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ON TO MAY 1st

ATLANTA: ROCKIN' IN THE WAKE OF RED FRIDAY

As the police car speeds away from the scene, its driver finally breathes a sigh of relief. "I hate going into those crowds," he moans, "you never know if you're going to come out again."

In the back seat sits their "catch," one of the three revolu-

tionaries arrested that day in front of the MARTA Five Points Station in the heart of downtown Atlanta. The memory of skirmishes bordering on the edge of rebellion in the wake of the Wayne Williams verdict at that very spot only a few short weeks

(continued on page 18)

Haitian Revolutionaries Call for May Day Action

May First is the day of the international proletariat, the day of proletarians the world over, of the class that has nothing to lose but its chains. It is a day of struggle for all proletarians who are conscious of the historic role they and their class have to play in the world. It is the time the proletariat declares war on the imperialists and all the other exploiters regardless of their color or their country. May First is a day of struggle between light and darkness, between the proletarian revolution and reaction, which wants to maintain the world in the darkness it is today — a horror for masses around the world even in so-called "peaceful" times and today lurching for the third time toward world war as these monsters prepare to redive the world that they've stolen. These are times of growing dangers but even more of great revolutionary challenges and opportunities. Consequently, we conscious proletarians think this May First the true color of everyone should come out, and we have to raise the banner of the proletariat, the red flag against all the different flags of the other classes.

In different countries, different classes have the tendency to transform May Day into a farce and take away all the revolutionary spirit of that day. For example in some countries in the world, the bourgeoisie celebrates May First. But they celebrate it in their own class interests, for in these countries May First is made a day where the proletariat and the bourgeoisie celebrate together. The bourgeoisie in these countries takes away all the revolutionary spirit of that day.

In the revisionist countries it's the bourgeoisie itself that is raising up the red flag while their feet are on the neck of the

proletariat. In the USA the bourgeoisie worked to erase that day altogether and make believe that this day never existed. But there are also so-called "revolutionaries" that want to limit the celebration of May First to ask the imperialist bourgeoisie for more crumbs, without even asking where these crumbs come from, even though these crumbs are taken from other exploited peoples of the world. These "revolutionaries" are merchants of illusions, who preach that it's possible to reform imperialism, instead of destroy it. These forces will be marching on May First too, with Roll Back Reaganism inscribed on their banner. At the same time there's an international proletarian tendency which aspires to a different kind of May First, one where the bourgeoisie would get a taste of what awaits it in the future — one that would prepare the forces who will create that future. This is the view of May First of that internationalist tendency:

"On that day a vision must shine forth: the embryo of a proletariat conscious of its international character and its antagonism to all forms of reaction and of its historic mission to do no less than conquer the world. Infusing the workers' common actions in different quarters of the globe must be the determination to proceed, as Lenin put it, 'not from the point of view of 'my' country ... but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.'"

We the class-conscious proletariat have no country. Our country is the world. Whatever country we find ourselves in, there is only one way to

celebrate May First: declare war on all imperialists. In this war, our arsenal consists of the red flag, the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and an analysis of the objective conditions and the role we must play within them. With that no obstacle would be able to stop us, or prevent us from stamping this day with its revolutionary essence.

For us the class-conscious proletariat to give this day its true significance means to struggle. This struggle must be waged in diverse forms. This struggle for May First is a struggle against imperialism and all reaction. And for us it is a battle to make the greatest possible advance that day, and transform this vision of May First into a reality for the proletariat worldwide.

We, Haitian Marxist-Leninists living in the USA, who are struggling to make May First a reality, we wish to point to the strong tendency among some comrades who come from dependent and dominated countries. This tendency is the almost total disregard on the part of these revolutionaries to participate in the struggle against imperialism in the USA, and more particularly their disregard to actively participate in the struggle for May Day here. This tendency is based on a narrow nationalist vision of the struggle against imperialism. They only want to struggle against imperialism in their own country. Many of the immigrant comrades have yet to grasp the "duality" of their role, or to see that imperialism is a world system, and that the struggle against imperialism must be carried out on a world scale. These comrades must play this "dual role". Since this tendency

is very strong among numerous immigrant comrades, and since we are struggling with them, so that they will take up revolutionary May Day, we should reach into our arsenal, the science of Marxism-Leninism, and wield our bazooka, which is a quotation from Lenin, where he speaks about what is real internationalism: "There is one and only one kind of real internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this and *only this* line, in every country without exception". This bazooka is a very important weapon for us in the struggle against the narrow nationalist tendency, common among immigrants.

We revolutionary Haitians call on all conscious proletarians in the world, whatever their country, that they take up this day as their own, and that they liberate the world, even if for a day. Take history into our hands, whatever be our country!

We are also making a special call to the proletarians in New York City, whatever their color, their race, their sex or their language: let's liberate Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn (a concentration of oppressed nationalities — *RW*) on the eve of May Day on midnight of April 30th, the first moments of May First. Let's take it to celebrate our class's holiday in a revolutionary spirit. This will be one of the opening salvos of May First, contributing to the struggle to make a living force of proletarian internationalism.

A group of Haitian Marxist-Leninists

Leave No Sacred Sphere Untouched!

"On page 414 we find a discussion of the rights labor enjoys but no discussion of labor's right to run the state, the various enterprises, education, and culture. Actually, this is labor's greatest right under socialism, the most fundamental right, without which there is no right to work, to an education, to vacation, etc.

"The paramount issue for socialist democracy is: Does labor have the right to subdue the various antagonistic forces and their influences? For example, who controls things like the newspapers, journals, broadcast stations, the cinema? Who criticizes? These are a part of the question of rights. . . . In sum, the people must have the right to manage the superstructure. We must not take the rights of the people to mean that the state is to be managed by only a section of the people, that the people can enjoy labor rights, education rights, social insurance, etc., only under the management of certain people."

Mao Tsetung, from *A Critique of Soviet Economics*

To the Revolutionary Proletarians:

"May First is a concentration point in the overall worldwide confrontation between the new and the old forces in society fighting for the world's destiny — nothing less." — Bob Avakian

On such a day, can revolutionary proletarians leave matters of the class struggle in any sphere of life "free" to take their natural course? Can workers conscious of the historic mission of their class accept any traditional limits on what comes before them? No. Because these traditional limits are the limits placed on slaves, limits imposed through the ages by the very existence of class society (including the division between mental and manual labor), limits enforced with a vengeance by the bourgeoisie, limits acceptable only to those who think it natural and eternal that some should rule and some should labor.

These limits are totally unacceptable to the international proletariat, in general, and in face of the immediate particular necessities of all-around preparation for the revolutionary seizure of power.

One sphere of life which doesn't just "naturally" fall within the "proper" domain of activity of the proletarians is the sphere of art and literature. Yet, historically and today, the class struggle in this sphere is often quite acute, despite all claims that art is totally separate and irrelevant to politics. And the proletariat has a responsibility to lead.

There is no doubt that big contradictions in the world have given rise to a certain left upsurge among a section of artists internationally — that there are those who, to one degree or another, represent the oppressed on the stage. There are those who are grappling with the great political and ideological questions of the epoch, those who vividly and fearlessly portray and pose some of the sorest and most vexatious contradictions of our day, those who are, with all their contradictoriness, objectively part of "the new" which this decaying old order gives birth to. And yet, far more than is objectively necessary at this time, there is a gulf between these artists and the revolutionary proletarians.

Rebel artists mysteriously die, and *later* there is an "exposure." Many times, most times, there is no exposure at all of what is easily described as murder . . . not to mention clubs closed down, scripts mangled, visas denied, theaters burned, films suppressed. How come workers in the U.S. — those who thirst for a way out of this madness — as yet manifest little revolutionary activity in response to, among other things, such outrages? It has everything to do with the history of imperialist economism in the revolutionary movement, with its narrow view and its contempt for the masses of all oppressed classes and its acceptance of the "natural" development of things.

The class-conscious proletariat must give active support to such revolutionary and progressive artists. More than that, the *Programme* of the RCP calls on us to lead the broader ranks of the working class and the masses generally to wage a fierce struggle against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to crush and demoralize them and in various ways prevent their influence from being felt broadly in society . . . this is an important part of the class struggle under capitalism and will assume even greater significance with the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of proletarian states.



Chinese painting entitled "We Are Reversing the Old Judgments on History." 1974.

Of course, some say that it is impossible for the proletariat to lead in this sphere. The natural gulf is just too great. And besides, it's none of your business. The proletarians and their revolutionary vanguard party are "outsiders" in this sphere and cannot lead the "insiders." Such sparrows will keep on chirping for some time to come, probably all the way to communism. In 1960, Mao noted that those "involved in the cinema claim that the party cannot lead the cinema. Those involved in musicals or ballet claim that the party cannot offer leadership there. Those in atomic science say the same. In sum, what they are all saying is that the party cannot lead anywhere. Remolding of the intellectuals is an extremely important question for the entire period of socialist revolution and construction."

Isn't it necessary, as one part of the all-around revolutionary offensive conducted on the First of May, as one dimension of a vision of the future, for revolutionary proletarians to consciously and creatively take initiative in this sacred sphere of literature and art? To seek out the advanced among artists, in the spirit of daring to learn and daring to lead, and to see their creations and criticize them helpfully and to struggle over questions of art and revolution? Such conscious activism is part and parcel of meeting the challenge of history, requiring some transformation and remolding ourselves. As Karl Marx said over one hundred years ago, "We say to workers, you will have to go through 15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of power."

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Wave of Rebellion Sweeps West Bank

Once again it is being demonstrated that whatever imperialist solutions are posed and imposed upon the complex and volatile situation in the Middle East, they have run smack up against one powerful and profoundly disconcerting force—the struggle of the Palestinian people. In the past weeks, mass disorders—which began with the Israeli dissolution of the town council in El Bireh on the West Bank in March—have grown in intensity and continued to rock the Israeli-occupied territories on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as Palestinians, especially the youth, have gone right up in the bared teeth of the clamp-down, challenging the Israeli security forces in hundreds of separate clashes.

The latest wave of resistance was fueled by yet another outrageous example of what the Israelis like to call their "enlightened occupation policy." On Easter morning, an Israeli army reservist—who, it is clear, has worked hand-in-hand with the authorities—entered the Mosque of Omar (the Dome of the Rock) on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, one of Islam's most sacred shrines, and opened fire on Arab worshippers inside. Two were killed and dozens more wounded—many critically—in the act which was obviously a deliberate provocation by Israel. The response was immediate as hundreds of angry men, women and youth chanting Palestinian national slogans roared into the streets, stoning Israeli military patrols and injuring a number of soldiers in a series of hit and run street battles in which troops routinely opened fire, wounding many demonstrators. By the next day, the occupied territories were exploding from one end to the other—Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron and Rafah in the Gaza Strip—particularly in areas where the Palestinian refugee camps are located.

Near the West Bank city of Hebron, youths constructed barricades across the road and pelted Israeli soldiers with massive paving stones before being dispersed with rifle fire. In Jerusalem, dozens of Palestinians were detained after rolling burning tires at Israeli troops and showering them with stones, injuring one soldier. In the Gaza Strip, large-scale rioting broke out as the entire city of Rafah (pop. 80,000) had to be placed under military curfew by Israeli authorities. Youth attacked a military station near the Jabaliya camp, seriously wounding an Israeli soldier. Israeli military vehicles were stoned repeatedly from ambushes set up along major highways and from behind ingeniously constructed barricades—one near Nablus consisted of a solid wall of refrigerators.

There were also reports of demonstrators attempting to wrest weapons from Israeli soldiers and several attacks by the masses with grenades or



Demonstration in front of the Mosque of Omar following the murders.

gasoline bombs on military patrols. Dozens of Palestinians were seriously injured and several killed, including an eight-year-old boy in Gaza, as Israeli troops ruthlessly fired point blank at demonstrators to break up the disturbances. However, the eruptions continued unabated as days later in El Bireh crowds of hundreds armed with stones, bottles, sticks and knives continued to attack Israeli military patrols who opened fire, killing two more youth and wounding scores.

While the media was beside itself with appropriate phony shock and dismay, at the act of a supposed "lone zealot" in Jerusalem, the incident at the Dome of the Rock—while particularly outrageous—merely epitomized what the Palestinians have faced ever since the original invasion of their homeland and its continuing occupation by the Zionists. Could there be, we might ask, a more fitting symbol of what the role and function of the reactionary settler state of Israel has been all along, and of precisely who Zionism serves and what it is all about anyway?

Here a U.S.-born Israeli wearing army fatigues and carrying a standard issue American M-16 walks into a mosque and calculatedly and cold-bloodedly shoots the place up. The mosque is then surrounded by Israeli riot troops and armed civilian settlers who shoot it up some more and whisk their comrade safely away from the wrath of angry crowds, firing into their midst and killing one

more person. When demonstrators pour into the plaza at the Dome, chanting "Palestine is Arab!" and hoisting the Palestinian flag, the troops rush back in shooting and teargassing. In a final touch, a soldier deliberately lofts a CS grenade at the main door of the mosque, gassing the people inside. As the troops walk away, they are openly laughing and patting each other on the back—another bloody job well done. Such is the imperialist monstrosity of Israel.

Whatever the extent of advance planning of this attack by the Israeli government is quite beside the point. It is typical of the atrocities carried out on a much broader scale in Israel's performance of its duties as the U.S.'s junior manager in charge of its Middle East franchise, operating out of its "national" office set up on territory stolen from the Palestinian people in 1948. The West Bank and Gaza have been under the bootheel of Israeli military occupation and all its blessings—the daily beatings, interrogations, land expropriations, concentration camps, etc.—for 15 years since they were grabbed during the 1967 war. And the Begin government has made no secret that it intends to keep them.

There were, to be sure, the usual expressions of concern about the "unfortunate incident" at the Temple Mount both by Begin and from Washington. However, after a Moroccan-sponsored UN resolution to condemn Israel, this quickly gave way to shrill cries on Begin's part that it was not fair to blame Israel for the crimes of a lone, psychotic madman. Meanwhile this "deranged" madman was being far more candid about what had motivated his actions, appearing for arraignment without an attorney and calmly telling the judge, "It doesn't matter. This is a political action, not a legal matter."

In the wake of the mosque incident, Palestinian leaders in Jerusalem called for a general strike—a call that was echoed by King Khalid of Saudi Arabia who urged the world's 700 million Moslems to "extend the hand of assistance" to the Palestinians. This call was honored in varying degrees by 15 of the 42 countries that make up the Islamic Conference, and by nearly every reactionary regime in the Middle East (with the notable exception of Egypt) including Jordan and Syria, both of whom have themselves engaged in bloody massacres of Palestinians and who live in fear of the "Palestinian time bomb." Banks and airports in the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf were reported closed and as far away as Pakistan and Bangladesh, businesses shut down. Notably, however, oil continued to be pumped routinely into imperialist tankers all along the Persian Gulf.

Indeed, there has never been any shortage of kings, caliphs, sheiks, and other such imperialist henchmen who, while fearing any real revolutionary struggle on the part of the Palestinian people and what it portends for their own reactionary rule, nevertheless are forced to trade in "support for the Palestinians." However opportunistic and transparent such support may be (in just one example, Algeria announced a general strike lasting all of 15 minutes), the fact is that this is necessitated by the widespread support among the masses in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, who take great inspiration from the Palestinian struggle. This is itself an indication that the "Palestinian question" looms as a key factor in the Middle East equation which no amount of repression has so far been able to eliminate.

In what is known as Middle East power politics, just about every player with "clout"—i.e. an army, a lot of money and oil, the backing of a superpower, etc.—aspires to be able to play the "Palestinian card" to their own advantage. And, of course, this includes a variety of bourgeois leadership factions within the PLO umbrella itself who represent the interests of Syria, Iraq and other Arab states, as well as different imperialists—with Arafat's Al Fatah group (which has generally leaned toward the Soviets while at the same time willing to deal with the Western bloc) presently in control. Various feelers from the U.S. have been, and no doubt will continue to be, put out in the future about negotiating some form of "autonomy" (perhaps a half-baked mini-state or some other such scheme) with a view to eventually cooling things out—although for the moment it is Israeli jets that have been unleashed to do the talking and a full-scale invasion of Lebanon is still very much in the cards in hopes of severely weakening the Palestinian position among other purposes.

What is clear, however, is that given the revolutionary initiative of the Palestinian masses, any imperialist redrawing of borders or stepped up repression won't fundamentally rid them of the spectre which always seems to rise like the proverbial phoenix from the ashes of its supposed destruction. In the sight of masked Palestinian youths darting from the alleyways of the West Bank and Gaza, stones in hand, and in the smell of gasoline and burning tires, it is apparent that what is on the agenda for the Middle East is violent upheavals, shocks and convulsions in the coming period. And in all this, the imperialists, along with their lackeys, are well aware that the struggle of the Palestinian people is a wild card that can profoundly alter the outcome of the game. □

Rawalpindi, Pakistan, youths demonstrate in support of the Palestinians and in opposition to Israel.



No May 1st "Secrets"

Send May Day Reports Right Away!

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

forces to step up our work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion, inspiring hundreds of thousands more with the sights and sounds and profound significance of this truly international revolutionary holiday, through our revolutionary press.

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



Red Flags on the West Bank

This letter came from a Palestinian student who is now living in New York City:

Yes we are ahead. Foreign people accuse us of being refugees, but we celebrate on May Day. This is the measure of freedom and progress, and it should be everywhere. I was extremely astonished when I came to the U.S. mainly because I read that Labour Day was in September and not May. I started to find explanations for that but I could not. All workers in all countries celebrate on May First, why don't Americans too? Now I am beginning to learn why.

We did and we do celebrate on May First. We are students in the West Bank at Bir Zeit University but we celebrate, we take the places of the workers, we work instead of them that day. They come and share with us the pleasure of May Day, it's their Day and here is what we once did on May Day 1979.

Three nights before, we started to write

the posters to hang them on our school walls. Of course we did that secretly and at night time because the Israelis as all other capitalist societies and governments do not like Red color, if it was on a flag or for writing. So to be sure they will not be caught, the students wrote the posters in one home every night with Red colors. One night before May Day and at midnight they went to hang the posters on the walls, brochures were distributed all around the school, students were prepared for the next day's formula; working and taking the places of the school workers, preparing speeches, inviting workers and union leaders to meet with us and give speeches.

I wish I was there now to join them, but I

think it does not matter where to celebrate — the most important thing is why and, in fact, just to do it, to raise the Red flag and say: "Good May Day".

I used to think that Russia was the model for revolutionaries. And I was surprised to find revolutionary parties opposed to Russia and not taking it as a model and exposing it with the other imperialists as a new kind of imperialist state. Because of this I was happy to join here and bring my comrades to May Day. I would like to invite all of my brothers and sisters in all other countries and societies to join us on May First.

WE HAVE A WORLD TO WIN

O.H.

An Idaho Surprise

To RCP:

Here is a small contribution towards building May 1st. I'll try and send more later. Idaho may seem isolated from the rest of the country in many ways, but a few of us here are planning our own little surprise for May Day.

All Power to the People!

Yours truly,

A supporter in Idaho

A street scene somewhere in the U.S.A. foreign born street vendor displays his wares.

In his home country where he had participated in May Day, all his former comrades are jailed.



Anti-Nuke Activists Cast Lot With International Proletariat

This leaflet was written by 3 anti-nuke activists, one of whom volunteered to go to New York, Atlanta or Los Angeles. The leaflet was distributed Saturday, April 17, at a nuclear freeze demonstration in Seattle, where over 10,000 people marched.

Anti-Nuke Activists On Why We Will Be Out On May Day

May First is the holiday of revolutionaries. May Day is the day when proletarian internationalists proclaim their commitment to each other. It is a day on which strong links can be forged internationally. This May Day in the U.S. can strike a heavy political blow against the trend that represents world war in this country — the attempts to whip up nationalistic sentiments in the face of increasing economic hardship. We can show that there is a strong force for proletarian internationalism here, truly in the belly of the beast. This is bound to strengthen revolutionary spirit and struggle around the world. We are anti-nuke activists who are writing to say that May Day has taken on great significance for us. We are working to build for May Day and one of us has volunteered to go to a city targeted by the RCP for the outbreak of international proletarian struggle. Nuclear activists are internationalists because the nature of the problem is international. We hate the horror of nuclear accident or aggression being visited on anyone and national boundaries do not take precedence over this concern. In other words it's not okay to use them somewhere else as long as our skins are safe. It's not okay for them to exist let alone be used anywhere. This international concern must be translated into understanding of the internationalism of communism — that is proletarian internationalism — for as long as state power anywhere is in the hands of the capitalists, the threat of nuclear war will remain. Capitalism is forced to expand because of its own internal laws, independent of any particular policy. They are preparing for this expansion and are preparing to survive it. No matter how absurd this may seem to us, their plans

must be taken seriously.

We have tried writing to the Congress folks, petitions, referendums, marches, mass education, and non-violent confrontation. All that these methods have shown us is the extent to which their "democracy" is a lie and a sham. It is our privileged position in the world community that has allowed us to develop the illusion that non-violent action is a viable option. We have come to realize that only through the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie (the ruling class) worldwide can we get at the roots of the problems that plague the world's people. Many activists have a deep-seated aversion for violence and avoid deepening their understanding of the necessity for revolution because of this. We, too, hate and fear violence, but we recognize that attempting to "rise above it" is, in fact, allowing the violence perpetrated by the capitalist system to continue unchecked. We take no pleasure in being forced to use these methods, but the only way to take power is to respond in kind to the state's violent upholding of power through their military, police, FBI, CIA, etc.

Many people around the world are already fighting and many more are preparing to fight. We see a violent upsurge coming in this country too. It is a direct reaction to the horrors that capitalism has wrought. It will come whether or not we take part in it. The outcome is what we cannot predict. There is only one direction in which progress can be made. That is toward the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (that is, state power in the hands of the working class in the interests of the great majority) with the elimination of all classes always held up as the ultimate goal. Those of us who can envision a brighter future beyond capitalism must be willing to take part in shaping the upsurges ahead. Only class-conscious leadership can insure a positive outcome. Therefore we cast our lot with international proletarian revolution. May Day is the day to take responsibility for these feelings.

MAKE YOUR OWN STATEMENT ON MAY DAY, WE WILL!

Three Nuclear Activists

Greetings from Denmark to Atlanta



Danish youth throw w.c. pans (toilets) out a window onto police.

Til de sorte indbyggere, der lever under den rustne USA jernhæl i Atlanta, Georgia, hvor magthaverne har iscenesat mordene på ikke mindre end 28 unge sorte og har prøvet at dække over deres forbrydelser.

Det var USA der købte de Dansk Vestindiske Øer (Virgin Islands) af det socialdemokratiske Danmark — med befolkning naturligvis.

Derovre i selve baglandet for de imperialistiske gangstere, der nu bestemmer overalt i verden, såvel som her vil arbejderne og de unge ikke længere bøje sig og holde mund.

Politiet i Danmark finder det helt rigtigt at "holde orden og fred" ved at gennemtæve bagbundne arrestanter, men folk slår igen, når de kan komme afsted med det.

I gadekampene fornylig blev der kastet murbrokker og toilet-kummer imod politiet og flere af dem blev såret og sendt på hospitalet. Folk ser med harme på de store summer der ofres på nyt politifæstningsbyggeri og ville glæde sig over at få bastionerne sendt til himlen.

Overalt hvor der findes undertrykkelse vil der være modstandskamp. Vi støtter jeres oprør og kampe imod den fælles fiende, overherrene allevegne og alle deres medløbere. Vi ønsker jer en vellykket Arbejdernes Internationale 1. maj-dag 1982.

En gruppe unge og nogle arbejdere i Århus, Danmark.

April 12th, 1982

To the Black residents living beneath the rusty U.S. iron heel in Atlanta, Georgia, where the bourgeoisie has orchestrated the murder of at least 28 Black youth and has been engaged in trying to cover up their crimes.

It was the U.S. of A. who bought the Virgin Islands (Danish West Indies) from Social-Democratic Denmark — with the population of course . . .

Over there inside the base area of the imperialist gangsters now ruling the world as well as here, the workers and the youth won't bow and keep silent any longer.

The police in Denmark finds it all right to beat chained prisoners in order to "keep law and peace" but the people fight back whenever they are able to do it.

In the streetfights lately rubble and WC-pans were thrown against the police and several of them were sent to hospital wounded. People are furious when they hear of the huge sums being spent on new police fortress construction and would like to have these bastions removed to heaven.

Where there is suppression there will be resistance. We will support your rebellion and struggle against our common enemy the overlords everywhere and all their flunkies. We wish you a successful International Workers Day, May 1st 1982.

A group of youth and a few workers in Aarhus, Denmark.

Contribute To A Significant Advance For Worldwide Revolution!

MONEY NEEDED IMMEDIATELY:

- To help youth, proletarians and others travel to LA, NY & Atlanta
- For bail, legal costs to counter the State's vicious attempts to stop May Day
- To build for a great leap on the First of May

Damián García Day, April 22, 1982

April 22 was Damián García Day, a day of struggle honoring and carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of comrade Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party who raised the red flag over the Alamo in 1980 and was murdered a few weeks later by police agents in Los Angeles. Reports of the day's activities across the country are just reaching the *RW* as we go to press; they will be covered in full in the next issue. In Atlanta, large crowds gathered at a rapid transit station for revolutionary agitation and people stepped forward taking up May First in the face of several police sweeps. A fierce struggle was waged with the police for hours in the Mission District of San Francisco. On the border between the U.S. and Mexico at Tijuana/San Diego, actions also took place. There was a day of activity in Los Angeles itself, culminating in an evening memorial rally in Pico-Aliso Housing Project on the spot where Damián had been murdered two years ago. Once again, police agents were active, but their efforts were defeated by the masses on the spot. Carol García and others addressed the crowd. (see below) A banner was present at the memorial which had been signed and sent by a large number of workers from Turkey in Germany; it read "Our Comrade Damián García Is Immortal!" □



"Our Comrade Damián García Is Immortal!"—ATIF (Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany)

Statement by Carol García

Statement of Carol García, given April 22 in Los Angeles at the memorial rally at the spot of the police assassination of Damián García.

On March 20th, two years ago, Damián raised the red flag over the Alamo, with two other revolutionaries. And on that day his hatred of oppression and exploitation, his desire to eliminate imperialism, and his dream to win, liberate and emancipate all mankind and to move on to communism raced through his veins and was felt worldwide. Damián grew up in the projects of San Bernardino, saw his father denied jobs because he was a Mexican, was told as a child to wear long shirtsleeves so people wouldn't think his elbows were dirty, he grew up hating the oppression of Mexican people. He battled and fought to uncover the source of this exploitation and oppression, and he learned that imperialism was the source of all the immiseration and horrors that the masses face worldwide, he burned with an even greater desire to eliminate it. Damián wanted to be in the forefront of the struggle, part of the vanguard in changing the world, turning it right side up, this is why he joined the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Damián told me of the difficulties of getting up the wall of the Alamo, the race against time to rip down the Texas flag, and the bloody red, white and blue, thinking they could not fail to raise the red flag—the thought passing through his mind that this may be the end, as the helicopter hovered overhead with armed thugs in it—but knowing every step of the way that the red flag of the international proletariat had to be planted on top of this imperialist monument.

This action on the Alamo was part of the battle for May Day 1980 that was already raging. A challenge had been put out and taken up by a significant section in this country and a declaration of our insurrectionary aim was made on the bourgeoisie in a way unprecedented in this country and he and thousands like him had to play the most advanced role possible to carry it through. The rulers of this country were desperate to beat back the growing momentum and the advances already won by the proletariat in the battle for May Day '80, which was focused up by the actions of Damián and two other revolutionaries on the Alamo,

and further foreshadowed even more powerful blows to their rule on May Day itself. They could not have the millions that Damián represented, who knew and hated imperialism, dreaming what they call "impossible," overthrowing them—doing away with their rule, advancing to communism and taking a major leap in preparing to seize this opportunity. And so two years ago in hopes of wiping out the force that was being unleashed to take history into their hands, they murdered him out of desperation, with the intent of causing those who had already stepped forward to back down and those who were on the verge of stepping out to retreat in the battle for May Day 1980. Yet on May First, thousands across the country marched to the fore to raise the red flag of proletarian revolution, in the most determined and uncompromising manner, declaring their intent to conquer the world. And in the last two years the bourgeoisie has been forced to continue to attack Damián, his life and his death. They have fought hard to win back what they lost when the red flag was raised over the Alamo and what was forged on May Day 1980. They have sent their various lackeys out to spread the foulest lies to try and win the masses to a summation that Damián's life and death was such a waste, a tragedy, an unnecessary accident that could have been prevented had he only stayed in his place, and not dared to rise up and fight to win the world.

The fact is that it was an orchestrated political assassination by the bourgeoisie, that the killers targeted Damián and Hayden Fisher (who was atop the Alamo with Damián). The killer said, "You hate the government, I am the government. Your flag is red, mine is red, white and blue." Others have said it is too bad that he got involved with those white people right in keeping with their racist crap that Mexicans are nothing more than lazy and dumb. Well, why the hell do they have to attack him so much if his life and death were so meaningless? Why today are they threatening the volunteers who have come here to help prepare and unleash the most internationalist and revolutionary activity on May First? This furious squealing of the bourgeoisie is another desperate attempt to attack and prevent the thousands who have stepped forward and burn with a rage so radical, so firm, to transform society and mankind from

actually stepping out on May Day 1982, and putting the stamp of the international proletariat across this country; to prevent us from commemorating Damián's life and death, in the most fitting manner possible, with the conscious determination to wipe imperialism off the face of the earth, and to do this with the vision of the future when the proletariat will consciously run society.

Over the last two years the bourgeoisie may have hoped that I would have come to "their" senses and seen my place, as the grieving widow, who now must stay at home and struggle to raise her son and find a new way to survive, to find my place in the home and go forward to build a new life for myself. Well, I'm going to build a new life, I'm going to prepare and dedicate my life to the day when we can destroy and eliminate this monstrosity of imperialism, with my sights set on the future when there will be no class divisions in society, when we will be the masters running society, to the day when communism will dawn on the horizon. Often the lines in the poem from the Black man in Atlanta run through my blood, "Damián García is dead, What you gonna do? I'm gonna take his place, motherfuckers." Today is a glimpse of what will be unleashed on May Day this year as the proletariat consciously prepares to conquer new territory and scale even greater heights and is more firmly prepared for the day when the international proletariat will seize the world. □

Banner To The West Bank

In New York on Damián García Day, a banner was circulated to send to the Palestinian people of the West Bank. It read "In the Spirit of Damián García — Revolutionary Solidarity With the Palestinian People's Struggle. Down With Imperialism, Zionism and All Reaction." In the garment district, an Arab community and on the Lower East Side, people came forward to sign it and add their own revolutionary messages. At a rally held in Brooklyn across the street from a Lebanese restaurant which was bombed two weeks ago (two people in apartments above were killed in the ensuing fire), Arab youth took up red flags and several Palestinians returning from a demonstration at the UN stopped, signed the banner and invited people to come to several Arab social clubs that evening and bring May First literature. □

**MAKE A LIVING FORCE
OF PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM!**

**DOWN WITH THE OLD
ORDER AND FIGHT TO
BRING ALIVE THE NEW!**

Bob Avakian Speaks to Some Sharp Questions Focusing on May First

STEPPING UP... STEPPING OUT

Because of the importance of the following article to May First, we are printing it again this week.

"What good will it do, what difference will it make...?" This, in a sense, is the most basic, or most general, question that is raised by people we are calling on to make a leap. Whether the immediate focus is why play a more active role in wielding our party's newspaper and related political work, why join the party itself or why break out and help break others loose on May First, this is a question that comes up especially from the more politically advanced, who agree that the society, the world need to be sprung into the air and radically changed from bottom to top and that only a revolution could do this. It is not surprising that this question is posed (what good...what difference...?) because it reflects the fact that stepping up means stepping out: stepping up work and struggle for a radical change, stepping up preparation for revolution, means taking a vanguard position. It means putting a lot on the line and throwing down the challenge to friends and enemies alike, to broader masses and to the ruling classes. So this question is bound to come up over and over again and to pose itself very sharply at each point where a leap forward — or backward — is what's at stake.

To answer this question is itself to liberate more forces to make the decisive leaps called for. To answer it requires arming people, especially the advanced, with a scientific and living understanding of society and the world and the process of changing them. A basic part of this is to go deeply and from all sides into our party's analysis of the objective situation in the world, its trend of development and the prospects this holds: the heightening and "gathering together" of the contradictions of the imperialist system on a world scale, the growing tendency toward world war between the rival imperialist blocs, the upsurge of revolutionary struggles in the world and the heightened possibilities for revolutionary advance, including perhaps even the chance for the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat in the U.S., turning it into a base area for world revolution. Together with this, an important aspect of arming people politically is to give them a clear understanding of the situation in the revolutionary movement — in the U.S. and internationally — and the struggle to strengthen the revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist pole within this.

But it is also very important to address the question — what good will it do, what difference will it make? — by focusing on particular problems and particular examples that concentrate how all this is presenting itself in a pressing way in terms of immediate tasks and their relation to more general goals and principles. This, with May First right before us, is what I am going to try to do in the rest of this article.

"There are only a small number of us who can see what's going on and agree that we need a revolution. We'll never get enough people together, and anyway they're too powerful, so what's the point of a minority of us putting ourselves out there for some political action when most people aren't ready to come along? If you ever do get enough people together and the time comes when we can get it on and what people do can really make a difference, then I'll be there..."

A revolution can only be made when there is a revolutionary situation. But in a real sense it is also "made" for a whole period leading up to that.

In a revolutionary situation the conflicts within the ruling class and the enemy camp generally become especially acute, the suffering of the oppressed is intensified and broad strata of the population are drawn into political life by the development of crisis and the actions of the upper classes themselves. The whole society is convulsed in upheavals. Things are "driven to extremes" and the essential relations stand out. The "middle ground" is cut out from under the middle forces — between the basic revolutionary masses and the ruling class — and they tend to swing back and forth from one camp to the other depending on the relative strengths of the basic forces in opposition and the twists and turns of the battle. It becomes more possible to discredit and isolate the vacillators, compromisers and opportunisers, through the back and forth zig-zag of events and the systematic and intense work of the advanced forces. In one form or another, or often in a combination of forms, the struggle assumes its highest expression — the armed struggle for political power — during the course of which the class-conscious proletariat led by its vanguard party, if it is to prevail, must win over the necessary forces to its banner and make the necessary alliances and tactical maneuvers, without compromising basic principle.

If you want to get a glimpse of how this possibility haunts the class-conscious imperialists and how they sense that a revolutionary vanguard can have influence far beyond its own numbers, especially in a period when society is being rocked by protest and rebellion by many different forces that have come into motion, check out Henry Kissinger's barely controlled hysteria about this as seen in *Time* magazine's excerpts from his latest book (*Years of Upheaval*, *Time*, March 8, this year). Kissinger's view is perverted by bourgeois prejudice and imperialist gangster logic, of course, but he could sense the danger of a revolutionary force even then. The "years of upheaval" he is referring to (the early '70s, coming off the '60s eruptions) were not yet a revolutionary situation in the U.S. Even though they certainly did shake the empire, they were nothing like the upheaval, in the whole world, that's now boiling up — and that's just the point. So let's learn from our enemy and not write off the possibilities for revolution when we are entering one of those rare times when revolutionary possibilities become concentrated and magnified.

But, again, revolutions can't be made — and they definitely cannot be won — without preparation. Mao Tsetung made that point about the Chinese revolution. He said: "We prepared for many years in order to seize power in the whole country, the whole of the anti-Japanese War constituted a preparation." That war was a turning point in winning the masses to their banner. In a situation like the U.S. today the preparation for revolution is essentially political, preparing minds and organizing forces. *The Revolutionary Worker* is the key weapon now, the hub of all that political work. It is central in laying the basis to wage and win the future revolutionary civil war whenever the conditions do ripen for such a struggle. But it is also vital that the gathering political army of the proletarian revolution take the field in mass action, especially in relation to crucial events and questions. Those who do see what's going on and that a revolution is needed — and are learning just *what kind* of revolution that means — have the responsibility to raise that banner and rally forth and bust loose others like themselves and still others who are just beginning to raise their heads and ask the most dangerous questions for a slave to ask: "Why?" and "Do things have to be like this... is there another way?"

If we want to win, we have to maximize our strength and conquer new political positions at every opportunity

and especially at key points. To not make preparation in this way has the same meaning and the same effect as to not fight when the real deal goes down. It is no different than throwing away the chance when it finally does come. And it will lead to doing just that.

"Why is May First so important? In 1980 there was the call for a qualitative leap on May First and then again last year. The RCP has summed up that there were qualitative leaps but that not everything that was called for happened. So isn't there a danger of burning out the advanced forces by just trying each time to make another leap and making so much hang on just this one day, May First. Can you just keep doing the same thing over and over — and what good does that do after awhile?"

What is being called for is a continuation in the same direction, but it is not "the same thing over and over." It is not the same thing as last year, or the year before. Just as those had to be and were real leaps forward, there is again a pressing need for yet another leap. This is an important part of what we call "coming from behind to make revolution" and doing everything for the world proletarian revolution. Political preparation must be active preparation, and especially in periods like the one we are entering, this means racing — and leaping at key points — to catch up with the acceleration of world events.

May First is not "just this one day." It is much more. May First is a concentration point in the overall worldwide confrontation between the new and the old forces in society fighting for the world's destiny — nothing less. When we say it must be a day of celebration appropriate to the most revolutionary force in history, the proletariat, that it must be a festival of the oppressed in struggle, we mean just that. It must be an exclamation point as well as a concentration point of preparing for revolutionary situations where they don't yet exist and fighting in unity with revolutions where they are underway. This is the historic meaning of May First.

In recent history in the U.S. we ourselves have done much to revive and strengthen that meaning: it is in large part because the advanced have seized the initiative that it has come to stand for this and is recognized as such, by friends and enemies alike. It is looked to as a test by both sides — and by many still on the sidelines. This is good, very good, but it is also a great challenge. A challenge to keep making leaps, and finding new ways to make new leaps, carrying more forces along, sweeping them into political battle and the political preparation for revolution, strengthening the resolve and daring of the convinced, firing the imagination and giving conviction to the hesitating, striking panic and paralysis into the enemies and those that might support them.

Above all, as the Call for May First stresses, it must be a living manifesto of proletarian internationalism. This is an all-important point that has been further developed and strengthened even since May First last year. The whole day and everything surrounding it and building up to it must be infused with this.

Imagine: there are actually many, many people in the world who still do not know that there are angry slaves in the U.S.A., oppressed masses who are sick and tired of oppression and are determined to put an end to it — not just their own but all oppression, in fact the whole system of imperialism and the very division of society into classes! This gives an even sharper picture of the shock waves truly sent throughout the world by an internationalist May First powerful enough to put its political stamp on key focal points in the U.S. and the country as a

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Stepping Out

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whole. A May First carried out in conscious and openly expressed unity with others in many different countries taking the same stand and reaching across seas and continents to realize that revolutionary unity. Think of the effect of such internationalist May First struggle on people and events in El Salvador, in Iran — or in Poland, in Afghanistan — and multiply that many times over. It's not just that it will give encouragement and support to the people rising up; it will also give inspiration and strength to those among the struggling people who are fighting for a really all-the-way revolutionary orientation, a revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line, against the line of compromise with imperialism — or at most the switching from one imperialist camp to another — that is peddled as the only "realistic" course by pro-Soviet revisionists or pro-Western reformists.

"But how realistic is what you're calling for — carrying out that all-the-way revolutionary orientation, that revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line, either in countries like El Salvador or in countries like the U.S.? And beyond the general principle of proletarian internationalism and supporting people wherever they are fighting against oppression, what are the real connections between these different kinds of struggles in different countries?"

That depends on what you're fighting for. If we are out to completely change the world, all the way to eliminating the division of society into classes everywhere, then only a revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line can lead us to finally do that, and it is therefore the only "realistic" line in that sense. On the other hand, if all you want to do is preserve the old world and the old order, maybe just change some of the faces and names, change some of the forms but leave the same basic content, leave all the same basic relations of exploitation and oppression, all the plunder and wars of conquest, all the degrading and backward ideas that go with this — if that's all you want to do, then one kind of pro-imperialist line or another, in particular a revisionist or reformist one, is the only "realistic" choice. Of course, that revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line means no short cuts. But since all those short cuts are short cuts back to the same misery and horror and only serve to prolong it, maybe we are better off without them.

To take a sharp example of this, and of the real connections between the different kinds of struggles in different countries, let's look at El Salvador. It is often argued that in a small and backward country like that, right in the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, it is impossible to make a revolution without the help of other powerful forces, in particular the "fraternal assistance" of the Soviet Union and its friends, like Cuba. In fact, that same argument has been made for years about Cuba itself and Castro has followed that logic in turning Cuba into a neo-colony of Soviet social-imperialism. But what about this argument?

It is definitely true that, in El Salvador for example, it is not easy to wage a revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local gorillas without relying on the Soviet Union and its imperialist "socialist camp." In the more short-term and narrow sense, it is no doubt harder to carry out a revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line than it is to compromise fundamental revolutionary principles and depend on one imperialist power to fight another under the guise of "socialism" — or "democracy" or some other mask. But this takes us back to the basic question: what are you trying to do, what is the vision we are guided by and the goal we are fighting for?

Here something Lenin wrote in connection with the 1905 Revolution in Russia comes to mind. That revolution was defeated, and from the beginning it was probably clear to Lenin that it did not stand a good chance of succeeding. But in answering those sniveling traitors who whined that the workers "should not have taken to arms" Lenin quoted Marx at the time of the Paris Commune, the first revolutionary struggle where the proletariat itself seized power: "World history would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances." Although the Paris Commune was brutally crushed after only a brief, but brilliant, existence, Lenin noted that what Marx "valued above everything else was that the working class heroically and self-sacrificingly took the initiative in making world history. ... Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when a desperate struggle of the masses even in a hopeless cause is essential for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the next struggle."

But this kind of struggle is certainly not hopeless, looking to the next period of years especially. The imperialists will be stretched to the limit and, unless revolutionary advances prevent it first, the imperialist powers will be putting it all on the line, one bloc against the other, in a devastating war. In such circumstances many different "weak links" in the imperialist system will emerge and may well be shattered by revolutionary action, now here, now there. Even where attempts at this may be crushed temporarily, if this kind of revolutionary struggle is waged, guided by this line, there can be the "further schooling of these masses and their training for the next struggle" — and perhaps for victory the next time, as did happen in Russia not that long after 1905. And from the standpoint of the international proletariat

and the struggle for a communist world, how much more important, how much more inspiring, how much more rich in lessons, how much more of a call to the barricades would be such a struggle, even if it should be defeated in the short run in a particular country.

Here, along with the basic principles of proletarian internationalism and the basic, vital links between all revolutionary struggles throughout the world, the particular connections stand out between revolutionary struggle in a country like El Salvador and a country like the U.S. I have heard that there are as many as 300,000 Salvadorans now residing in the U.S. Undoubtedly large numbers of them are supporters in one way or another of the struggle in El Salvador, and a smaller but still very significant number are actively involved in such support.

Think of the importance of spreading the influence of the revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line among them. Think of how people armed with this line — including those who go back to El Salvador at some point — could have a powerful influence on the course of the struggle in El Salvador and of the "struggle within the struggle" over what line and orientation to follow. It is no exaggeration to say that the effect of this alone would be spread and multiplied in all parts of the world, strengthening the revolutionary movement in general and the forces fighting for this kind of line in particular. As part of this, think of the tremendous impact with which this would in turn react back within the U.S. and its effect on the development and the direction of the revolutionary movement there.

Who has more "right" than people such as this to fight against imperialism, wherever imperialism forces them to be. Besides the truth that in the most basic sense the world is the decisive arena in the struggle against imperialism and for the achievement of communism, let us never forget that the defeat of imperialism even in its own citadels is not the concern or the task of the proletariat in these citadels alone but of the international proletariat. The revolutionary struggles in the countries dominated by imperialism and the active role of masses driven from those countries into the imperialist citadels are both tremendous forces contributing to and vital for revolution in those citadels as well as world-wide. All this is an expression of what the May First Call means when it speaks of "a red flame burning in the oppressed nations of the world and stirring even in the central fortresses of the imperialist countries themselves, with the decisive link being the revolutionary role and leadership of the class-conscious proletariat in every country."

May First must be a concentration of this, too. But that means there must not only be exposure of and struggle against the open enemies but against the hidden and disguised ones as well. May First must be a battle not only to raise up the red flag but a battle for the red flag.

"Why is it necessary to put so much into opposing other forces that also say that they are against the present system? Even if you say they are revisionists and so on, why not unite with everybody you can to make a more powerful force against what everyone agrees is a very powerful enemy?"

It is necessary to unite all who can be united. A revolution can only be made like that, and key focal points preparing for revolution, such as May First, must be built that way too. It is crucial to unite with many different people and types of forces, so long as they are mainly opposing imperialism and reaction and are contributing to the struggle against them. We cannot unite only with people whose ideas on every question are the same as ours down the line; we must unite even with people who have different ideas, even some wrong ideas or mistaken notions about how to carry forward the struggle and even what the final goal of the struggle is. But, while we can and should learn from others, we cannot unite with wrong ideas and mistaken notions, we cannot promote illusions — we have to struggle against them.

And we certainly cannot unite with a whole worked-out, systematic line and program that is bound to lead the struggle into the arms of the enemy in one form or another. Nor can we unite with people and forces who stubbornly insist that such an opportunist line dominate in the struggle. That we must fiercely combat. The confrontation between these different lines and tendencies is an extremely important part of not only exposing the opportunists but of concretely training people involved in or awakening to political life and above all the advanced, revolutionary-minded among them.

This will be very sharply posed, and increasingly so, in the period ahead. The deepening of the imperialist crisis, the necessities faced by the imperialists and the reactionary forces dependent on them, the intensifying contradictions among them of various kinds, on a world scale and in different countries — all this is calling different forces into motion. The U.S. is no exception to this. There is not only the RCP and the revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist banner in the field. There are many opportunist as well as many honest forces of opposition taking to action, and there is a general trend, especially among forces taking their inspiration — and in some cases their direct leadership — from sections of the ruling class, of trying to make the dividing line "Reagan vs. anti-Reagan." In large part, there is a conscious design behind this, to keep the inevitable protest and rebellion within safe and controlled limits, to use it for leverage in the in-fighting within the ruling class and to ready a "liberal alternative" (whether Kennedy, Mondale or some other) that might be brought forward to suck up as much of the discontent as possible and direct it toward the same imperialist ends, in particular the waging of world war under the banner of

democracy and patriotism. This cannot and will not go unopposed.

There are many honest people and forces who oppose, who hate, many of the evils that U.S. imperialism perpetrates in the world but who do not yet understand (or who would subjectively like not to believe) that this is because of the very nature of imperialism and the particular necessity faced by U.S. imperialism. Some of these forces who felt paralyzed and disoriented in the '70s see the '80s as a challenge to oppose "Reaganism" and revive their hopes and a movement of some kind to fulfill their dream of "making America live up to its promise." There are others who are demoralized or intimidated by "the rise of the right" yet many of them are drawn almost despite themselves into some form of protest or opposition.

There are yet others who do want desperately to see the U.S. empire defeated and destroyed at long last. Some of these see the '80s as a time when somehow this will come to pass, perhaps as part of an apocalyptic convulsion of the world ushering in a new era, or returning things to a better time, before the rise of European society, capitalism and imperialism. But most of these still do not have a vision of the road forward all the way not only to the destruction and elimination of the imperialist system as a whole but its replacement by a completely new form of society, communism, finally forged on the basis of uprooting every form of oppression, privilege, plunder and exploitation — and the basis for the division of society into classes. Then, besides, there are today the vast majority of people who still have not awakened to political life or serious political thought but who will be jolted awake by the momentous events in the years to come. Winning over, or at least winning to "friendly neutrality," as many of these different forces as possible while isolating the die-hard defenders of the system and its crimes will be decisive for the possibility of revolution in the U.S. and to contribute the most in all circumstances to the revolutionary struggle world-wide.

All this makes it even more clear why it is crucial right now for the pole of revolutionary communism, proletarian internationalism to be as powerful as possible and to attract increasing force through the swirl and upheaval of the period ahead, in preparation to make the greatest gains when things do come fully to a head. Here again stand out the meaning and importance of May First, as a concentration of all that.

"For several years now the RCP has talked about the 1980s as a decade of war and revolution. It does seem that the danger of world war is growing and there are more people in the streets protesting and so on, but maybe things will be more like the '60s: there won't be a world war but just wars against liberation struggles, like in El Salvador, and some kind of anti-war movement and a new upsurge in the struggle of Black people and other oppressed peoples in the U.S. And in any case the possibility of revolution in the U.S. still seems a small and far-off possibility."

The 1980s will not be a replay of the '60s. El Salvador, for example, is not "a new Vietnam." Although there are similarities, what is more important are the differences — especially the existence of the profound international crisis of the imperialist system and in particular the sharpening rivalry between the two imperialist blocs. This puts such things as the struggle in El Salvador — or Poland, or Afghanistan, or Iran, or Ireland, or the rebellions in England ... — in a very different context. The stakes are a lot higher. What can be won — or lost — is that much greater, and therefore so are the challenges.

The view of the 1980s as a decade of war and revolution is based on a deep and all-around analysis of developments in the world. When we talk about how the contradictions of the imperialist system are coming to a head and approaching an explosion on a world scale, we mean just that.

This means world war — unless it is prevented by revolution, which is a real possibility and one to be urgently worked for. But one way or the other, the world will witness tremendous eruptions in this decade and will emerge from it radically different than it is now. And, among other monumental changes, it is certainly possible that there will no longer be a United States of America.

As for the prospect of revolution in (what is now) the USA itself, given everything that such an analysis reveals, it is certainly a real possibility, though it is not a certainty that a revolutionary situation will develop in the U.S. in the next period or that the revolution will succeed if such a situation does ripen. But it is toward that end, and to be prepared to seize the opportunity whenever it does arise, that our work and struggle must now be directed. Even more than that, however, it is a certainty that revolutionary situations and revolutionary upsurges will arise repeatedly, in many different parts of the world. That has already been a phenomenon of the last several years and it is bound to intensify in the years ahead. The possibilities for great advances to be made by the international proletariat are very real and place urgent demands on the class-conscious proletariat everywhere.

This much we can say: In the U.S. as well as the world as a whole the next years will hold a special opportunity — and a special obligation — to enter into decisive battle with the imperialists. That is a chance a slave dreams of. And they will hold the possibility of making decisive contributions to the world-historic struggle of this era to abolish all forms of slavery and the very division of society into slaves and slavemasters, in any form. That is something slaves in all previous historical eras could only dream of.

On Wednesday, April 28:

Rebel Youth, Take the Lead All Over

As a key launching point for breakouts on April 30 and for May First itself, the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for Wednesday, April 28 to be a day on which rebel youth jump to the forefront everywhere. Hit the schools like a red twister, but don't stop there. The factories and projects and other concentrations of proletarians need some pushing, too. As Mao Tsetung said, "When young people grasp a truth they are invincible and old people cannot compete with them" or as Bob Avakian said, "Let the youth be in the forefront and let the old people not be far behind."

To do what has to be done on May First and April 30 requires preparation. On April 28, revolutionary youth should help prepare the way.



Night in the East Village, NYC. An agitator is arrested and a crowd confronts the police. As 5 or 6 cop cars roll up a group of punks take up red flags and RWs.

Banners from the Squatters of Charlottenburg

West Berlin. April, 1982. As you head in a generally westward direction from the Kreuzberg district that borders on the Berlin Wall, past Checkpoint Charlie and the city's center, you get to the old working class neighborhood of Charlottenburg. Here, as in Kreuzberg, you cannot help but notice the rebellious spirit and general disrespect for bourgeois society that is in the air. The youth out on the streets, the concentrations of workers from Turkey and other countries, and the banners and flags hanging from houses that have been occupied by squatters — all these have become familiar sights in Berlin today.

Since the violent street battles that erupted in Kreuzberg in December 1980 when the city fathers ordered their goons in green to move against the 20 or more houses that were occupied at the time, the squatters' movement has grown enormously and spread to other parts of the city. In this part of Charlottenburg there are now 13 occupied houses. The rebel squatters who have occupied large apartment buildings here have also brought a vital spirit of internationalism to this old working class area, which had been zoned off by the city planners and left to rot until an infusion of capital would "restore" the area for commercial development and high-rent apartment buildings.

Revolutionary minded squatters from Charlottenburg marched in last year's anti-Haig demonstrations, in numerous El Salvador support actions, and in demonstrations proclaiming their solidarity with the Polish people after the military takeover in December. As one anarchist living in one of the occupied houses in this district put it, when asked how he viewed his struggle against the city fathers in relation to what's going on in the world: "Our struggle is against everything rotten about this whole damn system." Another brother added, "The more trouble and rebellion we make, and this on a world scale, the tougher it's going to make it for the rulers in both East and West to get people in line for war and for campaigns against the people of the third world." And such feelings are not kept behind closed doors, but are

proclaimed on banners hung from the balconies of their houses. One that was made for a demonstration in December after the military coup in Poland reads: "Rebellion in East and West, Smash the Warsaw Pact and the NATO-Pest!"

This First of May has a particular meaning for the squatters here. April 30th marks the first anniversary of their occupation of an empty apartment building in Charlottenburg, and the fact that it is the eve of May Day has moved a number of people to organize an internationalist block party in one of the district's "renovation zones." In order to pull off this festival, people here have contacted other revolutionary-minded squatters, anarchists and groups of immigrant workers and students, and are also hoping to form some sort of revolutionary

bloc to challenge the official social-democratic and trade union march on May First itself.

So when a couple of revolutionaries from the U.S. showed up at the front door of one of the occupied houses in this district with calls asking for exchange of news, banners, leaflets, etc. for and after May Day with the masses in the U.S., many of the 60 rebel dwellers in this 3-house occupation quickly caught on to and welcomed the internationalist note that had knocked at the door. Enthusiastic discussion was held about the significance of May Day, the plans being made in the States and in Berlin, the anti-war movement, Poland, El Salvador, Turkey and briefly about anarchism and Marxism-Leninism. Plans were made with a revolutionary from ATIF (Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany) for him and other comrades to perform a revolutionary play in Turkish at the block party and also to arrange for some singers and dancers from Turkey for this event.

The thought that on this weekend there would be an exchange with people in the States and that it would be possible to receive both information and messages in the form of banners, posters, etc. was something new for most of the people at

this house — who are mainly in their teens and 20s. But as one sister said, "It's a very good idea." Others added that they needed more communication with revolutionaries in the U.S. because they don't know much about what is going on in the States, and greeted a suggestion to send them back issues of the *RW* which they promised to read. Still other people dashed off to their rooms to find things that could be sent. One brother came back with two pictures of the outside of the house so that people in the U.S. could see what their struggle was all about. Another came back with some T-shirts that they had made for last fall's TUWAT campaign (a Berlin slang term meaning "Do Something") when the squatters put out a call all over Europe for people to come to Berlin to counter the city's intentions of moving against the movement at that time.

Then together with two other brothers the visitors were given a tour of the house to see what they had renovated of the old building. In one room there were pictures of Marx and the anarchist Bakunin hanging opposite each other, on two facing walls. When one of the visitors asked if that was not a contradiction, the anar-

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This picture of their house was sent to the *RW* by the squatters of Charlottenburg.

MAY DAY MATHEMATICS

Leaps. Major developments in nature and society are generally marked by great leaps. In the last two years this has been seen around May Day—even on May First itself. This is another way in which May First is indeed an embryo and a school of future insurrections and of revolutionary struggle on a world scale.

In last week's *RW*, in calling for putting the stamp of the international proletariat on New York, Atlanta and Los Angeles, the call was also made for actions mounting throughout the last week of April, culminating on April 30 and May 1st. May Day has already been a battle fought and growing over weeks with key punctuation points along the way—and this will be true in a concentrated way in this last week.

Outbreaks beget outbreaks. In fact, it is especially in this way that May First will grow, and its numbers will multiply in this last week of preparation. Of course, there will be preparation that will be quiet—proletarians plotting their ways of piercing the old order and fighting to bring alive the new. But the results should be far from quiet. This will culminate on the 30th and especially May First, and should also be expressed in timely ways in the days before. In fact, where serious preparation is being made, such struggle is inevitable since the enemy will attack; and beyond this, timely revolutionary offensives can set a tone.

In this way, forces can and will multiply in the course of toe-to-toe struggle with the enemy. Offensives in one factory, school, city, or sphere of society can become fuel for new revolutionary fires in other places. No revolution has ever developed in a quiet or gradual way—and May First won't either. On the scene of the political battle itself forces can leap ahead geometrically and the attacks by the enemy turned into rocks he has dropped on his own feet. And as such, outbreaks contribute to the electrical crackling in the political atmosphere, new outbreaks can occur in different places, in different spheres, even in different countries as the news spreads. Many unexpected things can and do develop. Understanding and acting on this is part of grasping what is said in the Call to May First about throwing off "deceptively simple but thoroughly wrong arithmetic" for the "revolutionary calculus of Leninism."

Carrying out the work of May Day means grasping, as Mao put it, that revolutionaries can create favorable new conditions through struggle. Even the First itself, as a battle which must and will extend in various ways all day and all night, can be one of those times when the revolutionary forces fight, are pushed back, and then surge ahead many times stronger and more numerous than before. This is the higher mathematics required in today's world—with May Day a living equation. □



ਪਹਿਲੀ ਮਈ ਦੀ ਕਾਹੜਾਈ ਨਈਂ ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਜੱਦਾ

ਕਿਰਤੀਆ, ਮਜ਼ਦੂਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਸਰਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਭੜੱਕੇ ਲਈ ਜੂਝਦੇ ਹਨ, ਦਾ ਜੋਰ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ :

ਸੰਸਾਰ ਜੋਗ ਅਤੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬ..... ਇਹ ਦੋ ਪਾਸਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਭੇਡ, ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਮਜ਼ਦੂਰ ਇਹਦੇ—ਮਈ ਦਿਨ—ਦੇ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਦੇ ਖਿੱਤੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪਰਗਟ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ, ਕੁੱਲ ਮੁਲਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਕਾਮਿਆ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਮੌਕੇ ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ—ਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਖੜ੍ਹੇ ਵੀ।

ਮਈ ਦਿਹਾੜਾ ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਪਰੰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਜਸਨ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਤੋਂ ਸੰਗੀਤੀ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਗਲਮੀ ਤੇ ਖੂਨ ਦੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ-ਵਿਆਪੀ ਪਰਥੇ 'ਚ ਜਕੜਨ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਜੰਗਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਗੁਆਉਣ ਲਈ ਕੁਝ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਸ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ 'ਚ ਇੱਕੋ ਇੱਕ ਮੌਲਕ ਅਰਥ ਹੈ : ਇਸ ਮਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਪਰੰਪਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੱਚੇ ਲੁਕੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਗੁਲਾਮਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ, ਸੰਸਾਰ ਤੇ ਉਥਰ ਰਹੇ ਨੂੰ ਰੂਪਮਾਨ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਸੱਚੇ ਜਕੜੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਨਕਲਾਬ ਜਾਰੀ ਰੱਖਣ ਦਾ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਕਰਨਾ। ਬੰਦੀ, ਕੌਮ ਅਤੇ ਨਸਲ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੱਚੇ ਰੋਕ-ਬੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਟੱਪਣ, ਸੱਚੇ ਜਮਾਤਾਂ ਤੇ ਜਮਾਤੀ ਵਧੇਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਖਾਤਮੇ ਵੱਲ, ਇੱਕ ਕੌਮ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਦੂਜੀ ਕੌਮ ਅਤੇ ਮਰਦ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਔਰਤ ਉੱਤੇ ਦਾਬੇ ਦਾ ਫਸਤਾ ਵੱਟਣ ਵੱਲ, ਜੰਗਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਖੂਨ ਵੱਸੀ-ਰਾਜ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਮਲੀਆਮੇਟ ਕਰ ਸੁਟਣ ਵੱਲ, ਅਤੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਰਵਾਇਤੀ ਜੰਗੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੀਰਤਾਂ ਕਰ ਸੁਟਣ ਵੱਲ, ਇੱਕੋ ਵੱਡੀ ਪੁਲਾੜ ਪੁਟਣ ਦਾ ਤਹਿਓਆ ਕਰਨਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਤੇ ਅਜਲੀ ਜਸਨ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਇੱਕੋ ਇੱਕ ਤਰੀਕਾ ਹੈ : ਬਗ਼ਾਵਤ ਅਤੇ ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਰਾਹੀਂ, ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਹਰ ਕੋਨੇ 'ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਦੁਰੋਹੇ ਨੂੰ ਅਸਮਾਨੀ ਲਹਿਰਾਉਣਾ, ਅਤੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਵੱਲ, ਜਿੰਨਾ ਵੀ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕੇ, ਵਧਣ ਲਈ ਮਨਾਨਾ।

ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਬੇਦੇਹ ਜਵਾਬਦਾਰੀਆਂ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਵੁਟਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਦਬ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਪਹਿੜਾਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਭੱਭਰਤਾ ਤੇ ਕੜਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਮੁੜ ਵੁਟਦੇ ਹਨ। ਅਜੋਕੇ ਬੁਰਜ਼ੁਆ-ਭਟਕਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਤਹਿ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਗਿਰਦੇ ਤੇ ਧਰਤੀ—ਕੰਬਾਣੀ ਟਕਰਾਅ ਅੰਗਰਾਈਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

ਇੱਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਅਮਰੀਕੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਰੂਸੀ ਹੋਣਲੇ ਸਮਾਜੀ ਤਾਕਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਦੋਨਾਂ ਗੁਣ ਜੰਗੀ ਤਿਆਰੀਆਂ ਬਸ ਤੇ ਹੜ੍ਹ, ਆਪਣੇ ਤੇ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਰੋੜ੍ਹਤਲੇ-ਵਿੱਖਿਆ ਅੰਦਰ ਮਾਂਜੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਪਰਮਾਣੂ ਦੌਰਲ ਵੱਲ ਵੀ ਲਪਕ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਸਲਤਨਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕ-ਜੁਟ ਰੱਖਣ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਲਟਪਾਘੀ ਹੋ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਥੇ ਦੇ ਪਾਛਲਾਨਾ ਤਰਕ ਦੇ ਬੰਧ ਰਾਹ ਤੇ ਰੀਝਦੇ, ਉਹ, ਇਸੇ ਮੌਲਕ ਤਰਕ ਨਾਲ 'ਆਪਣੀ' ਜਨਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਵਧ ਭਰਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ 'ਅਜਾਦੀ ਤੇ ਜਮ੍ਹੂਰੀਆਂ' (ਪੰਡਮੀ ਸਮਾਜਿਕੀ ਵਿਹੀ) ਜਾਂ 'ਨਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਕਤੀ' (ਰੂਸੀ ਸਾਮਰਾਜੀ ਵਿਹੀ) ਦੇ ਭੰਡੇ ਹੋਣ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਤਾਰਬੰਦੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਇੱਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਦਾ ਖੂਨ ਵਹਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਤਰਲੇ-ਵਿੱਖੇ ਹੋ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।

ਅਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੋਰ 'ਚ ਇੱਕੋ ਗੱਲ ਕਰੋ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ 'ਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦੀ—ਜਨਤਾ ਦੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਵਲਤਲੇ ਤੇ ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕਿ ਅਫ਼ਪੱਲੇ ਭਾਬਤਾ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਾਸਕ (ਪੰਡੇ) ਤੇ ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਅਤੇ ਵਲਤਲੇ ਦੇ ਹਿੱਸੇਅਨ ਗੰਢਿਉਂਦੀ ਕੰਬਾਣੀ ਤੱਕ ਵੱਲਰੇ ਹੋ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਜੁਆਨੀ ਦੇ ਰੋਹ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਲਭਤਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਸੁਣ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ—ਇਹੀ ਜੁਆਨੀ ਵਲਤਲੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਗਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਇਤਹਿਸਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੰਬੀਆਂ 'ਚ ਸੁਣ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ—ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਸਹਿਨਸਾ ਦੇ ਨੱਗੇਜ ਵਲ ਬੇਬੇਜ ਸਿਨਤਾ ਕਰ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਸਲਤਨਤ ਨੂੰ ਵਖਤ ਪਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਲਿਸਕਾਏ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਲੀ-ਬੱਲੀ ਰਾਤ ਦੇ ਅੰਬਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਜਗਮਗਾਉਂਦੀ ਲਾਟ ਵਾਲਾ, ਇੱਕ ਵਾਰ ਫਿਰ ਮੁਕਤੀ ਦੀ ਕਲਪਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਦਗਦੀਆਂ ਅੱਖਾਂ 'ਚੋਂ ਦੇਖ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਲ ਦੇ ਪੜਕਣ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ, ਜੋ ਇੱਕ ਵਾਰ ਫਿਰ ਵੇਗ-ਭਰਪੂਰ ਹੋਵੇ 'ਚ ਬਿਜਲਈ ਖਰਨਾਹਤ ਤੇ ਕੀਰਤਾਂ ਹੋ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਮੁਕਤੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਜੁੱਜ ਦਾ ਤਰਾਨਾ ਫੌਜ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਇਨਕਲਾਬ—ਸੰਸਾਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਮਜ਼ਲੂਮ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਿਰਾਦਿਆਂ 'ਚ ਮਘਦੀ ਸੁਰਖ ਲਾਟ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਖੂਦ ਸਾਮਰਾਜੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੰਬੇਰੀ ਕੜ੍ਹਾਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਤਰਬੱਲੀਆਂ ਪਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਮੁਲਕ ਅੰਦਰ ਜਮਾਤੀ-ਚੋੜਨਾ ਵਾਲੇ ਪਰੰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਰੋਲ ਤੇ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਵੈਸਲਾਫ਼ਨ ਕਰੀ ਹੈ।

ਸਾਮਰਾਜੀ ਜੰਗ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜੀ ਇਨਕਲਾਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਾਕਤਾਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਜੋ ਟੱਕਰ ਹੁਣ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਉਸਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਦੀ ਕੁਠਾਲੀ 'ਚੋਂ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਦੇ ਨਕਸ਼ੇ-ਤਰਾਸ਼ੇ ਜਾਣੇ ਹਨ। ਮਈ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ 'ਤੇ, ਇਨਕਲਾਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਾਕਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਤਿਆਰੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਵੱਡੀ ਪੁਲਾੜ ਪੁਟਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ।

ਉਸ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ 'ਤੇ ਇੱਕੋ ਸੁਪਨਾ ਜਗਮਗਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ : ਇੱਕੋ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਪਰੰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਪੁਰੇ ਜਿਹੜਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਖਾਸੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਵੰਨਗੀ ਦੇ ਪਿਛਾਖਤ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੰਦੀ-ਵੇਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਅਤੇ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਰ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਉਰਾ ਨਾ ਅਟਕਣ ਦੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮੌਲਕ ਬਾਰੇ ਚੌਣਨ ਹੋਵੇ। ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਕੋਨੇ ਕੋਨੇ 'ਤੇ ਕਾਮਿਆ ਦੇ ਸਾਥੇ ਕਾਰਨਾਮਿਆਂ 'ਚ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ੍ਹਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਅੱਗੇ ਕਦਮ ਵਧਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਰੂਹ ਭਰੀ ਜਾਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ਲੰਨਿਨ ਨੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਸੀ, "ਮੈਰੋ" ਮੁਲਕ ਦੇ ਨਜ਼ਰੀਏ ਤੋਂ ਤੁਰਨ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਪਰੰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਇਨਕਲਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਗਤੀ ਬਖਸ਼ਣ ਲਈ ਪਰਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਤਿਆਰੀ ਵਿੱਚ "ਮੈਰੋ" ਹਿੱਸਾ ਪਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਨਜ਼ਰੀਏ ਤੋਂ ਤੁਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਹੁਣ ਤੋਂ ਗਰਮਜੰਜੀ ਤੇ ਉਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਨਾਲ ਅਜਿਹੀਆਂ ਤਿਆਰੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚਣ ਲਈ, ਤੇ ਖਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਮਈ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ 'ਤੇ ਇਸ ਅਲ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਾਉਣ ਲਈ, ਬੀਤੇ ਦੀ ਮੁਰਦਾ ਰੂਹ ਤੋਂ ਬੇਕਿਰਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਖਹਿਤਾ ਫੁੜਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ। ਸਾਡੀਆਂ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਨੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਹਿਰਦਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ, ਹਥਲੇ ਘੱਲਾ ਦੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਰੀਝਣ ਵਾਲੇ, ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਹਿਚਾਣਨਾ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਵਾਕਫ਼ ਕੱਲਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜਾਣੂ ਕਰਾਈ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਨਸਕ ਅਤੇ ਜਿਆਦੀ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਕੌਮ ਦੀਆਂ ਤੰਗ ਕਲਾਣਾਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਹੀ ਕੰਦ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਘੱਲਿਆਂ ਪੱਧਰ ਤੋਂ ਉਥੇਰਾ ਉਠਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਘਰ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਦੇ ਦੋਰ ਵਿਚ, ਜਿਹੜਾ ਕੱਲ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਲਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਲੈ ਲਵੇਗਾ, ਪਰੰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਤੇ ਨਸ਼ੀਆ ਸੰਸਾਰ-ਵਿਆਪੀ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਤਾਕਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਇਕ-ਜਾਨ ਫੌਜੀ ਟਕਰੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਤਾਲਮੇਲ ਬਿਠਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ। ਕਿਸੇ ਇੱਕ ਜਾਂ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਮੁਲਕਾਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਬੀਤਲਿਆਂ ਮਘਰਾ ਦੁਨਮਟ ਦੀਆਂ ਜਰਜਰੀਆਂ ਨੀਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਡਿੱਕ ਭਲੇ ਖੁਆ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ-ਵਿਆਪੀ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਸੰਗਾਵਨਾ ਦੇ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਦਰ ਖੱਲ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਇਸੇ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਧੇ ਪੁਰਨਾਈਆਂ ਚੋੜੇਨ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਸ਼ਖ਼ਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੌਰੀ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਪੱਧਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਕਮਿਊਨਿਸਟਾਂ ਦੀ ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਧਾਰਾ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇੱਕ ਸਾਥੇ ਪਰੋਗਰਾਮ, ਇੱਕ ਸਾਥੀ ਯੁੱਧ ਨੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਸਾਥੀ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਵੱਲ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਸਾਇਰ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਸੁਪਨੇ ਲੈਣਾ..... ਤੇ ਇੱਥੇ 'ਤੇ ਕਿ ਕਲਪਨਾ ਉਤਾਰੀਆਂ ਮਾਰਨਾ ਹੀ ਜਾਪੇ। ਡੀਕ ਅੱਧੀ ਬਣੀ! ਕਲਪਨਾ-ਉਤਾਰੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਉਰਾ ਅੱਜ ਸਾਡਾ ਗੁਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ—ਕਲਪਨਾ-ਉਤਾਰੀਆਂ, ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਕੌਮਾਂਤਰੀ ਦੇਖਣ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਹਰ ਵਿਖਦੇ ਚੁਪਰੇ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਚੀਰ ਕੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਹਿ ਹੋਣ ਲੁਕੀਆਂ ਹਕੀਕੀ ਤਰਕੀਬੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਹਰ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਕੀ 1917 ਵਿੱਚ ਲੰਨਿਨ ਨੂੰ ਅਜਿਹੀਆਂ ਕਲਪਨਾ-ਉਤਾਰੀਆਂ ਮਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਦੋਸ਼ੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਨਹਿਰਾਇਆ ਰਿਹਾ? ਕੀ 1966 ਵਿੱਚ ਮਾਓ ਨਾਲ ਦੀ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਹੋਇਆ? ਤਾਂ ਵੀ ਜੋ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁਪਨਿਆਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਮਨੁੱਖਤਾ ਦੀ ਨਹਾਰ ਬਦਲ ਕੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਰੱਖ ਦਿੱਤੀ, ਅਤੇ "ਫ਼ੋਰ-ਕੁਰਿਆਈ" ਚੁਨਣ ਅਤੇ "ਹਕੀਕਤ-ਮੁਖੀ ਬਣ" ਦੀਆਂ ਦੰਗੇ ਨਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਵੱਡੇ ਅਸਲੀ ਸਾਬਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈ? ਇਹ ਸੰਧਵਾਦ ਤੇ ਸੁਧਾਰਵਾਦ ਇੱਕੋ ਅਜਿਹਾ "ਹਕੀਕਤਵਾਦ" ਹੈ, ਜਿਸਦੀਆਂ ਵਲਗਣਾ ਸਾਮਰਾਜਵਾਦ ਅਤੇ 'ਜੈਜ਼' ਦੇ ਚੋਖਟੇ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਮਿਥੀਆਂ ਜਾਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ..... ਅਤੇ ਅੱਜ ਫਿਰ ਇਹ ਇੱਕੋ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਜਦੋਂ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਰੇਤੂ ਸਹਿਨਸਾਹੀ ਤਾਸਾ ਨੂੰ ਗੋਦੇ ਨਾਲਿਆ 'ਚ ਗੱਤੇ ਖੁਆ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀਆਂ ਲਈ ਵੱਡੀਆਂ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੂਰ ਖੱਲ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਕੀ ਫਿਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਲੰਨਿਨ ਤੇ ਮਾਓ ਵਾਂਗ ਹਰਮੇਰੀ ਬੁਲੰਦੀਆਂ ਛੋਟਣ ਦੇ ਅਰਮਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਰੱਖਣੇ ਚਾਹੀਦੇ?

ਇਹੋ ਜੱਦਾ ਜੀਵਤਰਾਸ਼ਟਰ ਅਮਰੀਕੀ ਦੀ ਕੂੜੀ ਕਾਤੀ ਕਮਿਊਨਿਸਟ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੈ:-

ਅਸੀਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਿ ਜੀਵਤਰਾਸ਼ਟਰ ਅਮਰੀਕੀ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਇਹ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਸੁਰਨਾ, ਜਾਨਸਾਂ, ਜੋਸ਼ਾਂ, ਸਤ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੁਕਤਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਅਤੇ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਤੇ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੁਰਾਕ ਦੀ ਸਾਹਾਯੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਕੌਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਥੇ ਹੀ ਲਹੀ ਯੂਜ਼ੋਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਹਰਤ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਇੱਕੋ ਪੁਰੋਹਿਤਾਵਾਂ ਅਮਰੀਕੀ ਵਿੱਚ (U.S.A) ਵੀ ਇੱਕੋ ਜਮਾਤ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਲਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ 'ਜੈਜ਼' ਨੂੰ ਮਾਸਕ ਤੋਂ ਤੇ ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਤਿਆਰ ਜਾ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਵੱਧ, 1982 ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਮਈ, ਸੰਸਾਰ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਪੁਰੋਹਿਤਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਧਣ ਤੇ ਹਮਲਾ ਦੇ ਵੇਰੇ ਦਾ ਜਾਖਿਆਤ ਯੁੱਧਾਂ, ਜਾਤਸਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਗਣਾ। ਇਹ ਅਵਸਰ ਤਾਂ ਇੱਕੋ ਜਾਂ ਵੇਰੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਇਹ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਵਾਕਫ਼ ਸਾਡੀ ਵੀ ਇੱਕੋ ਸ਼ਖ਼ਤੀ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਖ਼ਤੀ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਜਮਾਂ 'ਚੋਂ ਚੁੱਕਣ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਪੁਰੋਹਿਤਾਵਾਂ ਥਾਂ-ਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਤਰਤ ਚੜ੍ਹੇ ਇਸ਼ਕੇ ਚੁੱਕਣ ਕਰਾਵਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੜੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਆਜ਼ਾਦ ਕਰਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਪਹਿਲੀ ਮਈ ਦਾ ਇਨਕਲਾਬ ਅਤੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੋਸ਼ਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਵੇਂ ਜੂਰਜ ਦੀ ਵਰਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਆਫ ਦੇ ਸੁਰੇ ਦੁਲ ਦੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੂੜੀ ਦਾ ਹੱਤ ਫੌਜੀ ਫਿਨ ਦੱਖੇ ਤੇ ਵੱਡਾ ਜ਼ਰੀ ਨਵੇਂ ਕੀਰਨ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।



ਨਿਉਯਾਰਕ, ਅਟਲਾਂਟਾ ਅਤੇ ਲਾਸ ਐਂਜੇਲਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਪੁਰੋਹਿਤਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਜੋਰ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ।

Punjabi—spoken in the Punjab region of India

pendjabi—de la región pendjabí de la India

- LỜI KÊU GỌI CÙNG NHAU HÀNH ĐỘNG, TRONG NGÀY 1 THÁNG NĂM CỦA CHỦ NGHĨA QUỐC TẾ.

Giữa dân tộc thế công nhân, những người bị áp bức và tất cả những ai dám đấu tranh đấu tranh do tiền đồ chung của nhân loại.

Thế chiến và cách mạng... là hai làn sóng xung đột đã thái nghén ra ngày 1 tháng năm của Công nhân. Đây là ngày hành động nhằm tổ chức vũ trang và các chiến lợi hai được một của công nhân mọi nước.

1 tháng năm là ngày lễ lớn của giai cấp vô sản quốc tế giai cấp vô sản quốc tế là giai cấp ngoài biết về công nhân và biết về mối sát cánh với tất cả nhân thế giới của họ không thể để hiện nay không có gì để mất mặt cả. Ngày này chỉ có một ý nghĩa chính thức không thể chối cãi được là tất cả những người bị bóc lột, bị vơ vét và bị tàn phá thế lực của sự vật mới quyết tâm tiến hành cuộc đấu tranh của mình để tất cả quyền lợi của họ được viết qua mọi phương tiện của

nhân quyền, dân tộc và chúng ta quyết tâm tiến lên đấu tranh giai cấp và sự phân biệt giai cấp, diệt trừ hiện tượng một dân tộc áp bức một dân tộc khác, phân năm bị hiệp phái mới tiến diệt bán thân quốc gia cũng phải vô tất cả những gì bỏ của truyền thống. Đồng thời cũng chỉ có một hình thức chiến đấu nhất để mừng ngày lễ này là thực hiện đến thành và tạo phản, đứng cao ngạo có đó xung quanh mọi ngành công nghiệp của thế giới, vì tiến bộ của các mạng tiến bộ đến hành tiến bước đến phát.

Như sông biển lịch sử không ngừng tiến lên, hòa song với nhau tác lẫn cao hơn, ngập lũng ruộng, và lại vườn lên, có lúc còn kịch liệt hơn nữa là khác. Trong khi thế lực này đang phát triển những xung đột giữa thiên nhiên địa một cách sắc sảo không như trước.

Ở một phương diện, các nước để quốc liệt cường tập đoàn hai để quốc Mỹ sẽ đang chuẩn bị đại chiến, chúng đang quay cuồng trong đám cát bụi đỏ

chúng tạo nên mối lo ngại có địa vị để quốc của chúng đang thời kỳ khủng hoảng chiến tranh hoặc là không những lợi ích lợi người bị lợi cường bởi liên bị những loạn của chế độ chúng thống trị về con đường này, chúng còn đem quân lực đi để thực hiện quân đội của chúng, bắt họ xếp hàng đứng ra chiến trường nhân danh ngọn cờ "tự do và dân chủ" (hình thức chủ nghĩa đế quốc phương tây) hoặc "chính nghĩa và giải phóng" (hình thức chủ nghĩa đế quốc ở Việt) để chiến đấu lẫn nhau.

Mà chúng đối chúng là gì? Có một điều mà chúng không bao giờ nhận thấy - tình thần cách mạng và đấu tranh của sự chiến đấu trên như lửa ngầm dưới địa cầu, từ Gdendh đến El Salvador, từ những hai ti nạn ở Florida. Anh có thể nhận thấy điều đó qua tiếng gọi thiết tha thanh niên - vọng đến các vùng vàng vờ ở tiền các chiến phố của nước Anh và dưới chiến đấu Eritrea họ phân không một cách bất khuất bằng chỉ rõ tiến bộ tiến hành trường của hoàng đế họ và khai chiến với Hoàng đế của họ, anh biết mà một lần nữa

nhập nhào, sự tưởng tượng và hiện thực của giai phong, phân ánh qua ánh, lịch hồng đêm vắng. Anh có thể cảm giác được đó qua nhịp đập của con tim hồng hào, nhịp tim mới lần nữa theo nhịp điệu của buổi chiều xung quanh và tiếng hô vang của người tưởng bị chế độ để mà đập nhào lên. (cách mạng, nhằm dùng hàng đang cùng mới những dân tộc bị áp bức tiến thế giới, thậm chí hàng các nước thuộc địa ngược để quốc những hàng tâm này cũng đang bay nhảy, mà quan trọng nhất là sự giải phóng giai cấp về vai trò cách mạng và lãnh đạo của giai cấp vô sản của mỗi nước.

Hiện nay trong sự xung đột tạo bởi hai thế lực chủ nghĩa đế quốc chiến tranh và cải cách xã hội, sẽ là lộ trình cho tương lai. Trong ngày 1 tháng năm, thế lực của chủ nghĩa đế quốc bị cho công việc bước một bước nhảy vọt.

Trong ngày này, một cách tưởng tượng nên phải hiểu rõ, giải phóng của giai cấp vô sản, giai cấp vô sản này, từ giai nhân thái bình quốc tế và tinh thần không hai biến bước với sự vật phân tầng và nhận thấy rõ nhiên sự lịch sử không thể thiếu hơn chính pháp thế giới của họ. Mà xung với toàn thế Công nhân ở tên các ngành cũng vào bên trên toàn thế giới là sự biến thiên phải quyết tâm cùng nhau hành động: như Lenin đã nói: "không phải xuất phát từ quan điểm quốc gia của tôi, mà phải từ quan điểm bên phân biệt trái chủ tôi, để chuẩn bị tuyên truyền và thực hiện cách mạng giai cấp vô sản thế giới."

Và phải tập tước một cách khẩn trương và tích cực thực hiện công việc chuẩn bị này, và vì phải biết tìm ra phương pháp thực hiện qua hình thức lên trong ngày 1 tháng năm, để khi chúng ta bắt tay vào thực hành công việc này, chúng ta sẽ được nửa đó đứng

buôn sau đây: đi theo bất cứ một đến hành gì gọi là lên tay, nó với quân chúng những gì mà họ đã quá biết và làm cho họ bị tình thần đến chính trị duy trì nên hơn không thể chấp nhận của dân tộc mình. Nghĩa là sự đấu tranh của một quốc gia - cho dù là đấu tranh cách mạng - "công lợi" sẽ là của các mạng thế giới con toàn để bị lừa gạt và sự lợi của một cách đột giôm và triệt để cũng phải bị gạt bỏ, thế này vì tích phạm của chiến tranh Lenin. Nhất là trong cuộc xung đột kịch liệt mà phạm vi của nó có thể nói là toàn cầu, thế giới quan và thất độ toàn lên của giai cấp vô sản cùng nhất định phải có tính toàn cầu, tổ chức thành một quân đội thống nhất duy nhất. Thậm chí hàng cuộc đấu phá ở một hoặc vài nước, cũng làm cho kẻ địch thời tiết to lớn, sự yếu, mọi mô hình hơn thế khác nhau của các mạng thế giới tinh thần và khuynh hướng này. Thế lực giai cấp giai cấp, bước tiến bám chặt không về một cường lực chung, một cách lực chung và một số chủ nghĩa trong phạm vi toàn cầu của các mạng công sản chủ nghĩa trao đổi chủ nghĩa

quốc tế của giai cấp vô sản. Có thể những điều này giống như là mong tưởng... thậm chí là không tưởng. Nhưng như vậy! Những yêu cầu ít nhiều không tưởng của ngày hôm nay sẽ phản ánh - xuyên qua sự tưởng tượng chiến đấu - thấy rõ những sự vật gần như hiện nhiên hàng ngày, thể hiện một sự thật bóc lột chủ nghĩa ở dưới đây. Lenin trong năm 1917 không phải bị chỉ trích là một nhà tưởng tượng sao? Mao năm 1966 không phải bị chỉ trích là một nhà tưởng tượng sao? Và không phải những mong tưởng của họ, đã thấy đến bờ một của thế giới và nhân loại, và đã chúng mình là chân thật hơn những thủ lĩnh chọn "con ma ít ỏi hoá hồng hai con ma" và phải thủ thế đã tiến triển họ bao sao? Chủ nghĩa xét lại và các diễn các lượng này được quyết định bởi chủ nghĩa đế quốc và bộ máy kẻ thù ngày hôm nay... và một lần nữa nhắc lại giả này, các diễn thế giới ngày nay sẽ làm vương miền của vua chúa một vương quốc nước hồi thời mở lớn của cho những người cách mạng. Chúng ta không thể lớn chí Cao, vườn ta chúng dưới cao Lenin và Mao đã đặt đến hay sao?

Do đó: Đảng Công Sản Cách Mạng Mỹ có lời kêu gọi hành sau đây:

Trong ngày 1 tháng năm đã gần lễ ngày tháng nước Mỹ, từ họ xung đột công trường và trường học, đến nhà nghèo chính phủ tài chính, gọi phải và mọi mối mà thái thành không thể xâm phạm được cùng các điều kiện sống tiến hành nhân loại hoạt động chính trị có tính cách mạng không giống nhau, nơi ở hàng trăm triệu nhân dân không những ở đây mà đến toàn thế giới rằng nơi đây thiết thực một để phân nhân dân ngày càng tăng trưởng, ngày hôm nay đang chuẩn bị từ tương quan chúng, tổ chức để hướng "lên các mạng trong thành trị kinh tế của chủ nghĩa đế quốc."

Và hơn nữa, lần cho ngày 1 tháng năm thế giới năm 1982: giai mở đoàn là của giai cấp vô sản lên trên từ các nước bị chủ nghĩa đế quốc áp bức tàn bạo. Thân đại bản doanh ta bản, đến thành hành động song hành thông nhất trong hiệp thức; làm ngày này thế hiện ra - chỉ là một hay hai ngày cũng được - và vì cảnh tượng đó mà xúc tiến công việc chuẩn bị: một ngày không xa để giai cấp vô sản sẽ giải phóng lãnh thổ và tiến đến chính quyền, sự giải phóng và tiến đến chính quyền hay có thể hôm nay xuất hiện ở nơi này, mai xuất hiện ở nơi khác, bị đánh lui thì cũng để cao hơn sau xung sát công xã công tiến, từ ở Khoa quanh có của chủ nghĩa đế quốc tàn lụi giải phóng thế giới lớn nhất. Ngày đó anh năng 1 tháng năm sẽ rơi rơi ngay có đó các mạng khắp mọi nơi, giống như một cơn hoa hồng trong sự thế thái và suy bại của sự vật chết này và một sinh mạng cao thế, không thể chính phục được.

-Đảng Công Sản Cách Mạng Mỹ kêu gọi-

April 24, 1965

Uprising in Santo Domingo

On April 28, 1965, the U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic, was approaching a state of clammy hysteria. The "Loyalist" generals who had pledged to drown the Dominican uprising in blood had failed, and an infectious panic had swept their ranks and was seeping through the embassy walls. At 1:43 p.m., Ambassador Bennett cabled Washington:

"The issue here now is a fight between Castro-type elements and those who oppose. I do not wish to be over-dramatic but we should be clear as to the situation ..."

At the White House, McGeorge Bundy, Lyndon Johnson's national security advisor, hastily authorized the delivery of U.S. military communications gear requested by the "Loyalist" leader, General Elias Wessin y Wessin.

But 50 sets of walkie-talkies, the Loyalists insisted, were not quite all that was required to crush the revolt. At 2:00 in the afternoon, a Loyalist representative called the embassy to request "1200 U.S. Marines to help restore order."

In the streets of Santo Domingo, for the first time in their history the people had guns. They had successfully resisted the air force bombing of the city, and repulsed the Loyalist tanks and infantry at the battle of Duarte Bridge. Ironically, many of the original leaders of the revolt — "Constitutionalist" officers intent on restoring exiled president Juan Bosch to power — had betrayed the rebellion or sought asylum in neutral embassies; and the masses, who were to have played strictly the role of the "grateful multitude" in a bloodless gentlemen's coup, suddenly found themselves confronted with revolutionary opportunities and very pressing problems. Full of determination they were attempting to improvise on-the-spot organization and leadership to mount an offensive against the Loyalist junta.

The man in whose name the Constitutionalist had mounted their coup on April 24, the popular bourgeois liberal Juan Bosch, remained in Puerto Rico, his bags still packed, waiting for things to

smooth themselves out before making the triumphant return to Santo Domingo.

Bosch's party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), was nominally the political leadership of the Constitutionalist revolt. The PRD leadership had, of course, never anticipated that the "gentlemen's coup" would turn into a mass uprising and certainly not that the people would break into police stations and arm themselves. Ambassador Bennett and the American embassy country team understood this about the PRD. On the afternoon of April 28, the embassy was frantically trying to find a credible PRD "leader" who had not yet fled to try to restore control. Finally, the CIA kidnapped the PRD Secretary General, Antonio Martinez Francisco, who was in hiding in the Mexican embassy. At gunpoint, a CIA agent and a Loyalist colonel drove Francisco to the Loyalist headquarters at San Isidro. Within minutes, the shaking PRD leader was addressing the people over the Loyalist radio station — "of his own free will and without the least coercion" — to declare "that the revolution had been sidetracked from its goals" and to plead with the militants to lay down their arms.

There is no indication that Francisco's plea had any appreciable impact.

At 5:16 p.m., the following cable clicked out in the White House Situation Room where Bundy and his colleagues had set up shop:

"Critic, critic, critic, regret report situation deteriorating rapidly. San Isidro pilots (*sic*) tired and discouraged. (Police Chief) Despradel says cannot control situation. MAAJ chief went to San Isidro, found Belisario Peguero there in an hysterical mood, urging 'retreat.' Number of officers weeping. Benoit requests U.S. troops formally. The country team is unanimous that the time has come to land the Marines. American lives are in danger. Proposes Marine beachhead at Ambassador Hotel. If Washington wishes, they can be landed for the purpose of protecting evacuation of American citizens. I recommend immediate landing."

At 6:53 p.m., in what Washington described as a "humanitarian intervention,"

the first contingent of 500 Marines landed on the shores of Santo Domingo.

The plan for a Constitutionalist coup to restore the exiled Juan Bosch to the presidency had hardly envisioned a confrontation with the U.S. Marines; rather, the planners, including Bosch himself, considered the likelihood of U.S. acquiescence — even if reluctant, and forced by a *fait accompli* — as the key ingredient that made everything else gel.

The Coming and Going of Juan Bosch

Juan Bosch, highly respected in liberal intellectual circles throughout Latin America and a well known novelist, had figured heavily in the plans of the Kennedy administration of the United States to turn the Dominican Republic into a "showcase for democracy in the Caribbean." Castro's Cuban revolution was still in its infancy, yet it was already inspiring emulators throughout the hemisphere. The fall of the U.S.-backed tyrant in Cuba, Fulgencio Batista, appeared to the State Department as a grave foreshadowing of worse "disasters" to come. A frenzy of schemes for reform and "concern for democracy" churned out of Washington. The Alliance for Progress was trumpeted with great fanfare. Then on May 30, 1961 the process of the "democratization" of the Dominican Republic was begun: at the behest of the United States, the long-time dictator Trujillo, for over 30 years America's faithful dog, was assassinated.

In December 1962, in accordance with the wishes of the United States, the first elections anybody can remember were held in the Dominican Republic. Juan Bosch, the darling of the U.S. imperialists' "liberal" element, swept the elections after a charismatic and populist campaign which captured the enthusiasm of both the urban and rural poor. "Here is the chance," brimmed the *Washington Post*, "to demonstrate freedom's alternative to the police state reforms in Cuba." President Kennedy made clear his support for the Bosch regime.

But things didn't work out. Bosch was a bit too independent in foreign policy,

refusing to vote for U.S.-initiated sanctions against Cuba in the OAS. Some of his reforms stepped on the toes of American business interests. He failed to prosecute the repression of the "communist threat" seriously enough. Kennedy was "disappointed." The State Department "soured." The U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo cabled its "reservations." Many bourgeois Dominicans were "alienated." Bosch lasted seven months and then was overthrown in a "bloodless" coup that was not discouraged by the U.S. Bosch removed himself to Puerto Rico.

The leftist parties in the Dominican Republic had not supported Bosch, generally denouncing him as a U.S. puppet. But with the anti-Bosch coup and the reestablishment of military dictatorship, the largest of the revolutionary groups, the 14th of June Movement (1J4), determined to go over to guerrilla warfare on the "focoist" model. The attempt, which suffered from problems of preparation and execution as well as in principle, did not prove successful; and many 1J4 cadre were murdered by the regime. But the struggle to mount armed guerrilla war against the regime, despite the swift collapse of the effort and the heavy losses sustained, nevertheless struck a chord among many who were becoming alive to the prospects and problems of revolution.

Throughout 1964 and into 1965, Bosch from his vantage point in exile at Rio Piedras, and his supporters within the Dominican military, built a systematic conspiracy modeled on the trinitarian system, "... that is, a cellular organization. Each member had to win three new converts to the cause. The procedure was nearly always the same: member X would approach an officer or non-commissioned officer who was his friend. The conversation, general at first, eventually turned, as if by chance, to the political situation in the country. Then, if his interlocutor seemed ripe, X would make an overture: 'by the way, I and a group of friends ...' but he would never reveal the names of his co-conspirators, so as not to

Dominican Youth Testifies at War Crimes Tribunal A Great Lesson, An Historic Crossroads

The following testimony was given by a Dominican youth at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal Against U.S. Imperialism:

Comrades, friends all, companions, good afternoon to all. It is a special moment to denounce the aggressions of North American imperialism in our country. We live in a world in which class contradictions are sharpening. Already the contradictions of imperialist capitalism necessarily permit that the contradictions have to take place in an international and not national setting.

We have nothing written. But, yes, we have the experience, we have the necessary knowledge to reflect on the situation of our people.

In 1916 the first U.S. intervention takes place in the Dominican Republic. It was precisely the epoch in which im-

perialism was on the rise, that is to say, it was growing on a world scale. In the epoch that the commander Vladimir Il'yich Lenin developed his main work on imperialism, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

At that time it was necessary to impose themselves on the world to allow the reproduction of international capital. But even though the consciousness of the people was not so developed, the suffering, the backward condition of our people gave rise to the desire to begin a revolutionary struggle which would not end, nor can it end until we have become liberated from imperialism. Men, women, children, old people conscious of the necessity to liberate our people in independent ways rose up in arms and from the countryside to the city and from the city to the countryside rose voices of liberty, clamoring for not only popular insurrection but also popular triumph.

The contradictions of imperialism con-

tinued to sharpen up on a world scale. But, not until 1965 does the second direct intervention by the U.S. take place. We all know that the first North American intervention in 1916 brought, as a result, a military dictatorship for 31 years, headed by Trujillo. The same imperialism assassinated Trujillo when he tried to carry out, not a policy of nationalization, but of the self-concentration of capital. In other words, to concentrate great power in his own hands.

Nonetheless, the masses were able to take advantage of these circumstances and initiate mobilizations of protest and to at least liberate themselves temporarily from a bloody oppressive dictatorship which allowed no movement of the popular masses.

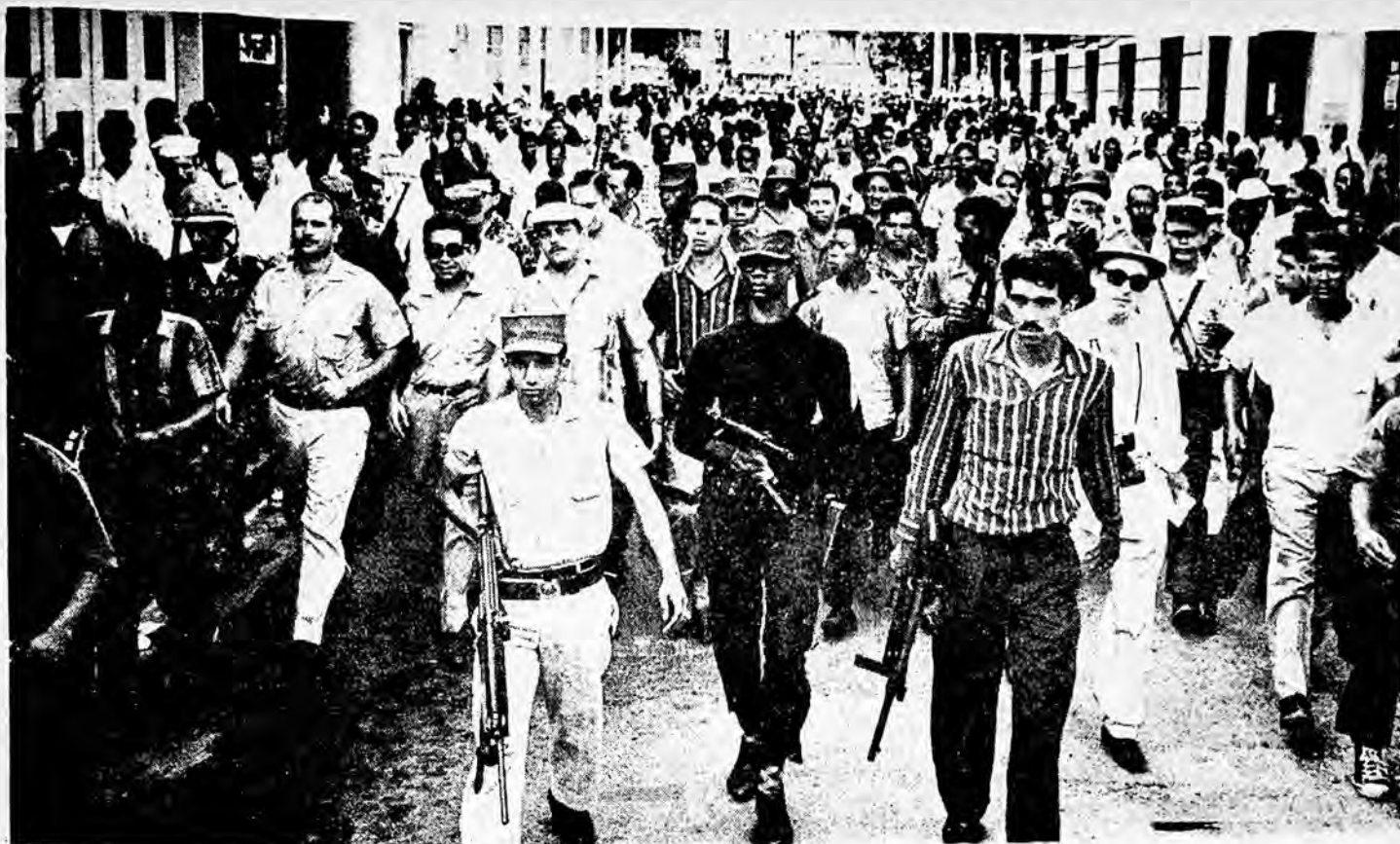
In 1963, two years after the death of Trujillo, elections were held in the country. The elections were won by the PRD (Dominican Revolutionary Party) which at that time was headed up by Juan

Bosch. The program of this party consisted in reforms within a bourgeois or capitalist context. However, it had within its midst, I'm referring to that party, a great concentration of the popular masses who foresaw in that party a rise of the class struggle and to at least liberate themselves in a minimum way of the anguish from which they suffered.

In effect, it won the elections. It didn't last seven months when it was defeated by North American imperialism. North American imperialism still didn't believe in people or in parties who had not committed themselves to it, since their capital in a certain way could be threatened. That was the judgment of capitalism at that moment.

At that moment, when the government of Juan Bosch is defeated, a military dictatorship that drowns the people in blood is put in power. But the contradictions were still present. Two years later, in 1965, the class struggle sharpened.

That was the moment when a small group of the PRD and the armed forces put forward the necessity of looking for a negotiated solution and permit the return to power of Juan Bosch. However, the military junta directed by Ronald Reed Cabral as well as the U.S. embassy did not agree to this. International relations broke down indefinitely. It was then that the first bellicose act took place within the armed forces. This is exactly when the



Armed insurrection in Dominican Republic, May, 1965.

endanger the entire movement in case he was denounced."

A minority of the Constitutionalist conspirators, younger officers with "leftist" leanings, made a few tentative overtures to the 1J4 during this period, seeking to enlist their support and offering them the chance to "get in on the ground floor." But the 1J4, which was militantly pro-Castro while maintaining an attitude of hostility towards the Soviet Union, was not interested in tailing a movement to restore Bosch, whom they viewed as a U.S. puppet. The pro-Soviet Partido Socialista Popular (PSP), however, announced in a *manifiesto* of 16 March 1965 that "only the democratic way lies open: reestablishment of the popular will To reach that goal, we must adopt the slogan of the RETURN OF PRESIDENT JUAN BOSCH TO THE HEAD OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC."

The Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD), which by 1964 had begun to align itself with the Communist Party of China in the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism, repudiated Boschist leader-

ship, as did the 1J4. The 2 groups shared a sympathy for Cuba and opposition to "Soviet-style" socialism. There were some efforts to work out plans for united action between these two groups. But it appears that among the revolutionary forces generally, there was a tendency to discount the possibility that a concerted "Constitutionalist" revolt might trigger a political crisis that could usher in wide-ranging freedom for revolutionary action. Although 1J4 leaders were informed of the conspiracy from various sources, they concluded that the plot was entirely under the direction of the CIA, and that it was not to be taken seriously.

According to the published reminiscences of people active in the events, on the 21st of April, only three days before the Constitutionalist revolt kicked off, members of the Provisional Central Executive Committee (CECP) of the 1J4 were briefed on the conspiracy by "sympathizers within the Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), but attached no importance to it . . . somebody muttered that 'whoever pays attention to the rumors of a *golpe* (coup) has nothing

else to do . . . ' Everybody agreed." The CECP "was preoccupied with the internal and ideological struggle The national political situation was not on the agenda."

By mid-April, however, the Boschist conspiracy was beyond the stage of a "rumor." Hundreds of key officers in strategic units had already committed themselves to revolt. When the leader of the military triumvirate, Reid Cabral, got wind of the impending coup and began a belated wave of arrests, the conspirators turned around and arrested those who came to arrest them.

April 24

At 1:30 p.m. on April 24, the Constitutionalist rebels broadcast an appeal to the populists to take to the streets in support of "the group of honest officers" who had acted in defense of the 1963 Constitution and President Juan Bosch.

An account of the time describes the response:

"Within minutes the streets were swarming with crowds shouting, seething, exulting, united in their opposition to

the triumvirate in their support of the military coup. Waves of people surged through the streets of the capital shouting 'Viva la Libertad' . . . thousands of the capital's slum dwellers headed in the direction of the presidential palace."

The police, the notorious Cascos Blancos (white helmets — the riot police), did not attempt to quell the demonstrations. Not that they were part of the conspiracy; they simply knew better than to challenge the people in their present mood.

Radio Santo Domingo TV was occupied by Constitutionlists at 3:00 in the afternoon. "They invited the people to take to the streets to celebrate 'the return to liberty, to constitutionality, to democracy.'" But within an hour, the TV station was retaken by Loyalist forces.

This setback brought on a sudden wave of demoralization. According to the diary of an eyewitness:

"The police, on orders from a colonel, seized the microphones and broadcast a declaration denying the existence of a coup d'etat . . . by around 4:30, the police had already moved in and begun to

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people become aware of the previous negotiations and the organized groups begin to mobilize, organize and begin to form working class institutions.

Then, on April 24, the first act of what we can call the beginning of what would be "La Guerra Patria" of April ("April Homeland War"). The people pour into the streets in protest and begin to organize what were called Commandos, which practically was the institution that represented the masses in armed struggle. Various organized groups would form military academies, which were directed by the revolutionaries of that period. A relationship would begin to develop between these military academy commandos and the progressives in the military.

The military dictatorship of Donald Reid Cabral was defeated. But seeing the threat of the popular forces who were on their way towards victory, but no longer simply of bourgeois or reformist character, North American imperialism through the OAS formed what was called the Interamerican Peace Force where Latin American armies would intervene militarily in the Dominican Republic, supposedly to protect the lives of North Americans and other foreigners there. In reality, what was being defended was U.S. capital and the capital of the other imperialist powers located in our country.

At that time, the class struggles, the mobilizations of the masses, the armed

struggle sharpened and the capital city was occupied by the armed masses. The city was divided into two: a liberated or constitutional zone and another zone where the forces of military reaction and North American imperialism were concentrated.

Resistance in the capital was quite widespread. But unfortunately the countryside had not participated directly in the confrontation between the people against North American imperialism and the exploiting classes. As the days progressed the constitutional movement and the people had to radicalize their position. In other words to have a strong anti-imperialist position of non-negotiation. There was no longer place for negotiation. There was only room for confrontation to achieve triumph.

We can say then that from April 24, 1965, April 28 when the intervention by the Interamerican Peace Force (FIP) controlled by the U.S. to September, the revolutionary process took three months. The forty-two thousand military personnel who intervened drowned our people in blood. And since the armed struggle of the masses was not so strong, the masses were unfortunately defeated militarily. Nonetheless, it was the crucial moment to understand that the bourgeoisie of our country also did not have the capacity to confront imperialism. For it was they who began negotiating from April 24 till July.

They were involved in negotiations behind the backs of the popular armed movement.

The PRD, the party directing the movement in spite of the growing participation of the left organizations, was a party of bourgeois reformist character. For that reason it had no program beyond that of reform. That was the principal contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the popular masses. It was the moment in which the revolutionary movement would understand that if it did not create a proletarian organization capable of confronting capitalism, any armed insurrection would lead to failure.

Five thousand people, Dominicans, died in that violent struggle. Despite the deaths, a great lesson remains from that epic. Only by creating truly revolutionary organizations committed to the interests of the working class, conscious of the historic mission of the proletariat on a world scale, that is to say, organizations conscious that only the total social revolution can truly liberate us, is it possible to take up the struggle until the end.

As we've seen, two big North American interventions or two big military interventions by the U.S. have penetrated our country and we still have not been able to liberate ourselves from them. The forward battle continues. It continues and continues but the organization called forward to carry out the mission of the pro-

letariat is not yet formed. Yes, there are various revolutionary organizations, but yet without the capacity, without the necessary potential to confront imperialism and the Dominican capitalist class in all spheres.

Today, all national liberation struggles, every struggle upholding the transformation of society is associated with two things — the struggle between the two imperialisms and the struggle against capitalism. Everyone knows that the people struggle. The exploited of this period fight for economic equality, for social equality. But for that it is necessary to destroy all the scaffolding erected by the capitalist system all over the world, all the scaffolding built by the exploiters of our peoples and in a continuous process obtain what the classics had defined as a classless society. That is to say, it is a process that goes from the struggle of our people up to what we could call communism.

To conclude my presentation, I want to say the following: If the Dominican revolutionary movement does not understand the historic crossroads in which we are enveloped and seriously gets itself together to organize the people, necessarily, the suffering, the interventions of the U.S., the penetration of international capital — that is to say the aggressions of the capitalist world will continue in our country. [C]

San Francisco Docks The Captain Goes Down With His Flag

The San Francisco docks, like all ports, give a bit of a picture of the world. The bourgeoisie likes to give its ships a whole kind of chauvinist aura: her majesty's this, and the U.S.'s that, and so on ad nauseum. But these same ships and these docks can also become, and have become at various points in history, contact points between proletarians from different nations, and fertile ground for the revolutionary internationalism that would overthrow the bourgeoisie and imperialism's blood-drenched patriotic banners. There were the revolutionary French mutineers who refused to help the imperialists crush the Russian Revolution, the rebellions of German sailors during World War I, and the "liberated ships" of the Spanish sailors in the opening moments of the Spanish Civil War. During the '60s and early '70s many a longshoreman in ports around the world watched as Chinese freighters approached, their bows splashed with enormous red internationalist and revolutionary slogans. In this tradition, proletarians went down to the San Francisco docks on April 19th, red flags and literature in hand, to put the stamp of the international proletariat here as part of building for May Day '82.

We found at the docks a real concentration of world conditions, world revolutionary struggles, and the struggle for the red flag against revisionism; a battle spread from ship to ship, culminating in a dramatic victory on a ship which—for a while—was flying the imperialist Union Jack of England, that closest of U.S. allies.

In the days preceding, internationalist banners had been taken out among various forces for people to sign and write messages on to be presented to the seamen for them to carry around the globe. The day before, Sunday, a Chinese banner was taken to Chinatown. While the agitator spoke a number of Chinese people came up to add their names to the banner. An Italian revolutionary, hearing the agitator from a block away, rushed up to take stacks of May Day literature and sang the Internationale in Italian. She wrote on the banner, "The workers have no country. Long live world revolution!"

At dawn, Monday, the revolutionaries launched their internationalist "invasion" of ships from different parts of the world docked at the piers. On a South Korean ship, language was a problem but soon red flags were taped up everywhere, and the sailors took May Day Calls in Japanese and Chinese. In the mess hall on a Greek ship, one seaman spoke only Greek. When shown the May Day Poster the seaman asked in sign language whether the revolutionaries wanted to put it up in the mess hall. He then taped up the poster on the wall, along with the May Day Call in Greek. Pointing to the poster, he repeatedly exclaimed, "I like, I like." A Pakistani seaman joined in and said, "I know that, I know May Day." They said the ship was going to India and said they would xerox the call to pass out in India. A Chilean seaman, exiled in Greece since the Pinochet coup, was overjoyed to see the revolutionaries and wanted to visit the RCP bookstore when he got a chance to go ashore. Later on in the streets, the revolutionaries met two Greek seamen from the ship who were very excited about the May Day contingent and in particular liked the stand taken against both superpowers. They too promised to reproduce more of the May Day Calls to distribute. On a Dutch ship, the U.S. flag went down into an oil slick and the red flag was raised. The mainly Indonesian crew took posters and leaflets.

Very significant was what took place on a ship from the People's Republic of China (see accompanying article). Here, nearly all the seamen joined repeatedly in

singing the Internationale, while the advanced poured over RCP literature, signing banners, and crying out in support when an agitator said "Long Live Chiang Ching!"

While all this was going on, a larger group of revolutionaries approached a British ship, which was a floating self-exposure of the empire and what it is actually founded on. An advance team that boarded the ship found that the lower strata seamen, all blacks from the Caribbean, were literally herded into the lowest—and most miserable and crowded—deck of the ship. On the deck above them were quartered the white sailors, and above them reigned the officers. One black sailor told a revolutionary "You're safe...they never come down here!" You could feel the seething anger that is even now bursting out in the streets of England.

Out on the pier, as people held up various banners from the youth, feminists, revolutionary artists, the Mission District, etc., a group of about 20 revolutionaries dashed onto the ship and greeted the first sailor with, "We're here as proletarian internationalists." One revolutionary that went on board described the fast-paced action that followed:

"First we met only white sailors. At the back of the ship the Union Jack was dropped and the red flag went up. The captain came up and tried to take the bullhorn away from the agitator. One person had climbed to the upper level with the Union Jack and the captain told him to bring back the Union Jack down here. He said it with authority, you know. At this point the first rebellion broke out and the Union Jack was dumped into the water. Someone took out the big American flag we had brought to put into a coffin. The captain tried to bring down the red flag, but somehow at the same time the U.S. flag draped itself over his head and then he went down and fell into a heap on all this."

The revolutionaries then brought out a coffin and stuffed it with the blood-soaked flags of various imperialists—the U.S., Soviet, British, Japanese, East and West German, French, Italian. The coffin was heaved overboard and disappeared into the waters of the Bay.

This "flag ceremony" brought to life what May Day and our revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend was all about. On the docks a large group of longshoremen and others who had come from other parts of the city let out an excited cheer. Said one: "That's when I got a sense of what we were doing—burying the nations." We were fighting not merely for some immediate gains but for the future and for all mankind. Things got even sharper after this.

By this time, a number of the black sailors were out on deck checking out the action. From the expression on their faces, we could see they definitely dug the flag dumping. Although they were not yet ready to come to our side in the actual fighting, it was also obvious that the captain was not going to order these sailors to attack us. One black guy who had earlier said he feared putting his position in jeopardy took a red flag and raised his fist.

The reaction of the white sailors was different. One told us, "I don't care if you do this on the docks, but don't do it on my ship." The captain, trying desperately to restore order, commanded the white sailors to block the gangway and fighting broke out. This fighting went on for some time with the revolutionaries both fighting and agitating at the same time. Some of the sailors went after the big red flag. In the fierce struggle, the flagpole was broken but the red flag never went down.

The captain then stepped up the attack



Shaking hands while leaving the ship.

by ordering the water hose turned on the invaders and ordered "Get off my ship." A revolutionary shot back, "Get this, captain, this is not your ship now. This is liberated territory." And then—well this hose must have been hard to handle, for it somehow broke loose and turned itself back right on the captain, who scampered away soaking wet locking himself in his room. This was a real turning point. Suddenly the old order and authority had broken down, and just as suddenly the white sailors stopped fighting.

Heated debate broke out. The sailors saw war coming, but not the possibility to turn it around through revolution. From defending "my ship," they had come around to at least seeing the importance of thrashing out some of the questions we raised. By the time the police arrived on the scene it was clear the sailors did not want to be on their side. As we began to leave the ship, one sailor who had been throwing blows at us shook our hand and said, "We should be on the same side, not against each other." There was no question the old order had broken down, not

just on the ship but along the waterfront as well. Forklifts stopped on the docks and longshoremen ceased work and gathered around. About 12 Latino workers from across the street raised their fists and grabbed leaflets. When the cops came, this bunch started jeering them, calling them "culeros" (butt-fucker in Spanish) and shouting "We need a bomb, bomb those bastards" and "viva la revolución!" One Russian worker who stopped by to check out the action told us that he had left Russia five years ago to get away from the misery and repression but found the very same thing here. When the singing of the *Internationale* started he joined in Russian.

In contrast to this, was a voice trying to preserve the old and rotten. One older longshoreman, who had told us earlier he was a reader of the CP's *People's World*, agitated, "We're workers, we should be going back to work." You can be sure such types will be out there in the future, attempting to drag workers into the mire of revisionism. But that day on

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Chinese Sailors Agree: Long Live Chiang Ching!

Significant action took place on that same day on a ship from the People's Republic of China. A guard was diverted while several revolutionaries ran a quarter of a mile onto the ship. On the second deck, agitation in Chinese rang out as stacks of Chinese *RWs* and other literature passed into the hands of the sailors. More sailors came up to see what was going down—obviously this was not the America that Deng & Co. speak so glowingly of. Soon everyone had May Day leaflets and were opening up the Chinese *RWs*. A revolutionary pointed to the picture of Chiang Ching inside the *RW* and said in Chinese, "Long Live Chiang Ching." A sailor responded with "Long Live" in Chinese. The sailors clearly dug the red flags that were being taped up on the ship. When the revolutionaries started singing the *Internationale*, most of the sailors stood in a line and joined in. Some knew the words by heart, while others clustered in threes and fours around the *RW* that had the words to the song in Chinese.

The May Day contingent moved onto the next deck to reach more sailors. Some from the first group joined the revolutionaries. One youth, reading the article, "Charting the Uncharted Course" intently, followed the group everywhere so as not to miss anything. Soon everyone was again checking out the *RW*. The agitator spoke of the significance of the actions on the ships that day as a glimpse of the living force of internationalism and called on the sailors to break out. Sailors from both decks gathered and sang the *Internationale* again. Some of the more advanced were handed stacks of litera-

ture in Chinese, including the *Joint Communiqué* and *Conquer the World*... to take back to their home port, Shanghai, as well as stacks of English leaflets. One revolutionary went around the ship to stash literature in tool boxes and work places. When one revolutionary said in Chinese, "Deng Xiaoping is a running dog," several heads nodded in agreement. Asked for a group statement, one sailor wrote, "Long Live the Unity of the People of the World," and about ten more signatures were added to that. One sailor, wanting to give a poster in return, took down a poster that pictured a worker industriously at work. The revolutionaries refused the poster, saying it was Deng's line, and pointed to a May Day poster and said this was Mao's line. The two opposing lines came to life, the sailor looked embarrassed. By now red flags were all over the ship but no sailor was yet holding one. A revolutionary offered a red flag to a sailor who was hesitant, perhaps because of the petty officer standing nearby, but another sailor stepped right up and took it. As the revolutionaries left the ship, some sailors gave the clenched fist.

Even if for a short while, the legacy of Mao and revolutionary China, now suppressed by the revisionist rulers, flared up into a flame and took command of the ship, just as it will someday on a grander scale in China. And the actions of the proletarian internationalists outside China will play no small part in this, as Mao pointed out when he said if revisionists take power in China, it will be the duty of revolutionaries worldwide to help the Chinese people overthrow them. 11

Shanghai of the 1930s. Violent suppression under the Kuomintang's White Terror is prominent among the facts of life. Yet more relentless still is the resistance and rebellion issuing forth in all spheres of life, a subterranean river, running deep and wide, at times surfacing explosively. Events in Shanghai are framed by the larger events shaking China and the world — the partitioning of the city itself into foreign spheres of influence, the parks with signs proclaiming "No Dogs or Chinese Allowed," attest to imperialism's penetration of and designs on China. In this city, too, tensions are heightened and the heartbeats of revolutionary and progressive people are quickened by developments in the south, where in Kiangsi Province red base areas are being forged among the peasants by the Red Army, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party.

Shanghai itself — a teeming urban city exhibiting influences from all over the world, its glaring modernity existing side by side with the squalor and starvation imposed upon its impoverished millions — is a particular concentration of the contradictions in Chinese life. No area of social life is left uncontested — education, literature and theater, the woman question, morals and even styles of dress, all witness intense struggle between the old and the new. The Kuomintang, sworn to uphold the old, lashes out violently at social trends and developments it can scarcely understand, much less stop. The viciousness of its methods only fuels the resentments of proletarians, youth and others whose thrust toward the future is to prove indefatigable.

This was the Shanghai that Chiang Ching, like thousands of other revolutionaries, artists, writers and dramatists from outlying areas, was drawn to in the early 1930s. Arriving in 1933, trying to make contact with the fragmented Shanghai Party organization, she joined a left-wing drama troupe, taking an active role in its theatrical productions and educational activities.

In her recollections of the period, as are thus far available,* Chiang Ching has provided a rich account of the social and political turmoil in Shanghai during these years. The anniversary of the Mukden Incident, marking the September 18, 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria, was at that time an especially important occasion for all around revolutionary activity, providing one way in which to both gauge and accelerate the pulse of revolutionary struggle. Having faced numerous obstacles in establishing and maintaining contact with trustworthy Party leaders and members, on September 18th Chiang Ching joined in the massive street demonstrations commemorating Mukden. Such demonstrations, thoroughly illegal and openly defiant of Kuomintang rule, demanded rigorous effort by all in combating police surveillance and counter-attack and resembled successive waves of running skirmishes. Joining up with the demonstration, Chiang Ching's conduct soon led demonstration leaders to motion her to step up and serve as the secret marshal of a column. In this capacity, she was asked to pay particular attention to assisting two women workers who had just joined the ranks. She was surprised to find them better dressed than she. Although she was not expensively dressed, her clothing was indeed different from that of most women workers. As an actress and student, she did not maintain the "proletarian style." Yet the other demonstrators were not offended by her theatrical, even outlandish appearance — they had chosen her to be their leader.

Matinee of Resistance

That afternoon Chiang Ching played in a benefit performance of *Babies' Murder*, a drama — adapted from a Japanese film — speaking to the issues of the time. In observance of the Mukden

*This account is taken in part from material published in Roxanne Witke's *Comrade Chiang Ching*.

Demonstrating Day & Evening — Performing in the Afternoon . . .



Chiang Ching in the revolutionary base area of Yen-an during the war of liberation.

Incident, it had been decided that proceeds from this performance would be delivered to the workers on strike at the British-American Tobacco factory. As was customary for the theater, several classes of tickets were available — ranging from 20-30¢ to 5-10 yuan each. A prominent Shanghai educator bought up what expensive tickets remained unsold to support the troupe and the workers cause.

In Chiang Ching's recollections, the memory of that particular performance of *Babies' Murder* was especially vivid. Given the nature of the day and its events thus far, playgoers and performers alike

were at a high pitch of excitement, and on this occasion she remembered watching closely movements within the audience. Because of the protest nature of the play, members of the audience no less than the performers themselves, could anticipate reprisals. And, in fact, arrests were made that afternoon. The actors were forced to leave the theater as soon as the final curtain fell, many of them running swiftly to join up with other groups of demonstrators.

At the end of another round of demonstrating, as everyone dispersed, Chiang Ching found herself stranded and famished, without money for food or

transportation. Recalling that a nearby restaurant was run by a White Russian with liberal sympathies, she went there. As she entered, a number of diners who had attended the theater that afternoon recognized her from her performance, and were surprised and relieved to find she had not been arrested at the play's end. They commented enthusiastically on her acting and on the favorable reputation she had established through a variety of roles.

The proprietor treated Chiang Ching to a superb meal, and before long she and others were preparing for another round of protests the following day. □

May 1st
1982

Where Will You Be?
What Will You Be Doing?
Who Will You Be Serving?

Shameless Bombers Attack Lebanon

On April 21, just five days before the scheduled turnover of the Sinai to Egypt and the much heralded "consummation" of the Camp David accords (otherwise known as the "Middle East peace process"), a force of some 60 Israeli jets streaked in for a two-hour air strike over wide sections of Lebanon, blasting the city of Beirut and surrounding areas and reportedly killing 25 to 40 people and wounding at least 80 more. According to PLO sources, the warplanes zeroed in on the townships of Damur, Naameh, Khalde, Aramun and others just south of Beirut where Palestinians are concentrated. A Syrian radar installation was also destroyed in the fashionable Beirut suburb of Douha. Dogfights with Syrian MiG jets reportedly took place over missile sites in the Bekka Valley, and Israeli jets went after other targets near Sidon, a major Lebanese city 35 miles north of the Israeli-Lebanon border. The bombings shattered the Israeli-PLO ceasefire engineered by the U.S. last July.

The assault came on the heels of renewed Palestinian eruptions in the West Bank and Gaza, fueled by the murderous rampage of a uniformed Israeli at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem two weeks ago which evoked widespread condemnation of Israel's continuing occupation of Arab territories. The international uproar had prompted Israeli Prime Minister Begin to scream then that "the forces of black reaction perpetrated a blood libel against the Jewish people and their homeland while the civilized, democratic world stood by once again and remained silent." He further wailed that Israel's enemies were "attempting to place an entire nation (sic) in the dock for the crime of one mentally ill man."

Indeed, the good prime minister is quite familiar with the impetuous activities of young, fascist Zionists since he himself was the former head of the Irgun, an Israeli stormtrooper gang that originally drove the Palestinians off their land in 1948. Back then Begin himself personally commanded the infamous, cold-blooded massacre of thousands of Palestinian men, women and children at Deir Yassin. But why dwell on the "deranged" actions of one poor, misguided Israeli trooper? What Begin meant was clear: We Israelis have state power now and are capable of far more than shooting up a mosque or two and killing or wounding mere dozens of people! The rest of the civilized, democratic world may be forced to mind their p's and q's around here, but we civilized and democratic Israelis will show them how it's done. We will bomb whole cities, invade whole countries and butcher entire populations, if necessary, to put an end to the terrorist threat and protect our "national homeland" — you know, the one we stole from the Palestinians fair and square!

There were, to be sure, the usual flimsy justifications for this latest Israeli "defensive action." As one newspaper put it: "An Israeli military communique said the attack was in response to several 'bloody attacks in recent weeks' by Palestinian guerrillas on 'Israeli civilians in Israel and in Europe (which) reached a climax this morning when a terrorist mine killed an Israeli soldier.'" What the paper neglected to mention was that the Israeli soldier referred to above was killed during an incursion by Israeli troops into southern Lebanon. Truly the last straw — how dare anyone "terrorize" a single one of our soldiers when we invade their territory! And, of course, one Zionist life is worth thousands of Palestinians any day!

Equally hypocritical were the ritual attempts by the U.S. to pretend that the actions of its own imperialist junior partner and staunchest Middle Eastern ally were, as always, a truly stunning surprise. One report solemnly noted: "The State Department and the White House said the United States is 'looking into every aspect' of the situation, including whether

U.S. aircraft may have been used in the raids and whether that could violate U.S. law." Hmmm... where have we heard that one before?

All this was, of course, strictly the usual grist for public consumption, since it has been well known to all and sundry that an Israeli attack of one sort or another was being prepared for and imminently forthcoming. In fact, the U.S. media has been making a special point of this for weeks, openly bragging that the question of an Israeli strike into Lebanon was not a matter of "whether" but "when." Daily articles in the press were full of little hints like "Begin noted that the Cabinet had made 'no decision' about an invasion. The U.S. chose to put the best interpretation on that carefully hedged assurance." But while simultaneously preparing public opinion for an Israeli "hit job," U.S. officials were careful to emphasize that they expected the Sinai withdrawal to come off smoothly (sending a team of U.S. officials headed by Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel to make sure this would be the case). U.S. ambassador to Israel, Samuel Lewis, sought to dampen any excessive speculation that a raid might blow it by announcing that Begin "assured me that the Israeli cabinet has taken no decision to go into Lebanon in any way, shape or form."

Meanwhile, the stage was carefully being set for any "impulsive" Israeli behavior. A typical piece in the *New York Times* spoke sadly of Israel's "terrifying sense of loneliness, always the affliction of the Jewish people, particularly the burden of their modern nation. Everyone in Israel has known for months that the final days before the final withdrawal would be a time of acute psychological stress requiring constant reassurance. Now that the time is here, the reassurance is lacking." Poor lonely and neurotic Israel — obviously it needed a good bloodbath to make itself feel wanted and secure!!

No sooner had the Israeli aerial blitzkrieg gone down, however, than there was suddenly no end of stress-relieving U.S. reassurances and psychological intensive care. (Not coincidentally, and quite appropriately, it just happened to be "National Holocaust Week" — declared by Reagan as a tribute to "the sufferings of the Israeli people.") One such effort, a pre-packaged ABC special — Fortress Israel — had obviously been sitting in the can and was quickly dragged out on the night of the bombings with footage of the air raid spliced in.

Purporting to be an impartial and all-sided examination of Israeli motivations, this hack job was a straight-up tribute to Israeli aggression — a real tearjerker complete with weeping and wailing, candle-lighting, endless references to the holocaust, etc., etc. It featured such gemlike commentary as, "Israel, the land of deliverance into light and justice, continues to feel itself alone and on the edge of annihilation," and "a defenseless Jew has always been an invitation to a massacre" — all neatly interspersed with Defense Minister Ariel Sharon foaming at the mouth about his dreams of a "Greater Israel," which he made quite clear meant that "We will never give up the West Bank."

And just in case all this might appear a bit too rabid, there was appropriate footage of the "real extremists" — the "religious zealots" of Meir Kahane's Kach movement imported from the U.S. to occupy the Sinai and threaten suicide if it was returned to Egypt — all being dutifully removed by the government with kid gloves, so Israel could fulfill its "painful" international obligations. Perhaps most intriguing, however, was the addle-brained remark of one liberal Israeli woman interviewed, who reminisced quite seriously, "There was an Arab worker who used to come here and when he passed the olive fields he would stop and point to them and say 'Those are mine.' Actually, they belonged to the kibbutz!"

Whether or not the U.S. directly ordered this particular Israeli strike (Israel, after all, has its own interests that it pursues), it was not carried out against U.S. wishes generally. It was intended as a timely demonstration to the PLO and Syria of Israeli intentions. And none of this is the least bit inconsistent with the return of the Sinai to Egypt; in fact, front-page stories about the raid were featured right alongside other, separate stories announcing that the Israeli cabinet had voted to complete the turnover after Egyptian assurances that they were reducing troop levels in the Sinai, that they would cooperate on ending the smuggling of weapons to Palestinians through the Gaza Strip, that the Israeli claim to Tabat, where they are building a resort hotel on Egyptian land, will be arbitrated, etc. Both having to meet these additional Israeli demands for a better deal in the Sinai and the raid itself were undoubtedly an embarrassment to Egyptian President Mubarak, with the scheduled turnover only days away. And certainly it is quite appropriate that the continuation of imperialist diplomacy should go hand in hand with imperialist-approved bombings in Lebanon.

Likewise, if the desired message to the PLO and Syrian forces in Lebanon was not clear already, the U.S. media hounds reporting the first news of the Israeli raid made it even plainer. After featuring an Israeli commander who explained that the attack on Lebanon had been "deliberately restrained" and was only intended as "a warning," ABC's Peter Jennings reported that U.S. government officials were "filled with relief that it was not the massive raid that had been expected" and went on to point out that "any retaliation by the Palestinians could provoke that raid into southern Lebanon." Rubbing everyone's nose in the obvious, ABC an-

chorman Frank Reynolds then mused that the U.S. had given "a faint tap on the wrist to the parties concerned." This referred to a State Dept. condemnation "abhorring the violence on both sides" and — get this — urging the PLO to avoid any action that might "prolong or escalate the violence," to "exercise self-restraint" and to "restore the ceasefire" in Lebanon!

It is difficult to say what precisely the Israeli raid augurs for the immediate future in the Mideast. A full-scale Israeli invasion of Lebanon sometime soon appears to be a possibility indeed. And while, should this transpire, it would certainly be aimed at decisively weakening the PLO, another aspect of such a development could be the attempt to further wield Israel as an instrument against the Soviet-backed Syrian regime in order to help persuade Syrian President Assad to see the wisdom of getting up off his Soviet connection and feeling his way back into the Western fold. If anything, however, the raid is a portent that contradictions in the region are intensifying rapidly and that what is in store is more fierce military actions and subsequent political adjustments.

Undoubtedly, the U.S. will continue to try and forge its "strategic consensus" in preparation for war with the Soviets in this vital region — with Israel's military might playing the key role in this as bottom-line "persuader" to be reined out and leashed in as necessary in the process of shaping and molding other U.S. alliances with the rulers of various Arab states. As the U.S. imperialists themselves are presently speculating, once the Sinai is returned to Egypt, the much vaunted "spirit of Camp David" may become, in effect, a dead letter — and this could well cut more ways than one.

Uprising in Santo Domingo

Continued from page 13

break up the crowd that had formed in the streets. The action of the troops, the news of the occupation of Radio Santo Domingo TV, and the arrest of the announcers and their companions sowed confusion among the populace. Little by little the people took refuge in their homes. The battle seemed lost. I felt like weeping seeing those people, joyous and hopeful only a few minutes ago, now trudging, downcast, back to their dwellings. I felt the weight of immense suffering that the nation had accumulated for so many years."

Meanwhile, at the 19th of November Air Force Base at the Loyalists' stronghold of San Isidro, nine miles north of the capital, General de los Santos saw little reason for panic. He decided to get in contact with his fellow officers in the insurgency and negotiate the matter to everybody's satisfaction. The idea that the coup represented anything other than a traditional attempt at a revision of the spoils by a group of "have-not" officers never occurred to the Loyalists at this point. Indeed it had not occurred to the majority of the Constitutionalist officers — and certainly not to their leadership.

The initial evaluation of the U.S. embassy staff was similar; possibly Reid Cabral would have to go, and a new military junta be installed that would appease the dissident officers. The demand to restore Juan Bosch — which neither the U.S. nor the Loyalist officers could accept — was merely window dressing to win support from the people in street demonstrations.

On January 25, the Constitutionalist seized the presidential palace. General de los Santos went there to negotiate a "peaceful solution." The Constitutionalist leaders were optimistic: "Although the leaders of the revolt had no illusions about the sympathies of the American

embassy, they believed that the United States would be forced to accept the new situation. This conviction had been one of the axioms of the conspiracy." Shortly after Reid Cabral resigned, a U.S. embassy staffer met with the PRD secretary general, Antonio Francisco. The aide "warned... against arming the populace — calling this a Trojan horse by which the communist threat might penetrate — and asked for assurances regarding the security of American citizens. But he avoided any allusion to the crucial problem of the triumvirate's succession. Nor did he pass judgment on the revolt, or issue any rebuke over Reid Cabral's overthrow."

In Puerto Rico, Juan Bosch was packing his bags. *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc was on hand: "I found him in his modest second-floor apartment on 6th Street in the Rio Piedras section of San Juan... the apartment was full of Dr. Bosch's friends and followers, members of his Dominican Revolutionary Party. It was a joyful bedlam, with the friends embracing the former president and congratulating him on what seemed to be his victory..."

"Bosch expected to be able to return to the Dominican Republic the next day, perhaps even this same night. He was awaiting a military aircraft from the Dominican Republic to fly him back. It was believed it would arrive momentarily."

But that evening, planes from the 19th of November Air Force Base strafed the presidential palace. Negotiations had deadlocked exactly over the issue of Bosch's return. Apart from U.S. opposition, too many Loyalist officers had implicated themselves in Bosch's overthrow to accept his return with equanimity. The stage was now set for civil war.

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Uprising in Santo Domingo

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The Mass Armed Struggle

During the 24th and 25th, the parties professing revolutionary programs struggled to gain an orientation. Despite the advanced warnings discussed earlier, the Constitutionalist revolt had taken them by surprise. Leading members were scattered around the country.

The revisionist PSP, ironically, was not thrown for as much of a loop as the IJ4 or the MPD because it had already decided to tail Boschism anyway. Thus the Central Committee determined fairly quickly to adopt a course of seeking to "democratize" the coup while not challenging or diverting its political aims in any way. The PSP was able to move into action fairly quickly, plastering the walls of the capital with posters urging "Arms to the People — PSP." The revisionists thus staked out a left-sounding slogan of their own — while never suffering the dreaded disease of "alienation from the majority," because the slogan "Arms to the People" was at that moment a very popular slogan indeed in Santo Domingo.

The IJ4 organization majority initially clung to their assessment of the military revolt as a CIA plot. It was not a CIA plot, though it assuredly was a bourgeois conspiracy — but this was not the main issue anyway. The issue was whether or not the political crisis and the political mobilization of the masses offered opportunities for the revolutionary forces which must be seized. But the CCEP of IJ4 lost important hours in agonizing over this question. It was not until the 26th that the IJ4 went into action:

"The first steps ... in their conception, if not in their details, were like those taken by the central committee of the PSP a few hours earlier; the same pre-occupation inspired them. The city was divided into several zones, each headed by a CCEP member ('zone chief') supported by a group of cadre. The chief was responsible for 'organizing' the zone. His main job was to 'rouse and direct the masses' in his sector so that, under the prodding of the IJ4 activists, the people would cease to be the blind executants of the PRD's will and would demand the 'democratization' of the revolt." Thus, under the spontaneous pressure of events, the IJR found itself politically tailing the Boschists after all.

The MPD also initially adopted the attitude of "standing aside from events" until the strafing of the presidential palace and the evident onset of civil war. Once the initial paralysis had worn off, all the revolutionary forces threw themselves into the battle with zeal — but the lack of political and organizational preparation for this "sudden and unexpected" crisis took its toll.

The Constitutionalist leaders, in their broadcast instructions to the masses, called on the people to engage in massive, peaceful demonstrations. But there were what are commonly referred to by bourgeois historians as "excesses" on the part of the masses from the start. The offices of right-wing parties were sacked and burned. But all accounts agree that there was remarkably little random vandalism. Indeed, the overwhelming bulk of the masses' activity seemed focused neither on vandalism nor on revenge, but directly on the procurement of arms.

The masses of Santo Domingo — a population of 400,000 — were suddenly hurtling through decades of political evolution in days, even hours. The typical resident of the barrios — a teenager whose family had fled from the countryside within the past ten years, crammed with the rest of the family into a dirt floor hut, kept illiterate by virtue of deliberate government policy, and unemployed, now found himself cradling a sub-machine gun and wrestling with the political crosscurrents of a Constitutionalist revolt that was threatening to blow into a full-fledged revolutionary crisis. Maoists, Fidelistas, banned political groups of all ideologies now plastered their posters on the walls, addressed street-corner rallies, and urged the youth to join hastily formed military commando units, many

of which were organized in furtherance of a specific political program.

The Constitutionalist conspiracy had envisioned "only a secondary role for the civilian sector: the people were to be called on to demonstrate their support, but arms were to remain exclusively in the hands of the military." But mass pressure for arms was intense:

"... Guided by the first glimmers of dawn, long lines of civilians filled the highway leading from Santo Domingo to the rebel camps. They came not only to declare their support but to ask for arms. Most of the time they met with a refusal ... the refusal, however, struck a serious blow to the hopes of those eager to share in their own liberation ... to pacify the masses, the rebel military commander, Hernando Ramirez, issued an order encouraging civilians to make Molotov cocktails."

The Battle of Duarte Bridge

But by the 26th, the situation underwent a profound change. The Loyalist air attacks on the capital intensified. The infantry and tank forces under General Elias Wessin y Wessin were preparing to cross the Duarte Bridge and crush the rebellion. The U.S. embassy had clearly condemned the Boschist coup, contrary to the expectations of many of the conspirators.

This resulted in a drastic wave of desertions "by Constitutionalist officers and politicians, who scampered into asylum or hiding, or openly crossed over to the Loyalists. Radio San Isidro beamed waves of anti-communist propaganda and warned that 'a firing squad awaited those who persisted in linking their fates with the communists!'"

Not all the bourgeois Constitutionalist leaders fainted away, but essentially the PRD and military-conspiratorial leadership of the revolt disintegrated over the next few days. On April 25, Radio Santo Domingo TV was retaken by the people. One account describes the scene there:

"Radio San Isidro functioned under military discipline ... at Radio Santo Domingo TV, however, crowds jammed the hallways, wandered into the studios, grabbed hold of the microphone. No one was at his post — no one had a post — now the vision of a bloodless coup collapsed before the reality of a civil war. Over Radio Santo Domingo TV unfamiliar voices urged the population to fight for its own liberation: 'Do not be afraid. Get out on the streets, Dominican people ... swarm into the streets of the capital ... everybody to the Canuta Bridge. Everybody armed, because the forces loyal to this movement are infiltrating through there ... so everybody with clubs, stones, firearms, even barehanded ...'"

Radio Santo Domingo TV offered "practical instruction in making Molotov cocktails ... by unknown speakers bedecked with cartridges and with machine guns slung over their shoulders." Until the 27th, when it was bombed into rubble by General de los Santos' jets, Radio Santo Domingo TV exemplified what one writer, sympathetic to the respectable Constitutionalist, described as "the worst excesses." On the 26th, the air force carried out massive bombings against the civilian population of Santo Domingo. The crowds were raked by machine gun fire from the air. The people were powerless against the air force, but they were not passive, they directed their energy against the police of Santo Domingo. Police informers were systematically liquidated, with "accounts settled on streetcorners and at homes in the northern suburbs." In many instances, whole police stations were attacked and their entire force liquidated despite police protestations of neutrality. Arms were seized and were handed out to whoever was there to receive them. Hardware stores and hunting shops and pawn shops where weapons were to be found were canvassed and disemboweled: not only guns, knives and machetes but gasoline and anything else that might serve as a weapon was expropriated. The people were urged forward by the revolutionary groups, if they needed any urging, in ad-

dition, certain groups of Constitutionalist officers, moved by the desperation of the situation, had been won to a policy of arming the people.

"Groups attacked patrols in the streets and struck at the first police stations. The strategy called for groups of soldiers, often led by 'radical' non-commissioned officers, to direct the attack. Their training and weapons made them the spearhead of the action. Behind them stood the civilians, some of whom now had firearms but lacked time or the chance to learn how to handle them. Others were armed more simply with Molotov cocktails, iron bars, clubs. One by one the police stations fell ... hundreds of policemen fled the various neighborhood police stations ... many were cut down in the streets, even though some had shed their uniforms, vainly hoping to escape recognition."

On the 27th, the Loyalist forces prepared for the all-out offensive that would crush the revolt. The navy had joined the Loyalist camp after a brief flirtation with Constitutionalistism. At noon, Dominican warships opened artillery fire on the presidential palace. The air force carried out an hour and a half of steady bombing in preparation for General Wessin's tank and infantry advance across the Duarte Bridge. Thousands of bodies were strewn in the area around the bridge.

The copy for the next day's edition of the *New York Times* had already been written: "The military-civilian revolt aimed at restoring former president Juan Bosch to power ... collapsed tonight at the end of a day of savage fighting." The *Washington Post* reported that the Loyalists "swept into the city with tanks and men. ..."

But it never happened. The people routed the tanks and troops at Duarte Bridge. A participant in these events told the *Revolutionary Worker*:

"Everyone remembers well the courageous combativeness of those in the confrontation of Puerto Duarte. In the confrontation, if you were a combatant and you had a rifle and you fell from the enemy's bullet, and I was unarmed, when you fell I picked up the rifle to continue the battle. There were few arms, but many, many people and those who were unarmed waited, not in the rear guard, but waited for a weapon while throwing rocks at the enemy until a comrade fell to immediately pick up the rifle and continue. The rifles never rested because there were too many waiting hands to use them."

The Loyalist force was not merely repulsed; its back was broken and its morale was crushed.

The battle of the Duarte Bridge was fought by the people and by rebel troops in cooperation; but it was clearly first and foremost a victory of the insurgent masses. At this point in the struggle, the question of leadership in the revolt was utterly up for grabs. At the vanguard existed only a vacuum — until this vanguard was filled by a Constitutionalist officer named Col. Caamaño. Caamaño did not even arrive at the Duarte until past 5:00 in the afternoon, when the decisive phase of the battle had already passed; he had until then been at the U.S. embassy seeking a negotiated solution to the crisis. Caamaño was conservative, a former high-ranking officer in the Cascos Blancos. "Three days earlier, an open direct collaboration between the people in the capital and a Caamaño ... would most likely have been unthinkable. It was the PRD that, by its presence and its identification with the revolt, assured the people of the sincerity of those officers who suddenly proclaimed themselves 'Constitutionalists.' Now there was no longer a PRD to speak of, even if PRD masses swarmed in the streets. Bosch was still the leader and symbol of the revolt, but he was in Puerto Rico. ..."

Caamaño's chief assets were his experience and military ability, which won him respect as a competent leader in a movement searching for a leader. Caamaño swiftly organized and capitalized on the success at Duarte Bridge, moving to seize the garrison of the Fortaleza with its 4,000 rifles.

But the Marines had already landed. Within ten days, 23,000 U.S. troops would have arrived to crush the Dominican uprising by force of arms. The Duarte Bridge, which the masses had defended against the Loyalist troops at the cost of thousands of lives, was finally seized on April 30 by troops of the 82nd Airborne Division. They "proceeded to secure an area of several blocks on its western approach, that is, in rebel Santo Domingo. Their superior firepower gave them a decisive edge, but unexpected resistance slowed their advance."

The rebel population of Santo Domingo continued to dig in. While the U.S. made a show of engaging in "reasonable" negotiations with "respectable" Constitutionalist leaders, on the 14th of May the real work of extirpating the revolution in the barrios of Santo Domingo began.

The operation, Operation Limpieza, began in the northern barrios of the city. Two thousand Loyalist troops organized and equipped by the U.S. with tanks, cannon, and walkie-talkies moved through the slum districts block by block, massacring all who resisted — and many did resist. U.S. troops blocked those Constitutionalist who still held downtown Santo Domingo from assisting the barrios with arms or aid of any kind. U.S. Marines were prominent in advising the troops carrying out this carnage. "They never surrendered," admitted one Loyalist officer who participated, "they fought with the courage and determination we lacked. It was only natural: they were fighting for something; we, only for our pay."

A Dominican comrade who was 14 years old at the time of the uprising wrote to the *RW* about what it was like:

"My parents kept me naked for a while because they knew I was dying to join the revolution. I ran away from the house, got some money and ended up going into the heavy shit."

"I was excited and nervous when I saw people putting their lives on the line to kick the Yankees out of the country. I didn't think of anything but to do what we had to do — fight the Yankee aggressor. We had organized ourselves into Commando Revolutionary Squads. On each command, there were 15 people for one rifle; people who wanted to do anything to free themselves."

"There were people from all over the country concentrated in Ciudad Nueva — the main business area of the capital city — and people from all strata: workers, students, intellectuals, military and women. There were people from Haiti who fought the Yankees — and many Haitians even gave their lives for the struggle of the Dominican people. ..."

"We had a clandestine radio which was the main way to keep the masses informed of the situation. There were pro-Mao groups — by the way, that was when I first saw the famous Red Book and heard about Chairman Mao. Finally by September, the Boschist leaders came up with a 'fake' agreement with the OAS which recognized a provisional government, and therefore, we were supposed to give up all our weapons, dismantle our commando squads — just give it all up!"

"In fact, it was *right* after this happened that a lot of brothers and sisters were murdered. The military, aided by the U.S. government through the CIA, started a huge campaign to kill our best revolutionaries. A lot of us left the country — not knowing what to do next I ended up in the U.S. and here I became class-conscious. But like I said in the beginning, it was sixteen years ago that the people of Santo Domingo had begun to drag the bloody imperialists to the garbage can of history."

Correction

In the article "On the Winds of Revolution from Istanbul to Berlin" in last week's *RW*, the following correction should be made on page 19 (in the second full paragraph of the third column): "Overwhelmingly proletarians, they are jammed into ghettos like the one in the Kreuzberg district—the heart of the squatters' warfare of the West German youth."

Red Friday

Continued from page 1

ago, and, worse yet, the vision (or nightmare) of the eruptions brewing for May Day, haunted them as they desperately had tried to put an abrupt end to "Red Friday" in downtown Atlanta. In typical style they had swooped in, in gangs of four, grabbing their targets—revolutionary agitators who had on the spot been galvanizing and giving vivid expression not just to the deep felt hatred for the "way things are," but even more to the burning desire to find a way out. The joy that thousands had felt when two revolutionaries had seized an office at Fort McPherson and put the call out for revolutionary action throughout the city converging at that nerve center of imperialist war preparations on May First was turning into a challenge—a challenge to make an internationalist statement that would be heard and loved by millions worldwide. That challenge had to be snuffed out.

As they grabbed the agitators, repeatedly throwing one on the concrete sidewalk, the circle of people around them grew from 75 into the hundreds, tightening and tensing as jeers and cat-calls filled the air. To get back to their cars the pigs had to literally run, cutting a wedge in the crowd that was furious at their desperate repression. One cop had whirled and drew his billyclub as he was grabbed at from the crowd, only to freeze and remember that his orders are to get the agitators and get them out as quickly as possible. After all, if you just get these guys in jail, everything will calm down and return to order. Behind them were hundreds grabbing up leaflets, RW's and other revolutionary literature, struggling over and planning for May Day. But ahead was something they never expected—their own jail, monument to what "keeping order" under democracy is really all about, would for that night become politically liberated territory—a base in a very real sense—if only for one night—from which emanated a profound and unmistakable call to slaves everywhere to break their shackles on May Day.

As dinner plates, clean of the daily slop disguised as food (yet the only excitement in the daily boredom of jail), get turned in, it starts. "Listen, brothers, there are some things we have to get down on here. They call us criminals—but we are slaves! Part of a class of slaves worldwide." It's one of the arrested revolutionaries. As the guards walk away snickering ("these guys won't go for any of that commie shit"), he continues. "The real criminals are those whose claws are scored into the backs of millions worldwide, and who today are plotting and planning a war for the biggest share of plunder. Slaves have got to be about doing away with that shit! That's what May Day is about, and that's why the pigs are so terrified by it and arrest people for even talking about it. How could a slave even think about going off and fighting other slaves."

People start calling out. "That's right. Rap on!" The guards come back—this time in a different mood. "Why don't you shut up! People here don't want to hear that." "Let him speak!" comes the response from many sides. "Pump it out!" He continues—"What better place than in jail to talk about freeing all of society. How could slaves talk about anything but ending slavery?"

That's the last straw. As two guards drag him out of his cell and into isolation, the uproar gets louder. "Get the fuck out of his cell! Let him speak!"

The floor is starting to come alive. The stench and filth and bars aimed at stifling and smothering any thought of rebellion seem to disintegrate as the lines get drawn. An old man leaning out of his cell is hit by a broomstick the guards are carrying and cries out, protesting that he had been asleep. "Don't apologize! Don't apologize!" comes the cry from a group of youth in another cell. Inspired by their challenge, the older man shoots back at the guards "yeah, I was asleep. But I woke up to hear what that brother was saying and it was everything I've always wanted to hear. It was so beautiful I didn't know if I was awake or dreaming. I've never heard anything like that before. Bring that brother back!" His last call became a chant: "BRING THE BROTHER BACK!" and all hell breaks loose.

Through the chants another revolutionary sharply poses the terms: "We have got to break out of the bounds these bastards chain us in and prepare to rid the world of them once and for all! May Day is a call to do just that!" The chant changes to "May Day! May Day!" and red ribbons start waving through bars and out windows. "This is our flag!" one youth taunts the guards, who are bordering on frenzy. "This is what you're scared of!"

Led by the youth, metal beds start pounding on floors, reverberating throughout the several floors of the jail. Some take off their shoes and beat a heavy rhythm on the metal toilets. "May Day! May Day! Bring the Brother Back!" A roll of toilet paper gets lit. Is this going too far? Hell no! We've gotta blow the lid off this place tonight! Whoosh! The flaming roll goes flying through the air out the window.

The revolutionary deepens the terms of the battle. "From Brixton to El Salvador people have to know that we are rising up with them, taking up our responsibility to bring this monster down and to strengthen our class worldwide. That message must be sent out." The prisoners in one cell set about putting together a statement.

"Read it out loud!" People are anxious to hear what they have come up with. The statement is read. Once, twice, three times. Got to get it right. Is it powerful enough? Does it really tell people about May Day? Put something in there about Reagan, that goddam mummy! When it's right, it passes from cell to cell, from hand to hand. To get from one cell to the next it's crumpled into a ball and thrown across the hall. Five, ten, fifteen sign it. One cell is too far away—can't get it, so they demand it be read again. Approving, they call out their signatures—"prisoner X1, Prisoner X2, etc.," and as the statement moves from cell to cell, the tumult continues.

Time for another desperate move, as the guards who have been trying to stay out of sight return to remove the other revolutionary. "Keep your hands off him! Take me! Take me!" bounces off the walls and they retreat without their prey. They even run whining to the revolutionary in isolation begging him to go back and "Calm those people down." As he readily agrees, they realize what a big mistake they're about to make and disappear.

The political terrain has changed drastically and a symbol of oppression has become the vivid symbol of resistance. It's as if those bars and guards and courts and judges didn't exist and the "dregs of society" have come alive. People search for any and every way to rebel. Even the runarounds (prison trustees who are mostly lackeys for the guards) are jacked up for charging too much for candybars.

Most significantly, an understanding of the worldwide nature of the struggle begins to emerge. As the chants temporarily die down, prisoner after prisoner fills the air with powerful agitation. After telling of his sharecropper parents' land being stolen from them, the older man describes his stint in the army during the "cold war" and when "they just finished up one war in Europe and Japan and were getting ready to start another one in Korea." He described the anger and rebellion of particularly the Black troops at that time. Another follows about El Salvador. He's been watching the struggle there closely, and has concluded that if you're going to fight for liberation, you have to go all the way and not fall into the clutches of yet another overlord like the Soviet Union. Many focus on the Black youth murders and Wayne Williams trial. "After covering up the murders, they had to hang a Black man. They've done it for centuries." The youth makes his stand clear: "I will never fight a war for this country. I would never fight to save a system that would do what they did to those Black youth."

The speeches give way to discussion, as prisoners in each cell get down in debate over the questions they have perhaps been wondering about for years, thinking they were the only ones grappling with how to make a revolution in this imperialist monster. "What's the RCP all about? How are you guys different from Russia? I can't hack nothing like they got over there." "What do you guys think about how they brought all those Cubans over here but jail and deport Haitians

who come? What about those bodies that washed up on the shore in Miami?" Before that could be answered, another youth responds "Yeah, even when they come dead they pack 'em up and ship 'em back." The questions go on to not only how to make revolution, but how to build a new society. While the guards scurry up and down the hall handing out cigarettes to pacify the situation, discussion continues into the night.

One group who is able to get to a phone calls a local reggae DJ who's airing his show to tell him about the events in the jail, to which the DJ dedicates a couple of songs on his show.

As night turns to early morning and many have dozed off, the older man steps up once again and calls for the rebellion to continue. "What the hell are we sleeping for? We sleep and they plot! This battle has to go on all night. Read that statement out loud again!" As two guards come to haul him away, the chants flare up again. "Leave him alone! May Day!" Later that morning, as things quiet down, they're finally able to get the second revolutionary out of his cell and send him to another floor, where, to their surprise, the statement begins circulating and collecting over twenty more signatures.

And it has been reported to the RW that still later that morning the guards, brave souls that they are, took out their vengeance on the night's rebellion by isolating the older man and beating him to the point of sending him to the hospital. But their vain and vicious assault can only be summed up by a youth who also had been hit by one of the guards in the course of the night. "No

matter what they do to me, they will never make me regret what we did here tonight."

To the Slaves of the World

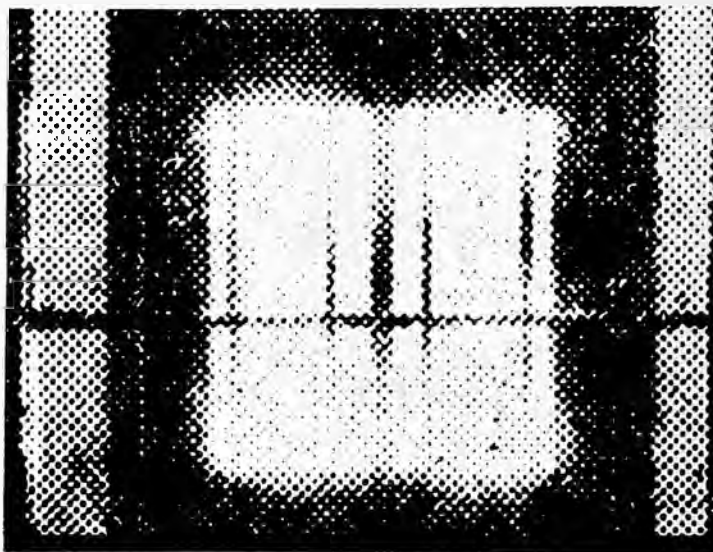
"Tonight from the dungeons of the Atlanta jail, the slaves are straight up raising hell. We are here to say to the slavemasters that on May Day, we are going to be taking to the streets, to stand with millions of our revolutionary brothers and sisters worldwide. . . .

"Tonight even as we write this statement, the gun-toting jailhouse guards are trying to attack us. But all this means nothing. From this jail floor tonight, we challenge every slave who turns with hatred for this whole setup, to march on Fort McPherson on May First, International Workers Day.

"We challenge you to cast your sights to the furthest horizons to a day when we will not only dream . . . but we will strike down every form of oppression and exploitation wherever it exists.

"On May Day we will light a blaze that the whole world will see. And we will do it in Atlanta, which through the twisted hands of the oppressor the murder of 28 youth has come to represent to millions everything that is dead and dying in the world, and must be overthrown. On that day May First we proudly declare that we will take part of that future into our hands."

—Signed by 43 prisoners of the Decatur Street City Jail, Atlanta, Georgia.



Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Dear RCP Prisoners Fund, I subscribe to your wonderful paper, RW. I'm looking forward to joining in solidarity with you for May Day, International Workers Day. I'm in a state prison. I get out this October. Would you please send me two free May Day color posters and a poster of Marx and Lenin (folded in an envelope). I'm currently reading selected works of Marx, Lenin and Engels. I really like reading your literature. If you can, would you also please send me a free copy of Ten Days That Shook the World by John Reed and The Education of John Reed? I would really appreciate your help in this revolutionary literature.

In revolutionary struggle

Dear Comrades,

I am at the XX Reformatory and would like to get a catalog from Liberation Distributors and also could you send an RW for me in Spanish and an English issue for XX. They have stopped free letters for prisoners in Ohio and it is harder to write to the outside because you have to borrow stamps until you can get a money order from home. I am interested in the British Argentine crisis and would like to know what is happening since we only get the news one night a week here where we are, and the new men in the first stage of the orientation don't even see T.V. period. I will close for now.

Unity-Struggle-Unity
U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR!

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 Tse-tung 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

In his summation of the 1905 insurrection in Moscow, "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," Lenin notes a famous incident:

"In the December days, the Moscow proletariat taught us magnificent lessons in ideologically 'winning over' the troops, as, for example, on December 10, in Presnya District, when two working girls, carrying a red flag in a crowd of 10,000 people, rushed out to meet the Cossacks crying: 'Kill us! We will not surrender the flag alive!' And the Cossacks were disconcerted and galloped away, amidst the shouts from the crowd: 'Hurrah for the Cossacks!' These examples of courage and heroism should be impressed forever on the mind of the proletariat."

One of these women, years later, recounted a fuller version of this story:

"A number of us women were entrusted with preparing the red flag and a few banners. So that day we sent our representatives to a factory and demanded some hard cash. On the 9th, the next day, we got the contributions raised and took the money to get the things we needed. That evening was a meeting where the call went out for a demonstration the next day.

"On the 10th we headed out for the demonstration with the flag.... In front of us were some members of the Soviet, Martinov, Ilin, and a few others. A red banner was being carried by Kozireva and Anna, who was from the dye-works. I don't remember her patronymic.... On the banner there was a call to the soldiers: 'Comrade soldiers, don't fire on the people! You are our brothers—take off your greatcoats and look at yourselves, for you are proletarians, just as we are!'

"Just as the demonstration came to Presnya, we were suddenly surrounded by Cossacks from both ends. A chill came over me, people began to scatter in all directions, some fled, others just stood rooted to the spot. One of the women carrying the banner left too, so Kozireva was left in the middle of the street all alone with the red banner. Now the banner was on two poles, so in order to hold it up I had to go help her so that the Cossacks could read it. We walked up to them and Kozireva started shouting some things, then she repeated the words that were written on the banner so the soldiers would understand them. The commander yelled for the men to clear the street, but the soldiers, who had felt our words, left, not obeying their officers' orders....

"After a little bit the demonstration regrouped, and we set off again...." □

The Girls of 1905



1905, women prisoners being sent to Siberia.

Charlottenburg

Continued from page 5

chist host replied, "They both wrote good things, you can't separate them." Whereby one of the visitors suggested he check out Lenin's *State and Revolution*, which he said he would.

This tour through the house was climaxed by taking down the two banners on the outside of the house, including the one they carried in the actions around Poland, to be sent off to the States and carried on May First as an international exchange from the squatters in West Berlin to the people in the U.S. At the same time squatters in the house voiced their desire to receive any messages, banners, posters and signs of solidarity sent to them from the U.S. Already members of the RCYB have sent some of the Brigade's "I was born in the sewer called Capitalism... But now I'm living for Revolution" T-shirts (in both English and Spanish) to these squatters to be worn at their May First actions.

The enthusiastic internationalism and revolutionary spirit of these squatters stands in sharp contrast to the efforts of the West German imperialists and their labor lieutenants and ideological supporters to make May First into a "Tag der Arbeit" (Labor Day)—or in other words a "Defend Imperialist Privileges Day"—through some tightly-controlled parades and beerdrinking um-pah-pah parties. Just 10 years ago thousands marched under red flags in West Berlin to the thunderous tune of the *Internationale*—a time when the Cultural Revolution in China, the war in Vietnam and raging national liberation struggles were still having a profound impact on the movement here. Since then, the union hacks

and social-democratic politicians have largely succeeded in keeping the more revolutionary-minded German youth away from the May Day events. As one of the anarchists in the house said, "They always pull the same old dry shit. Many of the real left don't even bother to go anymore."

Here as well as in other parts of West Germany, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces from other countries, especially those from Turkey, have played a crucial role in making the voice of genuine proletarian internationalism heard on May First. And this year's attempts by ATIF and other revolutionary immigrant groups to link up with the more rebellious sectors of the West German population, especially those among the youth, are presently in full swing. Already a leaflet has been put out in both Turkish and German for May Day, and posters in German and Turkish are about to be printed. In many cities it appears that there will be strong contingents of revolutionary immigrant workers and rebel German youth attending the official demonstrations against the wishes of the union hacks and Social-Democrats. Both the block party in this part of West Berlin on the 30th and the preparations for a revolutionary bloc at the official May First activities are already demonstrating that there are profound revolutionary sentiments which are bound to blossom in new and unexpected ways on the First of May. □

Down With His Flag

Continued from page 14

the docks the forces of the old were definitely on the defensive, the red flag of May Day was not in the hands of the revisionists.

As the action ended most of the revolutionaries disappeared onto the city streets, two were arrested.

Within hours we got a sense of how painfully the enemy had been stung by internationalism in action at the docks. At the station house the cops fumed at the two who had been busted: "Don't you understand this will be an international incident! You won't get away with this...." Every agency imaginable was given a pleading call: the FBI, Coast Guard, State Department, Army and Navy.... But ironically enough, the bourgeoisie was tripping over its own "sacred" national borders, the British ship after all was British property, and the British it seemed did not want to give the action more notoriety than it already had.

But the most revealing bit of idiocy at the station house came when some cop brilliantly decided to try to charge the two with "treason." Now the imperialists do maintain a worldwide system of oppression, and for the purposes of world war the U.S. does need to lead a bloc spilling far over its own national borders, so in this sense, the international proletariat proudly commits "treason" against this international gang; still and all there is as yet no U.S. law that finds someone guilty of treason for desecrating the British flag or invading a British ship.

So—reluctantly, and only after making sure their names and addresses were published in the morning paper—the two

were let go.

The stage-managed response of the bourgeois media also showed the international stakes of this action. Though given extensive coverage from Seattle to L.A., the media without exception reported the action as "supporting Argentinian claims over the Falklands." True, the immediate and main target was British imperialism, but as the above description would make obvious even to a fool, this was not action in support of the pro-imperialist generals of Argentina who are also carrying out their maneuvers on behalf of U.S. imperialist interests. These distortions continued even though the press was given news releases before and after the action: the capper came after a news conference was held later in the morning, attended by some press and even gaining a retraction from one or two radio stations but having zero effect on the major media. The afternoon *Examiner*, for example, ran the Falklands bit in the headline and went on to invent a leaflet given out "in support of Argentina." But other, progressive, media people wanted to get the real story out.

Distortions are expected, from those who will always push the line that the only options that exist are support for one pro-imperialist side or another. But other possibilities were evident in this action. Much of the normal workings and normal "choices" of imperialism were disrupted and exposed on the docks that day and as a result much was unleashed: big questions; an inspired sense of the struggle worldwide; a glimpse of the possibilities and even bigger "disruptions" and bigger choices to come in the near future. □

MAY 1ST

Put the stamp of
the International
Proletariat on

NEW YORK ATLANTA I.A.

**EVERYWHERE
FRIDAY
APRIL 30th**

(and building throughout that week)

**BREAK OUT—
BREAK FREE—
TAKE HISTORY
INTO OUR HANDS**

NEW YORK: SAT. MAY 1st

3 pm: Converge on the south side of Union Square (14th St., between Univ. Pl. & B'way)
Phone: (212) 691-3345

LOS ANGELES: SAT. MAY 1st

2 pm: Converge on the corner of 7th & Broadway in the heart of downtown Los Angeles

May Day Center address: Revolution Books, 2597 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006

Phone: (213) 382-5428

ATLANTA: SAT. MAY 1st

1 pm: Gather at Evans & Lee Streets

2 pm: Converge on Ft. McPherson, Main (Lee St.) Gate

("The Pentagon of the South")

Phone: (404) 659-5929

May Day address: Neighborhood Art Center, Rm. 7, 252 Georgia Ave SW

Mailing address: RW, P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310