



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Party, U.S.A.

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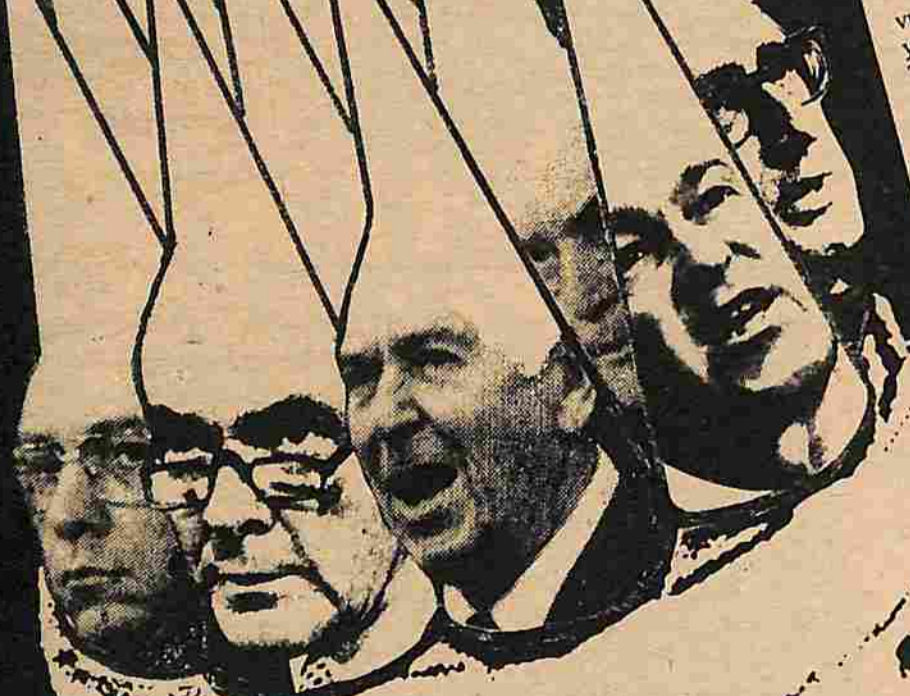
## Multiple Warhead Commission Reveals: The Worst Kept Secret in The Pentagon

In a blaze of front-page headlines, the Special Presidential Commission on Strategic Forces, charged with straightening out the messy MX missile imbroglio, issued its recommendations last week. What it chiefly "straightened out" was any opinion that the U.S. ought to half-step on its all-out drive to prepare for world conflict, the immediate centerpiece of which is the MX. The U.S. imperialists need the MX, the panel decided, they need it now, and they're going to get it. In the course of this "reconciling of differences" within the ruling class on the MX, the Commission all but admitted the worst-kept secret in the Pentagon — that the MX is intended as a first-strike, and not a "retaliatory" weapon — and, also, as part of a "new approach to arms control" suggested the production of a whole new class of missiles, the Armadillo, or "midgetman."

The problem before the commission has been that there is real squabbling over the MX. Not, of course, over the urgent need to outstrip the Soviets militarily, or to be able to "reduce the Soviet Union to a smoking, radiating ruin," (as a defense document once put it) with the minimum retaliatory damage to the U.S. This, of all U.S. weaponry presently on-line, the MX is best able to do. But there is squabbling over the "vulnerability" of this missile, and (in part related to that), its incredible cost, as well as other matters.

Now the commission has solved the vulnerability problem rather decisively — you see it never was really *that important*. True, the oft-stated vulnerability of U.S. land-based missiles was a big part of the justification for the present U.S. arms build-up, but hey, justifications are cheap... "The report..." the *NY Times* tells us, "virtually repeals six years of dogma about the growing vulnerability of fixed, land-based missiles to a Soviet attack and the consequent doubts about American nuclear deterrent power. As with John F. Kennedy's charge of a missile gap... Ronald Reagan's campaign warnings about a window of

Continued on page 18



# An Internationalist Call to May First Action

To the Workers, the Oppressed and All Who Dare Fight for the Future:

World War and Revolution . . . . The clash of these two trends marks the approach of May First, International Workers Day. This sets the stage — and the stakes — for the actions of revolutionary workers in every country.

May 1st is the revolutionary holiday of the international proletariat, a class which truly has nothing to lose but the chains that hold it to a world-wide system of modern day slavery and murder. There is but one authentic meaning to this day: the determination of all who are exploited and enslaved, of all forces embodying the new and rising, to carry out revolution against this twisted order; the determination to leap forward — crossing barriers of language, nation and race — toward the abolition of all classes and class distinctions, the wiping out of the subjugation of one nationality to another and of women to men, toward the extinction of wars and of nation-states themselves, and the shattering of all tradition's chains. And there is but one way to truly celebrate this holiday: in struggle and rebellion, holding the red banner to the skies in every corner of the globe, and fighting as far forward as we can to the revolutionary future.

History moves in restless outbursts that flare up and then subside, only to erupt again, still more intensely. Beneath today's tremors lies a conflict of profound and literally earthshaking dimensions.

On one side the imperialist powers of both the U.S. and the Soviet-led blocs prepare for war, thrashing in quicksand of their own making, trying to hold their empires together while lurching toward nuclear conflict. Impelled on this course by the madman's logic of their system, they are also impelled to further infect "their" masses with that logic and line them up to kill each other off under the banner of "freedom and democracy" (Western imperialist style) or "justice and liberation" (Soviet imperialist style).

And against them? The one thing they never reckon on — the revolutionary spirit and struggle of the masses, spreading like underground fires from Gdansk to El Salvador to the Haitian refugee camps of Florida. You can hear it in the shouts of the youth — the same accents echoing in England's streets and the foothills of Eritrea — defiantly pointing to the emperor's nakedness and challenging his empire. You can see it in the eyes that once again shine with a vision of liberation reflected in the fires of night-time skies. You can feel it in the heartbeats once more pulsing to the rhythm of charging feet and the echoes of shattering icons. Revolution — 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.

The clash now building between the forces of imperialist war and social revolution will be the forge on which the future is cast. On May 1st, the forces of revolution must make a leap in preparation.

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."

To actively and urgently carry out such preparations now, and to find the ways on May 1st especially to push this process forward, demands a rupture with the dead hand of the past. Revolutionary eyes and hearts must be set above the miserable level of tailing after whatever struggle comes to hand, telling the masses what they already know and keeping them spiritually and

politically bound within the confines of their nation. The deceptively simple but thoroughly wrong arithmetic in which the struggles — even revolutionary struggles — of the people of each country "add up" to a world revolution must also be thrown off for the revolutionary calculus of Leninism. Especially in an acute crisis that will be global in its dimensions, the proletariat too must be global in its outlook and approach, coordinating its forces as detachments of a single army. Breakthroughs even in one or several countries lead to a weakening of the whole rotten enemy edifice and open up still wider world revolutionary possibilities. In this spirit and direction class-conscious forces must urgently go forward toward a common program, a common strategy and a common organization on an international scale of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend.

Perhaps all this seems like dreaming . . . even visions. Well and good! Nothing less than visions — visions that pierce the veil of the everyday and seemingly obvious to reveal the real mainsprings lying beneath — are required today. Was not Lenin in 1917 accused of being visionary? Was not Mao in 1966? Yet did not their dreams change the face of the world and humanity, and prove more real than the appeals to choose the "lesser evil" and "be realistic"? This revisionism and reformism is a "realism" whose bounds are determined by the framework of imperialism and the status quo . . . and again today it comes at a time when

world events will set crowns to rolling in the gutters, opening up great opportunities for the revolutionaries. Must not we too aspire to the same lofty heights scaled by Lenin and Mao?

This call then from the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA:

Let May 1st witness, within the U.S. itself, breakouts from factories and schools, and revolutionary political activity of many different kinds in housing projects, prisons, street corners and every sacred sphere and stronghold, signaling to millions not just here but around the world that there is indeed a growing section even now "preparing minds and organizing forces" for revolution in this bastion of imperialism.

But more, let May 1st, 1983 reveal the dream of international proletarian unity coming to life in unified actions stretching from the nations oppressed by imperialism into the very citadels of capital itself; let it politically foreshadow, if only for a day or two, and help prepare the way for, the not-too-distant days when the proletariat will liberate territory and seize power now here, now there, pushed back only to surge further forward, emancipating as much of the world as possible from the twisted chains of imperialism. Let then the May 1st sun shine everywhere on red flags of revolution, blooming like roses pushing up the concrete, unconquerable life amidst the rubble and decay of the dying.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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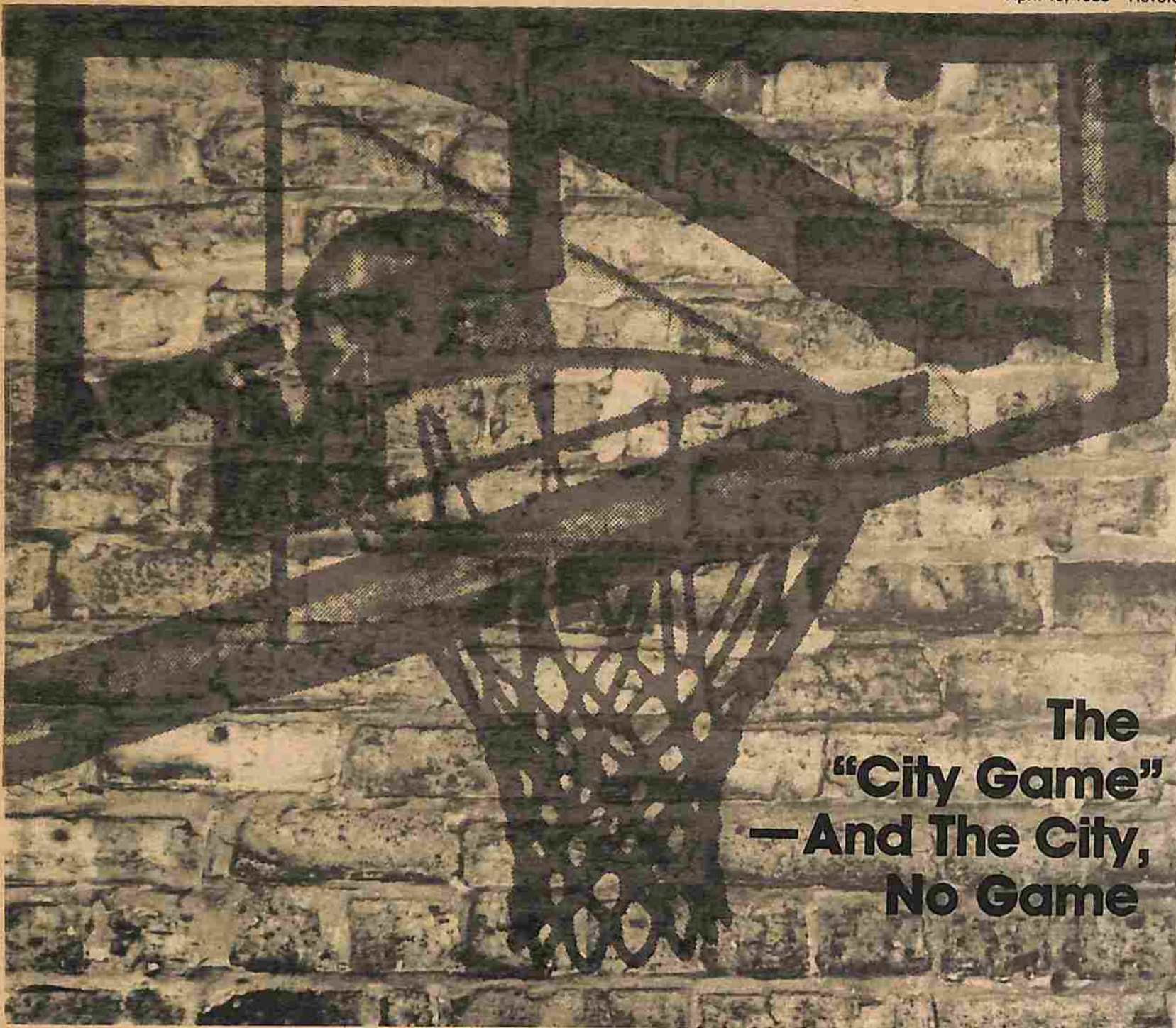
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## The "City Game" —And The City, No Game

More  
Reflections  
And  
Sketches

by  
Bob  
Avakian

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

I have been tempted but it would be a mistake, for any number of reasons, to translate our strategy for revolution — united front under proletarian leadership — into the following terms: rely firmly on basketball, win over (or neutralize) as much as possible of football (and baseball) and firmly oppose and defeat golf (to say nothing of polo).

What I am getting at is that different sports, like everything else in society, have different and particular social meaning — they have their specific social base and social role. Here some introductory remarks by Pete Axthelm in his book *The City Game* are surprisingly insightful:

"Basketball is the city game.

"Its battlegrounds are strips of asphalt between tattered wire fences and crumbling buildings; its rhythms grow from the uneven thumps of a ball against hard surfaces... Basketball is the game for young athletes without cars or allowances — the game whose drama and action are intensified by its confined spaces and chaotic surroundings.

"Every American sport directs itself in a general way toward certain segments of American life. Baseball is basically a leisurely, pastoral experience, offering a tableau of athletes against a lush green background, providing moments of action amid longer periods allowed for contemplation of the spectacle... Born in a rural age, it offers still the appeal of an untroubled island where, for a few hours, a pitcher tugging at his pants leg can seem to be the most important thing in a fan's life.

"Football's attraction is more contemporary. Its violence is in tune with the times, and its well-mapped strategic war games invite fans to become generals, plotting and second-guessing along with the warriors on the field. With its action compressed in a fairly small area and its formations and patterns relatively easy to interpret, football is the ideal television spectacle: it belongs mostly to that loyal Sunday-afternoon viewer... And basketball belongs to the cities.

"Basketball is more than a sport or diversion in the cities. It is a part, often a major part, of the fabric of life. Kids in small towns — particularly in the Midwest — often become superb basketball players. But they do so by developing accurate shots and precise skills; in the cities, kids simply develop 'moves.' Other young athletes may learn basketball, but city kids live it."

(*The City Game*, pages IX, X)

From Axthelm's comments it is possible, by the way, to get a sense of why football, culminating in the Superbowl of the professional National Football League, is of such great importance to the empire, especially now. It is not for nothing that television announcers and commentators frequently use such expressions as "they're getting a lot of productivity out of so-and-so" and "they gained a valuable piece of real estate with that play" or that such terms as "blitz" and "the bomb" are used to describe plays, nor that often an injured player standing on the sidelines not suited up for the game is described as being in "civilian" clothes! (An irony here, however: some among the strategic military planners for the U.S. imperialists, taking note of the fact that it will not be possible to rely on overwhelming power as in the past, are stressing the need for more mobility and flexibility. A *New York Times Magazine* article,

Nov. 28, 1982, notes that "General Morelli likes to show a slide of a soccer match and one of a football game. The Army, he argues, should stop thinking of battle as a football game, in which players assume fixed positions, and start emulating soccer, in which play shifts rapidly from one part of the field to another and players decide independently what to do." What! Is nothing sacred and secure anymore! But at least some traditions are being preserved, such as the President's call to congratulate the winning coach of the Superbowl over national television right after the game.)

It is also possible to see from all this what it was that was most significant about the recent National Football League players' strike — and most upsetting and damnable to those who have so much invested, not just economically but politically and ideologically, in football. It was not the economic demands of the players — those, of course, were troublesome to the owners of the teams and their governing board — it was rather the fact that the players stepped out of their assigned role, and disrupted moreover the social role of football, that agitated the owners of the empire and their government (and it must be admitted, a number of staunch fans who are going along with the program and readily accept, even eat up, on one level or another, the symbolism celebrating the "American way of life" and the battle "in the trenches" and "in the air" to "keep America Number One").

Basketball, however, "belongs to the cities." And, strategically, the cities above all belong to the revolutionary proletariat, particularly in a country like the U.S.

Of course right now the cities and their playgrounds and the game of basketball still belong, in the main and essentially, to the bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie uses the playgrounds and the game of basketball to promote their own ends through a kind of social-Darwinism (the principle of "survival of the fittest" in natural selection applied to social life — with perverse results since in fact it does not actually apply there). Literally millions of ghetto youth, from early on, hit the playgrounds not just for the game and to hang out with their partners but, in many, many cases at least, to strive for that far away goal of the professional leagues (National Basketball Association — NBA) and a million dollar contract. It is true that today the majority of players in the NBA are Black and that there are Black players pulling down six or seven figure salaries a year — but we are talking about a few hundred players and a few score with that kind of earnings (for 10 years or so).

It is here, interestingly, that people like Axthelm run up against the limits of their bourgeois outlook and turn back on their own insights. In *The City Game* Axthelm tries to make a flying leap and somehow combine the world of ghetto playground basketball and that of the NBA. These two are related but they are related as opposites of a contradiction. Axthelm himself not only acknowledges but emphasizes that for every inner city kid who makes it all the way to the professional big time there are hundreds and thousands who are left behind to be swallowed alive by the streets. But in the end he echoes the same old lies, the same old upward mobility mythology — you can make it if you try and if you don't it's because you didn't have what it takes. He admits that "in describing sports, a word like 'determination' is so overused that it becomes a cliché." But then he immediately goes on to conclude that "Determination is an integral part of the game on every level. It decides who makes it out of the ghetto and it often decides which of two almost equally skilled teams wins an important pro game." (page 159, my emphasis — B.A.)

Determination decides who makes it out of the ghetto — now there is a tired old cliché, at its worst, on every level. This is like separating the parts of the whole picture in such a way as to obscure its essence. It is like looking at millions of people being put through a meatgrinder and instead of focusing on

Continued on page 4

# May First Message from Ikwesi

"Revolution is the main trend." "Either the war will bring the revolution or the revolution will stop the war." "Nations Want Liberation, Countries Want Independence, Peoples Want Revolution."

Look at the world situation today and see how these words of the great proletarian leader of our times, Mao Tsetung, reverberate in every country. Organized and unorganized by a revolutionary party the masses of the people throughout the world are struggling against the two imperialist superpowers and their allies the local reactionaries. Mao Tsetung also said at the famous Lushan Conference in 1959 that beginning from now the world will see such upheavals that were never seen, and he called upon China to be prepared for those upheavals. We are in the midst of the gravest crisis of mankind which is in reality the crisis of the imperialist system blocking the social progress of mankind, this stinking, rotten, decadent, bloodthirsty system that is soaked in the blood of millions of peoples, led by warmongers and fascists like Reagan and Thatcher, who only yesterday, cloaked their fascist logic in democratic phrases while murdering the Palestinians in the thousands.

It was in America that the flag of the workers was soaked in blood and it is here in America that we must see the final death throes of the imperialist system so that the peoples of the world can breathe with freedom. We support every struggle against the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie from Darnell Summers to the struggles of the different nationalities, women's struggles, etc. The U.S. working class and peoples have the final responsibility of bringing to an end one of the two leading sewers of the imperialist system.

And while the imperialists prepare for war — even a nuclear war — the proletariat and the peoples of the world must prepare for revolution. Inter-imperialist war in the epoch of imperialism, when capitalism passes over to its monopoly stage, is a fight amongst the imperialist gangsters for a greater share of the spoils. We do not oppose our imperialist bourgeoisie to support another imperialist bourgeoisie. We take advantage of the crisis of their system to overthrow them all and to create and build a new communist world of social and human liberation.

Since the workers' flag was drenched in blood in the streets of Chicago, the world proletariat has fought and won great victories and defeats. The proletariat has been able in several countries to seize state power. But we have seen that tide roll back and the bourgeoisie come back again to reassert its power in new forms. The international communist movement which set out with the task of seizing state power and starting the process of socialist construction succeeded magnificently. But it could not see that a new bourgeoisie would arise. This problem, the problem of modern revisionism, is the leading problem that the international proletariat must deal with in order to reassert the leading role of the communist movement. The communist

movement in every country is still the core and centre of the world revolutionary movement in every country. Without its correct leadership forged in the crucible of the practical struggle itself the working class and the oppressed nations of the world cannot win the struggle against capitalism, imperialism and social imperialism, the latest imperialist monster to join the feast of the imperialist plunderers. Re-building the communist movement in the midst of the mass struggles and upsurges of the peoples is the task that the international proletariat is faced with and one it cannot shirk except at the cost of its own liberation. This is a herculean task but one that can be done and must be done. Let the Red Flag of the international communist movement fly again. The Flag of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, the great proletarian leaders and teachers of the world. The international communist movement has known splits and defeats, only to reassess the situation and harness its forces again. Each correct split against revisionist and opportunist betrayal strengthened it. We must pursue in the international proletarian line of Mao Tsetung which correctly analysed and summed up the world situation and which blazed the path for us in the struggle against the latest opportunistic trend in the international communist movement, modern revisionism. This struggle against modern revisionism culminated in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which showed us how to deal with the problem of preventing the restoration of capitalism after the proletariat has seized power.

In Turkey, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Iran, Azania, Namibia, wherever the working classes and the masses are in revolt against imperialism and its lackeys we must rebuild communist leadership even though we do not have a proletarian state holding state power to back us. The whole world is in upsurge, and neither the imperialists, the social imperialists nor the Deng Hsiao Ping revisionists are stable and safe. On the contrary the defeats that the international proletariat and communist movement has suffered with the rise of modern revisionism have taught us valuable lessons about democratic centralism and Party building.

On this May Day let us give some thought to the Peruvian revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists who hold the banner of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and are engaged in a mass struggle that threatens to topple the neo-colonial state.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

IKWEZI  
A Journal of South African  
and Southern African  
Political Analysis  
Nottingham, England

## Message from the Unión Comunista Revolucionaria, Dominican Republic

Comrades  
Central Committee  
Revolutionary Communist Party

Dear comrades:

On the occasion of celebrating May Day 1983, our organization sends you our firm revolutionary greetings, with the conviction that the commemoration of this heroic and revolutionary day is part of the international proletariat's preparations for the world proletarian-socialist revolution, and is at the same time, through communication between Marxist-Leninist organizations and their efforts to celebrate this day, one way to bring proletarian internationalism to life.

On May Day, the international proletariat must challenge the power of international capitalism, showing, through forceful political actions, the potential and essence of the class struggle of the proletariat in every corner of the world, manifesting clearly the international character of the struggle of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of international capital, replace it with socialism, exercise the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and establish communism everywhere.

Just as the U.S. proletariat demonstrated in 1886 its boldness and rebelliousness against the capitalists, marking May First as a day of international struggle of the working class, we believe that today, when a colossal clash for plunder between Soviet social-imperialism and Yankee imperialism can be seen on the horizon, the working class of the U.S. is awakening from its long sleep induced by the ruling class of the U.S., and is preparing to carry out new tasks which will surely fill with glory the struggle of the international proletariat.

And that awakening of the U.S. proletariat is due to the arduous revolutionary work being carried out by the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, holding very high the red banner and principles of the revolutionary science of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The working class of every country must challenge the reactionary ruling class of its country, struggle until it is overthrown, firmly exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over it, and build a new society which will clean up the rottenness of capitalism, wiping out the muck that this system represents.

Today when the international proletariat has temporarily lost the support and

revolutionary stimulus of China, since as everyone knows, the capitalists have regained power, we revolutionary communists must tirelessly work to bring to bear the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as many have become demoralized with the reversal in China.

The opportunists and revisionists are a majority in the Dominican Republic, but we revolutionary communists never stop struggling against them, because we know the future belongs to us and that in unity with the struggles of the masses of people, we must defeat them, under the leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary communist party we must build.

Through the *Revolutionary Worker*, the Unión Comunista Revolucionaria sends its warm revolutionary greetings to the international proletariat, and to Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, for their firm stand in the face of the revisionist pigs who rule China today and who were not able to execute them, and in the face of this, for defending Mao Tsetung Thought, that is, Marxism-Leninism and the achievements of the Chinese proletariat during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brilliantly led by Mao.

May Day is a good time to repeat Lenin's words on proletarian internationalism: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of 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."

Forward Comrades!!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT!!  
LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY!!  
DEATH TO YANKEE IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM!!

With communist greetings

Wilberto Ventura  
Secretary General  
Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (UCR)  
"A single spark can start a prairie fire"

## "City Game"

Continued from page 2

the fact that the great majority are chewed to pieces, concentrating instead on the few who slip through in one piece and fixing on some individual characteristic of theirs — their "determination" — as the decisive thing... and then on top of it all, using this, straightforwardly or backhandedly, to say that "the meatgrinder works"!

But, while Axthelm ultimately recognizes his territory and his own in the realm of the NBA and the few, or some of the few, who make it there, we recognize ours in the inner cities and the millions who remain there, trapped, with no way out — except revolution. Yes, the cities belong, strategically, to the revolutionary proletariat.

This strategic question and its importance is recognized not only by the revolutionary forces but by the reactionary ones as well. The RCP has pointed to this not only in its overall strategic analysis (for example in the pamphlet *Charting the Uncharted Course*) but more recently in an article in the *RW* (no. 187, Jan. 7, 1983) "Behind the Oroville Incident", where it is pointed out that the "vision of the future" of the head of the local Nazis

"is similar to plans being implemented by other organizations — the KKK and the Christian Patriot Party, for example. These plans for 'race war' and rallying politically backward sections of the people against potentially revolutionary sections — immigrants from oppressed nations, the people in the ghettos and barrios of urban centers — are linked by these groups to a military strategy of building base areas in rural areas and some suburbs, to 'surround the cities' militari-

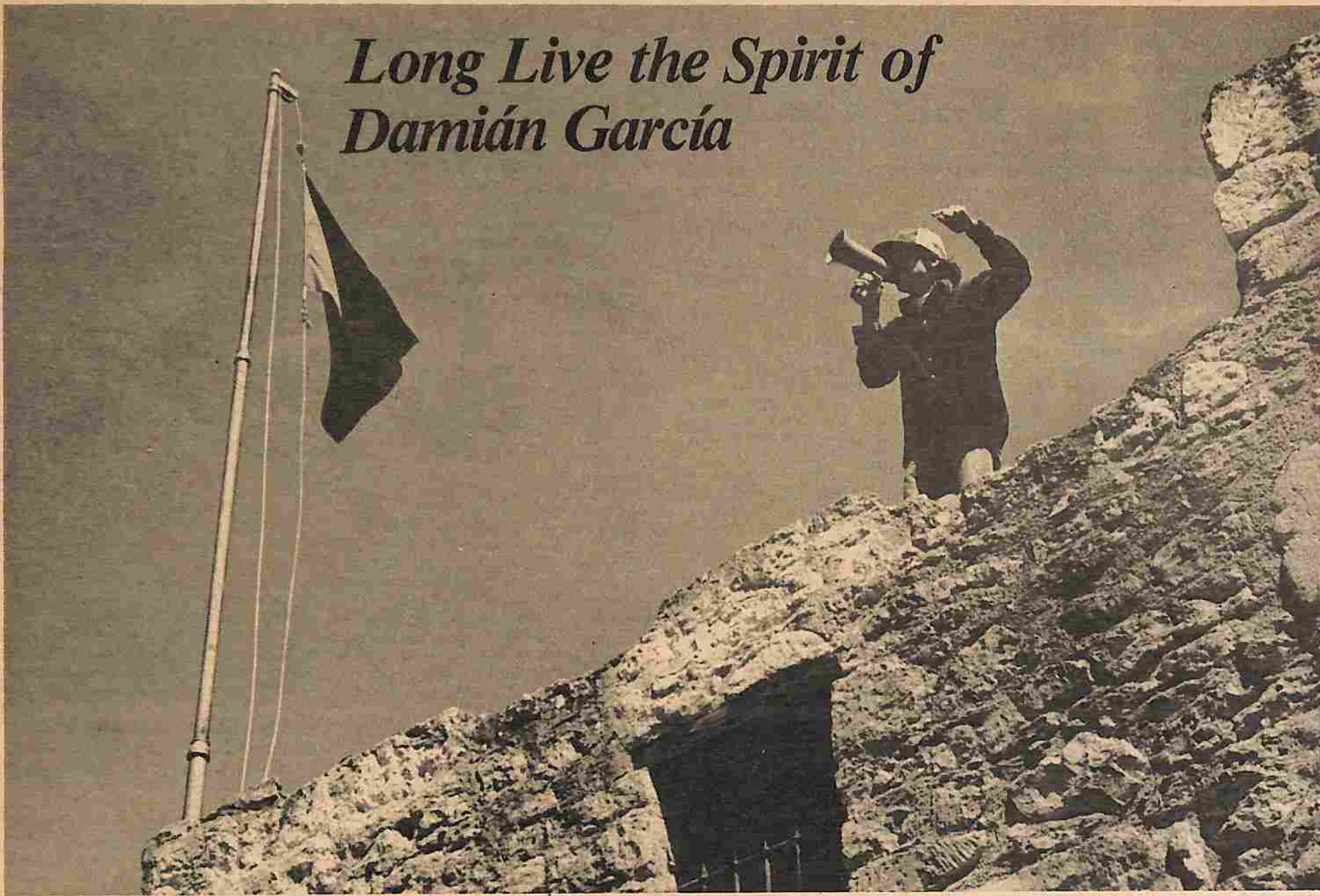
ly at a time of deep social crisis and revolutionary possibilities. These efforts generally bear careful watching — especially to the degree they are more systematically linked to the related activities of the government and other arms of U.S. imperialism."

If we not only carefully watch the plans and actions of the enemy, but reverse them as well, we can get an even clearer sense of the strategic possibilities for proletarian revolution, right in the U.S. itself, and of the strategic alliances and principles that will be all-important when the time comes.

It is a common device to warn "the people in the ghettos and barrios of urban centers" that they are "only a small minority" and that they are bound to be hopelessly overwhelmed if they ever attempt a real revolutionary rising. But, despite the relatively privileged position of many white workers and middle class strata, there is a fundamental class division in the U.S. as a whole between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (including millions of whites as well as oppressed peoples concentrated in the ghettos and barrios) and there is a growing trend toward polarization in U.S. society as a whole. We have already seen how, in the cultural but also the political sphere, those who most have nothing to lose can exert a powerful influence far beyond their own numbers. In the period ahead, with alienation and upheaval increasing in society and among broader numbers of people of different strata, with all this possibly coming to a head, who can say that, when it is for real not a game, the city, especially with the conscious revolutionary proletariat at its head, cannot exert a powerful enough force and sweep enough along with it to win?

NEXT WEEK:  
When the Real Deal Goes Down...  
"I'LL BE THERE" — YOU'LL BE WHERE?!

# Long Live the Spirit of Damián García



Damián García raising the red flag on the Alamo, March 20, 1980

April 22, 1983 marks the third anniversary of the day that Comrade Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was murdered by police agents in Los Angeles, in the midst of preparations for May 1st at the Pico-Aliso housing project. Only one month before, on March 20, 1980, Comrade Damián García and two others had scaled the ramparts of the Alamo, that despised symbol of U.S. conquest and oppression. The sanctity of this chauvinist shrine was pierced as the flags of the USA and the State of Texas were lowered from on high into the Texas dirt. In their place, the red flag of proletarian internationalism was raised, and for one hour the Alamo became politically liberated territory. From atop the crumbling fortress, a call rang out for the masses to take history into their hands on May 1st. This was an event of international significance which aroused great joy in the oppressed around the world and great hatred in imperialists and reactionaries.

The execution of Damián García was the response of this criminal class, which has to this day not stopped trying to undo the damage at the Alamo. On April 14, 1983, only 8 days before the anniversary of Damián's murder, as proletarians and their allies were preparing in Los Angeles

for Damián García Day — an important day each year to continue the struggle to expose his cowardly murder and to step forward in the face of the imperialists' reactionary message and prepare for the First of May — the reactionaries were at it again with a sick announcement of their own regarding this anniversary. This announcement appeared, of all places, in the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* sport section, where an article discussing the previous night's Lakers vs. Spurs basketball game began with the follow-

ing: "San Antonio — if it hadn't been for the Ku Klux Klan's threat of a May Day march on the Alamo to protect it from communists, the unfinished business between the Lakers and the San Antonio Spurs at the Hemis-Fair Arena would have been all anyone in town was talking about Wednesday." However, as the *Times* well knows, its readers are in a different situation this year — much better educated as to the meaning of this reference.

Indeed, the sharp infighting in bour-

geois quarters this past year over the role and activities of the political police in Los Angeles gave rise to a significant exposure of the LAPD's role in the murder of Damián García in the *LA Times* itself. And off of this article, it is widely known that the LAPD was directly involved in Damián García's murder and in particular the role of undercover pig Fabian Lizarraga who was assigned to target Damián and was right at the spot when Damián was cut down. The story has

Continued on page 17

## "How Much Evidence Does One Need"

The following letter which was sent out to numerous contacts by a Los Angeles attorney indicates the broad and deeply felt desire to expose the hand of the political police in the murder of Damián García:

Let me again thank you for meeting with me regarding this matter. I much appreciate your interest and help. At last, it appears that the possible validity of Carole's claims regarding the involvement of law enforcement in the tragic death of her husband Damián García are being recognized.

I am sorry that I did not have copies of the recent articles regarding this matter with me. I have enclosed copies for you. The January, 1982, *News and Review* piece, "Who Killed Damián García," directly addressed the possible involvement of law enforcement in Damián's murder and details a portion of the evidence so far accumulated. The "Daryl Gates Scandal Brews in Los Angeles" article from the January-February *Forum* (a publication of California attorneys for criminal justice) ties the Damián García murder in with other recent revelations regarding the

"zealots" (to use Los Angeles city attorney Ira Reiner's terminology) of LAPD's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID). The December 12, 1982, article by David Johnston in the *Los Angeles Times*, "Revolutionaries Want Probe of LAPD Undercover Operations" was the piece which broke the ice and "legitimized" the discussion of possible law enforcement responsibility for Damián's murder in "polite circles." RCP Publications have, as you know, always claimed that the police were involved in this murder. I enclose the "Pig

Continued on page 17

## "The Proletariat Has Something To Say"!

(This statement is from a Chicano proletarian in Los Angeles.)

A message to the international gravediggers of imperialism as May 1st approaches:

Today, while the imperialists are preparing for world war, they totally forget about the masses — and the proletariat has something to say:

People around the world are demonstrating against the nuclear threat by the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. The people of Germany, which has been destroyed twice through world war, and the people of Japan where the atomic bombs have already devastated, know what this threat means. But people can demonstrate for 200 years and never get rid of imperialism unless we rise up and overthrow imperialism. If we don't overthrow our own bourgeoisies, it will happen again. There are many who talk about defending the nation, but the imperialists recognize no borders and plunder the world, and when it comes to nuclear war, even prepared to reduce the world to ashes. For the proletariat

it's not a question of defending the nation but preserving the world in our interests and liberating it. So if you're demonstrating because the U.S. and Soviets can burn half the world, then why isn't revolution to end world war thinkable?

I would also like to send this message to some proletarians in particular: to the proletarians of Iran, who woke the people of the world to revolution, inspiring the people of the world to revolution like in El Salvador and Nicaragua. At this time you are still in struggle. We stand with you in solidarity, especially the proletarians and oppressed masses in Amol. The eyes of the world are upon you, waiting for the results. If the people of Iran can continue the revolution against the regime there, why can't people in other parts of the world do the same?

We can see the U.S. is getting thrown out of different countries. The time is approaching when the imperialists — the U.S. and Soviets and all of them will be at each other's throats. The time is approaching when we can get this

beast when it's down and at its weakest. Now is the time for the proletarians of the world to start uniting to prepare to bury their ass! It can be done. What we need is unity, more understanding — in whose interests are we going to fight?

To the people of the world who are thinking Russian imperialism is not so bad: how can you say Russia is a friendly force of the oppressed people when it's doing the same thing to Afghanistan and Angola with Cuban troops in other places, just like the U.S. imperialists are doing in El Salvador and many other places?

To the proletariat of Russia: for myself, I am tired of the U.S. bourgeoisie saying you are my enemy. Ever since I was a kid — 10 years old during the Second World War, they've been telling me this and I'm sick of it. And it's time for you to respond — to tell the people of the world you are not the enemy, your interests don't lie with your own bourgeoisie.

We have the same struggle against imperialists of all stripes. It's time for

you to tell the people that you will join the proletariat of the world and overthrow your bourgeoisie and rekindle the Bolshevik revolution! Maybe this message will help to awaken you — you've been dormant too long. I hope this isn't an insult, but truth is truth!

As a former patriot of this goddamn America, I would say I go along with the proletariat of the world in our own interests. In this country, we came through a depression — we had to struggle. We were starving and sometimes got thrown out on the street. Back in 1942, when our brothers were fighting for the great "freedom and democracy," at the same time the U.S. government had the pigs and Navy Shore Patrol beating up and arresting Chicanos for the way we dressed. Black people were informed "freedom and democracy" and at the same time being hung in the South by the KKK. These are the kinds of things that have happened to people in this country when I was a kid. Now we are beginning to see it again in the '80s with soup lines,

Continued on page 9

## S.F. May Day Trials

## High-Level Railroad of Revolutionaries

*Mission Street, May Day, 1981—Some-where between 4:20 and 4:30, 250 to 300 people described in the news as "communists, revolutionaries, and workers" take to the street behind a stake truck with a sound system. It is a sea of tension — of red — the cops are making it clear a confrontation is only minutes away — the marchers aspire to conquer unprecedented heights. The youth, Black, Latin and punks surge to the front of the march and a sturdy group of older Latino workers bring up the rear. The pigs bring in columns of blue-helmeted TAC squad, blocking the forward path of the march; when the group reaches the police barricade, some demonstrators drop back to find that the TAC squad has barricaded the back as well, and the police are moving forward in a pincers movement. The pigs move in to brutally beat anything that moves in the street — including a 13-year-old boy. Blood is running from head wounds. But instead of beating this march into submission, it soon dawns on the pigs that it is they who are completely surrounded. They are in enemy territory in the Mission.*

*Red flags and Revolutionary Workers are everywhere, in hands reaching out of buses, of stores, of cars, on seemingly every stairway counter and shelf, flags waving high from lightposts, stop signs, mail boxes, car antennas, in the gutter and in careful bits and shreds on people's pockets and button holes ... and much of this stayed put. For days afterwards, the pigs mounted surreptitious search-and-destroy missions to bring down a red flag here and there ...*

*Saturday, May 2nd, 1981 — San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein, who had been out of town and not intending to come back for a week, flies hurriedly back to San Francisco and holds a press conference. The first item on the agenda is the May Day demonstration. She opens*

*by thanking the Mission community of which, she says, 200 people had helped police beat off the attacks of the May Day demonstrators; she adds that if they had not, the demonstrators would have murdered the police. The press conference is a signal for a week-long attack by the media.*

High-level governmental maneuvering, revelations and cover-ups of political police surveillance, the pressures for and huge problems in attacking the RCP all mark the background of an outrageous trial now occurring in San Francisco.

In an area where coordinated police attempts to cripple the RCP have resulted in over six hundred arrests of supporters of the party but only two convictions (both in 1979), a decision has been made — and not locally — that nearly anything goes in court effort to frame three revolutionaries for felonious assault on a police officer during the May Day 1981 assault by pigs against marchers.

"Everyone knows they charged the march," the judge casually remarked of the pigs during a private session in chambers.

With this near-confession of a railroad in progress, the judge has moved to tightly restrict evidence for the defense to the "criminal" matter of the supposed assault, while the prosecution has been given sweeping latitude in time and subject matter in order to paint the picture of a "violence-prone" "terrorist" organization. Unspecified police intelligence reports have appeared from nowhere in the cross-examination of the D.A. only to disappear without a trace once again; booking records have been found and lost in a very political attempt to get a precedent-setting criminal conviction in this "purely criminal" case.

Opening day of the trial: The scowling

face of a prospective juror, a corporate lawyer, looking with distaste at the defendants. "These people hate the system I represent," the lawyer snorted. No cause for dismissal, ruled the judge. Of about fifty potential jurors, thirty-nine were white and over forty, including such as the Bank of America manager — also judged impartial by His Honor — who admitted attending a KKK rally in his youth. Immediately after the bank manager, a Chinese anti-communist admitted that his family of landlords had been expropriated and some killed during the Chinese revolution, and that in his eyes the defendants were brainwashed. The judge thought this quite fine and refused to dismiss him from the jury for cause. At this point, the lawyers had two women defendants stand up and display their T-shirts, which read: "It's Right to Rebel, Making Revolution is No Crime." One defense attorney pointed out that this was a statement by Chiang Ching, the wife of Mao Tsetung, and asked the juror if he still thought he could remain impartial. At that point, the judge lashed out, threatening the lawyer, and warning that such politics would not be tolerated. "This is a criminal trial," barked the prosecuting attorney, "not a political trial."

Then again there was Donald Taylor, commander of Mission Police Station, questioned by the D.A. about whether the police had conspired to attack May Day. A perfectly legitimate question, ruled the judge. (The commander answered "no" — presumably the police charge which "everybody knows about" was only a happy coincidence.) But when the defense attorneys tried to probe into what kind of police pre-planning went on before May First, the judge quickly ruled the entire line of questioning irrelevant. Another example: The D.A. used photographs of May Day in his opening statements and asked Taylor to examine them and identify the photos. But when defense lawyers got into the question of photographs, asking why none were taken when the revolutionaries were supposedly attacking the police, the judge had this to say: "We all know what photographers do — they take pictures. Move on."

## A Railroad in the Making

It will not be easy for the authorities to do what they need to do with this trial: to ramrod through a "criminal" conviction in a highly political trial, with a minimum of publicity and political price, and make it all stick. For one thing, the 1981 May Day battle was quite an event for masses of people in this area. For another, there exist mounds of photographs, TV videotape, and eyewitness documented accounts of the police attack and of the murderous "interest" of police in RCP and May Day. One woman who was part of the 1981 march, was charged with assault some time back — for an incident in which half a dozen pigs cornered her and beat her with the clear intent of murder. During her trial, some of the TV videotape showing the police beating her was subpoenaed by the defense, and the charges were quickly dropped.

Then there is the fierce legal battle which has raged for years on an extremely sore subject for the bourgeoisie: police surveillance. There is today growing suspicion and anger in legal circles and among others at the widespread police political spying which everyone knows is going on. Back in 1980, in a trial of RCP supporters which ended in a severe political defeat for the state, the government was forced to reveal the existence of an 8-inch-thick Oakland Police intelligence file on the RCP. While only small portions of the file were made public, they reveal extensive illegal surveillance and harassment of the RCP and RCYB; beyond that, the trial judge made "findings of fact" on, but did not release notes of, closed joint meetings of the major Bay Area police departments. (It was never admitted or denied that higher-level police agencies, like the FBI, were attending these meetings.) The judge "found" that

the RCP was extensively discussed at these meetings. All of this was quite damaging, and a few months later, the file was "mysteriously lost."

Then came the two-year legal battle in this case, in which the defense has filed a series of discovery motions in superior court, aimed at digging out evidence of the calculated police attack on the march, and the larger issue of police spying.

The most important of these motions have been denied, and there has all along been heavy pressure on local judges to push the case to trial. For example, just before May Day 1982, Judge Wollenberg, then hearing the case, commented, "I'm not going to take the heat for letting these trials go on after May First." But throughout the last period, there have also been powerful ruling-class forces very worried about the potential political explosiveness of such a trial in the Bay Area. (All this, moreover, now takes place in the shadow of the police surveillance scandal in L.A. which must certainly weigh heavily in the calculations of the authorities.) Precisely to forestall such political danger, at least until the ruling class decided on a course of action, the State Supreme Court stepped into the case just after May Day 1982, ordering a stay of prosecution, and directed a reconsideration of one of the motions of discovery concerning police spying.

Early in 1983, the government made its move: the State Supreme Court intervened again, ruling that some police statements on the May Day busts be turned over: the ruling served as a green light to go for broke in the prosecution of the May Day 1981 felony cases.

The intervention of the Supreme Court is related to a larger legal attack: last fall, after a year and a half of careful scrutiny and debate, the California legislature passed a new "anti-terrorism" law, championed by then-Attorney General and now Governor George Deukmejian. One of the key elements of the bill involves getting the court to decide that an organization "has a history of violence." This enables the court to outlaw even the discussion of certain topics, including at non-public meetings of two people — and meetings of target groups can be completely banned. This bill was quite controversial when it was proposed, but after careful fine-tuning by constitutional lawyers and discussion in various legislative committees, the bill was quietly passed with virtually no press coverage or controversy.

Thus the purpose and the terms of the trial have been long in the making; the court has its orders. A major concern, for example, was to short-circuit the formidable reservoir of photographic and eyewitness evidence, as well as the politically explosive issue of police spying, and the D.A. saved a surprise for the end of his opening presentation: an "in limine" motion — a motion to restrict all testimony in the defense case to the actions of the three revolutionaries on trial, and the pigs they supposedly assaulted. Apparently the judge felt that to restrict testimony to this extent would be too blatant — he ruled against the "in limine" motion but assured the D.A. that he would "evaluate" each witness for "relevancy." In effect, the judge himself would restrict the defense testimony in the way needed by the government.

So far, the defense has been allowed to enter into evidence two photographs showing pigs wading into the front of the demonstration and beating people. However, the defendants are accused of acts that happened away from the front of the march — the D.A. argued in court (away from the jury) that there may have been some police skull-cracking at the front of the march, but that had nothing to do with the innocent lambs in pig uniforms who just happened to saunter into the rear of the march. A little hard to swallow, even for a handpicked jury, so the judge has had to exert extra effort. One freelance photographer who had many pictures of the pigs beating demonstra-

Continued on page 16

## A Pig Plot Revealed and A Welcome Well Received

The punk rock scene in Los Angeles has been under fierce attack from the state — whether in the form of direct, orchestrated police assaults on shows, city ordinances banning the music, closing clubs for "code violations," and other more underhanded ways, as we shall see. A police assault last February resulted in more than 30 arrests and included some of the most vicious beatings, mactings and other assaults that have been seen in years against punks. Over the last year or so, there has hardly been a single place that's been able to put on more than two or three consecutive shows before being closed down.

But one interesting consequence of this difficulty in getting venues is that punk gigs have been put on in several roller rinks, bars and restaurants in the middle of communities of oppressed nationalities, including some in south central L.A. and just outside Watts. One punk promoter pointed out, "A lot of minority halls are good because they are owned by groups who are more tolerant and don't judge other people. Still, if it's in what some judge a 'bad area,' some punks won't go. I tell punks, 'Look, who are you to be particular!'" For most of the punks (who mainly come from the middle class and are mainly white) venturing into oppressed nationality areas is a new experience — just as it is new for the Black youth to run across all these punks in the neighborhoods. And as with all such new things, the more forward thinking and rebellious of all nationalities really like it, as in breaking down some walls and uniting with like-minded peo-

ple, and there are also contradictions — which are both fierce and ugly. For instance, stories float among the punks about hassles they had with some of the gangs in these areas; some of these stories are true, and some are inflamed or invented by assholes who use any opportunity to spread some racist crap. But the RW has learned of one incident which sheds some light on how the forces of the state work very consciously to create such conflicts.

Some punks involved in putting on a recent show in one of these areas had a conversation with a local gang leader and then relayed the story to the RW: "This guy from the gang told us that just before a show we did recently, the L.A. sheriffs told him and his friend that they should go in and bust the place up. But they didn't do it. A few days later, these same sheriffs caught up with this guy and threw him up against the hood of their squad car and demanded to know why they hadn't done what they were told." It's not often that such behind-the-scenes pig operations come out like this and it's about time. And if failure to follow such orders wasn't bad enough from the pigs' point of view, they (and other assorted reactionaries) may have been given still more to think about at another recent gig. This show in a Black neighborhood featured the bands "Millions of Dead Cops," "Bad Religion" and others. Some neighborhood youth came into the concert and one of them took the stage and said, "The Atlantic Street Home Boys welcome you to our neighborhood!" □



Darnell Summers



May Day 1980, Detroit

## Free Darnell Summers

*In the Detroit area, the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for April 20 to be a day of intense battle there in the campaign to free Darnell Summers — a day to further push out "Free Darnell!" as a battlecry of the proletariat. Since this attack is aimed at setting back the revolutionary forces as the clash between the trends of war and revolution is sharpening, it is necessary for those revolutionary forces to heighten their overall activity; and this means especially stepping up and stepping out in relation to the activities on and around May First — a concentration point in the overall worldwide confrontation between the new and the old. The following is a letter from Detroit which speaks to the significance of this battle.*

Greetings brothers and sisters of revolution,

I send out revolutionary vibrations and inspiration to all oppressed people and proletarians the world over to rise up and overthrow the two imperialist systems (the USA bloc of "NATO" and the Soviet Union bloc of "Warsaw Pact") that cause our daily degradation and humiliation. I'm sending this message from Pontiac plantation town, Michigan concerning the plight of a revolutionary internationalist named Darnell Summers who is being railroaded by the Just-US system of vampire democracy better known as America for the murder of a Michigan State "pig." The rulers of this country have reached across two continents and back 14 years in time to snatch into their tentacles a revolutionary Black Vietnam veteran, jazz musician and activist among GIs stationed in West Germany: Darnell Summers. They have dredged up a 14-year-old murder frameup which had already been dismissed in 1969 for lack of evidence. The rulers of this country would like you to believe that they are finally resolving the murder of an undercover Michigan State trooper. In reality this is a case of political persecution even though the judge says it is a criminal case, and I say it is nothing but blaming the victim. Why is he so dangerous? Because Darnell was part of the Black liberation struggle that rocked the foundations of Babylon, USA and he spoke out against the Vietnam War even while in the military. But in the '70 when a lot of revolutionaries turned Democrat, Republican and plain reactionary Darnell stood tall and remained a revolutionary. Now in the '80s, in the midst of increased war preparations Darnell has been living in West Germany, being active

among the U.S. troops on the front lines of the future battle grounds for World War 3 and exposing the nature of U.S. imperialism, their plan for redivision of the world. It is all this that makes them reach back and go after a revolutionary internationalist like Darnell Summers who is a link between the '60s and the '80s. The experience and knowledge this brother has is a revolutionary light in the darkness of imperialist obscurantism. As this vampire system is facing an uncertain future they are willing to take quite a risk to wield his political punishment as a threat to all those who would think of shining the revolutionary light and stepping out to oppose them. Having met Darnell Summers and having worked with the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, he has been an inspiration to me. Seeking refuge in history, out of the fear of loneliness, I sought my brothers Malcolm X and George Jackson who were murdered for the crime of awareness and sensitivity, for the boldness of their thought. For an age of ignorance, awareness is itself a crime. Loftiness of spirit, fortitude of heart in the society of the oppressed and the humiliated, and as the Buddha said, "Being an island in a land of lakes" are unforgivable sins. But since meeting Darnell Summers with his courage and strength I have gone from being an island in a land of lakes into an ocean of revolutionary struggle. We have to stop revolutionaries being sacrificial lambs; revolutionary proletarians and our allies must pick up the gauntlet to stop the railroad of Darnell Summers and deliver our own verdict of not guilty. (Because quiet as it is kept the state should be on trial for their historical crimes domestically and internationally.) Darnell stands as a challenge not only to the powers that be but to the masses of people. Can we let them silence this revolutionary? No, that is why there is going to be a Darnell Summers Day April 20 and we are calling on all those in the Detroit area who are outraged by this case to show support by wearing red armbands on this day. Let these armbands and Darnell Summers Day be a sign and a message from masses of proletarians to the ruling class that we are now going on a political offensive. The Darnell Summers case has exposed the true nature of this vampire system and now it is up to the masses to drive a political stake through the vampire's heart. "Darnell Summers Day" is our day — free Darnell Summers now!

I and I

## Seattle Inquest Demands Murder by the Book

Seattle. On January 19, 1983, Riley Frost, an inmate at the King County Jail, refused to be fingerprinted by police personnel. That afternoon his fingerprints were taken — and so was his life. On March 26, five jurors determined that Riley Frost had in fact been choked to death by police and there was even "criminal negligence" involved. And who was guilty of this "criminal negligence"? No, it was not the guard who put the "carotid sleeper hold" on Frost and strangled him to death. Nor was it any of the other three to five guards who jumped the prisoner. Perhaps the sergeants in charge should have issued different orders, or so four of the five jurors thought. But all five were finally able to agree that it was the *unknown* policymaker for the police department who was to blame — i.e., John Doe. It is perfectly acceptable to choke an inmate to death, especially when he is Black, in order to obtain a clear set of fingerprints. You just have to have the procedures for doing this explicitly spelled out — policy-wise!

In the midst of frequently contradictory testimony by nearly 20 witnesses, including a dozen guards, a bit of the truth did manage to slip out. The one prisoner

to testify in the 4-day hearing said that Frost had told him that he might not come back from this attempt to take his fingerprints because "the police had told him that they were gonna get his fingerprints one way or another, even if they had to kill him." However, according to Officer Lau (the guard who choked Frost until he died) the purpose of the chokehold technique is merely "to render a person cooperative" — in this case to force Frost to cooperate with a court order to "compel the defendant to submit to fingerprinting." And there is no question that Lau is well-versed in the proper procedures here since he is the staff expert on application of the "carotid sleeper," which renders a person unconscious by compression of the carotid artery and jugular vein, cutting off oxygen to the brain. As this well-trained official strangler exclaimed: "Everything I did to Mr. Frost, I would do it exactly the same way tomorrow."

Yes, everything *seemed* to be quite in order as the cop in charge, one Sergeant Proctor, also testified. When Frost refused to be fingerprinted, Proctor commanded the guards to "take him." Frost was choked, his arms restrained, and when he "came back to life," in the

words of Sergeant Proctor, Frost was once again choked, his legs were shackled, he was forced to the floor and his wrists were cuffed behind his back while several officers pinned him down. The lieutenant in charge came in, suggested to the now-unconscious Frost that he "cooperate," and then walked out, with no reason to doubt that his staff were observing to the letter the essence of correct police methods. At this point, Frost's fingerprints were taken, and then after the 20 minute fingerprinting process a nurse was permitted to check the inmate. About an hour later Riley Frost was officially pronounced dead at a local hospital. No apparent procedural policy problems here.

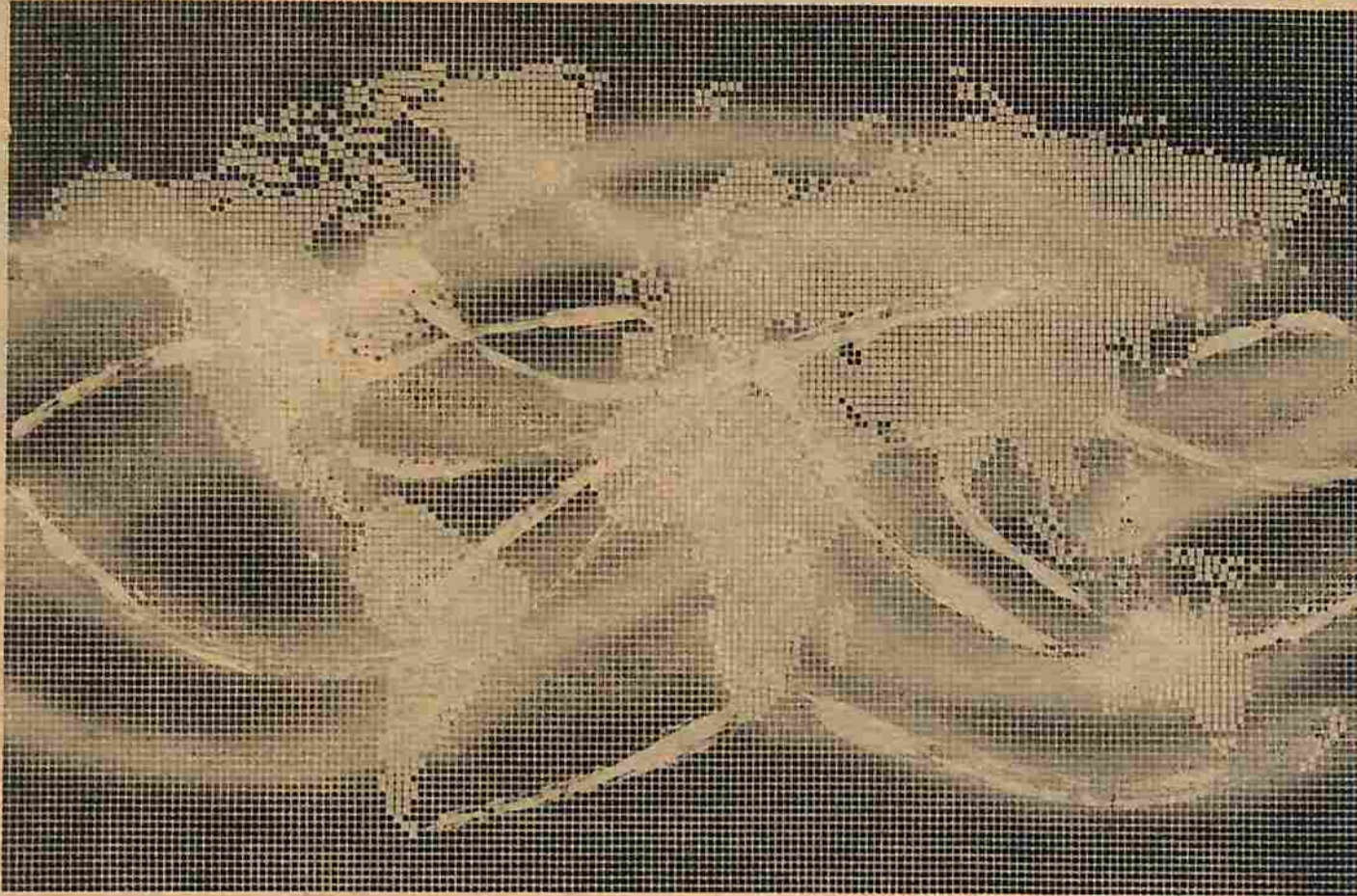
But of course correct "execution" — of policy, that is — is one thing, and the *setting* of policy quite another. Criminal negligence enters in, the jury found, because there was no clear policy set on when to use the chokehold and, in addition, because the jail personnel were not adequately trained! Truly an interesting, if none-too-original, way of conferring the judicial stamp of approval on yet another pig murder.

Some, however, found the jury's verdict quite reassuring. The local media

featured the comments of one Black "community leader," who said that the verdict "re-established the faith in the hearts of many of our people. The verdict purely indicates there can be justice." Why, the County Prosecutor might even file charges against a guard or two. That was done in the death of another inmate, Shelley Johnson, two years ago. The guard, charged with first-degree manslaughter, was acquitted.

But perhaps there will now be a change in *policy* on how and when chokeholds are to be used. A task force has even been set up to make recommendations to the King County Council which is responsible for such matters, and it is going all out to carefully study the policy applications in other areas with far more chokehold experience. Several task force members have already traveled to Los Angeles to consult with the trendsetters in the police department there who pioneered the chokehold to begin with and who, in the last 200 investigations of LAPD police murders, have had their right to kill endorsed every single time. You see, the next time the King County cops choke a Black man to death, they are absolutely determined to do it by the book. □

# May 1st Internationalist Exchanges



## Women of Puget Sound to Women of India

We, the women in opposition to war preparations and active in a peace camp to protest the building of the cruise missile in Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., send our solidarity to the women of India in celebration of May 1st. The monstrous world war on the horizon between the U.S. and Soviet blocs is an extension of their "right" in peaceful times to rape and plunder the peoples of the world.

We see in India, for instance, the sharpening rivalry between the two blocs for control of this neo-colony. From 1975 to 1979 India paid the Soviet-bloc countries \$3.3 million more than it received in the form of aid, and in 1981, the Gandhi government accepted a \$5.6 billion quick fix loan from the U.S.-run IMF. India is but one example of the scope of imperialism's worldwide system of exploitation and oppression.

Women's oppression is also international in scope. In particular, the brutal exploitation of women in India finds many forced into slave labor in factories where women are paid \$30/month and live in constant terror of rape and beatings by the owners who themselves are owned by the lords of capital, both east and west. When these women have outlived their usefulness, fresh young ones are brought in, the old ones cast out into society as "tainted women," worthless pieces of meat with no marital value and branded as "morally and sexually loose." We too, in the U.S., are outcasts, living in this so-called civilized society where one woman in New Bedford, Massachusetts was brutally raped for hours by a group of men in a bar. This is a common occurrence in a country whose foundation is rotten to the core.

On the first of May, we declare our unity in abolishing this system through revolutionary struggle and action in a time when "our" rulers are calling on us to sacrifice in a bloody conflict to maintain the world in this upsidedown state. But we choose another path. Our vision of humanity is not bound by the "sacred soil of America" but tied by a thousand threads to those struggling against the old order in every corner of the globe: We,

the rude and unrepentant women of the 1980s have no country and can be found in every corner of this earth. We will not let one chain of oppression go unchallenged. On to a bold and daring May 1st!

Signed by  
10 women attending a general meeting  
of the Puget Sound Women's Peace  
Encampment

## From Native Americans to the People of the Marshall Islands, Palestine

At a recent Native American Pow Wow in L.A. (in part in connection with the current Indian fishing rights trial in L.A.) a number of Native American activists put together and signed an internationalist banner in preparation for May Day. It reads:

"From the trail of broken treaties

And the path of resistance of native fighters in the U.S.A.  
To the people of the Marshall Islands and Palestine  
The land question is a global question  
We only want the earth  
Long live May First."

*Readers of the RW everywhere send reports now on Internationalist Exchanges (letters, telegrams, banners, photos, etc.) for May 1st, 1983.*

## Three Miracle Valley Youth Convicted

On March 30 three Black youth of the Christ Miracle Church in Miracle Valley, Arizona — Ricky Lamar, 18, Richard Brown, 21, and Lonnie Hayes, 18 — were convicted by an all-white jury of eight charges including armed robbery and assault on police officers. Two other youth were acquitted.

This particular trial stems from a police attack on Black students at Buena Vista High School in April, 1982. This was part of a series of escalating attacks on the 300-member all-Black religious community which climaxed six months later in a deadly police assault with M-16 automatic rifles that left two church members dead and one permanently paralyzed. The result was the total uprooting of these people who were driven out of Arizona and back to Chicago where they have lived for the past six months.

The trial of the three youth was the opening shot in a series of scheduled railroads. Twenty-one members of the Black church face over 60 felony counts from the October police assault and their trials are due to start in June. There are also

other charges still pending. In this context, the trial of the three youth was intended to offer "evidence" of why the church should have been driven out of Miracle Valley and why the Green Beret-type assault in October was "justified."

In April, 1982, the police came to Buena Vista High School when Lonnie Hayes was seen on the school grounds after having been expelled. Hayes, who was 17 at the time, had been expelled from the school for over four months because, according to school authorities, he had tried to board a bus the previous December even though his bus "privilege" had been suspended for "misbehavior."

As lunch recessed the police began arresting a group of Black youth for "loitering." As Ricky Lamar testified, Captain Plum of the Cochise County Sheriff's Department ordered that he be arrested on this charge and spun him around, pushing him. Lamar says he fended the officer's arms away. Plum said Lamar was going to be arrested for "assaulting an officer" and radioed for reinforcements.

The police began wildly attacking any Black student they could get their hands on. In the course of this, one pig was knocked unconscious. The police pulled their guns and some began chasing Richard Brown down Fry Boulevard shouting "shoot the nigger." Brown testified that he was simply trying to save his own life when he stopped a passing car and forced the driver out (the police allege that he had one of their nightsticks, hence the armed robbery charge). Together with two other Black youth, Brown drove back to Miracle Valley with police in hot pursuit at speeds of up to 100 miles per hour. Once in Miracle Valley they ran into their homes. Their parents and other church members gathered around and confronted the cops who again pulled their guns when they arrived. Clearly "shoot the niggers" was on their minds. But on this particular day they were frustrated — they would have to wait another six months.

After a tense standoff of several hours an agreement was worked out by a church lawyer for eight of the youth to turn themselves in at Juvenile Court. In all, 15

people were arrested. But while the adults were released right away the youth were held in lockup for 20 days. They are "dangerous" was the way the judge put it at the time in refusing to release them into their parents' custody.

Sentencing has been set for April 29 and a maximum sentence of 14 years is possible. The defense has announced that it will appeal. Charges from this particular incident are still pending against five additional youth and two of those convicted face additional felony charges from the October police assault.

Summing it all up the prosecutor had this to say: "What is *not* on trial here is the law enforcement system, the school officials, Cochise County or Miracle Valley." Such honesty is admirable! Not only was the Black religious community attacked by reactionaries in the area, assaulted by police in incidents like the one at Buena Vista High School, shot down with M-16 rifles, and totally uprooted from Arizona, but all this is OK'd by the courts, whose role here is admitted to be that of just another weapon in the arsenal of national oppression. □



# New Caledonia: Island "Department" in a "Socialist" Empire

Before François Mitterand assumed his present post, he met with a delegation of Kanaks (Melanesians) from New Caledonia, a South Pacific nation ruled by France since 1853. He impressed them as the only sympathetic politician in Paris, and signed a statement in support of Kanak socialist independence.

In 1981, two years later, Mitterand became the first Socialist president of France. The Union Caledonienne, the largest Kanak party, declared a "truce" and dropped plans to unilaterally declare independence by Sept. 24, 1982 (the anniversary of France's takeover) in order to give Mitterand a chance to make good on his promises.

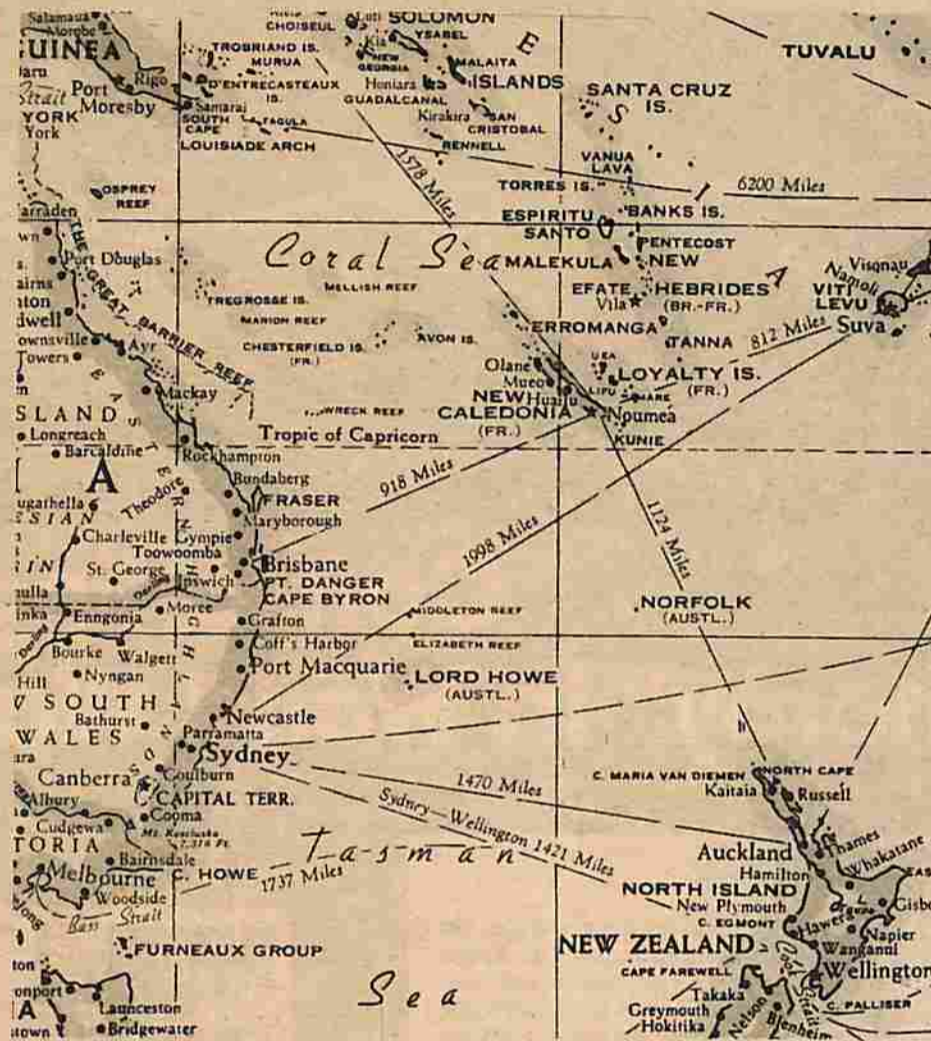
The new Socialist policy on the colonies was, of course, one of the first issues addressed by Mitterand's new foreign minister Henri Emmanuelli. And this is what he said: "The French government would not permit any change in the existing links between France and the overseas territories." The Socialist Party justifies this outright colonial policy with a little myth borrowed from deGaulle — namely, that France has no colonies. No, those islands halfway around the world are just "Departments," "an integral part of France." Of course, New Caledonia just happens to be the part of France where the natives are segregated onto reservations. In school, "We all learn by heart, 'I must speak French in the classroom and the schoolyard, just like my Gallic ancestors,'" wrote a Melanesian student abroad. And another overseas "Department," French Polynesia (Tahiti), just happens to be the site of France's nuclear testing program.

New Caledonia and French Polynesia are not even mentioned on the UN Decolonization Committee's list of colonies, although independence leaders have been demanding this listing for years. (The U.S. unabashedly heads the list in the Pacific with Guam, American Samoa and the Trust Territory.) This gives a hint of how much is at stake — not only for France but the whole U.S. bloc — in the Pacific colonies.

The nuclear Pacific Experimentation Center in Tahiti is the major reason for French stubbornness over its Pacific colonies. Independence in New Caledonia would greatly strengthen the still relatively weak Tahitian independence movement. And only direct control from Paris guarantees France the continued use of Tahiti to test and develop France's nuclear weapons, which are very important in the war preparations of the Western imperialists. New Caledonia is also a base for 25,000 French troops.

Furthermore, New Caledonia — an island larger than the Hawaiian chain with only 138,000 people — has vast resources. Forty percent of the Western world's nickel, and virtually all of France's, is found in New Caledonia. Nickel, incidentally, was described by a U.S. Defense Department report as "the closest thing to being a true 'war metal'" because of its strength and resistance to corrosion and high temperatures. In addition, New Caledonia is rich in cobalt and copper. Chromite, iron, manganese, gold, coal, zinc and lead are also mined. For 100 years Société Le Nickel (SLN), a Rothschild monopoly, reaped great profits and dominated economic and political life. Today, it still does — but it is 70% owned by the French government. Ah, socialism in action!

But the Kanak people have been excluded from the dominant economy. Only 7,000 out of 60,000 Kanaks hold jobs. The rest eke out a living on barren reservations and hire out to white settler farmers. Not only do Kanaks own less than 10% of the land, but, by law, only the top 50 centimeters of it — in case



more metals are discovered underneath! Kanaks — who twice rose in mass insurrection against the French, in 1878 and 1917 — were forcibly segregated by apartheid law onto the worst lands, and have only been allowed to vote since the 1950s, and to attend high school since the '60s.

The main bulwark of colonial rule is the large white population. *Colons* (several-generation settlers) who call themselves Caldoches there, and Frenchmen make up 36% of the population. (There are 2500 *colons* who fled Algeria during its revolution.) The Kanaks make up 44% of the population, and the remainder are immigrant Polynesian and Asian workers.

While there is a section of whites which supports Kanak demands, the whites, including the workers, are largely privileged. New Caledonia is the most highly industrialized of the Pacific nations and its per capita income is higher than New Zealand and Australia — even with half the people living in very poor and primitive conditions. The reactionary white groups perform an invaluable service to French imperialism by viciously suppressing the mass struggle (mainly of Kanaks but also white and immigrant workers) while allowing the French

government to appear a "moderating force." to claim to be the only thing preventing a bloodbath between white reaction and black "vengeance."

The modern Kanak movement was sparked by the '60s worldwide upsurge and, interestingly, especially the Days of May, 1968, in France. Melanesian students in France in the early '70s occupied the foreign student quarters for 23 months until brutally suppressed. In New Caledonia, mass occupations of settler land began in the late '70s. Large demonstrations against police killings and political repression of activists were often attacked by French police. The last two years have seen a new upsurge in land seizures. The present independence movement encompasses a number of disparate tendencies which span the political spectrum. (This includes an active and militant left.)

In an attempt to divert this movement and prevent it from getting out of hand, the French Socialist government has made much fanfare about land reform. A Land Commission is being set up which is empowered to buy land from settlers to return to tribal custom owners. This is to channel Kanaks into making legal claims, "proving" their right, and competing

with other tribes — all for what will certainly be a few token pieces of land, since the Commission will include settlers, Kanaks, and the French government. The reforms do serve a further purpose, however: to stir up the Caldoches against the Kanaks.

And indeed, a rightist wave of violence has had free reign in New Caledonia over the past two years. In July, 1981, Pierre deClerq, secretary of the Kanak party, Union Caledonienne, was assassinated. A member of the reactionary Movement for Order and Peace was arrested and later released on bail. Meanwhile the rumor was "leaked" that there was no case against him; this, again, was guaranteed to embolden the right. While no one has gone to trial for deClerq's murder, the police have not been idle. Several Kanaks were sent to prison for 6-8 months for acts of defiance after deClerq's killing, including armed roadblocks, taking hostages and destroying *colon* property. When a Kanak was murdered during an unarmed land occupation in '81, French riot police invaded the area and, one year later, were still there. "Unsolved" assassinations of leaders and "justified" killings are a constant occurrence; in one recent example, a Caldoche fired into a crowded jeep full of his own Kanak workers, killing one, because they acted "hostile."

To protest land reform, the rightist umbrella organization Committee for the Defense of Institutions launched a general strike/lockout on July 22 of last year. Sixty thugs invaded the Territorial Assembly with crash helmets and clubs and attacked pro-independence politicians, injuring three, and smashed windows and chairs. Agitation for violence on July 22 had been whipped up for months, but the French police were so "surprised" they somehow got locked out of the building. Later in the day, 10,000 rightists rioted in the streets, attacking Melanesian youth — who replied in kind.

In the face of this, a couple of recent incidents indicate that the struggle is heating up. On January 10, Kanak villagers seized a sawmill, saying it polluted their drinking water, killed crawfish, their source of livelihood, and stole timber from custom land. Police, arriving at the blockade, were greeted with rocks and Molotov cocktails, and when police fired teargas and a stun grenade into the crowd, six pigs were shot and two killed.

And last October 19, several hundred nickel miners took the SLN general manager and three other officials hostage for 12 hours in response to SLN's planned austerity measures which would lay off 800 out of 3,000 employees. In a solidarity action, Australian seamen at Newcastle held up SLN's ship the Nickel 1 for three weeks, costing \$10,000 a day, to prevent SLN's planned layoff of three-fourths of its New Caledonian seamen.

Against the upsurge of Kanaks and other workers, the *colons* and the Socialist Party can certainly find a lot in common. Foreign Minister Emmanuelli just about said as much in a speech to New Caledonian French socialists, some of whom have broken away from the SP to support independence. No doubt Emmanuelli was embarrassed to find his speech quoted approvingly in the right-wing *Corail* newspaper, in which he claimed that, with independence, Kanaks would "regress to feudalism." His final argument stands as an ugly self-exposure of social-chauvinism: "I don't understand why you, New Caledonian socialists, support Kanak independence. I can understand that Kanaks support it, but white men?" □

## Something To Say!!

Continued from page 5  
unemployment lines, and like what is going on in Atlanta — Black children, Black people being murdered; Native Americans fighting their oppression. People live in fear in this country. At the same time, they're willing to go to war when the bourgeoisie calls upon them to kill others. But I for one am going to do all that is possible to tell them that if we're forced to do that, to kill, let's do it in our own interests and join the pro-

letariat around the world and get rid of this goddamn oppression and exploitation.

I was forced into their army coming out of their jail in the 1950s and I hated the Army, yet still believed their bullshit that the people of the world were my enemies and I had a stake in this society. I always thought Mao Tsetung was the enemy. But as I began to understand, I learned Mao wasn't the enemy, but instead imperialism is the enemy. And when Mao died, because my understanding had changed, I felt a great loss. I learned this through working with the RCP. This is one example why it's very important to have true revolutionary communist parties around the

world. If we don't, we can fight oppression for many years and never get rid of it. If you want to move forward to a true socialist society you have to have a party that represents the interests of the proletariat. For that reason, I would like to send this message to the proletarians in Turkey and India, where they have revolutionary vanguard parties, because this is a very precious thing to the proletariat.

In order to make revolution around the world, the proletarians need to step forward and join their party and this is something I myself am grappling with right now, and I think other proletarians around the world need to grapple with as well. . .

DAMIAN GARCIA AND ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS OF THE WORLDWIDE PROLETARIAT HAVE NOT DIED IN VAIN; THEY HAVE LEFT THE REVOLUTION IN OUR HANDS! I think we should make up a banner that says this and carry it on April 22 and also one for May First to say: "If nuclear war is thinkable, why not revolution? Revolution in the '80s, go for it" — and then plan to send it to other parts of the world.

With this message we enforce our solidarity with the rest of the proletariat around the world being out on the street on revolutionary May Day, 1983!

A Chicano proletarian

# Consorting With "The Enemy" In World War One

1917: the slaughter of the first imperialist world war continued unabated into its third year. The new Provisional Government in Russia, now that the Tsar was deposed, soon made it clear it would carry on with determination to achieve the predatory aims of the Russian bourgeoisie, only now under the banner of "revolutionary democracy."

In much of the rest of Europe, leaders of the socialist Second International increasingly took high positions in the warring governments. At the outbreak of the war, they had argued that it was the masses themselves who had dissolved the international unity of the proletariat and that as socialist leaders they had no choice but to work with their own bourgeoisies till the war was over, at which time they would resume the normal peaceful programme of socialist evolution. And so the banner of "defense of the fatherland," already fluttering from every other bastion of bourgeois authority, now also flew from right in the heart of the proletariat's own erstwhile parties.

But beneath all this muck, something else stirred in the minds of the warring peoples, including on the front lines. Desertion, mutiny, and worse — fraternization, the heartfelt attempts of the soldiers to stretch a hand and conclude their own "peace" over the heads of the governments across the no-man's land of barbed wire and bones — began to stalk the imperialist armies. Amidst this outpouring of rebellion, the red flags of May First, of internationalism, often became a rallying point. What follows are some excerpts from letters from Russian and Tartar soldiers on the eastern front, a few of the thousands collected by the government censors in a period of a few months:

To E. Kh. Kotranova,

You probably have read in the magazines about the joint holidays between us and the Germans (he probably means from the revolutionary press since the bourgeoisie generally suppressed such news — RW). I, for my part, never used to believe this, but now even I would love to go celebrate with them... God Almighty, it's interesting! They come over, greet everybody, whoever wants makes a party, and so on. In one place

they formed a Russian-German club. On the 21st they got together, only it's a pity, the officers broke it up, and the Germans had to run for it. At any rate I know one group of guys from one army, the Germans, and another group from the other, the Romanians. Everyone stands around and hugs each other. Tell the truth, isn't this incredible? I'll bet you'll never see anything like it in Moscow.

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81st Artillery Brigade

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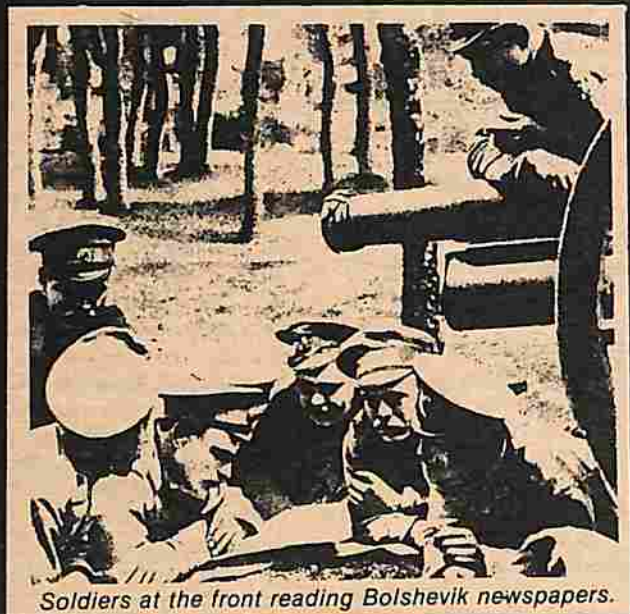
15 May 1917

To D.G. Frolovy, Moscow, the mechanic at the shoe factory:

The Germans are dressed very simply, and our soldiers even more so, barefoot, half-dressed, hungry. On the 18th of April (May First according to the Russian pre-October calendar — RW) we put together a white flag and a red one; on the red one was written in big letters: "In the Interests of Those Who Fight Each Other!" No sooner had we begun waving it than the Germans shouted at us: "Russians, don't shoot, we need peace!" We answered, "Damned right we need peace!" They replied, "We need peace twenty times over." They came and gave us some cigarettes, and this angered our officers; they ordered the artillery to fire on us. But even so we met with the Germans again, and before long friendship sprouted among us — they would come to us in our trenches, and we to theirs; they have been there almost a month and didn't send any bullets our way, only shouts of "Russians, let's not shoot." They throw notes to us saying that if you shoot, then I will answer you energetically — but think about who benefits from all this — we are all rank-and-file, you, and us. But some of our men continue to shoot. Despite this, we have received no return fire. The men all say that peace must come, but the authorities insist that the war be carried through to an end; what will happen next — it is difficult to say.

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The 21st Murmansk Infantry Troop



Soldiers at the front reading Bolshevik newspapers.

May 15, 1917

To L.M. Ioffe,  
Yakimanka Boulevard, 22, 49  
Moscow:

May First — it was a real holiday, everywhere red flags adorned the trenches. The Germans shouted something to us, we couldn't hear it — too far away. Several of us left our trenches, and went towards their breastworks. We began to play music, right there in the open between the fortifications, to play "The Marseillaise"; soldiers from both sides began to sing, the Germans too, as they waved their shawls at us. A couple of German soldiers left their trenches and came over to us. Three of us decided to go over to their trenches — I went too. From our position to theirs was nearly a *verst* (half a mile). We met the two Germans half-way. We greeted each other with real joy. It's also a holiday for us, one of them said in German, but it's hard for us to celebrate like you because we lost our

flags, they took them away from us. They gave me a copy of "Russian News" — this is a newspaper published in Berlin for prisoners-of-war. Suddenly we heard artillery, shells flew over our heads and landed somewhere in the German rear. Our own artillery had fired on us, to break up the meeting with the Germans. It was horrible — suddenly all the Germans ducked into their trenches, from which already could be heard the sound of guns. Our two German friends raced back. The music was cut short. Then several bullets flew by us from our side, and shells landed somewhere toward the German trenches. We raced back.

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6th Tavrisheskii Grenadier Regiment

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(This letter was written to the Petrograd Soviet, at the time under the control of Mensheviks who refused to support fraternization efforts.)



Fraternization between Russian and German soldiers.



10 May 1917

To the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies:

I have the honor to humbly ask you whether it might be possible to print several dozen proclamations in the German language, and to give us an answer whether in your opinion it is right to meet with the German soldiers or not — but, in our view, this thing is very useful for the world. I speak for the men in the trenches to say that every day we hope and wait for peace.

But as for what the goals of the war are — you don't need to write anything about this in the proclamation. The soldiers have had enough of this. They say this is government talk.

P. V. Gadalovy  
33rd Sapper Battalion

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"Socialists" in Europe, including

those in the Russian government, had nothing but contempt for (and fear of!) the fraternizing troops. As a journalist from The Manchester Guardian reported: "Turning to the point about fraternizing on the front, (Kerensky) evoked a storm of laughter by referring to the naive people who imagined that by friendly meetings between a few parties of German and Russian soldiers it is possible to usher in the dawn of Socialism throughout the world. 'They will have to be careful,' he added, 'or else they will find out one day that they are fraternizing with the mailed fist of William Hohenzollern (the German Kaiser — RW).'"

How "naive," how "unnatural," what "utopians" were these German and Russian soldiers! After all, could these uneducated proletarians, and often illiterate peasants from god-knows-what tiny village be expected to perceive the shrewd practicality of such esteemed leaders, these business-like men who from their long experience in parliament

and trade unionism knew how to get things done?

Lenin replied to these opportunist snivelers: "There is only one practical issue — victory or defeat for one's country," Kautsky, lackey of the opportunists, has written, in concord with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. Indeed, if one were to forget socialism and the class struggle, that would be the truth. However, if one does not lose sight of socialism, that is untrue. Then there is another practical issue: should we perish as blind and helpless slaves, in a war between slaveholders, or should we fall in 'attempts at fraternisation' between the slaves, with the aim of casting off slavery?"

"Such, in reality, is the 'practical' issue."

In the article "On the Significance of Fraternization," Lenin observed, "Clearly, Fraternization is the revolutionary initiative of the masses, it is the awakening of the conscience, the mind, the courage, of the oppressed classes; in

other words, it is a rung in the ladder of the socialist proletarian revolution...."

"The soldiers must now pass to a form of fraternisation in which a clear political programme is discussed. We are not anarchists. We do not think that the war can be ended by a simple 'refusal', a refusal of individuals, groups or casual 'crowds'. We are for the war being ended, as it will be, by a revolution in a number of countries, i.e., by the conquest of state power by a new class, not the capitalists, not the small proprietors (who are always half-dependent on the capitalists), but by the proletarians and semi-proletarians.

"And so, in our appeal to the soldiers of all the belligerent countries we have set forth our programme for a workers' revolution in all countries, namely, the transfer of all state power to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

"Comrades, soldiers, discuss this programme among yourselves and with the German soldiers! Such a discussion will help you to find the true path, the most organised and shortest path, to end the war and overthrow the yoke of Capital."

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To the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet:

We have been suffering in damp trenches for four horrible years. Rivers of blood have been shed. Enough of this slaughter. Down with the war. Long live peace... Enough of carrying secret treaties under armpits. But if this demand remains unanswered, we shall not stand it any longer. We are sick of being cheated and betrayed. If our demands are not met soon, we, a unit of valiant soldiers, will turn the sharp end of our bayonets against those who want to fight the war to a victorious end.

6th Trans-Amur Regiment of the Trans-Amur Division

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May Day, 1917.

A letter to Pravda

Brother workers and soldiers:

We send you our warmest greetings!... Rumours have reached us at the front that the bourgeoisie is repressing the revolutionary people. This must not be. We ask that all people do not throw away their weapons until such time as we no longer have to fight for the rights of a liberated people.

We also have been told that the provisional government is using the ranks of the police and militia from the old government, men that worked step-by-step with the bourgeoisie. We demand

Continued on page 12

Just before May Day in San Francisco last year, and just after May Day in Los Angeles, the docks for international shipping were shimmering with internationalism as May Day squads spread the call for the First on the ships from many different countries. In San Francisco the captain of a British ship was wrapped in the Union Jack and a ceremony was held throwing overboard the blood-soaked flags of the U.S., Soviet Union, Britain, Japan, East and West Germany, France and Italy. In L.A. Russian seamen got down with revolutionaries from the U.S. and Iran on the common struggle against imperialism we both share. While many of the Russian sailors were at first unclear about the revolutionary May Day message, an Iranian comrade turned the tide by mustering his knowledge of Russian and yelling as loud as he could "Lenin Khoroshó" (Lenin is good) "Brezhnev — Reagan Nikhoroshó" (Brezhnev — Reagan are bad). Following this, several sailors, some who'd even been protecting the Russian flag, took up the red flag and May Day call and joined in singing the *Internationale*.

While they were unable to come up with anything to charge the internationalists in San Francisco with, in L.A. seven people were charged with trespass and recently brought to trial. Through the course of the trial, it was clear the U.S. government was quite frightful of the spectre of fraternization that these actions brought to life. Much of the exposure was never to come to light in the trial, as the judge ruled out of order *anything* pertaining to discriminatory prosecution in this case, that is any of the content of the internationalist exchanges on the ships, and "freedom of speech" was ruled irrelevant to the case.

In preparation for the trial a rather revealing Coast Guard memo was unearthed. Issued on May 10, six days after the *Internationale* rang out on the Russian ship Harry Pollitt docked in L.A. harbor, the memo was sent from U.S. Coast Guard Captain J.H. Guest, captain of the Port of L.A., to the officials of the Port of L.A. In it he cites the April 20 "incident" in San Francisco Bay "which drew attention to the inadequacy of security on vessels moored in that harbor." The memo continues: "On that day a pro-Argentine (sic), communist group boarded a British vessel, lowered the Union Jack, and ran up a red flag. At that time I notified British and Argentine ships in our harbor of the possibility that activist groups might board or attempt to

## Fraternization Out Of Order in LA Trial

board their vessels and advised them to take appropriate security precautions." The Port captain then continued somewhat disgruntled, "Now on 4 May 1982 we have a situation in the Port of Los Angeles," and that the "gate guard" was ineffective. Or as the LAPD sergeant in charge of the arrest said in his report, it was "a wild scene at Harbor Station what with the RCP chanting slogans, yelling communist dogma at the officers, etc., reminded one of the demonstrations during the late '60s or early '70s. An eye-opener to some of our young officers." The Coast Guard Captain goes on in his memo to issue a warning demanding more effective response in the future. "It appears that foreign vessels are becoming targets for any group with a 'grudge' against the flag country. With the international situation as volatile as it is, demonstrations or other actions could occur on any vessel for any reason, i.e., in support of the flag country or against it. Therefore, I wish to inform you of the necessity to be security conscious for the vessels you are handling. Consider the registry of the vessel, the crew makeup, the visibility of the berth by the public, where the cargo is being imported from, and especially current international events when arranging for security." (emphasis added).

This concern was to be downplayed in words at the trial, however. See, this was really just a simple case of trespassing on the docks. Yes it was an unusual and newsworthy incident in the eyes of the cops. It was a Russian ship and had the

potential for becoming an "international incident." And it was brought out by the prosecution that this was a "militant" group which had carried out the demonstration, flying red flags, with a banner calling on people to take up May Day, etc. But the matter to be decided was trespass. And conveniently, the charge on all seven was trespass on the dock, so no Russians would have to testify, even though a few of those arrested were originally charged with trespassing on the ship itself.

Pretrial motions for dropping the charges based on discriminatory prosecution were used by the judge to limit what would be able to come out in the trial. Much pretrial testimony brought out the regularity on the dock of vendors of all sorts, Avon Ladies, Christian Scientists driving on with vanloads of material, and prostitutes, all without official permission, yet never has one ever been prosecuted. The guard's reasoning for letting all these other people on the dock? "I knew them."

Significantly, the role of the Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID) in the bust was exposed in the pretrial hearing. While they now deny any involvement in the case, except for having been notified, even notification can hardly be viewed as routine in such matters. They were not merely notified, but the Port Warden's log reflected several calls to them, including one in which the PDID requested the Field Investigation cards and names of "subjects involved in the incident," including those of three who

had not gone on the boat and a photographer who had gotten permission from the guard to be there, who was detained but not charged in the case. And furthermore, in a memo issued to accompany the previously cited Coast Guard captain's memo, the Port Warden states, "We also contacted the Intelligence Division of the Los Angeles Police Department and established a procedure to be followed in the event any other groups attempted to board a vessel within the port or any other forms of disruption. Intelligence Division indicated to us that they would pass on any information that they obtained concerning any impending activity by any group within the port." Obviously no special treatment is being afforded to the RCP here.

So by the time the trial began, the government had assured as much as possible the main content of the fraternization on the ship would not come out. For instance, when the defense made a cop tell of how they unrolled a banner seized from the ship on the floor in front of the cells in the police station where the defendants were being held and then walked all over it, as if to say they could stamp out internationalism, this testimony was not allowed. This banner said among other things "Make a Living Force of Proletarian Internationalism" and was signed by the RCP. Obviously irrelevant to the case. Nor were any questions allowed about the involvement of the PDID in the arrest. Following the convictions of all seven the judge didn't miss her last opportunity to prove her understanding of this case. While she wouldn't go along with the prosecution's demand for the maximum fine, when the defense asked for a stay in the order to be able to pay the fine that was levied, the judge insisted the defendants would have to be on probation until the fine was paid. Then the judge suggested that perhaps probation should last through May 1, since it was coming up soon. As a major issue throughout the trial had been just this sort of political repression, following some exposure by the defense she decided to drop her threat.

Nevertheless, the sting of the actions and fraternization of proletarians from different countries centered around May First persists. Perhaps the judge's premonition about the First reflects her taking to heart the Coast Guard captain's concern of being alert to international affairs. The harbors certainly continue to be a fine place for internationalist exchanges, both past and future. □

## Consorting With "The Enemy" In World War One

Continued from page 11

from the executive committee of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies that not one policeman from the old power be left inside Russia; we demand that you immediately send all the policemen here to us, to the front, to the trenches; so long as they are inside Russia, they will foment trouble between the workers and the soldiers — but we will believe only the proletariat, for only the workers speak the truth. No kind of agitation can break our trust of the workers... We refuse all conquests in this war — we refuse to be slaves, nor will we enslave other peoples....

400 soldiers of the  
Khortitskii infantry troop

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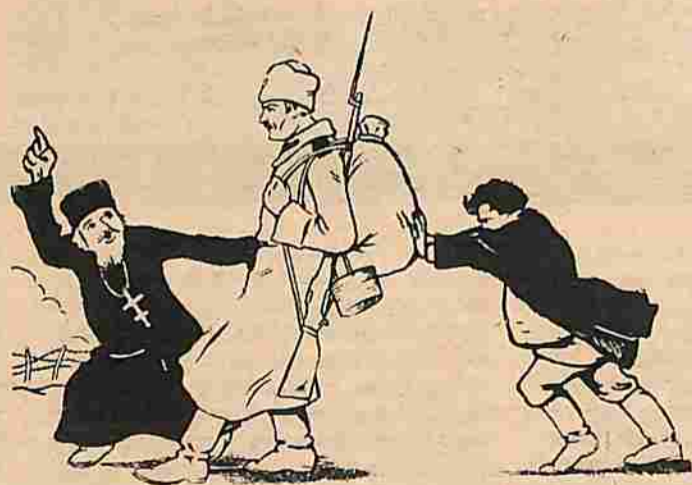
Letter from the soldier  
Vasillii Yakovlevich Makarov,  
July or August, 1917

There is money everywhere, but the market is so high, so expensive, that it is impossible to buy anything... It appears that matters have come to a head, we greeted that new-found freedom like dead men risen from the grave, now there would be peace, now an end to this madness... but no. They call us again with the old battlecry — defend "Free Russia." What kind of freedom! What kind of Russia! To defend with our blood

and our lives that great circle of capitalists — it is they who need war, to the end, to the glorious end, it is they who need our blood to secure for themselves tribute and new slaves, to erect new factories and plants; and we Russian soldiers die so that the English, French and Russian bourgeois-kulaks, having vanquished the German bourgeois, can enshackle in heavy chains the workers of the world for all time. As if this is to be the last war, and after that everlasting peace! For such freedom and for such a Russia, we must not fight — not until, with bayonets in our hands, we can show the German and Russian and English and French bourgeois where lies true liberation — and that is not at all along the path on which they would lead us.

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At a high echelon meeting of the Russian General Staff (GHQ) in July, 1917, General Klembovsky, the Northern Front commander, complaining of fraternization, declared: "What can help us? The death penalty? But can we execute entire divisions? Or arraign them before tribunals? If we do that we shall have to send half of the armed forces to Siberia." In October, 1917, the Military-Political Department of GHQ stated in a communique that, "According to dispatches from the various headquarters, cases



Drawing done by an unknown Russian artist titled "The Offensive," after the June 18th offensive that the Kerensky government attempted to mount.

of fraternization have lately become more frequent, acquiring a mass character in some armies (3rd, Special, 10th)." Army documents showed that there were more than 400 cases of mass fraternization, and the communique con-

cluded, "The troops are sympathizing with Lenin, who would have signed peace long ago... The soldiers say there will only be peace when everybody becomes a Bolshevik."

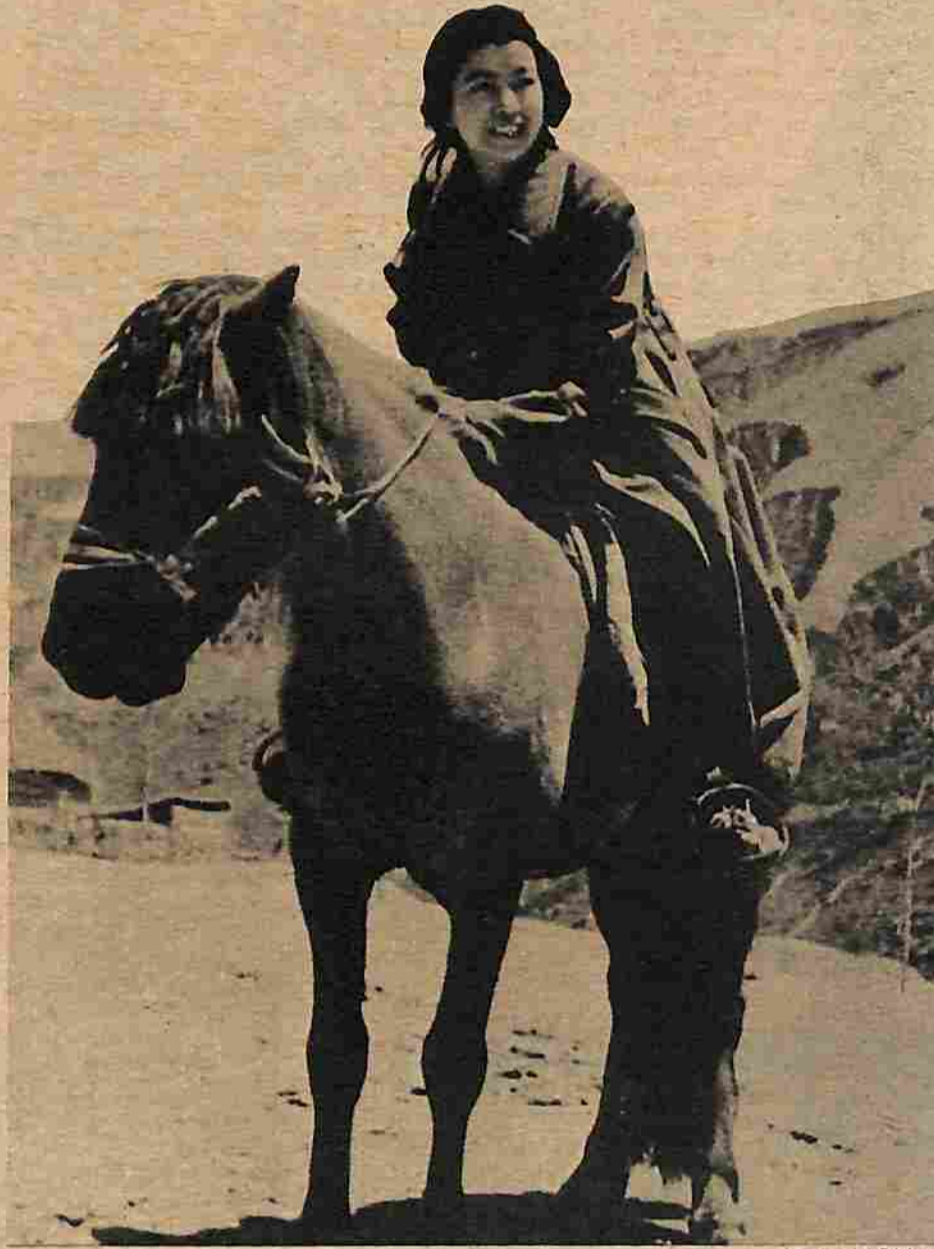
# Demonstrating Day & Evening — Performing in the Afternoon...

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 of 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



Chiang Ching

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 the 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 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 they 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. □

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

## Ethiopian Comrade Writes

# May Day in Addis Ababa, 1974

I want to talk about the May 1st demonstration that took place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1974. This was the first May Day that took place there ever. Before that the main celebration was the birthday of Haile Selassie. This May Day took place during a revolutionary period in Ethiopia, a revolution that started in 1974. It was a time of upheaval. Everybody — the workers, the peasants and the students were involved.

Strikes were a big part of daily life. The whole city of Addis Ababa had been shut down for a period by strikes. The taxi drivers — coming mainly from one tribe — played a very powerful role. Nurses at the hospitals were striking too. In the countryside — in one town thousands of people came out and surrounded the house of a royal family member. They wanted to kill him. They wouldn't leave and they had to sneak the "noble man" out of his house and away from the area. I was a student at the time. To be a student meant to attend classes for a few minutes, run out, join the protest, stone the police, and run back to the university. Inspired by the workers we staged our own strike at the university demanding better conditions. Every day around the city new graffiti

went up on the walls. We were inspired by all this activity. I didn't know much about Marxism then but I was looking for something, I was looking for something to change. There was no vanguard party. There were a few underground circles that were influenced by the Chinese revolution. They had some of the few revolutionary books and pamphlets in Ethiopia at the time.

The military had made a move to replace Haile Selassie. But we knew that while the faces in the government had changed there was no fundamental change. There was a coup d'etat and a more liberal government had come in. This government was trying to stop the struggle of the masses of people by telling us "give us more time to make changes." We realized that nothing had changed and nothing would change until the old monarchy was thoroughly overthrown. So together with the underground circles we decided to hold a May Day demonstration to demand land reform and the total abolition of the monarchy. For us May Day was a symbol of the workers winning freedom.

The period leading up to May 1st was intense. We organized all kinds of ways to get and distribute literature. We would meet and exchange the few pam-

phlets we had. Some people broke into government offices and stole the copying machines. These we used to make more flyers to distribute to the workers. We went to the religious minorities — the Muslims especially. They were discriminated against by the Amharic majority. We included among our demands religious equality for them. Every day new graffiti went up on the walls and came down.

On May Day we met in the streets of Addis Ababa. The government sent troops into the streets. They didn't want this demonstration to happen. They tried to stop the march. And we started to fight them. Throwing bricks and stones. The troops fired on us. I remember running through the streets of the city and a friend running next to me got hit in the leg with a bullet. We would be dispersed. And we would regroup, hit them with stones and scatter again. In certain districts of the city whole families began opening their doors to let us in and hide us from the police. On the street where the fighting took place many small shop owners let us rest inside their stores. They understood what May Day stood for — freedom for the workers and oppressed peoples. A number of older women step-

ped forward. They jumped into the streets right in the face of the army and began yelling at them. In Ethiopia where the women are greatly oppressed by the culture this was something.

Numbers of the unemployed and the poor workers of the capital city joined in. This had a big effect on us to see the workers joining in May Day. Up till then the struggles of these workers — while very powerful — were mainly for wage increases. When they came into the battle our forces joined together. People began to feel the strength — like we all belonged together. There was a lot more sense of unity and the numbers of workers who wanted to join study groups grew.

I understand a lot more now about May Day than I did then. I understand that May Day is a day for all workers because workers have no country. It is an international day. May Day here in the United States — in the headquarters of imperialism — in this country is especially significant for the international revolution. The RCP, the party that must lead the revolution here has a great responsibility this May First. On to May Day, 1983.

Revolutionary internationalist  
from Ethiopia

# A Crisis In France

Recently the French government has had to face a storm of criticism from an outraged citizenry. Not because of Mitterand's war dances in favor of the Pershing missiles, nor even from recent tax hikes and other "austerity" moves, and certainly not for its role in whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to probably the highest point since the Algerian war. (See box) No, it is something far more important than that which has led to the current crisis, an attack on Human Rights, Democracy and French Tradition — *les vacances*.

In late March Mitterand overhauled his government and launched a campaign to bolster the sagging French franc (good luck!) and restore French industrial competitiveness (even more good luck is in order). Included in the measures announced to help the balance of payments was a severe restriction on the amount of currency French tourists can take out of the country — 2000 francs or about 300 dollars a year. This measure would, in theory, make it virtually impossible for French tourists to travel to other countries. (Can you imagine arriving at JFK Airport, knowing no one, and expect to visit the U.S. on 300 dollars?)

Immediately the charges flew fast and furious. Perhaps Mitterand really is going to introduce "socialism." After all isn't one of the biggest distinctions between the Free World (at least the richer

parts of it) and Communist Totalitarianism (read the Soviet bloc) the fact that the citizens of the latter don't have the right to "travel freely"? Frightened travel agents organized 5000 people to march in the streets crying "freedom of travel." Even the press normally sympathetic to the Socialist government denounced and/or ridiculed the new decree.

Businessmen are exempted (naturally) from the measure. And the very rich already have considerable assets in Swiss banks or elsewhere. And one can always take expensive trips to Guadeloupe and Martinique in the Caribbean or La Reunion in the Indian Ocean which are, after all, *la France*. In addition 12 African countries belonging to the "franc zone" are also excluded from the measure in a tacit admission that they, too, are still *la France*. In fact, the people who are really affected are those who travel to nearby Italy, Spain, Greece or North Africa trying to escape high French prices and younger people with more possibilities of traveling.

The government had badly calculated. In fact only 6% of French citizens would be directly hit by the measures; 56% of the people in the land of the 5 week paid vacation stay home all summer and most of the rest take their vacation in France. But what the government failed to take into account was that the measure would hit especially their own social base (of

government workers, young professionals, technicians, etc.) and, most importantly, the extremely important ideological role *les vacances* play in pacifying and bourgeoisifying the salaried petty bourgeoisie and sections of the proletariat.

The *congé payé* (paid vacation) has been a vital link in pacifying the proletariat and masses ever since it was introduced in 1936 as the key ingredient in the settlement of the massive strike wave which accompanied the election of the Léon Blum Popular Front government (with which the already revisionist French CP was allied). This first *congé payé* is now celebrated in French folklore as hundreds of thousands of workers, many of whom had never seen the ocean, peddled on bicycles to the beaches or other vacation spots previously reserved for the upper classes. However much one can appreciate the thought of these workers escaping, if for only a week, the drudgery and backbreaking labor of the factory, this first *congé payé* played a big role in rallying workers around the bourgeois Popular Front government and leaving them politically disarmed as the world was heading quickly toward war and as real revolutionary possibilities were ripening in France and elsewhere.

Although shortsighted factory owners were initially furious at the loss of one week's production and the high society was annoyed at the invasion of their

beaches ("having the air of a paid vacation" is still an insult in France), the bourgeoisie was able to sum up the *congé payé* as a good thing after all. In the post war years as French imperialism recovered and grew fatter, the vacations grew longer and, for some, more extravagant. The bourgeois revolutionaries of 1789 were unable to replace the Catholic calendar, but French imperialism has in essence succeeded in replacing January 1st with *la rentrée* (the return from vacation) as the beginning of a new year.

So, in limiting the sacred right to a vacation, the French government struck a raw nerve. Little does it matter if only a fairly small percentage can or want to take their vacation abroad — it is as if the U.S. government put a temporary ban on buying a new house in the suburbs — a symbol is being attacked even if no one can afford it.

The government has no choice but to try to ride out the storm without losing face completely. Fortunately no elections are planned for the near future. George Marchais, head of the French CP, was unavailable for comment as he was in Greece "at the invitation of the Greek CP" for ten days which corresponded remarkably with the French Easter vacation.... □

## Where Left Meets Right

The French municipal elections in March were of little interest. The "Right" (that is the opposition to the "Left" Mitterand government) made some electoral advances and at least some sections who had voted for Mitterand in 1981 chose to go fishing this time around. The really notable thing was the step-up in an anti-immigrant campaign by *all* the bourgeois parties — the French Communist Party (PCF) included.

It was clearest in Marseille where again Socialist Gaston Deferre faced an extremely close race with the Right. The main issue in the campaign was the immigrants who, it seems, are responsible for unemployment, crime and all other social evils. The Right lambasted Deferre for having allowed Marseille to "degenerate" in the 30 years he has run it as a personal fiefdom. Deferre retorted that as Minister of the Interior he expelled or refused entry to more immigrants in 1982 than the previous government had ever done in a single year, and that the good citizens could count on him to do his duty.

The most revealing episode took place, however, during the period between the first round of elections and the run-off elections one week later. An "Independent" slate had won about 5% of the vote. This slate, *Marseille Sécurité*, was, as its name implies, the French version of a White People's Homeowners Defense Association. Deferre and his fellow Socialists negotiated with these avowed Neanderthals to try to get them to join his slate for the second round! The negotiations failed, apparently because the Right offered *Marseille Sécurité* a better deal.

All of this proved a little embarrassing for some sections of the Socialist Party that still find it useful to keep some distance between themselves and French Lester Maddox types. Even the pro-government *Le Monde* pointed out that Deferre was systematically refusing to



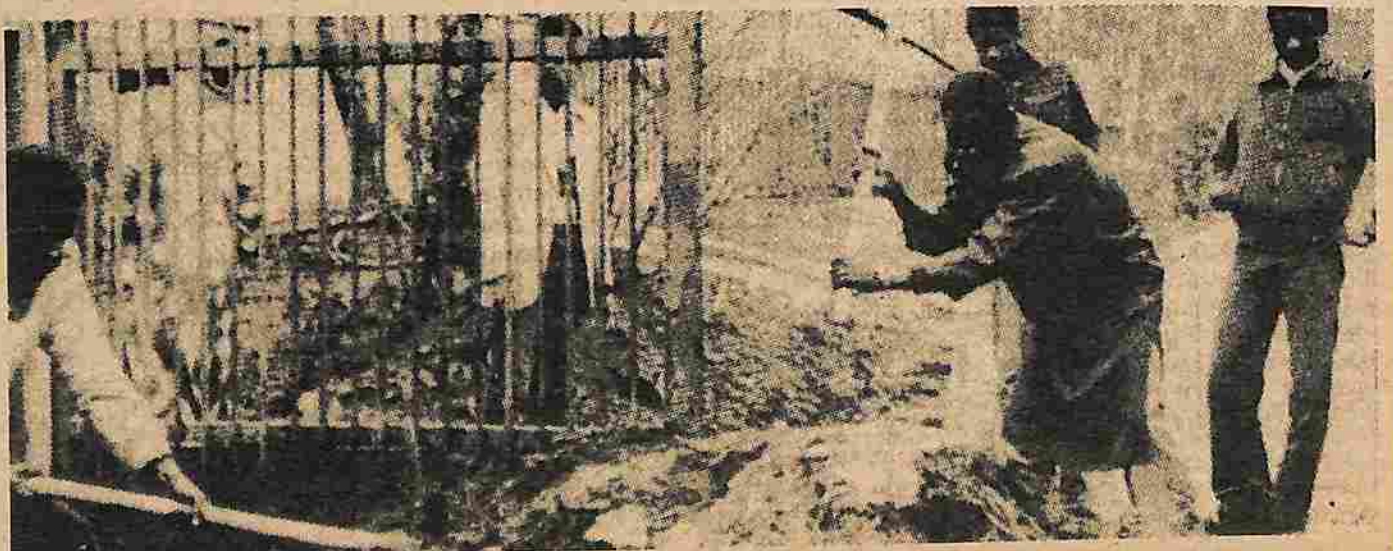
The "Quartier d'Immigrés" in Marseille.

shake hands with Arabs (be they voting citizens or not) for fear that he might be photographed! Now that the elections are over and Deferre reelected, Prime Minister Mauroy found it safe to criticize the "Right" for "racist appeals" during the

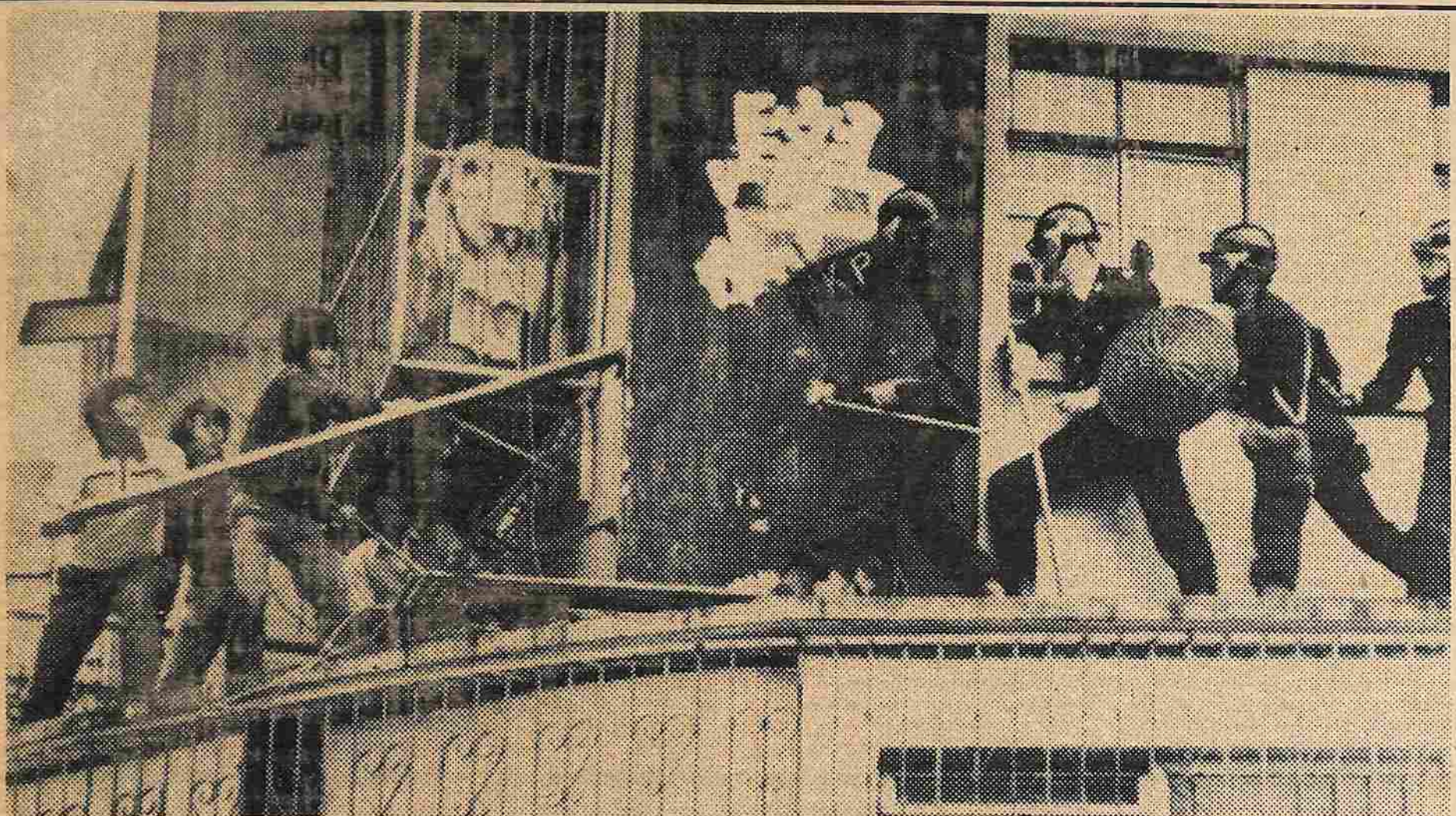
campaign!

George Marchais used the aftermath of the elections to reiterate his party's opposition to the "over concentration" of immigrants in "Left" (and especially PCF) controlled towns. He reminded his

audience that the PCF had struggled against this problem... in Vitry (where in December 1980 a PCF mayor led a gang of thugs to bulldoze a housing project of African workers). □



1980—In the Parisian suburb of Vitry, immigrant workers from former French West African colony of Mali work to repair damage done by the PCF.



## Hong Kong Squatters Battle Police

On March 29, a pitched battle erupted in a working class district of Hong Kong as a group of about 20 young immigrants, recent arrivals from China, fought off police for several hours in an attempt to prevent demolition of their home. The youths, along with over 200 people, lived in "illegally" built houses wedged between apartment buildings and a hillside. There is an acute housing shortage in this British colony, which has one of the highest population densities of any area in the world. The lower strata of society, especially new immigrants, are forced into pockets of such makeshift housing — flimsy wooden structures with no plumbing or electricity.

When the demolition crew arrived on

the morning of the 29th, they found that a group of the younger residents had defied the eviction order issued earlier and were refusing to leave. A reinforcement of about 100 riot police was called in, but the squatters turned out to be well prepared to repel the attack. Some of the youth climbed up to the balcony of an apartment building which overlooked the alley that led to the wooden houses in the rear. From the strategic position, the squatters hurled down molotov cocktails, bricks, flower pots and anything else they could find, and effectively blocked the entrance into the alley. At one point, several police armed with shields and riot sticks climbed onto the balcony and were repelled, no match for the youth in fighting on a nar-

row and precarious footing (see picture above). The battle escalated, as the squatters used a portable gas tank as a flamethrower, and the police countered by spraying teargas. Finally, after dousing the squatters with high-powered jets of water, the authorities were able to arrest them and proceed with the demolition. All 21 arrested, and 16 of the cops, were reported injured.

Immigrants from China come into Hong Kong, legally or "illegally," with many illusions about life in what is known as the "model of free-wheeling capitalism." Such illusions are greatly fueled by the Chinese revisionists' schemes for "Four Modernizations" and fawning admiration for capitalist

development pushed by Deng & Co. But the new immigrants quickly found themselves pushed to the bottom of society, the target of discrimination and repression. Police regularly stop people on the streets and demand that they produce the required I.D. Recently, the colonial government has intensified the crackdown on immigrants: those caught without an I.D. are fined, those found to be "illegals" are immediately jailed and deported. The fierce battle against the demolition vividly reveals just why the Hong Kong authorities are so uptight about this volatile force of new, and especially young, immigrants. □

## Speedy Trials And Rapid Jailings in Atlanta

For the past few years springtime in Atlanta has brought with it a rash of "coincidences." With amazingly predictable timing, all or most of the remaining "criminal" cases from past May Days appear on the state court docket for trial. Suddenly, great concern is shown over the rights of the defendants in these cases to a "speedy" trial which means, of course, that all the cases simply *must* be tried right away.

This year the authorities in Atlanta have really outdone themselves. No less than four separate trials were scheduled to begin on April 13th in the court of Judge Langham — cases the good judge has made clear will be tried to completion as quickly as possible, one right after the other.

And to sharpen the knife, this year's list of coincidences included the jailing of the defendants in two cases that were major political battles in Atlanta — that of two revolutionaries sentenced to one year for burning an American flag in support of the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and that of the Fort Mac 2.

The trials set to begin on April 13th were:

—The second of the two major "preventative detention" arrests on May Day '82, this one carried out in the Bowen Homes housing project. (Readers will recall that last year, after granting a permit for a march at Fort McPherson in Atlanta, the police tried to stop the march there by carrying out unprecedented sweeps through the Techwood and Bowen Homes housing projects, arresting everyone suspected of being a "May Day activist" and holding them in "preventative detention" until midnight. Close to 75

people were arrested that day. The first case stemming from the sweep through Techwood Homes was thrown out of court shortly after May Day.) This case was delayed until Monday, April 24th;

—Charges against three RCP supporters arrested in Techwood Homes on May Day '81. (This case was originally thrown out of court last year because the defendants had been denied a speedy trial! It was brought back on an appeal from the state);

—The third (and final) case stemming from the arrests of several people following the Wayne Williams verdict for distributing the proclamation "Only the People Can Close the Case on the Atlanta Black Youth Murders" (the previous two trials have already resulted in RCYB members Webster Brooks and Greg Johnson being sentenced to 16 months and 10 months in jail respectively);

—Another outrageous case against Greg Johnson, who was arrested repeatedly before and after May Day last year. In this case he is charged with "misuse of the flag" (a charge the courts in Atlanta have made clear carries a guaranteed one-year jail sentence) — based on a burnt piece of cloth found in the trunk of his car during routine harassment last year.

As mentioned, the Iranian and American revolutionaries who were convicted for burning an American flag in support of the Iranian revolution in 1979 in Atlanta were ordered to begin serving their one-year jail terms in state prisons by May First. Not satisfied with that, the state judge who had tried the case issued bench warrants and Diane Monroe, one of the two, was hauled off to begin serving her sentence as she sat in the court-

room during one of the current trials! She is currently being held in County Jail.

And the Fort Mac 2, Walter Burney and Rick Newberger — whose internationalist statement from inside the command offices of Fort McPherson, home of the U.S. Army Forces Command, struck a powerful blow in exposing U.S. war plans and building for May Day last year — have been ordered to begin serving their jail terms by April 15th. The two were given 21-day jail terms after government attempts for felony convictions failed. With credit for time served, Walter has to serve only four days and Rick ten, followed by six months probation — this time to be served in the weeks prior to May Day.

In the first case tried on April 13th, the May Day '81 case, a bit more was revealed about the workings of the May Day Task Force, a group set up each year in Atlanta prior to May Day and led by top brass in the Atlanta Police Department. Atlanta authorities, while admitting the existence of this task force, have repeatedly denied that there is anything political in the over 200 arrests they had orchestrated over the past three May Days. But as in others, this case revealed quite a different story. On the morning of May First, as the rally was just beginning in Techwood at which over 100 tenants were beginning to gather, two dozen cops roared up on motorcycles, stormed onto the sound truck and arrested three people, impounding the truck for good measure. (This was the first of two groups of arrests in Techwood that day — the second occurred in the evening when several dozen people burned small American flags in honor of International Workers

Day. Six people have been sentenced to one year in jail for that arrest and are currently appealing their sentence.) One cop at the trial, apparently not too hip to the fine art of "criminal" prosecutions to stop May Day, explained that the reason two dozen motorcycle cops showed up in Techwood was that, "we were told two days prior to this that there would probably be a riot in Techwood that day and motorcycle officers should wear helmets that would be needed in a riot." An interesting point, since the state's case rested on the "fact" that the cops were simply responding to a call from a "resident" complaining of loud noise coming from the rally. This cop further explained that as he and his gang were mounting their bikes that morning his commander declared, "The May Day people are in Techwood — let's go!"

The state's star witness, however, was a little slicker. He explained that Major Holley, Atlanta's well-known "special operations commander," politely ordered the people on the truck to disperse or be arrested, and only ordered the arrests when people ignored his order. This looked much better — that is, until Major Holley presented his version of the "We were only responding to complaints from the residents" story by testifying that he didn't even arrive on the scene until after the bust.

In this first trial, two defendants were acquitted while a third was convicted for simple battery and interfering with the police. The remaining trials are either in progress or slated to begin soon. □

## Letter from Former Student

# May Day Stirs LA High Memories

I was very enthused to read in the *RW* about the struggle at L.A. High for May Day 1983, which brought back some memories and inspired the following lines.

In particular I was inspired by the developing unity between the Latin and Black youth, so crucial for making revolution. A unity the ruling class at all levels works very hard to prevent, recognizing the volatile nature of these two sections of youth especially oppressed by the imperialists. So it's no wonder they are freaked about the involvement of Blacks with "foreigners."

It's been a little over a decade since I attended school at L.A. High, not knowing much about what's happened there until I heard about the revolutionary actions of May Day 1982. When I went to school there, most of the immigrant students, mainly Latin American and Asian, were kept isolated from the rest of the student body in "English as Second Language" programs. But already you could sense the concern of the administration with the arrival of all those "foreigners," disrespectful of the authorities who tried to rob them of their culture and heritage, to show them their place in this land of freedom and equality: "speak English, you're in

America!" An outlook which unfortunately rubbed off onto many students blinding them to our common struggle.

Just one example: when a group of us tried to get the school to approve a soccer team it was rejected because it wasn't an "American" sport; and when we went ahead and formed the team and scheduled a game with another school, the administrators had the field watered, but we played anyway.

So when I read the recent articles in the *RW* it didn't surprise me too much that this was one of the main ways the administrators were attacking revolutionary May Day; trying to divide us along national lines; frame-ups; expulsions and slanders like "Marxism is for foreigners"; and other such garbage.

But there were other reasons for the administration's concern. Those were the years of the anti-war movement, the Black liberation struggle, the Chicano Moratorium, and many of the foreign-born had been influenced by the national liberation struggles that were rocking the U.S. empire all over the world. And here in the U.S., especially the youth, were rebelling against everything from the dress code to who and how society should be run. For me, meeting the Revolutionary Union

(forerunner of the RCP) at that time was a turning point in my life. For the first time I could go beyond a superficial and romanticist understanding of the liberation struggles, that sympathy ain't going to do it, we got to find the ways of recognizing the necessity to make revolution right here in the belly of the beast. This was enlightening and I had to find the ways to share it with friends.

In my senior year a slick reactionary teacher (like the one mentioned in the *RW* article) started a class called "International Relations," with hand-picked students from different classes who he knew were interested in politics. Only later did I realize this was an attempt to bring politics to the classroom, on their terms, and to keep them there. Nevertheless, the turmoil in society overall made it that these teachers had to be a little more "open" to discuss major social questions and couldn't be so openly reactionary. So we took advantage of this and showed some revolutionary films about the war in Vietnam and other things. And in one class a representative of the Revolutionary Union came — unannounced — to talk about the imperialist nature of the war and the need to overthrow U.S. imperialism itself. This really was liberating,

such a contrast to the otherwise stifling environment, so lofty as opposed to the drudgery they tried impose on their future cannonfodder, 9-to-5 robots or whatever other training they would prepare us for.

But this wasn't characteristic of the times as things overall began to recede from their previous high point of upheaval. So most went along with the program to pursue their careers or fell into the ranks of the army, the unemployed or whatever else. So it was really great to see that even their modern fortress type school building and their watchdogs haven't been able to prevent revolutionary struggles from breaking out or internationalist walls springing up all over the place. And this is but a reflection of the changing of the decade, of new and more powerful contradictions that are shaping up all over the globe. And again they want to deal with it on their terms; they want to talk about "vandals" and not revolutionaries, they want to talk about the harmless "good ideas of Marxism" to hide what they fear most: that in the hands of those who they oppress, who refuse to be their subjects, it's a real force that can turn the world upside-down. Well right on! Go for it!

## Railroad

Continued from page 6

tors was allowed to describe what he had seen — but not to introduce any of the pictures as evidence. Later witnesses were not even allowed to describe what they had seen on the street — the judge ruled it as "cumulative" — that is, painting too full a picture of the actual events. The later testimony of one freelance photographer went something like this:

Defense Lawyer: "Were you at the corner of 22nd & Mission?"

D.A.: "Objection."

Judge: "Sustained. Cumulative."

The photographer could neither introduce his pictures or his testimony.

While next to nothing has thus been allowed as evidence of the police attack on the march, nothing at all has been allowed around police pre-planning of the attack, around police surveillance of the RCP and its supporters, or around individuals selectively prosecuted. For example, one of the defendants has been repeatedly targeted at different RCP-led events by police and especially police provocateurs. In the course of presenting his case, the D.A. pulled onto the stand one very suspicious reactionary who had conveniently gotten a job on Mission Street a few days before May Day, 1981. This low-life testified that over 45 minutes after the confrontation in the streets, this particular defendant had returned and threatened his life. One more piece in the "crazed and violence-prone revolutionary" picture, as well as an attempt to nail this brother. When one photographer testified that he had pictures of this brother after the police attack, his face all smashed up and covered with blood, pictures that directly contradict the description of the reactionary, the judge ruled them irrelevant.

As we went to press, the D.A. had filed a "trial memorandum," asking to be able, also, to present evidence of past arrests of this defendant "as circumstantial evidence showing: planning and preparation by the defendant; his intent and motive in committing the instant acts; the absence of mistake and accident; common scheme and plan; and, to rebut defendant's contention that the police were the aggressors." The D.A. wants to be able to bring in "evidence" of two past confrontations, one in the Mission District on May 3, 1980, and one in Chinatown on December 18, 1980, where this brother was attacked by provocateur types and police and arrested for assault. Apparently, despite the best efforts of the judicial system, the D.A. feels uneasy about his case, and feels compelled to dredge up past political crimes of the police to "justify" a conviction in this case. He is also sharply singling out this

defendant for the jury, as well as stretching further the kind of "evidence" that can be admitted in a case like this. This brother was *not* convicted of either of the alleged assaults in either incident — which stretch back three whole years; and it remains to be seen whether the judge, who has refused to admit testimony about what happened to this brother on the day in question, will find this crap relevant.

In the course of cross-examination, the D.A. performed another highly political feat of magic. First, to set the stage, a bit of the usual pig-baiting: "Isn't it true that in making revolution, police are a foremost enemy? Isn't violent confrontation with police officers in accord with the goals of the RCP?" And so forth.

At this point the D.A. produced a booklet entitled "RCP in the 1980s," and another single white typed sheet of paper. Who wrote these? Where did the D.A. get them? Well, they're from "other police agencies," the D.A. allowed. He then proceeded to read from the single sheet, asking, "Isn't it true that the RCP advocates people having shotguns, carbines, and handguns?" Going on to the "RCP in the 1980s," he read a purported quote from Bob Avakian about violent revolution, and another quote which crudely characterized the united front strategy, and asked if the defendant agreed with this. Near the end of his cross-examination, he got into a line of questioning

about the CPUSA, this time without apparent notes. He asked, "Is the CPUSA your enemy? Isn't it true the RCP hates the CPUSA because they don't want to make revolution now and the RCP wants to do it now?"

Quite brazen, really. In a trial where the defendants are not even allowed to mention the political police, the DA is waving around and reading from *intelligence* documents! When defense lawyers demanded that the DA turn over the documents to the defense, because he had obviously used them in preparing his case, and the defense should be entitled to them under discovery motions, the judge ruled that since the documents weren't being used as evidence, the DA didn't have to turn them over.

On top of all that, in the course of his discourse on the line of the RCP, the DA even tried to read the infamous *L.A. Times* manufactured "quote" from Bob Avakian that has been repeatedly used by police and by political police to try to nail Bob Avakian and brand the RCP. And where did he get that quote, we might ask? Apparently the judge felt the use of this "quote" might open up a bag of worms better kept shut, so when the defense lawyer objected to this, pointing out that the *L.A. Times* had retracted the statement, the judge sustained the objection.

With all of this blatant lying, maneuvering, and political railroading going on

in the courtroom, the authorities are concerned that this not become a big public exposure. And they have been assisted in this by all of the major media, who have stated that they were not going to cover this case "until the verdict." This, despite the fact that the demonstration was front-page news when it happened and was covered by all the major TV stations. Nonetheless, word of the outrages going on in the courtroom has gotten out and quite broadly. A Black-owned newspaper from Oakland, *The California Voice*, ran a front-page article on the trial which linked it to the murder of Damián García. One Spanish TV station ran a short interview with one of the defendants on the news. A number of small radio stations have covered the trial in their news, including KALX, the UC Berkeley student radio station, KUSF, the University of San Francisco student station, KPFA, KPOO, and KRE. Calls have been made to the judge from various people, including lawyers from the anti-nuke movement protesting his conduct of the trial. And the media blackout itself has prompted some angry letters to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which, not surprisingly, have yet to appear in print. The trial is definitely posing the political problem the government has been so wary of stirring up. □

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RCP



# Correspondence on Yöl



Some thoughts on Yöl:

To me Yöl was a powerful film. I came out of the theatre feeling very, very optimistic about our worldwide struggle for liberation and also, directly connected with this, man's ability to change and make leaps in his consciousness. Later talking with some comrades about the film I heard some criticisms. The reason that I want to write this is to give my thoughts on these criticisms. But before I get into this I think it is important to let people know that I am an internationalist from an oppressed nation and the comrades I was talking to were from this country — an imperialist citadel. I think this has a great deal to do with the way we viewed the film.

To me the film depicted very strongly the breaking with feudal ideology. Almost every scene in the film showed this. In some cases, like the man who was going to marry this young girl but could never get any time to spend alone

with her (due to feudal traditions), his solution was a bourgeois one, i.e., he went to a brothel. So in his case he replaced feudal ideology with capitalistic ideology. But on the other hand the woman who left her family to go with her husband, who the family had ostracized, and Seyit, who in the end wanted so desperately to save his wife who had brought so much dishonor to him (feudal ideology at its highest), showed powerfully how people can and do break with backward and traditional ideas. If one has ever lived in an oppressed nation where feudal ideology is very pervasive one could understand what it takes to break with this. What a leap in consciousness this is. My criticism of some comrades in this advanced imperialistic country is that because they have not experienced this, they failed to understand what a powerful statement this film made in this regard. They were looking for a strong central character who was ready to go off and fight for the revolution. Com-

rades, this film was made in an oppressed country by people who are still struggling against the suffocating chains of feudalism as well as capitalism and it is in this context that we should view the film. If we look at it in this light then we can see that this film was a Marxist-Leninist masterpiece capturing both contradiction and dialectics and also showed man's ability to change from what is backward and negative to what is revolutionary and positive. To look for one central figure who marches off to fight in the front ranks has the tendency of unconsciously negating all the other revolutionaries in this film. On a world scale we are at different levels and different stages of our common struggle. But whatever form it takes whether breaking with feudalistic or capitalistic ideology, it is a revolutionary leap. If people from advanced imperialistic countries do not recognize this then I am afraid that eventually it will lead them to imperialistic chauvinism. This disease takes many forms, and if we are

not vigilant and always striving to see all sides of any phenomena this can creep up on you almost unknowingly. As Marx pointed out in his summation of the Paris Commune, it is important for the workers to change themselves, their thinking, their ideology, in order to be fit for the exercise of political power. To me this is the process of change that Yöl so powerfully depicts. This process of change in man's consciousness from backward feudalism to various degrees and levels of revolutionary consciousness is the essence of Yöl.

N.R.

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



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## How Much Evidence

Continued from page 5

on the Spot" article from the *Revolutionary Worker* for the facts it contains. Carole Garcia no longer need rely on her claim and those of Damián's political allies in the RCP. The facts developed over the last two years in sworn depositions and court testimony has guaranteed concern among a large group of people. The question now is whether anything is going to be done to determine what the truth is. If Mrs. Garcia's accusations are true, we all have reason for grave concern. People of all political persuasions have been shocked by the news that PDID infiltrated peaceful political groups; kept dossiers on judges, police commission members and others; and violated court orders by storing "destroyed" materials in Jay Paul's mobile home. All of this illegal and freedom-threatening activity is nothing in comparison to a political assassination.

How much evidence does one need, in a case like this, to justify further inquiry? Should we ignore it because the victim was associated with a group

whose politics many find too "radical", whose call for revolution seems too strident (or perhaps too serious)? Are acts of terrorism by law enforcement permissible, depending on who the victim is?

The Police Department has made clear that as far as it is concerned, "There is no investigation of the killing of Damián Garcia. That matter was closed a long time ago." (*News and Review*)

The only mechanism available for further investigation is a private law suit. Carole Garcia wishes to sue for wrongful death and violation of civil rights. There are attorneys, including myself, who are willing to support such a law suit. None of us are, however, able to carry the financial burden of the case. There is no possibility of launching a meaningful investigation of Damián's murder without appropriate financial backing. In our opinion, an initial commitment of at least \$50,000 is necessary. The need is urgent, for legal time limitations are running out this month. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Dear Editor,

Once again I would like to take this important opportunity to compliment the editor and staff of the *RW* paper for the outstanding reporting on community as well as international issues.

The kind of perspective from the *Revolutionary Worker* that you don't get from the standard press ... a perspective which clarifies much of the ambiguous reviews read and seen in established mass media.

However, I am very much interested in knowing more about the *Revolutionary Worker* and would like to subscribe for a subscription of your paper under "prisoners status."

Your prompt attention to this matter is greatly appreciated; awaiting your reply.

Sincerely Yours  
Comstock, NY

Dear RW,

I'd like to see if I could get you to send me some books and your newspaper. I'm in prison and have been for 3 years now. I'm sorry but I don't have any money or any way of obtaining any — anything you can send me will be appreciated very much. I like to learn what all is happening out there. For the last 3 years it's been just like as if the world stopped.

I don't ever hear anything that's happening. Sometimes when I do it's a year or so past.

Thank you very much  
Holman, Alabama

I am an American Indian locked up in the Washington State Penitentiary for Grand Larceny, which stems from writing bad checks for food and clothes on my account in the amount of \$800, in fact for me and my family. I been locked up since 1976 for this and moved out to the desert where so to speak, this prison is located, and my family cannot move across the state to visit me.

I am a 30-year-old man, who has been locked up since I was 23 years old for nothing more than overdrawing my own checking account as stated. Everytime I take something into Court, I'm thrown in the hole and beat on, but I won't give up.

I do a lot of reading while locked up in Segregation and I have no money, send me both No. 1 and 2 of (*A World To Win*) May 1st, 1981, and 1982 and I will see that other people get the chance to read also.

Very Truly Yours

Dear RCP,

Power to the people. I want to thank the RCP for the paper and the Little Red Book and for understanding my situation. At the present time I still don't have any money. As soon as I do I will donate for the RCP cause. "Reagan's Vision of the Future" and "The Whole of Society Sprung into the Air" are two interesting articles. (*RW* No. 199) ... Also will you send me a May 1st International Workers Day poster to hang in my cell. In the meantime I will continue studying communism.

## Damián

Continued from page 5

come out in radio broadcasts in San Diego and into Mexico, in newspapers from Santa Barbara to Tucson, Arizona, and all the way to the *New York Times*. Carole Garcia, who was Damián's wife, and representatives of the RCP have spoken to various organizations. So many eyes have been opened by all this — including many people who before simply could not believe that the state was behind Damián's murder. Various progressive forces, outraged by this exposure, joined in pressing for full disclosure of the PDID's involvement in this murder, and have continued to do so. As for the state, they continue to be in the midst of extreme controversy over how to tighten up and cover up their political police activity, and though the Police Commission was forced to order an inquiry into PDID wrongdoing in Damián's death, there has been no official response. Overall, the situation in Los Angeles is both very favorable for and demands stepping forward on Damián Garcia Day this year, to drag the crimes of these beasts into the light of day and as a prelude to May Day.

In Southern California, commemorative activities are planned on the U.S./Mexico border in San Diego, at the

East L.A. housing project where Damián was murdered and in Santa Barbara where Damián had been a noted Chicano activist in the '60s and early '70s. On April 22, two significant occurrences are planned. In MacArthur Park, a crucial center of political struggle for immigrant proletarians, a rally will be held which will concentrate the demand to rename the park "Damián Garcia Park." Leading up to April 22, a petition will be circulated, especially in the East Los Angeles and MacArthur Park areas, demanding the name change which will be presented in the appropriate fashion to the city authorities.

An offensive will also be made in another arena, on April 22, when Carole Garcia will file a wrongful death suit against the LAPD, the City of Los Angeles and other government agencies aimed at further exposing and documenting their hand in the murder of this revolutionary and at further ripping away the official coverup. Progressive lawyers and others are joining with Carole in forming the "Committee to Investigate the Murder of Damián Garcia," as the letter below indicates. One of the committee's important functions will be to raise the necessary funds to carry through this suit and contributions can be sent to the Damián Garcia Murder Investigation Fund, P.O. Box 60415, LA 90060. Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Damián Garcia! □

**May 1st**  
Break Out, Break Free—Take  
History into Our Hands  
Make a Living Force of Proletarian  
Internationalism  
Revolution in the 80's... Go for it!

# And On The "Other" Hand...

It is perhaps worth a brief look at the sort of arguments being advanced by those liberal lights who are, these days, championing opposition to the MX and the administration's announced 1.6 trillion dollar arms buildup. Here we get a view of a regular orgy of humanitarianism and longing for peace.

Take, for example, the views of a noted "planning liberal" Stansfield Turner, as laid out in "The Folly of the MX Missile," in a recent issue of the *NY Times Magazine*. Turner issues a scathing denunciation of "the doctrine of nuclear war-fighting,"—i.e., the present strategy of consensus among U.S. rulers which advocates the capacity to "wage protracted nuclear war and prevail" at all possible levels of engagement.

## Pentagon

Continued from page 1

vulnerability have been transformed into a problem for the future" (*NYT* April 12). As eloquent a way we can imagine of saying: "We've been lying through our teeth."

So with a wave of a blue ribbon, years of propaganda and doublespeak have been "transformed" into thin air—to be honest, ladies and gentlemen, invulnerability to a Soviet strike was never the biggest question and will never be fully possible—what is needed is the capacity to strike first. "We felt the air needed clearing of the imminent spectre of vulnerability," stated a Commission member. So saying, the Commission advised emplacing the MX in 100 of the existing "vulnerable" Minuteman silos—precisely the plan proposed two years ago! Since that time, we've seen the demise of the numerous schemes for basing the MX—Hardpuck, Racetrack (mobile launching), Densepack...now these have been dispensed with; the "air cleared," the imperialists ready to get on with their dirty work.

Not that the bourgeois in-fighting over the missile has been calmed of course.

"Some of my best friends are MX missiles," spake Ronald Reagan who, being quite an expert in bigotry himself, knows prejudice against an innocent missile when he sees it.

And prejudice there is, for the MX presents a real quagmire of contradictions for the U.S. imperialists. The cost of the missile, especially when placed in the context of the staggering war budget now in front of Congress, could create dangerous political problems on the "domestic front"; then there is the issue of missile survivability which has both important political value and importance as an element in the nuclear war-fighting plans of the imperialists; also, the question of a declared policy of "first-use" of nuclear weapons is not a settled one within the bourgeoisie. One commission member, Harold Brown—former Secretary of Defense under Carter—issued a private statement insisting on the problem of ICBM vulnerability and expressing other misgivings about the report. And a wave of "kill the MX" and other dissenting opinions have been rife in the media.

But this commission is not exactly composed of bourgeois unknowns: besides Brown, there are former Secretaries of Defense Melvin Laird, James Schlesinger and Donald Rumsfeld, former CIA heads John McCone and Richard Helms, AFL-CIO vice-president John H. Lyons, as well as Haig and Kissinger. This pack of some of the filthiest long-time U.S. warmakers is broadly representative and their report hammers home "the hard truth" that the U.S. must face:

"The serious imbalance" between the Soviet and U.S. land-based missile forces "must be addressed promptly." It's been years since the MX was proposed as the quick-fix for U.S. war preparations—time is running short.

And there is a related point made towards the end of the report: "Cancelling the MX..." as it is put, "does not communicate to the Soviets that we have the will to maintain effective deterrence."

Turner insists that first-strike weapons like the MX, designed to rapidly knock out hardened Soviet military and governmental targets "only make war more likely." His idea is to go with "large numbers" of the slower, but equally deadly, cruise missile. Then, if the Soviets launch a strike at the U.S., "our objective should be to retaliate not by going after just their remaining missiles but by hitting both military and civilian targets intensively..." (our emphasis—*RW*) Such touching empathy for one's fellow man!

Henry Kissinger, a fierce advocate of "nuclear war-fighting," has replied to just such arguments in the past, and wouldn't you know it, seized on certain weaknesses in the thesis:

"We live in a paradoxical world,"

This is a most important aspect, for the arms race serves not only military ends, but also political ones—as sabre-rattling propaganda directed at the Soviets, as a flexing of the nuclear umbrella over its own bloc, and as a call to its most chauvinist supporters at home. The MX has been used in the wings for years and, simply put, "it's a little late to back out now, fellas..."

Also, the report hints at some side-benefits to be gained through its plan, that is the NATO connection:

"Even before the Soviet leaders, in a grave crisis, consider using the first tank regiments or the first SS-20 missile against NATO, they would be required to face what war would mean to them."

This reaffirmation of U.S. willingness to use its ICBMs against the Soviets in the battle for Europe will be good news to American's European allies. Although the U.S. imperialists obviously went to great lengths to come up with a survivable MX, now that they have admitted failure and returned to the old "vulnerable" basing mode, there are advantages. When the identical MX-basing proposal was made two years ago, the European imperialists cheered (see *RW* 182). Today, the plan will be at least as welcome, considering that part of the uproar over the planned deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nukes in Europe has been the accusation that the U.S. wants to confine war to European territory. Thus the commission's plan may help the U.S. in its European peace-wars.

Now, the commission is sensitive to the possibility that, after hearing these arguments, the listener could get the idea that the experts here have become somewhat fixated on war-like objectives like obliterating the Soviets in a massive and deadly first-strike. Not so, says Commission chairman, General Scowcroft, there are "new directions" in arms control, also proposed. "The commission believes that a single-warhead missile weighing about 15 tons (rather than the nearly 100 tons of MX) may offer greater flexibility in the long-run effort to obtain an ICBM force that is highly survivable..." This is the latest Defense Department brain-child, the Armadillo missile, otherwise known as "Midgetman," and the panel "recommends beginning engineering design of such an ICBM, leading to the initiation of full-scale development in 1987 and an initial operating capability in the early 1990s." The Armadillo would be smaller, more manageable and supposedly far less vulnerable than the MX since it could be deployed in more difficult-to-target "hardened" mobile launchers—while having an accuracy and yield at least comparable to the MX. Yes, now it's not only the MX, but a whole new generation of missiles beyond. And for any of our readers who may be wondering where the "arms control" aspect enters in here, the report explains that the introduction of the smaller single-warhead missile will attain "the realistic objective of arms control agreements to channel the modernization of strategic forces, over the long term, in more stable directions." The "stability" being alluded to here is a proposed switch to an emphasis on negotiating reductions in warheads instead of launchers—i.e. spreading less warheads over more launchers will "enhance survivability" of strategic forces and give individual

sneered Kissinger, "where it is precisely the liberal, humane, progressive community that is advocating the most blood-thirsty strategies and insisting that there is nothing to worry about as long as the capacity exists to kill 100 million people."

But hold on now, for just last week as the MX report was released, another liberal, Jerome B. Wisner, had something to say about this kind of slander coming from the "nuclear war-fighters." Wisner opposed the MX in no uncertain terms, blasting those Kissinger-types in the process and insisted:

"Even with the full MX system as part of an American first-strike, casualties from a retaliatory blow... could exceed 100 million. This is clearly unnecessary

overkill..."

Everybody's agreed then. Incinerating 100 million people is a bit much. 20 or 30 million would be far more acceptable, providing the U.S. is victorious, of course.

What is all this but slightly differing versions of "peace through strength" with the strength to wipe the floor with the enemy as the bottom line? These in all their glory are the "differences in principle" which the Presidential Commission seeks to reconcile, so as to move on to the job of gaining superiority over the Soviets, which is after all, what the MX (and now "Midgetman") is all about anyway. □

targets a "lower value," thus ostensibly reducing the possibility of a pre-emptive strike by either side.

Of course, this generous offer to deal in warheads and not launchers would be preceded by the deployment of the 100 MX launchers with 10 warheads apiece—a thousand new warheads on the U.S. side. (Well, the U.S. would just "substantially raise the limits... we propose" in any arms reduction talks, one official explained. Uh huh.)

How precisely this strategy will be used to accomplish the most efficient U.S. war buildup and attempt to force the Russians into giving up some arms advantages, we cannot yet know.

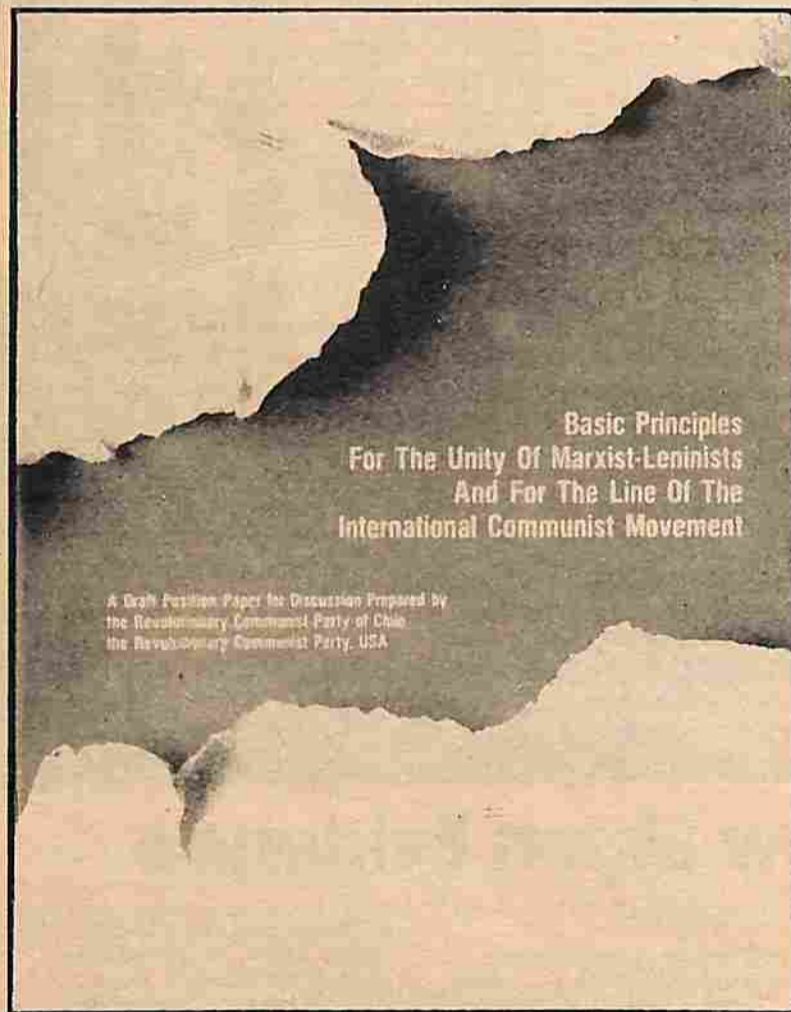
The road ahead will be rocky for our imperialist warmakers; the commission realizes that all sides in the wrangling

about the MX will, as commission member and ex-Under Secretary of the Navy R. James Woolsey put it, "have to eat some crow."

But, Woolsey exhorts, "I would suggest that if, as you take a first bite, you vividly visualize the least palatable dishes you might otherwise be forced to consume, its taste improves perceptibly."

To the U.S. imperialists this must be truly the bottom line: to them, it's better to go with the MX than to be forced to eat shit by the Soviets.

Begging your pardon gentlemen, for interjecting such a shocking proposal, but the more you let it all hang out, the clearer it is that what is being served up on both sides of this inter-imperialist blood-feast is utter shit for the people of the world. □



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

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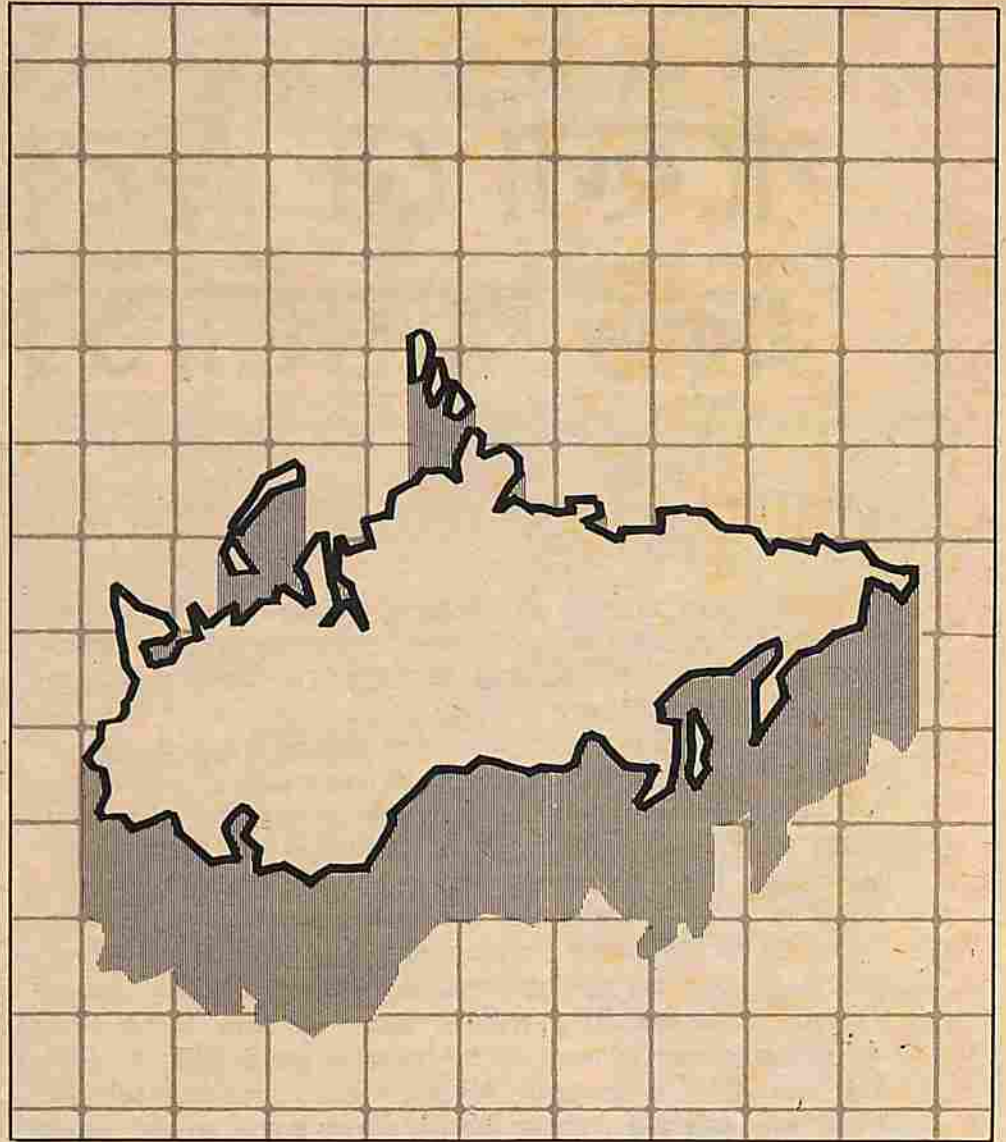
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সকলের উদ্দেশে:

বিশ্বযুদ্ধ এবং বিপ্লব .... এই দুই ধারার মধ্যকার সংঘাত, পহেলা মে, আন্তর্জাতিক শ্রমিক দিবসকে তাৎপর্যময় করে তুলেছে। এই সংঘাত প্রত্যেকটি দেশের বিপ্লবী কর্মীদের আন্দোলনের প্রেক্ষাপট তৈরী করছে এবং সেই সাথে ঝাঁকিয়েছে।

পহেলা মে আন্তর্জাতিক সর্বস্বার্থীদের বিপ্লবী ছুটির দিন। সর্বস্বার্থী শ্রেণী হচ্ছে এমন একটি শ্রেণী যার প্রকৃতি কোন কিছু হারাবার নেই, শুধু সেই শিকলটি ছাড়া, যা তাকে আটকে রেখেছে। আধুনিক কালের দাসত্ব ও হত্যার বিশ্বজোড়া ব্যবস্থার সাথে। এই দিনটির একমাত্র প্রকৃত গুরুত্ব হচ্ছে: এই বিকারগ্রস্ত ব্যবস্থার বিরুদ্ধে বিপ্লব করার জন্য, নিপীড়িত ও শৃঙ্খলিত এবং নতুন ও বিকাশমান সমাজের প্রকৃত আন্দোলন, যা ভাষা, জাতি ও বর্ণবৈষম্যের বাঁধকে অতিক্রম করে এগিয়ে যাবে। এর নক্ষত্র সকল শ্রেণী বৈষম্য ও শ্রেণী নিষ্টিষ্ণ করা। এর উদ্দেশ্য এক জাতির উপর অন্য জাতির আধিপত্য নিরসন করা আর নারীর উপর পুরুষের কর্তৃত্ব অবসান করা। এর সাধনা সকল প্রকার যুদ্ধের ক্রান্তি এবং গতানুগতিক অনগ্রসরমান ঐতিহ্যের বাঁধনকে ছিঁড়ে ফেলা। এই ছুটির দিনটি অর্থপূর্ণভাবে উদযাপনের একটিই উপায় আছে, তা হলো, বিশ্বের প্রতিটি কোণে নানান পতাকা উড়িয়ে সংগ্রাম আর বিদ্রোহের মধ্য দিয়ে নড়াইকে, আন্দোলনের পক্ষে মতটা সম্ভব, বিপ্লবী ভবিষ্যতের দিকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়ার মাধ্যমে।

ইতিহাস এগিয়ে যায় বিরামহীন উত্থানের মধ্য দিয়ে, যা আরো বেশী করে জ্বলে ওঠার জন্য সাময়িক বিগ্রাম নিয়ে থাকে। আন্দোলনের উত্তেজনার অতলে নিহিত আছে এক সংঘাত, যা বিশ্বব্যাপী উদ্যমান সৃষ্টির শক্তির অধিকারী।

একদিকে মুক্তরাষ্ট্র এবং সোভিয়েট উভয়ের নেতৃত্বাধীন সাম্রাজ্যবাদী গোষ্ঠীসমূহ যুদ্ধের প্রস্তুতি নিচ্ছে, নিজেদের সৃষ্ট চোরাবান্ধিতে নিজেরাই হাবুডুব খাচ্ছে, আবার তাদের সাম্রাজ্য রক্ষার জন্য তারা একত্রে প্রচেষ্টা চালাচ্ছে, অন্যদিকে ফ্রমাগত এগিয়ে যাচ্ছে আণবিক সংগ্রহের দিকে। তাদের ব্যবস্থার অন্তর্নিহিত "উন্নত যৌক্তিকতার" জন্য তারা এই পথে চলতে বাধ্য হচ্ছে। আর "স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্র" (পশ্চিমা সাম্রাজ্যবাদী প্রকৃতির) অথবা "ন্যায় ও মুক্তি" (সোভিয়েট সাম্রাজ্যবাদী প্রকৃতির) প্রকৃতির ধূয়া হলে জনগণকে সার্বিকভাবে চাচ্ছে, যাতে "তাদের" জনসাধারণকে তারা সেই উন্নত মুক্তির দ্বারা সংক্রান্ত করতে পারে এবং একের সাথে অপরের হত্যাযজ্ঞ শুরু হয়।

অন্যদিকে এদের বিরুদ্ধে? যে কথা এরা কখনও স্বীকার করতে চায় না সেটা হলো — জনগণের বিপ্লবী স্ফূর্তি ও সংগ্রাম তুর্ধ্ব আগনের মত ছড়িয়ে পড়ছে গদানন্দ থেকে এন-সানডাউর, হাইতির উদ্বাস্তু শিবির থেকে ফ্লোরিডা। যুব সমাজের প্রতিবাদী কণ্ঠস্বরে কান পাতলেই সে কথা শুনতে পাওয়া যায়—সেই একই ঘোষণা প্রতিশ্রুতি ইংল্যান্ডের রাজপথে আর ইরিত্রিয়ার পাথরের পাদদেশে — সবারই সম্মুখে নগ্নভাবে অবতরণ করে চিহ্নিত করছে আর তার সাম্রাজ্যকে চ্যালেঞ্জ করছে। বাতের আকাশে জ্বলে ওঠা অগ্নিকার মাঠে প্রতিশ্রুতি মুক্তির আকাঙ্ক্ষা ভরা উচ্চন চোখের ঝিলিকের মাঝে পূর্ণবীর তা দেখা যাচ্ছে; শত্রুকে আহরণের নক্ষত্র এগিয়ে যাওয়া দীপ্ত পদক্ষেপের সাথে স্পন্দিত হৃদয়ের মধ্যে তা আবারও অনুভূত হচ্ছে, আর তা শোনা যাচ্ছে দেবতাদের মূর্তি খান খান হয়ে উঠে পড়ার শব্দের প্রতিধ্বনির মাঝে। বিপ্লব—বিশ্বের নিপীড়িত জাতিগুলোর মধ্যকার জনস্রু এই অগ্নিশিখা, সাম্রাজ্যবাদী দেশগুলোর একেবারে কেন্দ্রীয় দুর্গের ভিত্তি কাঁদিয়ে দিচ্ছে। কারণ প্রতিটি দেশের শ্রেণী সচেতন সর্বস্বার্থীর নেতৃত্ব ও বিপ্লবী কৃষিকা, বিপ্লবের মধ্য দিয়ে এক নির্ধারিত যোগসূত্র সৃষ্টি করছে।

সাম্রাজ্যবাদী যুদ্ধ এবং সামাজিক বিপ্লবের মধ্যকার মধ্যমমান সংঘর্ষ-ই হচ্ছে সেই অগ্নিচুল্লী যার মাঝে সমস্ত ভবিষ্যত সূত্র। পহেলা মে'তে বিপ্লবী শক্তিগুলোকে অবশ্যই তাদের প্রস্তুতিতে এক বিরাটোকার অগ্রগতি সাধন করতে হবে।

ঐ দিনে ভবিষ্যতের একটি সম্ভাবনা সবার সামনে বিকশিত হয়ে ওঠা উচিত: সর্বস্বার্থীর স্রুটি ও নিজের আন্তর্জাতিক চরিত্র সম্পর্কে সচেতন; সচেতন, সকল প্রকার প্রতিফ্রিয়াশীলতার সাথে তার বৈরিতা সম্পর্কে, আর সে সচেতন সর্বস্বার্থীর ঐতিহাসিক অগ্রমাত্রা সম্পর্কে, যা ছুড়ানুভাবে বিশ্ববিজয় ছাড়া অন্য কিছু নয়। স্থিতির বিভিন্ন অংশের শ্রমিকদের সাধারণ কর্মতৎপরতাকে দুর্ভা-ভাবে এগিয়ে নেবার মূল প্রেরণা হোক — লেনিন যেমন বলেছেন — "আমার" দেশের দুর্ভিক্ষোপ থেকে নয়... বরং বিশ্ব সর্বস্বার্থী বিপ্লবের প্রস্তুতি, এর প্রচারণা ও তা স্বাধিক্ত করার আমার অংশগ্রহণের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকে"।

বর্তমানে, সক্রিয়তার সাথে ও তরুণী ভিত্তিতে সেই মতো প্রস্তুতি চালানোর জন্য এবং এই প্রক্রিয়াকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাবার জন্য পহেলা মে'র পদ্ধতির দাবী হচ্ছে বার্থ অসীতের পুনর্বারুতির সাথে বিচ্ছিন্ন। বিপ্লবীদের প্রজ্ঞা এবং বিবেচনাকে অবশ্যই যে কোন ধরণের সংগ্রামে জড়িয়ে পড়ে সংকীর্ণ লেজুরবৃত্তি করার উর্ধ্বে উঠতে হবে। তারা যেন জনসাধারণের চিন্তা ও রাজনীতিকে জাতীয় স্বার্থের ছুড় গড়ির মধ্যে আটকে না ফেলে। প্রতিটি দেশের জনগণের সংগ্রামের 'যোগফল'ই বিশ্ববিপ্লবে পরিণত হবে — এই আশাত সরল কিন্তু পুরোপুরি ভ্রান্ত অংককে কর্তন করে অবশ্যই লেনিনবাদের বিপ্লবী ক্যান্ডিডাটসকে গ্রহণ করতে হবে। বিশেষত: বিশ্বব্যাপী একটি তীব্র সংকটে সর্ব-হারাকে অবশ্য অবশ্যই তার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিকে এবং আবেদনকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে তুলতে হবে, আর সাথে সাথে তার সকল শক্তিসমূহকে একটি অখণ্ড বাহিনীর বিভিন্ন অংশ হিসেবে সমন্বিত করতে হবে। এমনকি এক বা একাধিক দেশের জোয়ার ও ক্ষয়দের ফাটনধারা বাঁধ ধ্বংসের সূচনা করতে পারে; সেই সাথে পারে বিশ্ববিপ্লবের সম্ভাবনাকে আরো ব্যাপক করে তুলতে। শ্রেণী সচেতন শক্তি-গুলোকে এই স্ফূর্তি এবং নক্ষত্র এগিয়ে যেতে হবে, আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যায়ে বিপ্লবী কমিউনিস্ট/সর্বস্বার্থী আন্তর্জাতিকতাবাদী গতি-ধারা সম্পন্ন একটি সাধারণ কর্মসূচী, সাধারণ রননীতির দিকে এবং একটি সাধারণ সংগঠন গড়ে তোলার দিকে।

হয়তো বা এ সব কিছুই স্বপ্ন-কল্পনা বলে মনে হতে পারে... এমনকি দিব্যদর্শন! হলোই যা! দিব্যদৃষ্টির চেয়ে যা কোন অংশ কম নয় — আজ প্রয়োজন সেই দূরদর্শিতা যা নিত্যদিনের পর্দা সর্ঘিয়ে তার অন্ত:স্থিত প্রকৃত গতিস্ববাহকে প্রকাশ করে দেয়। ১৯১৭ সালে লেনিনও কি দিব্যদ্রষ্টা বলে অস্তিত্ব হন নি? অথবা ১৯৬৬ সালে মাও সেতুও? কিন্তু তাদের স্বপ্নই কি 'স্বন্দতর অমঙ্গল' কামনা আর 'বাস্তববাদী হওয়ার' আবেদনের চাইতে অধিক বাস্তব বলে প্রমাণিত হয় নি? এবং তা কি দুনিয়ার চেহারা আর মানবজাতিকে বদলায় নি? এই সংশোধনবাদ ও সংস্কারবাদ একটি 'বাস্তববাদ' যার সীমা নির্ধারিত হয়েছে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ এবং তার স্বগোষ্ঠের কাঠামো দ্বারা। আর আজ এমন সময় এসেছে যখন বিশ্বের ঘটনাপ্রবাহ এমন এক অক্ষয় সৃষ্টি করে যার কনশ্চিতিত বিপ্লবীদের সামনে বিরাট সম্ভাবনার দুয়ার খুলে যাচ্ছে। লেনিন এবং মাও যে সুউচ্চ নক্ষত্র পৌঁছেছিলেন আমেরাও কি সেবকম নক্ষত্র পৌঁছার জন্য প্রচেষ্টা চালানো না?

বিপ্লবী কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, মুক্তরাষ্ট্র-এর পক্ষ থেকে তাই এ আহ্বান:

পহেলা মে অবলোকন করক, খোদ মুক্তরাষ্ট্রে কারখানা ও শিফা প্রতিষ্ঠানে ধর্মঘট এবং বিভিন্ন আবাস-প্রকল্পগুলোয়, কারা-গারসমূহে, সড়কের মোড়ে মোড়ে এবং প্রত্যেক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বলয় ও ঘাঁটিতে বিভিন্ন প্রকার রাজনৈতিক তৎপরতাকে — যা শুধু এখনকার সত সহস্র মানুষকে সজাগ করবে তাই নয় বরং সমগ্র বিশ্বে আলোড়ন তুলবে যে, সাম্রাজ্যবাদের এই দুর্গের ভেতরেই সত্য সত্যই বিকাশমান একটি অংশ এখনই বিপ্লবের জন্য 'জনমত গড়ছে এবং শক্তিকে সংগঠিত করছে'।

এবং আরো আহ্বান জানাচ্ছে, পহেলা মে, ১৯৮৩-ত আন্তর্জাতিক সর্বস্বার্থীদের ঐক্য পুণ:প্রতিষ্ঠার সুপ্ন পরিবর্তে হোক। তা হোক ঐক্যবদ্ধ তৎপরতার মধ্য দিয়ে; যে তৎপরতা বিস্মৃত হবে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ দ্বারা নির্যাতিত জাতিগুলো থেকে খোদ পুঁজির এই ছুড়া পর্যন্ত। এই তৎপরতা দু'এক দিনের জন্য হলেও রাজনৈতিক পূর্বভাস হোক এবং সাম্রাজ্যবাদের দুমড়ানো-মোচড়ানো শিকল থেকে বিশ্বের যতদূর সম্ভব এলাকা মুক্ত করার নক্ষত্র প্রস্তুতি হোক; সেদিন খুব বেশী দূরে নেই যেদিন সর্বস্বার্থীরা একের পর এক বিভিন্ন এলাকা মুক্ত করবে, নানা স্থানে ক্ষমতা দখল করবে আর বাধা-বিপ্লবে অতিক্রম করে সামনের দিকে এগিয়ে যাবে। আর তাই পহেলা মে'র সূর্যলোক সকল জাম্গার বিপ্লবের নাল পতাকার উপর পড়ুক, যেন কংক্রীট ফুড়ে ফোটে রক্তিম গোলাপ, যেন জবা ও ধ্বংসস্তম্ভের মাঝ থেকে জেগে উঠে অজোয় জীবন।

বিপ্লবী কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, মুক্তরাষ্ট্র

"An Internationalist Call to May First Action" in Bangla

"Llamado Internacionalista a la Acción el 1º de Mayo" en bangla