. In 1931 it was the eighth richest country in the world (in terms of per capita income) — richer than Canada and New Zealand, for example. But U.S. imperialism had its plans for what role it would play in the post-World War 2 era. Argentina was systematically plundered and its economy distorted to fit imperialism's overall interests. By 1961 Argentina was 27th in the rankings and by 1980 it had fallen to 65th place.

During the entire 1971-1981 decade, the Argentinian economy grew by only 16% (1.5% per year) as compared to 65% for the entire Latin American region. During the nine months ending December 1981 the real Gross National Product declined by 5% and industrial output fell by 14%. Unemployment is at



Maggie Thatcher takes a ride.

least 15% and the current inflation rate is around 150% per year — the highest in the world. Inflation has been rampant for years. In 1955 the Argentinian peso stood at 5 to the dollar. Today the exchange rate is over 11,000 pesos to the dollar, with the Argentine Central Bank now printing \$1 million peso notes. The country today has a foreign debt of at least \$34 billion, more than Poland, for example. In Latin America, only Brazil and Mexico have bigger debts, and because of the short-term nature of the loans, Argentina must borrow another \$7.6 billion this year to meet payments on previous loans. It has the worst debt service ratio in Latin America, with loan payments totaling 67% of its total export income. Nearly 60% of the country's workforce is employed by the government, which pays 50% of all the wages in the country, while the government deficit is currently running at a staggering 3,000,000,000,000 pesos per month, or the equivalent of 8% of the country's GNP. Wages for those employed by this public sector are frozen.

Added to this economic disaster an openly pro-U.S. military dictatorship which operates in the classic fascist style, and it is easy to see the tremendous underlying political instability in Argentina. A wide range of opposition parties, including pro-Soviet forces, are moving to challenge the Galtieri regime. In fact, immediately prior to the taking of the Malvinas the regime was hit by large-scale anti-government marches, even though such demonstrations are illegal and can get one shot on the spot. On Tuesday, March 30, tens of thousands swelled anti-government demonstrations led by opposition parties. On that day alone over 2,000 were arrested and several killed as police opened fire on demonstrators. A general strike was called for April 7.

It was certainly becoming clear that Galtieri's days were numbered, and pressures were building from all sides. In the face of the escalating turmoil, a number of powerful generals began pushing for a move on the Falklands in order to head off a possible direct challenge to their rule. Summing this situation up the U.S. undoubtedly figured that given all the potential risks of an Argentine-British conflict, a move on the islands might either buy some time for Galtieri or strengthen the kind of pro-U.S. forces that would be acceptable to replace him. In any case they had nothing to lose in the short term since Galtieri was on his way out anyway. Certainly in light of the potential benefits of displaying Western-bloc unity to the Soviet bloc and the rest of the world, the move had great potential from their point of view. As to the risks — well, as many of their spokesmen are very fond of pointing out these days, no advances are possible without taking heightened risks, and at stake is their very existence as top-dog imperialist of the world.

Good Things Begin To Turn Into Their Opposites

The immediate effects on the internal situation in Argentina were good for the regime, though clearly the reprieve would not last long. The April 7 general strike was canceled. All the bourgeois opposition parties, including the revisionist

Communist Party, were forced to back off, hailing the "liberation of the Malvinas" and modestly suggesting that they could prosecute the war effort even better than the junta if only given the chance. As the British fleet set sail the U.S. basked in its role as a "neutral party" and privately gloated over the advantages it was getting out of the whole affair. As to the dangers and risks, that would become a sharper question as things developed. In order to get the maximum out of the whole deal in regard to both Western Europe and Argentina, the U.S. had to let the thing unfold and take its course for a while. The Soviets stood on the sidelines offering military support to Argentina if it requested it and wishing that it was they who were in the kind of position the U.S. was in in this situation. It kept a low profile so as not to get into any unnecessary conflicts with Western European countries.

By adopting the stance of "honest broker" the U.S. sought to position itself so as to have the maximum leverage over the terms of the outcome. While it did hope that it could quickly engineer a settlement that would include an end to the immediate hostilities and a tripartite running of the islands with the U.S. as part of it, the U.S. did not mind letting things develop. Even some bloodshed would be fine, necessary, even inevitable. It was with the breakdown of negotiations and the U.S. "coming off the fence" in support of Britain that a new and more tense phase in the crisis began. This move indicated both a necessary gesture to complete the manifesto of bloc unity and increased pressure on Argentina to come to some kind of settlement with England. In declaring its support for Britain, however, the U.S. was hardly burning its bridges to Argentina. In fact its announced economic sanctions were admittedly very mild, and its aid to Britain little more than it was already providing. But as the days passed and a carefully escalating British assault on the Falklands unfolded, the situation for the U.S. and its allies became more complex and more fraught with very real dangers. None of the parties involved were simply free to do whatever they wanted. Should Argentina end up humiliated by the affair, not only could Galtieri fall but things could become unstable enough that the U.S. would find itself in deep trouble there, sending ripples throughout Latin America as well. Should Britain end up humiliated it would be a severe blow to the Western European alliance which is already wracked with troubles. Should the whole thing drag on too long there would be disaster on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is because of all this that so far great efforts have been made to keep developments within definite bounds, with military moves on both sides being kept within certain limits (though this cannot go on for ever and things are escalating), and with constant attempts at reaching a diplomatic settlement. But unfortunately for the U.S. and its allies, a certain process has been set into motion which involves real contradictions within its own bloc. What began as a real potential boon may yet turn into its opposite. Already cracks are developing in the Western Eu-

The following letter to the editor appeared in the May 9 issue of the British newspaper The Manchester Guardian Weekly. Clearly, the chauvinist deluge by the British ruling class is not having the intended effect on many in Britain.

'Rejoice'—at war?

During the announcement on television of the recapture of South Georgia, my flesh crawled as I watched the Prime Minister's look of triumph, and hear her directive, "rejoice!" A war is begun, with all that is likely to entail in loss of life and limb; shattering of homes and hopes; accumulating misery, pain and despair, yet we are being urged to rejoice. The British flag is flying. God save the Queen!

Until now I have been proud to be British, but today, at the age of 65, I can see with crystal clarity how distorting, dehumanising, and destructive such pride can be. I renounce it forthwith.

Margaret Dean,
Beckenham, Kent.

ropean show of unity. West Germany, France, Denmark and Spain have all called for an immediate ceasefire and expressed worries about the situation. Ireland has even labeled Britain the aggressor. In Argentina the opposition to the junta grows daily, including the potential for advances by pro-Soviet forces. The U.S. is already maneuvering to install some sort of pro-U.S. replacement for the Galtieri regime. Economically Argentina cannot stand much more of the kind of drain that the war effort is putting on its economy. On top of that British and European economic sanctions make it harder for Argentina to get the money required to pay the \$12 billion it owes to foreign lenders for the remainder of the year. Should Argentina be unable to pay its loans or borrow more money to pay them off and thus be forced to default, the result could be disastrous to the already shaky financial system of the Western bloc. Ironically, Britain, which is the main country through which loans to Argentina are syndicated, could be hit especially severely. The British magazine *The Economist* provides this staggering statistic: "If it (Argentina) defaulted on its debts, 25% of the capital and reserves of the nine largest American banks would be wiped out. And Argentina could create a domino effect among other poor southern borrowers, just as Poland could among communist eastern ones." At this point Argentina has been able to cover its obligations, including to Britain, depositing payments in quietly set-up escrow accounts in New York, but this could easily and quickly change. In any case the potential for disaster is already putting strains on the U.S. allies and causing worries that could result in widening cracks in the alliance and thus turning a good thing for the U.S. into a very bad one. This could only make the Soviets very happy, and they have stepped up their condemnations of Britain and the U.S. and have reiterated offers of help to Argentina. Cuba too has offered its help to the junta and rushed its ambassador back to Argentina after a year's absence.

It is now the fervent wish of the U.S. and its allies in Europe as well that this Falkland affair not be allowed to get too much out of control. As of this writing both peace talks and intensifying military preparations for a British invasion of the Falklands are proceeding simultaneously. Numerous imperialist mouthpieces are openly warning of the dangers involved should things get out of hand. Their warnings, however, are not in themselves sufficient to solve the very real contradictions present in this crisis. If some kind of settlement cannot be reached fairly soon, whether before or after further military action, it will have serious implications for the U.S. bloc. Clearly the Falklands crisis is not now nor has it ever been a joke, and the fact that these obscure islands, of all places, should become a focus of such truly global contradictions is testimony to just how sharp things are getting in the world and just how deep these contradictions are. □

Mao Defendants Case

Continued from page 1

Avakian, Silbert demanded higher bail and special conditions of release for him. Seventeen, including Chairman Avakian, were indicted. Within weeks of the original indictments the charges mushroomed, felonies were piled on top of felonies, until the defendants faced 26 felony charges (and one misdemeanor) and a possible 241 years in jail each. In November of 1979 the government was forced to retreat and maneuver in their attack as mounting opposition to and exposure of the frameup forced them to temporarily drop the charges. The prosecution immediately filed an appeal, won it in October 1980 and was upheld by the Supreme Court.

In August of 1981 the charges against the defendants were officially reinstated, only now, in preparation for taking the railroad through to trial, the case had been streamlined—charges were dropped against 6 defendants and the shoddiest of the felony charges were dropped on the remaining defendants. "Only" 18 felonies remained on each. Throughout the entire attack Bob Avakian had been singled out as a revolutionary leader and as the focus of the attack. The government's streamlining of the case further sharpened up the focus on Bob Avakian—although the charges had been dropped against all of the other defendants whom the government had charged as "aiders and abettors," Bob Avakian, charged only as an "aider and abettor," still remained under indictment.

A tremendous amount of pressure was brought to bear against defendants, including, but not limited to, the piling on of multiple lifetimes worth of threatened jailtime. Telephone calls were made by police to some former defendants with the rather obvious aim of getting them to turn state's witnesses. Epitomizing the depths to which they sunk in their pressure tactics is the legal kidnapping of a child of one of the defendants, Tina Fishman, and the court's using the fact that Tina is a defendant to officially back up their assertion that she is an unfit parent. But all this has been used to further expose them. Not one defendant or former defendant caved in over these 3-1/2 years. Now, the government states that their settlement offer was prompted by "administrative changes" in the prosecutor's office and a reassessment of the amount of time, energy and resources it would take to continue the case. Good joke, fellows.

The settlement offer is an outgrowth of a basic reassessment by the ruling class since the reinstatement of the charges. Confronted with a political defense waged in the battle, the intensifying all-around revolutionary work of the party as well as with other political necessities, undoubtedly including infighting in their own ranks over how to handle the RCP and other forces and various international contradictions, the ruling class has been forced to sharply measure what they stood to gain in continuing the attack against what they would lose in order to do so.

First and foremost among the developments influencing their reassessment has been Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. In his March 1981 statement about the demand for political refugee status Bob Avakian sharply stated the reasons for doing so. Pointing to the history of the government's intensifying attacks on himself and the entire party, in the legal arena as well as on many other fronts, including death threats and the police agent murder of Damián García, and to the well exposed attacks on other revolutionary fighters and leaders, ranging from murder to constant surveillance and "investigation," Chairman Avakian stated: "All these things, among many more, are clear indications that if I were to remain in the U.S., and unless I renounced my most deeply-held principles and abandoned the

cause of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism—which I refuse to do—I would continue to be the target of mounting attacks, through the 'legal machinery' and otherwise, by the ruling class and its armed enforcers and agents, and I would be forced to devote my efforts more and more, during such a decisive period, merely to trying to stay free of their murderous clutches and dodge their assassination attempts." While the demand for political refugee status involves far more than just the Mao Defendants' case, it was a move that dramatically changed the terms of this battle. Not only did this effectively remove Bob Avakian, the focus and lynchpin of the railroad, out of the grasp of the ruling class in this case, but the battle in support of this demand has generated quite a bit of exposure of the imperialists and has focused international attention on the real nature of imperialism's democracy. And more, at this point any attempt by the U.S. to resolve the difficulty posed by this move by somehow bringing Chairman Avakian to trial would most certainly escalate into an unwanted "international incident" for both the U.S. and France.

The initial response of the U.S. rulers to this move was blustering rage as they moved to sharpen up still further the focus of their attack on Bob Avakian. During the Dec. 18th, 1981 hearing in the case, Judge Ugast openly threatened to "order Bob Avakian to appear" in court and proceeded to float out the idea of somehow pushing the railroad ahead by attempting to separate Bob Avakian off from the other defendants. This was quickly followed by the prosecution's demand that all of the defendants be ordered to appear in court at the earliest possible date and a subsequent court order demanding that the defendants personally appear in court on June 4th. However, even as they sharpened up their attack, the ruling class was running smack up against contradictions and difficulties involved in doing so.

In addition to Chairman Avakian's demand for political refugee status, a number of other significant developments have arisen as obstacles in the way of what the ruling class had hoped to accomplish. One of the first issues brought to the fore by the defendants in the battle was demanding that the government disclose its electronic surveillance against the defendants. The disclosure of this material was to have played a key part in documenting the fact that this attack was a continuation of and intensification of the decade-long attempt by the ruling class and its political police to sabotage and destroy the RCP and its leadership. But, the government's steadfast refusal to disclose this material involved much more than just hiding what they had done against the RCP in the past and what they did against the Mao Defendants. In fact, in large part their refusal to disclose their electronic surveillance was very much tied up with what the ruling class has to do in the future and their attempt today to carry out a wholesale whitewashing of their COINTELPRO-type crimes in order to declare this very same activity good and legitimate for the past, present and especially for the future.

Since October of 1981, when this surveillance issue was pushed to the fore of the legal battle as a "threshold issue," one that had to be resolved before the railroad could progress, the government has doggedly maneuvered to avoid turning the material over. Mountains of legal documents have piled up before the judge, the sacred words of "national security" and "foreign intelligence" were invoked together with the authority of the President and Attorney General. Still, 8 months later the government had been unable to maneuver its way out of this issue and the politically explosive exposure tied up in it. In fact, each maneuver only succeeded in further entangling the government in an ever tightening web of exposure. And, while the battle had not yet reached the point where the government would be forced to either disclose a bunch of this material or drop the case (or, press ahead with it at a tremendous political cost), these were certainly the terms of the battle as it was

shaping up. Emphasizing the importance of this issue, when the government submitted its settlement to the defendants in writing, it specifically called for a stay on the scheduled May 14th hearing, a hearing that was supposed to deal with the government's response on the issue of electronic surveillance.

A Message Delivered—A Message Returned

The entire case, with its mountain of felony charges and possible penalties, was designed to deliver an emphatic message of intimidation to the masses, a message that this is what they would do to a revolutionary vanguard and this is what would happen to anyone who dared to raise their eyes and thinking to the cause of revolution. But, this too failed. The party and its leadership continued to maintain and deepen an unwavering revolutionary stand in opposition to this attack. And, at every crucial point, the political heart beating just underneath the surface of this attack was ripped out and thoroughly exposed among the broad masses of people. On this basis the party deepened and extended its ties with the masses, with many people from every segment of society stepping out in opposition to this railroad. Many of these same people moved toward revolutionary opposition to the entire system. Not only did the attack in the legal arena fail to limit or water down the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian and the party, but, in fact, during the same period major advances were made in the international communist movement—advances in which Chairman Avakian and the party played an important role.

All of this, together with other international and domestic contradictions it faces, helped set the stage for the government's settlement offer. The U.S. imperialists have summed up that, at this point, what they would be able to gain by continuing to pursue their attack in the legal arena doesn't come anywhere near measuring up to what they stand to lose by doing so. However, it is important to point out that although the government has made a major retreat in this arena, they still could not afford to totally drop the case—opting instead for the obvious face-saving gesture of getting two misdemeanor pleas from the remaining defendants. This by itself attests to the very high stakes wrapped up in this battle and to the tremendous international political significance of the event which precipitated the police attack and the ensuing assault in the legal arena, the Jan. 29th, 1979 demonstration opposing and exposing Deng Xiaoping's revisionist coup in China and the sale of China into the U.S. war bloc. While the ruling class may feign contentment with the defendants' guilty plea to supposed assault charges, in actual fact the real political

assault that forced them to initiate this particular attack in the first place is still very much stuck in their throats. The assault haunting the ruling class is the spectre of portraits of Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary politics taking over the streets, raising the banner of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism smack up in the face of impending world war and grovelling capitulation to imperialism.

Although they have abandoned this particular attack, the determination and necessity of the U.S. imperialists to attack Bob Avakian, the RCP and the trend it is a part of worldwide is intensifying. They will most definitely and inevitably launch and intensify their attacks in other arenas and revolutionary vigilance must be maintained and heightened on all fronts. The imperialists have a well exposed history here and internationally of employing both "legal" and other tactics in their attacks on the party in general and against Chairman Avakian in particular. In fact, it is well known that when they have been frustrated in one avenue of attack they quickly take up another.

Still, the U.S. government's retreat in the legal arena is very significant and is a sharp indication of the fact that they are operating from a fundamentally weak position. At the same time, this creates overall favorable conditions for the masses of people to wage an important political battle to actually insure the victorious overturning of the entire railroad. Between now and June 3rd, a very broad political battle must be waged to stop any attempt by the ruling class to exact a price for their retreat from the remaining defendants. Along these lines, the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants has issued a call for the masses of people to send letters of support for the defendants, including character references as well as statements that more generally express their sentiments around this attack. These letters and statements should be addressed to D.C. Superior Court Judge Fred Ugast, but mailed to the Committee office in D.C. before the sentencing on June 3rd. The Committee is also calling for extensive fundraising and for people to pack the courtroom on the day that the defendants are sentenced. On the night of June 4th, the Committee will sponsor a major celebration at All Souls Church in Washington D.C., the scene of the rally before the original anti-Deng demonstration.

The Committee address is:

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
1801 Columbia Rd. NW
No. 104
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 328-0441

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Correction

In the article from *Kamkaruwa*, newspaper of the Ceylon CP, reprinted in last week's *RW*, our editorial note incorrectly identifies J.R. Jayawardene as the Prime Minister. In fact he is President of Ceylon.

May 1st Correspondence

Continued from page 7

had great significance especially when youth played a revolutionary role; in these critical times, so suffocating for the ruling class, when we see that this capitalist system is already a corpse of history. And the best of it, we see the weakness of the system, of this decadent system. The bourgeois state attempting to sanction, to impede May the First, to impede history.

We must unite all our forces for the revolution because we know that this era is giving birth to a new heart that will forge history, that will forge society towards communism.

P.S. The following was a personal experience that happened May 11th at Fremont High School in Watts.

The psychology teacher was talking about the law and order of this country, of progress and opportunity and how to change things through the ballot, through "legal channels." I began contradicting these big lies she was telling, exposing the atrocities this country commits all around the world. In a few minutes four Black students had jumped into the discussion, who agreed with what I said. Consequently the teacher said that this country is better than Mexico and if I didn't like it, what was I doing here? Then two of the women students told her that Mexicans don't run Mexico but the North Americans do, and they too were oppressed the same as the people here and of Africa.

I was taken aback to see the students' reaction, to see the internationalism in them. You can see the big influence, the big impact of May Day, of revolutionary sparks that were spread all over — I said to myself, this is a product of May Day, a product of a new history.

Teatro Cafe

Today we are gathered to celebrate Cinco de Mayo, a glorious day in our history. Today is also May Day, an international day of liberation and we celebrate, support and join all struggles against oppression in the world. Our method of support is through our art/craft thus, we present *La Historia del Mestizo*.

The above statement was my sentiment on May First, 1982. The occasion was a Cinco de Mayo celebration at East L.A. College and the intention was obvious. I was greeted by a mix of apathy, confusion and barely detectable hostility. (We have a lot of work to do.)

Nevertheless, making this statement was at least a minor liberation for me; no major sacrifice compared to the bravery exhibited by the marchers who stood against mounted police, but still an attempt to alert our audience of the uniqueness of celebrating the most significant event in 19th century Mexican history in union with the most significant event of this century.

It is my pledge to continue to fulfill the statement I forwarded May Day, and build upon it in our struggle to reach the goals of liberation we share.

T.B.
Director Teatro Cafe

Ex-Patriots

To the RW:

It was incredible to be in New York this year on the First of May. Late on the night of the 30th I found out about the Wingate High breakout and as things developed on May Day itself—signing international banners, and then the battle for the streets in the East Village, I was wired with excitement! I knew that I had a special role to play—I'm in a band called the X-Patriots and we were preparing our own special assault on the "sacred" sphere of culture. The events of the day were our fuel and inspiration.

Would we rise to the occasion and crystallize what May Day was about? Not a simple question at all, and we found it was even harder to do it than it is to understand what needs to be done.

We had struggled over our song list, bringing in some new tunes, trying to make our set more representative of the international proletariat. We made

posters with pictures of "ex-patriots from around the world" and hung them everywhere, especially in the artist community of the East Village and in the garment center.

But the evening at A-7, a small club on the Lower East Side, was the real test. People arrived a few at a time and it would have been easy to feel "out of it" or like what we were doing was really not that significant. But as more people came we began to hear reports of the struggle with the pigs in the East Village and how people had not been driven off but stayed for hours with debate raging. Someone brought in a picture of the fight on St. Mark's.

We hung the May First poster behind the stage. "Welcome to May Day!" we shouted, as we hit the first chord.

The audience was made up of a variety of different forces—punks, intellectuals, artists, some Rastas. Not too many had been directly involved in May Day events but most everyone had heard about many of them. So when I dedicated our version of "Dancing in the Streets" to the students of Wingate, and described their break for freedom, people were yelling and applauding. The song was a turning point. People who were unsure about the politics of May Day or our band's mix of ska, reggae, punk and funk warmed up fast. The band lost its tenseness and the room was rocking!

After we stopped people were debating—was May Day the future in embryo or just tilting at windmills? Was it really possible to bring the beast down? Even the owner of the club became involved in a discussion of these questions.

The tone was set, and the other bands had to deal on those terms. One band member, starting his set, remarked, "It's great to have a holiday which isn't for some president or saint!" He went on to say some stuff about how workers in the U.S. and USSR might be called something different but really were the same.

While we didn't get any real proletarians to come out and the May Day Brigades who came arrived too late to see us, I felt like we really did break some new ground in this sphere and that for a time some territory was liberated! And the struggle is just beginning.

A member of the X-Patriots
A Rock Band in New York

May Day Music

I'm writing this letter to relate my May Day experiences to the RCP readers. A friend of ours told us that the paper was looking for responses from artists involved in this year's May Day demonstrations.

I live in Hollywood and play in a rock 'n' roll band. After having several discussions with several "communist" friends, we decided to take part in May Day by playing at a club procured by someone in the Party. Previously, we were supposed to play at one of the regular circuit clubs in Hollywood on May First but the gig got cancelled. Whether or not this has anything to do with the fact that I mentioned May Day to the booking person is a matter for speculation. We did, however, end up playing in Duarte (a suburb) at an out-of-the-way club.

On Saturday, May First I didn't feel too well and slept until 4 o'clock (devoted revolutionary that I am) so I missed the demonstration downtown. The guitar player from our band went downtown and received some bruises from those friendly upholders of law and justice in blue. As we sat around that afternoon with some others who were at the demonstration, we had to laugh at the distorted and repugnant report that the news related to us. They concentrated on the passive MacArthur Park demonstration (a demonstration called to protest immigration raids where CISPES and the revisionist CP had a strong influence — RW) and almost ignored the more important "rebellion" downtown.

As we pulled up to the club in Duarte, we noticed one of the most ironic things of the evening. The building next to the club where we were playing was a veteran's club. They were having some

sort of celebration (perhaps the upcoming event in South America or maybe the big one we're all waiting for) at any rate, there were all sorts of men in uniforms and suits dancing and drinking and staring at us when we came in to view and generally having a good time. Unfortunately the other band that was supposed to play neglected to show up.

Duarte is rather far from Hollywood so unfortunately hardly anybody showed up. Most people I talked to went to things closer to Hollywood (C.A.S.H. and Inner-City Cultural Center). This is a point that we discussed between the band and people who helped arrange the show. Hopefully this situation will be rectified next year.

Undaunted, we played from about 10:30 to 12:00. The few people that were there seemed to enjoy themselves even though some of the local patrons and world war vets from next door took exception to some anti-U.S. remarks made from the stage. Even though there wasn't a large audience that wanted to change the political system present, I feel as though something was accomplished by the very act of performing on May First.

As far as I can discern, any and all actions, no matter how minute, that help to change this (or any other) repressive government must be supported. For this reason I have made my reservations for May First of '83.

A member of the Penguins

From Columbus, Ohio to the West Bank

The week after the call for international banners came out in the RW, a group of activists from Columbus who had come together after the forum on *Conquer the World* decided to make a banner to send to the West Bank. With the help of a Palestinian student they made a large red banner which read "MAY DAY GREETINGS TO THE PALESTINIANS STRUGGLING AGAINST ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM" in English and Arabic. It was taken out on the street next to Ohio State University and the response was immediate. Many foreign students came up to sign: Iranians, Chinese, Nigerian, Jamaican, many saying we were the first Americans they'd ever met who supported the Palestinian struggle. When we struggled with them about May Day and internationalism being more than just supporting each other's struggles, many took the RW and the May Day Call in different languages to get out to other students. Anarchists signed with the circle A and a group of punks signed. An American student who'd studied in Lebanon wrote his own revolutionary greeting in Arabic. A member of the AAPRP came up and signed and then jumped in to defend the banner and our stand when some reactionaries came by to harass us, sending them scurrying back to their fraternity house nearby. Later in the afternoon the banner was taken to a Black housing project where some networks had already been passing out May Day leaflets. In every courtyard people came out to sign. One youth went through the whole project on her bike talking to people about signing and taking up May Day, and left with a stack of leaflets to get out in her high school. In another courtyard an older woman went door-to-door calling people out to sign and get leaflets and the RW. The Palestinian has sent the banner off to the West Bank with a note in Arabic about how this came about.

A comrade in Columbus, Ohio

From North Carolina to Germany

The following poster message that was sent was actually like a poster-type banner that was signed by more than 40 people, Black, white, young and old, living in the U.S. and including people from England and Iran. It was addressed to the Federation of workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF) and revolutionary organizations in Germany, to the German youth and proletariat:

Reagan condemns martial law in Poland as a "man of peace and freedom" while the U.S. government stands behind the fascist junta and

their martial law in Turkey. This is just imperialist doubletalk to prepare us to kill and be killed in defense of the U.S. imperialists against our Soviet rivals. In whatever country, we are wage slaves in "peacetime" — cannonfodder in war time. Victory to May First. Down with World War. Forward to World Revolution.

Gravediggers of U.S. imperialism
Greensboro, Winston-Salem,
North Carolina

From an INS-Held Iranian

This correspondence comes from the Immigration and Naturalization Service Detention Center at El Centro, California, where a revolutionary Iranian is fighting deportation for his activities in building May Day.

May First, the Day that the International Proletariat raises the Red Flag to the forces which are serving the Bourgeoisie; our enemies.

Before I had an actual encounter with the bourgeoisie's dogs I would never have been able to feel what is really going on, or how I can make a difference and take part in the way which would lead the proletariat to overthrow the Bourgeoisie . . . (I would never have known whether) it is possible to make a revolution in this country. Before I used to focus all my energy on Iran and used to think that in order to be a revolutionary I had to go straight to Iran and try to "change the world," and on the other hand I could pay attention to the worldwide movement. But what happened on Friday (April 30) 3 p.m. to Tuesday (May 4) 4 p.m. taught me a lot about the facts that I've been underestimating. I learned and actually experienced that the geographical conditions have nothing to do with being a revolutionary. No matter where we are the bourgeoisie is the same and we have to rise up and try to make the masses understand and contribute consciousness to them and try to accelerate the revolutionary situation. Now I know that I don't have a country. I just happened to be born in Iran.

On Friday the 30th (April '82) me and another comrade went to look for two others. On the way back we stopped at a riot on Broadway. (The company had ripped off people working in a sweatshop, refusing to give people their paychecks — RW) Pigs were all around that building. But on the way back there was a lot of leaflets and RWs on the sidewalk. Then I picked up the papers and started agitating with some people, then there was a Spanish woman who told the woman I was talking to "Don't touch this, it's communist." Then she suddenly pulled his fingers off the paper. I opened the paper and explained about May Day. He agreed but he was scared of the pigs across the street that were watching us. But I underestimated the situation. Then we ran into one other comrade and we stopped at Broadway and 5th and stood just at the front of a store. The pigs came around and asked for I.D. Pig Compton checked their licenses and noticed that they were from some other city. "You people came for the big day, eh?" he said. Then four others came by and started joking, "I can't wait until it's all over," one pig said. But the other one said, "I can hardly wait, we're gonna have some action tomorrow." After writing out tickets for three of us for handing out leaflets, which we weren't even doing at the time, it was my turn. The pigs asked where I was from and I said from Iran. He asked if I had a green card and I said, "No, I'm on a student visa." Then they gave the ID's back to the U.S.-born people and said you're free to go if you want. Suddenly they grabbed my arms and put the handcuffs on me. Then he pushed me to the car and said, "He is a fucking Iranian." They were so glad that they had an Iranian "commie" to intimidate. They kept calling me a comrade and all kinds of obscene names. "Where are you taking him?" one pig asked. "To the Immigration," he replied.

The main camp was a hellhole, with fence, and we had to stay outside in the sun between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. Every day they said the nurse wasn't there, except one brother told me about how they brought one in when the press

Continued on page 17

Continued from page 16

showed up . . . The guards would sell the people cards to gamble with for \$40 and then take them away and sell them again. We weren't allowed to watch the news on the TV or radio. There were brothers from all over the world . . . El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Palestine, Thailand, Cuba, Afghanistan and Iran. Some had been there more than a year. The guards let the prisoners fight among one another just saying "You've got plenty of room . . ."

I was known as a communist to the guards but I agitated as much as possible. The closer it got to time to get out the harder it was for me to get messages. When my comrades came they let me sit for four hours after my bail was in. Also they let me sit all day Monday without calling me for my hearing. For the first time I was proud to be suspected as a communist and I actually experienced how the enemies of the proletariat are. Even though I could not make it for May Day I felt like I was part of it. I sensed how they were afraid of communism. My people is the proletariat, I have no country, and the heaven I know of is when Socialism is established, and with it the Emancipation of mankind and the way to communism. This revolution is inevitable, nothing can prevent it from coming true. Also I learned more how to love the people and how to hate the Bourgeoisie and its servants.

An Iranian Comrade

Two Declarations

The following two declarations are from Salvadoran immigrants in MacArthur Park the evening of May First, in response to the unfurling of the banner from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF).

The two young men who wrote this first declaration were in the demonstration at MacArthur Park. Both had red flags. One had a red beret with a Mao button on it, which he had bought at Revolution Books. He told the RW "I love Mao; he was a great leader . . . I think that this day I've seen, there should be more days like it, to resound thoroughly." His partner said, "It seems to me this is a very good movement because here and all over the world we are waking up and becoming conscious workers, housewives, everyone who has to fight against exploitation by imperialism." They also spoke of the situation in El Salvador against U.S. imperialism.

Declaration of Internationalism from Two Salvadoran Immigrants in the USA to Immigrant Workers from Turkey in Germany

We thank you for the demonstration of support, we greet you and we say, continue forward!

.....

These two men who wrote the following declaration had just opened their apartment doors to some May Day volunteers so they could climb to the roof and plant two red flags and a banner — they took some six papers to sell in their building and when asked what the red flag represented to them they said it represented the RCP and the struggle that "sooner or later we'll be free of exploitation . . . It's really marvelous, we fight for a world for all workers, not just in North America. It is a thing real, objective and positive for all workers and immigrants."

Declaration of Internationalism from Two Salvadoran Workers in the U.S. to Immigrant Workers from Turkey in Germany

We are Salvadorans in solidarity with you, people from Turkey, workers like us. We thank you for your labor, we are in unity as immigrants, we must together seek a method to unite ourselves worldwide to fight exploitation and injustice so they no longer exist — and we want to call on all people's organizations to unite for that final victory which must come sooner or later to us workers and poor people — and as for these immigration raids, they take away our human rights; we come here all for the same reason, for a better life, and they give us the worst work, pay us the worst, exploit us

the most, so we call on popular organizations to unite and we will fight for that objective, that is the struggle of all workers of the world.

Chiang Ching Brigade Strikes Again

On the eve of May 1st, a day of celebration for the international proletariat, a symbol of capitalist traitor-dom was once again the target of the proletariat's wrath. For the second year in a row, Deng Tsiao-Ping and Co. were challenged by revolutionary internationalists. This year the words, "Long Live Chiang Ching — May Day '82" were painted in large red letters across the Consulate wall in San Francisco, right under the nose of the two-officer cop car stationed there 24 hours a day. Even local columnist Herb Caen questions the logic of the imperialist "security," "Talk about a waste of manpower." (S.F. Chronicle, May 4) Let this revolutionary message send fear into the hearts of the imperialists worldwide. As Mao Tsetung wrote: "If the rightists stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be shortlived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people." In the spirit of our Comrade Chiang Ching we proclaim: Long Live International Workers Day!

The Chiang Ching Brigade

Nicaraguan Student at L.A. High

What happened at L.A. High School April 28th showed the power that students can exert for unity. Consciousness of world oppression and the knowledge to eliminate it can cause the bourgeoisie to tremble and use its maximum force. The action the bourgeoisie took following April 28th in L.A. High was just that. The L.A.P.D. barricaded the school and sent a helicopter to hover above it. Security agents within L.A. High made sure the students did not break out or take any action that might lead them to do so. All this and the suspension of two student agitators stopped us from breaking out, but it has not stopped us from devising or modifying new methods to destroy bourgeois ideology which promotes human exploitation and suffering.

16-year-old Nicaraguan youth

Doctors in St. Louis

We are physicians who applaud the rising trend of proletarian internationalism. From Norman Bethune, a Canadian surgeon who gave his life and skills to the Chinese revolution; to medical students in Latin America taking to the streets and jungles; to the anti-nuclear activists in the group "Physicians for Social Responsibility," countless physicians have been drawn to this trend. They have repudiated the pull of privilege and status, and raised their sights from the care of individual patients to challenging society's ills on a global scale.

Let May Day flourish everywhere, in every sphere!

- Physician from Pakistan,
- Physician from India
- Physician from Bolivia
- Physician from St. Louis, MO, USA
- Physician from St. Louis, MO, USA
- Physician from St. Louis, MO, USA
- Physician from USA
- Physician from India
- MD from US, St. Louis, MO

Salvadoran revolutionary:
"I began reading Marxist-Leninist Works . . ."

The following is from an interview with a Salvadoran revolutionary who participated in the May First actions in Los Angeles. Before coming to this country he had been active in the struggle in El Salvador and had become well-acquainted with the role of pro-Soviet revisionist forces and the influence of their line in that country.

"For a year after I came to the United States, I didn't do anything. Then my brother was killed in El Salvador. I wondered should I go back and take his place. I was very depressed. Then I met

up with an RW seller and he explained how people in El Salvador are giving their life just for crumbs, for reforms. So I was interested and I read the paper, how people are struggling all over the world. They told me about this internationalist trend, how it is necessary to liberate mankind from oppression.

"I began reading Marxist-Leninist works like *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *State and Revolution*. I never saw those books in El Salvador. I became more active with the group, I began to develop more understanding, it was a process. I read *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* — before I never even knew who Mao was! I learned about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and then people at the same time coming from El Salvador and they said 'it's the same thing.' People are fighting and dying and they don't know what for. I read the book *Chile: An Attempt at 'Historic Compromise'*. Then I went to the Chiang Ching demonstration and saw pigs come down with guns and billy clubs. I said, 'If this is democracy, it's just like El Salvador.' I said I have to know more about this party."

"I learned a lot from that book *Chile: An Attempt at 'Historic Compromise'*. That's the same thing that's happening in El Salvador. There was a lot of discussion I went through on the possibility of World War 3 between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, so that led me to understand better the world situation. I met people from Afghanistan too who are reading the RW. It made me make the decision to come forward and fight for this trend.

"Last year on May Day, I couldn't break through. But I was working two blocks away from where the demonstration took place. I heard all the people talking about how the police attacked. I felt ashamed that I was working on May Day. I began to think, 'What does May Day mean?' I began to take more responsibility to the group. I heard about the El Salvador tour and I was supposed to go, but I couldn't break through. I decided not to go because I was thinking in quantities. In El Salvador we have 50,000 in the streets sometimes, so when you see a small group here you think, 'they don't have any support, they're isolated.' But then I read Bob Avakian's article on quality and quantity in 'Conquer the World? . . .' (*Revolution* magazine No. 50) This book sums up the Russian Revolution, it shows how a small number of people were able to lead the revolution. I saw they could only break through with the correct line. Same way with the Communist Party of China. They started with a small group but they had a correct line, so they could win. In peaceful times only a small group understands the correct line, but in revolutionary times more people will understand.

"Like yesterday, (the morning of May Day) in this place we met so many new people when we went out to a community of Latino people. When the police came, the people stood up and the police couldn't do anything. Then they said, 'We can't afford to let this go on' and they tried to arrest us. A guy just listening to us gave me his keys and said, 'Take this and go in my apartment.' It was a very fertile situation with immigrants from other countries — Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador. The guy wanted to know all about our literature, but we had only brought a *Programme*, but he bought it and took a bunch of RWs to distribute. He put a red flag on his balcony. Then two people came with us to help build for May Day.

"The battle was even higher downtown, and the police couldn't attack us more because we had the support of the people. So they caught us, but they had to let many of us go . . . "First of all, the working class is the class that must lead the revolution worldwide, we have a common interest in overthrowing imperialism. The basis for the international proletariat to be trained in the U.S. is very great. We can get literature here that we can't get in El Salvador and study it. My main struggle is not just in El Salvador, but must be to make revolution all over the world. The impact of this May Day is going to be worldwide . . . Next year's May Day will be much stronger, you can tell, because now people are already waiting for us when we come with literature and with

red flags, inspired by the demonstration. If we could have May Day every day, it would be good. I'm going back to my city, I am inspired to continue this work."

Sacramento

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

A dedication for May Day '82 — International Workers Day — a celebration for the Proletariat worldwide — a special occasion where we reaffirm and acknowledge the continuing struggle as Chiang Ching stated that "the ability to make world history belongs to the heroic masses of people." It does not belong to the enforced "heroics" of imperialism rampaging on a global war-path to occupy and exploit for the purpose of their own expansion.

This "teikokushugi" (imperialism) beast whether of the U.S. brand or other, is foul foolery. It truly attempts to possess mind and body. Its methods well practiced to make for to vegetate lives, to hound and torment like a military coup. It is profound what Marx said decades ago — in part his words read — "... after labour has become not only a means of life but *life's prime want*; after the productive forces have also increased with *the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly . . .*"

His words and contributions resound in proletarian anticipation.

What has as yet not come about is I think in that process breaking through all the obstacles that have allowed imperialism to mangle lives of the innocent and use imperialist "wit" to mask and heighten the atrocities of the preceding inter-imperialist warfare. Its overt-covert methods and mentality seeking to single out the proletariat by devious means — the treacherous history it claims as its benevolent birth-right.

We are coming to understand that the world ruled by such "self ordained" ruling class hypocrites can never achieve the elimination of all wars — by their doctrine insidious methods, twisted "hero-ism" and subjugation!

The Revolutionary Communist/Proletarian Internationalist stand, method and viewpoint is all-inspiring, all-encompassing, and all revolutionary. It teaches us many new things which need to be correctly grasped and deepened to grow strong the class struggle which adheres to laws that embrace all of nature, society and thought. To unlearn more narrow thinking, to give way to this nurturing "science" — Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

From the heart we yearn to learn this science which has for too long been systematically kept obscured precisely because it has already shown a bright light in the world and its changingness and because it is of great historic significance. It is a great task to continue and strive for in its entirety and what wholesome achievements which will continue enlivenly to emerge in the process of worldwide social revolution.

"The Days of May" article in the RW — "the torrent unleashed" and the "international impact" — and this kind of "revolutionary fever and spirit" its development and ebb and further deepening since and the revolutionary newborn forces all contribute toward Lenin's reference to "a victory of that international solidarity of the working people" — and what say! perhaps "Les football aux footballeurs" have since undertaken to seriously tackle Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought!

In Solidarity then
Viva Primero de Mayo! and
in the many languages of
Proletarian Internationalism
Long Live May Day!

A co-conspirator in
Sacramento, California



Damián

Continued from page 5

particular method is most definitely *not* to imply that any who act in such a manner are most likely agents. And, as noted, there are indeed many other methods of approach taken at different times by different agents with different roles in the political police's division of labor — including, of course, those that demonstrate much more *political* sophistication than "Sanchez" did. But, this was the method of *this* particular agent at a particular time, and it is important to note such behavior in order to help facilitate the future detection and public exposure of others who will inevitably attempt similar activity.

When the building activity for May Day '80 began to swing into gear, "Sanchez" also began to get more involved in party-led activity. In a fine reflection of the integrity and morality of these "safeguards of the public," the agent struck up a relationship with a woman who was not a party member but had been a sympathizer for a number of years. Using such false pretenses of love, he was able to make himself more a part of the "regular scene" in the midst of the gathering momentum for May Day — something that the bourgeoisie was determined to stop. There were 78 people arrested in the L.A. area in connection with the activities building up to May First, and the information "Sanchez" supplied must have proved invaluable in facilitating the various police attacks. For example, in the course of one incident, a May Day activist who has bad knees was severely beaten by the police in precisely that part of his body. "Sanchez" later admitted that he knew of the individual's knee condition, and might have funneled such information to his superiors.

But the bourgeoisie's attempts to stop May Day required an escalation in the period after the Alamo takeover, and it is in precisely the following week that "Sanchez" made the biggest changes in his level of involvement in May Day activity. He not only moved in with his new woman friend, but also "volunteered" to join the May Day Brigade — both moves clearly designed to put himself in a better position to facilitate the bourgeoisie's plans. And since Damián Garcia was a well-known member of the May Day Brigade, this move would obviously put the agent in much closer contact with one who would turn out to be "no longer with us" — "Sanchez's" words — on May First.

As Bob Avakian stated immediately after Damián's murder: "It was in retaliation for the stand and actions of Comrade Garcia and others at the Alamo and across the country, in unflinching defiance of the murdering dogs who rule over the masses, that this foul act of murder was perpetrated. And, in particular, it was with the aim of stopping the gathering momentum for May Day, on which the work and efforts of Comrade Garcia and thousands of others have been concentrated as a crucial battle to make a leap toward the goal of proletarian revolution in this bastion of oppression and reaction, the U.S.A. . . . But this only shows that the rulers of this country and their assassins, in and out of uniform, are not only cowardly but desperate . . ."

The bourgeoisie's plans for Damián flowed precisely from that cowardly desperation. But given the fact that those who raised the red flag over the Alamo were loved and respected by millions, it would have been too politically damaging — not to mention risky — for the police to have gunned him down outright. A more subtle plan was required. There are precedents for such activity as well, as in the statements of a former LAPD undercover agent who has revealed that he was once sent up to the San Francisco Bay Area to try to get close to Black Panther leaders in the late '60s. This was the home base of the Panthers and they were well-respected and loved by many in the ghettos (and quite a few other areas as well). In this agent's own words, his purpose was to discover a "better way to see how to kill them."

Information on Damián's Movements

"Sanchez" has admitted that he gave his superiors a profile of the May Day

L.A.P.D.: No Lonesome Cowboy

Contrary to the image they like to portray, the Los Angeles Police Department is not a bunch of "independent machos" nor are their political operatives in any way "outside" the overall thrusts of the U.S. bourgeoisie and its political police. As with any major political police operation, LAPD's PDID (and other intelligence units) are highly interconnected with various agencies at all levels of the government, a fact admitted by a PDID supervisor in a court deposition taken recently. This supervisor admitted that PDID gets information from other agencies, singling out the states of Texas and Colorado and the city of San Diego as examples. He also specifically mentioned the FBI as one agency with which PDID has close contact. PDID's activities against those who would challenge bourgeois rule are obviously conducted in coordination with these agencies and with the broadest outlook of preserving the interests and existence of the bourgeoisie.

However, the LAPD *does* play somewhat of a vanguard role for U.S. imperialism in this arena. It is well known, for example, for relying on trained officers in the main, rather than the more extensive use of lumpen informants that other agencies use more frequently. LAPD is also reputed to carry only top-of-the-line equipment for electronic surveillance; in fact, a former FBI agent has revealed that the FBI made the borrowing of LAPD equipment standard practice since it was better than their own. Much of this equipment was obtained through a massive influx of federal funds from the now officially defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The LAPD also has a highly developed division of labor in its intelligence apparatus, with specialized advanced programs; virtually all of these programs also started with LEAA funding. In addition LAPD

is known for its international operations, including setting up an extensive communications network called the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit — which includes some police departments from other countries — and sending undercover agents posing as students to Europe and Mexico.

The LAPD's vanguard role dates back at least to the immediate post-World War 2 period, when a decision was made to locate much of the U.S. war production capacity in Southern California — although the preponderance of military bases in the area had already necessitated development of a broad national outlook. In addition Los Angeles' proximity to the Mexican border was undoubtedly a factor in this, and is still reflected in the admission of a former high-ranking officer of PDID that the unit deals with "illegal aliens and crimes by illegal aliens." In the late '60s the LAPD helped lead the shift in national trends of undercover work to pay particular attention to revolutionaries, especially from the Black liberation struggle.

In 1979, the very time that agent "Sanchez" was assigned to "infiltrate the RCP," and the time of the overall national increase in political police activities against the RCP, the LAPD's intelligence operations underwent a thorough reorganization and their undercover operations were further developed. Undoubtedly, this included improving the "flow of information and cooperation between federal, state and local law enforcement agencies," as activities against "terrorism" were recently described in a report by the California Department of Justice. Of course, "terrorism" is a code word the bourgeoisie uses to label any who oppose them, and the RCP has been prominently mentioned in such reports. □

Brigade's activities. Moreover, he has also stated that he informed them that the Brigade would be in the Pico-Aliso Housing Project on the afternoon of April 22, 1980. It was after an appearance at a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission and on the spur of the moment that the Brigade went to the project. When "Sanchez" was later asked to name who he remembered being at the Police Commission hearing, Damián was the only specific individual he listed.

An interesting episode took place in Watts on April 12, 1980, which sheds light on the behavior of the PDID and CRASH units and, perhaps, on events surrounding the murder ten days later at Pico-Aliso. The May Day Brigade had planned in advance to go into a housing project in Watts that day, but this activity was not publicized outside the Brigade. Nevertheless, the LAPD was well-prepared for its appearance. Their gang unit, known as CRASH, had been instructed the day before to set up a command post in the area. A *homicide* detective was put in charge of all anticipated reports and investigations that might come out of Brigade activity that day. PDID, which "Sanchez" worked for, supplied the initial information to set the plan in motion and reported to the police in the area throughout the day on the whereabouts of the Brigade and their expected time of arrival at the housing project destination. Everything was apparently in place, but an interruption occurred when *other* cops, who were apparently unaware of the scheme, stopped the Brigade short of its destination. They ended up arresting Hayden Fisher — who had also raised the red flag over the Alamo and was the only other person knifed in the Pico-Aliso project — before those in-the-know had the chance to call them off. Damián was there with the May Day Brigade that day, as was "Sanchez."

The CRASH unit's position at the head

of the command post is also quite revealing, given the "gang related" story that the LAPD has used to cover up police involvement in the murder. And CRASH also appears in later developments around this case. After a Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damián Garcia signed by over 6,800 people was printed in several newspapers, the LAPD called a virtually unprecedented press conference to announce their "discovery" of his alleged real murderer. But conveniently, this guy had been killed the week before. Therefore, he was unable to shed any light on his relationship with a certain CRASH unit detective, who is listed on his death certificate as "personally knowing" the deceased. As for the man whom the LAPD claims killed the detective's acquaintance — also described as a "gang related incident" — he was never brought to trial even though there were several eyewitnesses. He has subsequently been arrested for burglary, but was never brought to trial on that charge either.

Federal Agencies' Role

There is no doubt that the gang involved with all this goes far beyond the *local* operations of PDID, CRASH, et al. Freedom of Information Act requests for Damián Garcia have been filed with many government intelligence agencies, including the FBI, but nearly all of them have failed to turn over any information. The National Security Agency has responded that it would cost too much to do a search of its records, especially since anything found would be protected under grounds of national security. However, the Secret Service (SS) has turned over an extensively censored and admittedly partial set of documents that goes back through several years of Damián's political activity but overwhelmingly focuses on the takeover of the Alamo, the follow-up "investigation" on him, and the "investigation" of his murder. So

much is blacked out that it is difficult at this time to determine the exact details of the Secret Service involvement. However, the documents do reveal that the SS had active operations related to Damián in their Washington, D.C.-based Intelligence Division. And there was ongoing communication between those offices and the LAPD, San Antonio Police, FBI, IRS and other agencies that are censored. One indication of the depth of SS involvement is that their L.A. field office report on Damián's murder is virtually identical to a report recently turned over from PDID; it uses all the same terminology and is only slightly reworded. This PDID report is also apparently the source of the LAPD's "gang-related" line, a line that was subsequently spread widely through the press, including in the *L.A. Times*.

"Sanchez's" assignments concerning the RCP prior to the period leading up to May Day also reflect the broadest concerns of the bourgeoisie overall. His infiltration efforts began in January, 1979, when he participated in party-led activities to Free the Moody Park 3 and defend the Houston Rebellion (a rebellion of thousands of Chicanos sparked by the police murder of José Campos Torres). During this time there was intense struggle and frequent attacks on the RCP and the Moody Park 3 for upholding and spreading the lessons of the rebellion. The bourgeoisie was anxious to try and halt the party's growing influence particularly among Chicanos and Mexicanos throughout the Southwest, including in the barrios of East L.A. Damián himself was well-known to the authorities and the masses for his role in this struggle both in Houston and East L.A.

January 1979 was also the same time that the U.S. ruling class stepped up their nationwide attacks on the RCP, focusing on Chairman Bob Avakian. This nationwide intensification can be seen in the FBI's public admission that it "opened" an investigation of the RCP at that time; while this had obviously been going on for some time, it does signify a step-up in such activities. And a little later in the year, the SS admitted "opening" an investigation on Bob Avakian — basing its nationwide attack on a patently lying *L.A. Times* article which falsely claimed that Bob Avakian had "threatened the life" of Jimmy Carter during the RCP Chairman's speaking tour in L.A. While the *Times* was forced to retract this lie in print, the SS did not stop its operations. And one who undoubtedly offered invaluable assistance to these operations is the very same "Sanchez". It is possible that Bob Avakian, while he was in L.A., may also have been a "target" of this agent. "Sanchez" admits that part of his assignment was to "find out as much information" as possible about the Chairman. He also attended the talks where the *L.A. Times* made up their false claims. Given the extent of their activities at the time, it is inconceivable that the SS (among others) did not know about this, and may have had a hand in directing this agent's activities.

Around the same time, "Sanchez" also infiltrated the Mao Tsetung Defendants Committee in L.A., attending a number of meetings and reporting as much information as requested by his superiors. During this same period and all the way up to May Day '80, many RCP supporters arrested by L.A. area police reported open threats by the pigs on the life of Bob Avakian. "Sanchez" also attended an important conference at UCLA in the late summer of '79 that was called to launch an offensive in the battle to defend Bob Avakian, and to kick off the campaign for May Day. He admits that he informed his superiors about the conference ahead of time. Both the campus police and the LAPD attempted to disrupt this meeting with a surprise attack. This was hardly a "local matter" and fit in with a whole slew of systematic disruptions and attacks that occurred nationwide at the time. There are certain other facts about this agent that raise more general questions about the international activities of the LAPD. For while it is the stated policy of the LAPD to hire only American citizens, "Sanchez" was hired while he was still a citizen of Mexico — the country where he was born. On his birth certificate, his father is listed as working for the Mexican government, and the address given is the local police station in Mexicali. The possible relation-

Continued on page 19

Continued from page 18

ship between the LAPD and Mexican government in this can only be a matter of speculation at this time. But it is clear that the bourgeoisie faces serious contradictions in the fact that such a large number of Latino immigrants live in the L.A. area — hardly the most loyal section of the population. This is an important factor in the LAPD's overall efforts to stop May Day, and was reflected in their attack on the 1980 May Day march before it reached the downtown area where many of these immigrant workers shop. More generally, the bourgeoisie's political police has a great necessity to infiltrate and suppress this section of the people, and while they can — and undoubtedly already have — recruited agents from among those Latinos who live in the area, there are very likely foreign exchange programs and any number of other efforts being made to try and get in a position to deal with this section of the masses.

The content and location of the training "Sanchez" received to enable him to carry out his activities against the RCP and Damián is a closely-guarded state secret, although it is known that he took police science courses at Cal State University in L.A. In the course of court proceedings, all questions related to this training were objected to by the City Attorney and upheld by the judge as "irrelevant" or "privileged." The City Attorney did say that it was vitally important to keep such information secret because, in his words, "We don't want them to be able to develop a profile of a PDID operative or operations, because it would endanger the lives of the other operatives and endanger their ability to carry out the function of PDID."

As for "Sanchez's" particular role in activities directed against the RCP, it ended abruptly on May First 1980. After participating in the demonstration, including in the role of an agitator (leading many to believe that he helped to facilitate the LAPD's assault on the march), "Sanchez" disappeared. Apparently the very important job that the ruling class had assigned to him was now over — and they pulled him out quickly, in hopes of avoiding detection. However, marching right next to "Sanchez" at May Day was his scheduled replacement — another undercover pig. But he was an object of suspicion from the start, and was quickly isolated from the work of the party. A defense attorney was informed by one of the prosecutors that this agent is now employed by the FBI.

The Political Police

Despite the fact that the political police have gone to great lengths to cover up their role in Damián Garcia's murder — with virtually all the representatives of bourgeois justice screaming frenzied objections at nearly every mention of Damián's name — there has been another side to their efforts, especially as the presence of this undercover agent has come to light. They would like to convey the message that their apparatus is omniscient and omnipotent — and instill the fear of infiltration everywhere to paralyze both those who already see the need for revolution and those who are just awakening to political life. Gates' letter contains this message in its implications, and so does the commentary of the City Attorney in one of "Sanchez's" depositions; in response to a question about the extent of undercover activities, the City Attorney interjected, "We're everywhere . . . we're everywhere."

Gentlemen, please spare us your puffed-up braggadocio — especially when your hollow insides are so visibly trembling in this matter. It is well-known that the political police would like to be everywhere that those who actively prepare for their long overdue demise are. But there are certain constraints on their ability to do so. This much has already been admitted by them in the past, such as when the FBI consciously summed up the difficulty of infiltrating the Revolutionary Union (RU — forerunner of the RCP) in the '60s. And this is more the case today (although clearly both the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary forces are summing up and learning from historical experience, including the '60s and adopting various different tactics). In one sense this was evidenced in the approach which "Ernie Sanchez" had to adopt and the subsequent failure of his replacement to get to first base in his efforts. In an overall way, this is a reflection that the Leninist principles of organization, which the RCP upholds and struggles to develop and apply, present real difficulties to the political police's infiltration efforts.

Of course it would be extremely idealistic, downright silly, in fact — to pretend that the revolutionary forces could ever completely avoid infiltration as long as there are classes, class struggle and revolution to be made. But never losing sight of what the party is actually for and struggling to grasp and apply these Leninist principles — combining, as the RCP Constitution states, "centralized leadership and the greatest degree of

discipline with the fullest struggle over line and policy within the Party . . ." — will make it difficult for the political police to get into the party in the first place. And if they are successful in infiltrating, the correct application of these same principles will prevent the bourgeoisie's agents from functioning in the all-around manner they require; they are unable to discover everything that is going on and everyone involved in the all-around work and various divisions of labor of the party.

In addition, there is the aspect of summing up the methods of operation of the political police, learning better how they work in order to ferret them out sooner and limit the damage to revolutionary work they can commit. This, too, is an important part of the application of Leninist principles of organization. One thing in particular that should be grasped from the "Sanchez" experience is that the general definition of "provocateur" — based on some of the more well-known infiltration efforts of the '60s — is just too damn narrow. The bourgeoisie has summed up some things since then, and they have a much greater necessity today to try to stop the revolutionary movement. They will certainly not rely solely — or even mainly — on open "instigators" and those who promote individualist acts to facilitate police attacks. Neither will they so often leave their agents' cover stories so full of holes as to provide easy investigative discovery, as sometimes occurred in the past. The question of opposing and exposing the efforts of the political police, facilitating their discovery and ferreting them out through wide-ranging exposure, is a cardinal one for the success of any movement serious about revolution, and it is incumbent upon the forces for revolution that they learn better how to carry out this activity.

"Sanchez's" ability to parlay his particular *modus operandi* into a little more than a year's worth of undetected operations is certainly a serious matter. And it would appear that this was aided somewhat by a relatively narrow conception of the party's tasks, and those of individuals whom the party leads — that the only important question is whether a person is "around and participates" which downplays politics and political line; this view is part of the legacy of economism that the RCP has persistently struggled to uproot and made important progress on. On the other hand, in order to gain access to any information, "Sanchez" was forced to carry out the party's line, at least to some degree, including distributing *RW's*

to many more forces. In this regard, it is important to take note of a principle enunciated by Lenin when speaking of an undercover agent who had been able to infiltrate the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party: "While Malinovsky with one hand sent scores and scores of the best Bolsheviks to penal servitude and to death, he was obliged with the other to assist in the education of scores and scores of thousands of new Bolsheviks through the medium of the legal press." ("Left Wing Communism . . .", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 45-46). And in another work, Lenin added, "Malinovsky could and did ruin individuals, but he could neither hold back nor control the growth of the Party nor in any way affect the increase of its importance to the masses, its influence over hundreds of thousands of workers." (*The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma*). Obviously the situation with this agent was not the same, but the principle Lenin speaks to is no less valid.

Lenin's grasp of this question is fundamentally based on the understanding that the proletariat and its vanguard represent the forward motion of history — the vibrant future — and that the actions of the bourgeoisie's political police are, in essence, nothing more than the dying hand of the past trying to stave off its inevitable demise. Based on this materialist understanding, the party and the masses will further develop and apply the revolutionary line, including becoming increasingly capable of thwarting the efforts of the political police.

The development of this contradiction can be seen in the very specifics of this case. Here we have a highly-trained agent, supervised and backed up by the entire interlocking network of the bourgeoisie's armed dictatorship over the masses. He was needed to "infiltrate the RCP," but this presented too great a danger of disclosure. The class for which he operates needed to kill a revolutionary communist, but they feared the consequences of getting caught by the masses. They set their whole apparatus in motion to extensively plan and carry out the clandestine execution. But it has never been clandestine, and the light continues to shine on their action. And that action proved to be incapable of achieving the results required — stopping the party and the revolutionary masses. The bourgeoisie's cowardly "success" at murdering Damián Garcia will never be forgotten. The lessons of his life — and his death — will be learned very well. □

HELP SPREAD THE LIVING FORCE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

MONEY
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FOR
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OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER
IN THE U.S.
AND
INTERNATIONALLY

May First and the Universal Language of Proletarian Internationalism!

I thought the call in the *RW* last week for donations to distribute the issue summing up the battle for May Day broadly around the world was very significant because of the forging on May Day of a living force of proletarian internationalists in this country and what that means around the world. That was what I wanted to take out with the *RW*. But the question looming large in my mind was how well would I be able to communicate this because I was going to some apartments of "illegals" from El Salvador and Mexico and my ability to speak Spanish is minimal at best. But with the *RW* and what happened on May Day I thought advances could be made. I went to visit an advanced family from El Salvador that I had met before May Day to discuss the importance of this issue getting out around the world.

I was greeted by the son as I came in the door. Immediately I showed him the new issue of the paper and we went through it at first just looking at the pictures of the battles and the victories of May Day. As I groped for words to explain the forging of workers and oppressed of all countries uniting on May First, the brother began to smile and to try to describe, so that I could understand, how important he thought it was that Salvadorans were uniting with people from this country as well as others around the world. I pointed to the call for funds and tried to say how important it was for people worldwide not only to know that there is a force in this country seriously preparing for revolution and fighting for genuine communism but also the importance of people around the world beginning to grapple over these same questions of proletarian internationalism and

conquering the whole world as our goal, no matter what country we find ourselves in. He said he wanted to give \$10 but he only had \$2.

Then the father came in and again we went through the paper looking at the pictures of the battles for May Day and the Red Flag but also looking at the messages from around the world. We battled with the language barrier to convey our thoughts and ideas about the importance of May Day, internationalism and wiping out all oppression worldwide. And what began to emerge in our discussion was the future — where proletarians break the chains of nations, where language barriers can be overcome with the language of internationalism and revolution and we began grappling with the question of "how will WE advance revolution on a world scale?" Then I pointed to the call for funds and tried to say in broken Spanish that it depends on the conscious slaves, who have nothing and nothing to lose, to help this paper and this line get out not only to the campesinos in El Salvador but the workers in Russia, the people of South Africa — our task being to spread this line to the proletariat of the world.

As we continued the discussion, the question of the Soviet Union came up. I asked him if the guerrillas in El Salvador were fighting to replace U.S. imperialism with Soviet "socialism"? He said, "No. They should be fighting for May Day, internationalism, and the proletariat of the world, but they don't know enough yet." Then he reached into his pocket and gave me \$5 to spread the seeds of internationalism, revolution and communism around the globe.

A conspirator in Texas

Send contributions to:
Revolutionary Worker
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

4/27/82

I am sending my May Day '82 message to all my brothers and sisters of all races and cultures that will be out there May 1st, '82, and everyday carrying red flags for the revolution offense, and I want you all to know that behind these prison walls here in "Attica" struggling for my freedom that my support is 100% for you all (May 1st, '82), and every day of your struggle, because I want you all to know that you all's struggle is my struggle, and whatever help you need from me if it is possible I could, and would sacrifice even though I can not do much in here behind these prison bars as you know the struggle in here is hard but I am a person that dies in what he believes in, and I was born fighting, and I will die fighting, and I believe in you all.

From Attica

This statement was sent to the May First rally at Fort McPherson by prisoners from the Decatur Street jail in Atlanta:

From the dungeons of the Atlanta City Jail . . . We are in jail. For those who rule this country, we are guilty until proven innocent. The fact that we are propertyless proletarians makes us criminals in the eyes of the Rockefellers and Brezhnevs of the world, the fact that we do not accept our place is something they must desperately try to crush, in the eyes of the oppressed peoples of the world, however, this is grotesque hypocrisy, for the crimes we have been accused of don't amount to the weight of 2 dead flies compared to what the bastards who rule this country have already done to us and the people of the world.

On top of this they are planning even more in World War III to insure that the USA will remain the No. 1 bloodsucker of the people of the world, the real criminals walk the streets in judgment of us who are their victims.

On May First, millions of people just like us all over the world rebel against this system of imperialism. We will rebel too. We will rebel in the spirit of bringing forward visions of the future when the imperialists themselves will be brought to justice, and exploitation and oppressions of all forms are eliminated. Let May First declare that there are rebellious slaves in the USA who do not accept their "place," and share the vision of this revolutionary future with the proletariat of the world.

15 prisoners at Decatur Street Jail

Dear Comrades,

I am to be released from this warehouse very soon, therefore, I would like for you to discontinue my subscription to the RW newspaper. I will be able to obtain copies of the paper while in the streets. Thanks for keeping me abreast during my incarceration.

My blood is your blood. Continue in struggle and I'll do the same.

Communist Greetings Comrades

I am a prisoner (P.O.W.) presently being held captive at Soledad prison in California. For the past few weeks I've been very fortunate to receive the "Revolutionary Worker". I found the *Revolutionary Worker* and the speeches by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, to be very enlightening as well as motivating and has helped me to elevate my political consciousness from one level to the next! Keep the good work up *Revolutionary Worker*, people's war is the building of consciousness and it reflects consciousness. The key is motion consciously directed and constantly enriched by the advanced sectors of the R.C.P. USA!

I received the two books ("Summing Up The Black Panther Party" and "Revolution and Counter-Revolution"). Thanks! Also I would like to elevate my consciousness more about the Marxist-Leninist understanding of dialectical and historical materialist ideology and could you please send me a copy of "Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from: A Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations," and "Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion!"

I would like to extend my uncompromising support and solidarity to May 1st, international workers day!

In Solidarity of Struggle we build to win!!

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

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

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

THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION —AN URGENT AND DECISIVE QUESTION

Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker*, May 8, 1982

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

(over)

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 revulsion at 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 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 redivision 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. □

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.

For more information contact:

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Chicago, IL 60654

LA NATURALEZA DE LA UNION SOVIETICA: UNA CUESTION URGENTE Y DECISIVA

Reimpreso del *Obrero Revolucionario*, 8 de mayo, 1982

El acalorado debate de muchos años sobre el carácter y papel internacional de la Unión Soviética se está intensificando nuevamente por todo el mundo — y se necesita plantearlo más incisiva y claramente todavía. El recrudecimiento es el producto de importantes sucesos mundiales en el período relativamente reciente, entre ellos: el retroceso en China después de la muerte de Mao y la agudización del conflicto entre la Unión Soviética y el imperialismo EU.

Esta cuestión ha llevado a escisiones de movimientos revolucionarios, así como al rompimiento de alineaciones de vieja data y a la formación de otras nuevas. Han salido nuevas investigaciones y obras teóricas, publicaciones que han sido bien recibida y han provocado nuevas controversias y debates. Algunos que decían ser maoístas, han "reevaluado" su posición respecto a la Unión Soviética — mientras que los revisionistas chinos, a pesar de todo su proclamado anti-sovietismo, no han logrado encontrar nada en el análisis científico y revolucionario de Mao sobre el proceso de restauración capitalista que puedan defender.

Dondequiera que se reúne gente con aspiraciones revolucionarias, dondequiera que nuevas fuerzas estallan en lucha de masas, la pregunta se impone: "La Unión Soviética: ¿amigo o adversario; capitalista o socialista?" ¿Cuál es su naturaleza subyacente, sus relaciones de clase fundamentales, qué leyes de acción motivan sus acciones por todo el globo? Y fundamentalmente, ¿cómo encara esta superpotencia las luchas revolucionarias del mundo? ¿Como aliado o como otra potencia imperialista a la que hay que combatir, derrocar y destruir?

La alineación de las fuerzas en el mundo y el aceleramiento de la urgencia de los eventos demandan este debate. Lo demanda el hecho de que todo movimiento revolucionario está entrañablemente vinculado con el curso de los acontecimientos en el plano internacional y de que surge ligado con las arremetidas y contraarremetidas de los preparativos internacionales de guerra. Y lo demanda el hecho de que los eventos contradictorios del proceso revolucionario mundial plantean vivamente la pregunta de la meta final de la revolución: ¿es posible superar una forma u otra de sociedad de clase y llegar a la eliminación real de toda opresión y distinción de clase?

Precisamente el que la Unión Soviética encabece un bloque mundial y que al mismo tiempo presuma de socialista quiere decir que los hilos de mil decisiones políticas y la lucha para comprender la meta final constantemente vuelven a llevar a la gente a la controversia sobre la URSS:

OLONIA — millones de obreros se pronuncian osadamente en un rechazo instintivo contra la porquería que les han embutido durante décadas. Una profunda desavenencia y una violenta ruptura estalla entre gobernantes y gobernados. ¿Qué cuestión puede tener más importancia que comprender científicamente el carácter de la sociedad polaca y la sociedad soviética? Comprender que lo que allí se desenvuelve no es una "falla del socialismo", sino la explosión de la contradicción *capitalista*, es la clave para entender tales eventos y su significado — para los obreros polacos y para millones alrededor del mundo.

AMERICA CENTRAL — el fuego de fusiles persigue a titeres y escuadrones de la muerte de los odiados yanquis, la junta trastabillea, pero una Caja de Pandora de interrogantes no solucionados se abre y define la lucha del futuro. ¿Es realmente posible obtener la liberación de los imperialistas EU *sin* la protección y ayuda de los soviéticos, es posible avanzar a partir de la victoria y mantener independencia sin continuar con esos lazos? Un vistazo a la vía cubana, una revolución encaminada hacia una versión inconformable de dependencia neo-colonial y desequilibrio económico — y ante aquellos que sueñan con algo más que una independencia formal, que sueñan con una verdadera emancipación, la pregunta vuelve a colación: "¿Es posible imaginarse una liberación real *con* tal alianza con los soviéticos?"

EN EUROPA OCCIDENTAL Y NORTEAMERICA — millones se movilizan contra la guerra nuclear e inmediatamente se impone la pregunta: ¿cuál es la fuente de los galopantes preparativos bélicos? Los portavoces de todas las potencias imperialistas, ya sea EU, la URSS o las potencias europeas, salen de inmediato con la respuesta refleja: es culpa de su rival. Lograr ver a través de esta cortina de humo, captar la naturaleza imperialista (literalmente hablando) de la Unión Soviética, y a partir de eso poner al descubierto la falsedad de su "postura completamente defensiva y amante de la paz", es una parte crucial de comprender la verdadera fuente de la guerra: la crisis de la totalidad del sistema imperialista.

Nuevos Interrogantes Basados en Acontecimientos Mundiales

Es un simple hecho de la política de esta época que ideologías y movimientos sociales, aun sistemas, vastamente diferentes se confrontan mutuamente, y cada uno reclama para sí el estandarte común del marxismo. Es imposible luchar por la revolución sin lucha de clases en la esfera teórica — donde repetida e inevitablemente, la teoría

revolucionaria confronta el punto de vista del enemigo, en la forma de revisionismo, como una barrera al avance de la revolución. Un suceso sin precedentes de las últimas décadas es que el revisionismo no sólo es una ideología de capitulación al interior de movimientos revolucionarios, sino que emana de países donde detenta el Poder y goza de la capacidad de ofrecer una estrategia basada en el establecimiento del capitalismo de estado, respaldado por los grandes recursos militares y económicos de Estado. Sin la capacidad de distinguir entre un socialismo auténtico y uno impostor, ¿dónde nos encontraremos en el mundo actual?

Como parte de los preparativos para la guerra — a partir de necesidad, no de fuerza — la Unión Soviética y sus partidarios políticos han lanzado una ofensiva, esforzándose por meter al rebaño de su campo político y militar a varias fuerzas de clase, entre ellas, las rebeldes de todo el mundo. En la confrontación de bloques, ellos insisten, no hay dos males iguales. Sólo existe la confrontación del socialismo y el capitalismo — en la que la Unión Soviética reúne a su alrededor todo lo que es progresista en el mundo y carga sobre sus hombros el peso agobiante de "la lucha por la paz", y en última instancia por la abolición de la explotación. Después de todo, somos una superpotencia — dicen — que básicamente ha eliminado internamente la propiedad privada fragmentada y con ella, las apertencias reaccionarias, la anarquía capitalista. He aquí el "socialismo como ha surgido en la práctica en el mundo", con sus fallas e imperfecciones, no hay que dudarlo, pero así y todo, una fuerza política poderosa y progresista, el "aliado natural de los oprimidos". En esa perspectiva, la revolución mundial pasa a ser nada menos (indudablemente *no más*) que la extensión del "campo socialista", encabezado (y dominado) por la Unión Soviética.

Para poder lanzar tal ofensiva y también para ampliar ciertas cabezas de playa muy reales entre las fuerzas revolucionarias, estas fuerzas han tenido que confrontar abiertamente la línea de Mao Tsetung y todo lo que representó él — y en particular lo que ha llegado a conocerse como su "tesis de la restauración del capitalismo", su balance según el cual: "El ascenso del revisionismo al Poder es el ascenso de la burguesía al Poder", y hoy en día la Unión Soviética es cabalmente capitalista.

Esta, dicen ellos, es una teoría absolutamente en contraposición con la realidad, que se fundamenta en una distorsión completa de todas las realidades de la sociedad soviética y en una profunda revisión idealista del marxismo. Se

trata de las fantasías de utopistas y soñadores, atizadas por el nacionalismo más mezquino y un anti-comunismo implícito.

En el mundo ha existido una base material para que esta línea favorable al revisionismo prosoviético logre incursiones importantes, si bien agudamente contradictorias. Pues al fin de cuentas, siempre existe una base de clase para fuerzas que buscan alianzas pragmáticas con la esperanza de conseguir un progreso indoloro. Pero es más importante aún el resultado de cambios en los alineamientos mundiales durante esta última década: el reflujo de la lucha revolucionaria, y con eso, el retroceso que han sufrido ciertos avances previos. Preguntas como la que citaremos enseguida de un estudiante africano a Bob Avakian en Madison (Wisconsin) (*OR* No. 23) son una expresión concentrada de estas incursiones de la Unión Soviética, y de algo de la confusión que produce el hecho de que la explicación científica al respecto no está ampliamente difundida:

"Me has provocado al mencionar la cuestión del presunto social-imperialismo de la Unión Soviética. A mi parecer, la definición leninista del imperialismo como fase superior del capitalismo sigue siendo correcta, y el imperialismo está asociado con la explotación económica. Según esa definición, todavía no veo exactamente cómo la Unión Soviética, a pesar de lo expansionista que haya sido su política, haya podido atrincherarse económicamente. O sea, cuando miro países como Angola, como Vietnam, etc., no veo las corporaciones multinacionales del sector ruso, como vemos las de las regiones capitalistas occidentales que promueven la causa del imperialismo.

"Y en segundo lugar, ya por mucho tiempo hemos considerado que el pueblo soviético se alía con los movimientos de liberación en Africa. Mientras el campo occidental armaba los regímenes de Vorster y Smith, los únicos que hasta hoy día le han prestado ayuda a la lucha de liberación han sido el pueblo y el gobierno soviético. Ahora encontramos que este grito conjunto del social-imperialismo soviético ha tenido una influencia divisiva entre las filas del movimiento comunista, especialmente entre la clase obrera y los pueblos que todavía están tratando de liberarse.

"¿Puedes aclarar este asunto?"

El Legado de Mao Tsetung

Políticamente, todo esto forma un aspecto del cuadro, y sólo uno; en oposición a él existe una poderosa reserva de experiencia, y con ella, una comprensión de la naturaleza reaccionaria de la URSS.

Dondequiera que la gente sueña con la
(ver otro lado)

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.

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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 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 redivision 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.

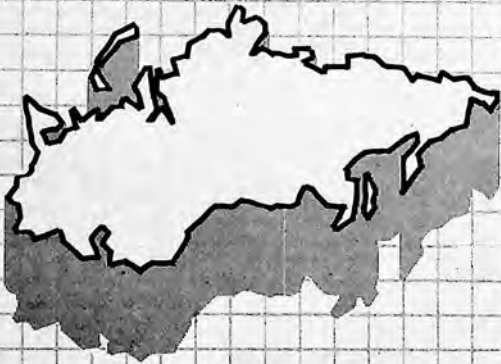
The obvious fact that Soviet social-imperialism is a capitalism with some unique and historically unprecedented features is not at all surprising, and should not be allowed to continue as a major source of confusion. It has all the particularities of an exploitative society that has emerged out of the 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. □

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.

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