



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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# May 1st 1981: The Shape of Things to Come

## Atlanta: Actions Sting Old Order

"May Day in Atlanta was marked by vandalism, protest and violence," blared an obviously upset 11 p.m. TV anchorman May First, as battle scenes from the day flashed on the screen behind him. Atlanta would never be the same. The blows of May First, 1981 had hit hard. Some of the most hated symbols of the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie were ripped down by a growing revolutionary force. Official and unofficial terror and repression aimed at Black people in Atlanta in the context of rapidly accelerating events internationally set the stage for a truly victorious day for the international proletariat.

Only one day earlier, the *Atlanta Constitution* had stated, "In contrast to a year ago, the streets of Atlanta will see no demonstration in support of the international worker. The local branch of the Revolutionary Communist Workers Party (meaning the RCP—RW) which observed May Day, 1980 with a march in Atlanta, did not obtain a parade permit for the 1981 workers day, city police said." It would be fine if their idea of May Day remained on this level. All the better. But by contrast, for weeks graffiti and posters had been lighting up the city calling for *breakouts* May 1st; newspapers and leaflets had been distributed by the

thousands challenging revolutionary workers and others to politically liberate some territory that day. Parade permit? The authorities were in for a bitter taste of the future.

One week before May Day, the American flag and the glorified Confederate flag of the State of Georgia had been thrown down to the ground as two revolutionaries raised the red flag over the State capitol. And Thursday, April 30th, during the morning rush hours, WRNG radio, one of the most popular stations in the area, ran a 10-minute interview with Bob Avakian, live from Paris, in which the Chairman spoke to many questions and called on

the people of Atlanta to join with revolutionary May 1st actions around the world.

Fifteen people had been arrested in the two weeks preceding May Day. The *Revolutionary Worker* was officially banned from the Atlanta University complex, and an attempt was made to ban it from the housing projects. Police were overheard grumbling about how they had to get ready for May Day. Jailers openly discussed in front of the prisoners the "mess" they feared in jail when the revolutionaries were arrested once again. Several of the revolu-

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## San Francisco: Proletarians Liberate Some Territory

The aftershocks from the May 1st eruption in San Francisco's Mission District are still being felt. For those who took part in, or saw and heard of the events that day, the possibilities for revolution, including right here in the belly of U.S. imperialism, have been drastically changed. This was no ordinary demonstration but a fierce all-around political struggle from early morning to late that night, from the fight to break out of the plants, schools and hiring halls to the pitched battle for the red flag in the streets of this revolutionary base area.

5:45 a.m.: In the projects and alleys where hundreds of foreign-born work-

ers are crowded into small apartment houses, many awoke to the sound of revolutionaries calling on them to take history into their hands—to liberate the base area—today on May Day. People come out of their homes to take bundles of the special May Day issue of the *RW* and red flags. The pigs arrive on the scene—the battle of May Day 1981 has begun.

9:15 a.m. at the Laborer's Union Hiring Hall: The debate here is clearly the red flag of the international proletariat versus the red, white and blue of U.S. imperialism; as the revolutionaries enter the hall the reactionaries immediately begin their agitation—"We like the red, white and blue..."

9:30 a.m.: The atmosphere at Mission High is tense—and students debate and struggle how and when to break out of school. A team of revolutionaries begins to enter the school and they're grabbed by the cops. At the

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### Special May Day Issue—

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Among the thousands and thousands of red flags which flew across the U.S. on May First were several especially striking manifestos of the international revolutionary struggle. Hated monuments of imperialist rule were targeted, symbols of exploitation and oppression around the world were hit. On the morning of May Day, a red flag was raised over the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco. The following message was left:

May 1, 1981 6:25 a.m. In the name of the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, May 1, 1981, we the Chiang Ching Brigade raised the red flag of revolution and internationalism over the Chinese Consulate. This nest of traitors who stole power from the working class in the Peoples Republic of China and who plot now with their U.S. masters to crush revolution all over the world. Following the example of our comrade Chiang Ching, we declare to these oppressors and to their counterparts in the Soviet Union your efforts to preserve your decadent system are puny and doomed to failure. This red flag is only one of millions that will fly around the world today and the oppressed who raise them are determined to take history into our hands and make revolution until your kind are abolished from the face of the earth forever.

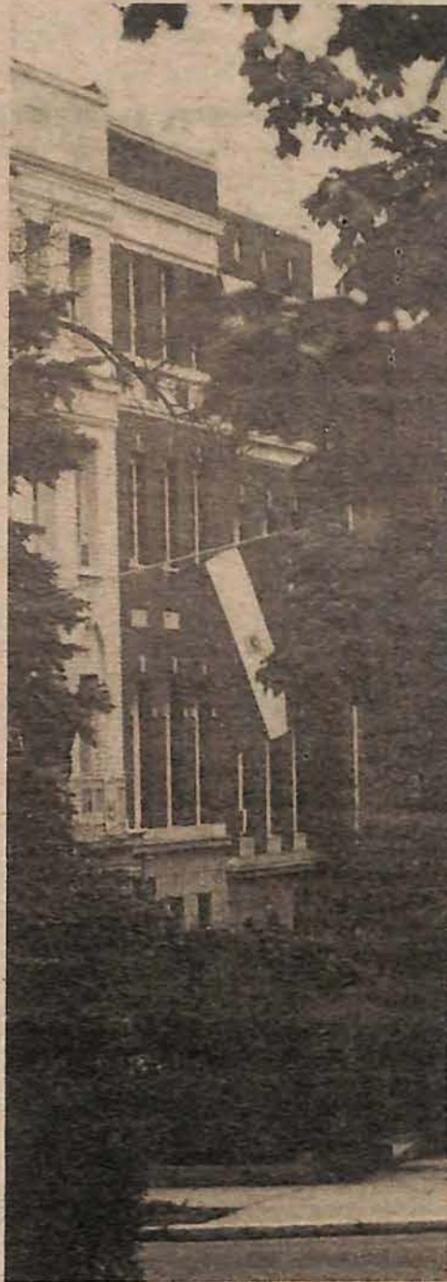
The Chiang Ching Brigade

In Washington, D.C. an unmistakable sight of May First was seen in the early morning as the red flag flew over the embassy of the fascist junta of El Salvador. Pictured on this page is the lowering of the puppet government's flag and the raising of the red flag. Apparently, similar photos were released over national news services but were subsequently blacked out.

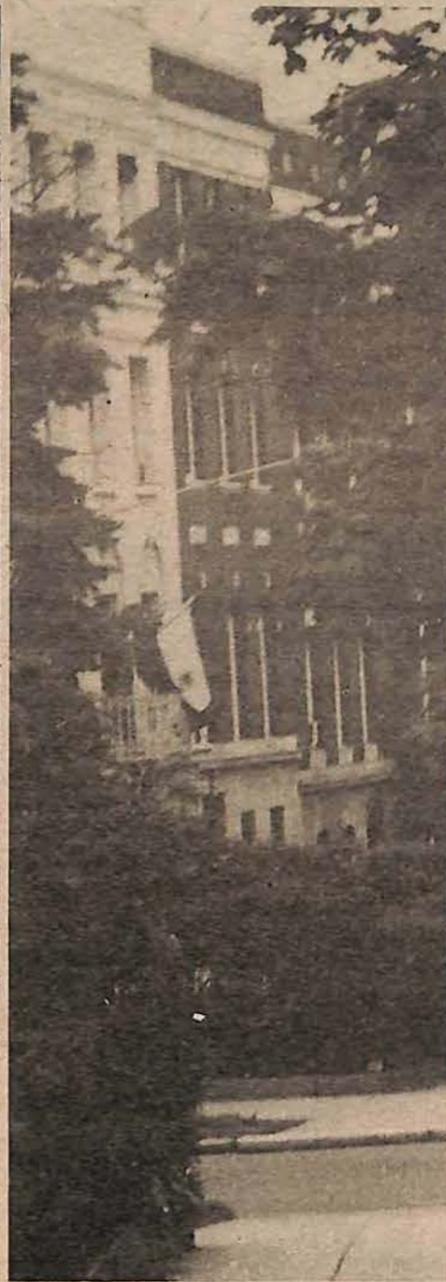
The red flag was also planted on top of the Bowen Homes Day Care Center in Atlanta on May First. This was the site of a highly suspicious explosion last October which killed four Black children and one teacher. A group of residents at the Bowen Homes Housing Project were infuriated when the news media refused to photograph this May Day action and they continued to call the press for several days. The red flag stayed up even longer.

In Hawaii the red flags flew at one of the most sacred shrines of U.S. imperialism—Pearl Harbor.

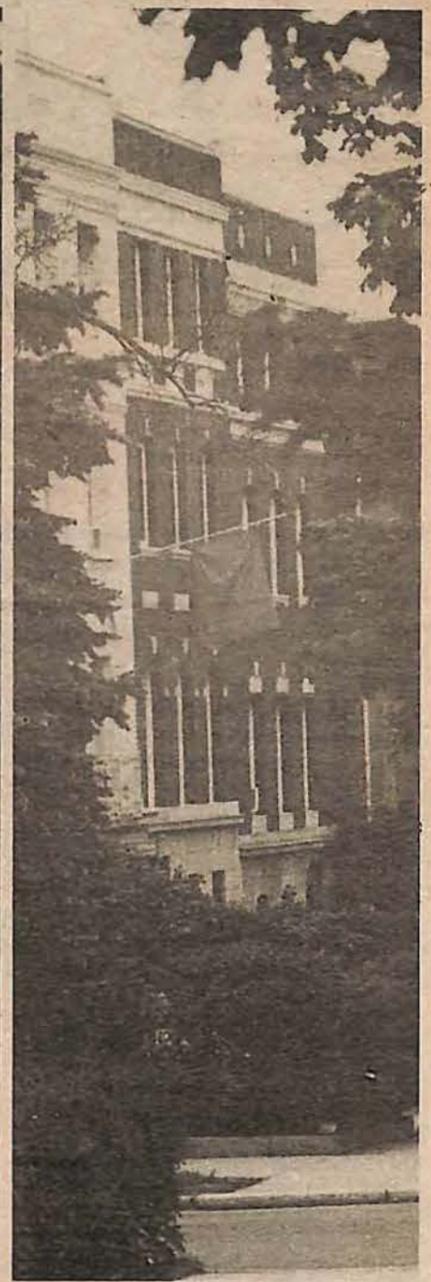
# Famous Places Where the Red Flag Was Raised



Before



During



After

May 1st and its effects on the El Salvador Embassy in D.C.

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In the heat of the battle for May First, you stepped forward to pick up the red flag and bundles of the *RW*—many times scooping up the papers seconds before the pigs could confiscate them. By now, this weapon has found its way into the hands of thousands more. At this point, the other side of this process—getting the sales money and contributions in—must be completed. Ongoing support of the revolutionary press is vital and it is also part of victoriously concluding the battle of May 1, 1981.

If you haven't already done so, turn in the money in person or by other arrangements to your local distributor, center or bookstore. And, pick up a bundle of this issue!!!

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# Old Going Down, New Arising

A May Day bursting with seeds of the future dawned across the country and the whole world on the morning of May First. And not just any future, but the future of proletarian revolution, a struggle whose elements could be seen even more clearly in the revolutionary consciousness and diverse revolutionary forms of this year's actions.

The actions in this country took a leap in their internationalist character, further advancing down a road embarked on on May Day, 1980. There has been a closer joining of ranks of the international proletariat, a crucial element without which the advance of the revolution in the coming period of war and revolutionary crisis is impossible. One Atlanta man, a member of the "bat patrols" spoke of the messages they had received from all over the world. "It has international significance. Today in Techwood we should send that message back!" Revolutionaries from other countries, both workers and students, joined in struggle in places like Chicago's Cabrini Green and ghetto high schools. Iranians, Salvadoreans risking the counter-attack of the immigration authorities, stood in the front ranks of May 1st here, giving a living education in proletarian internationalism. The red flag flew more broadly than before—a symbol of the fact that proletarians in this country, cut off from their brothers and sisters around the world for decades by imperialism and revisionism, were consciously joining the ranks. What is being born is an understanding that proletarian internationalism is more than just something "extended" by workers in one country to another; it expresses the reality that this is a worldwide struggle of the proletariat and all oppressed.

This year the ruling classes of the world felt obliged to suppress the news of worldwide May Day, hoping to isolate the struggle in one country from another, even as its common features were becoming more apparent to millions. But it is a sign of the developing maturity and strength of the international movement that this will not be a "secret May Day" internationally, but its happenings and lessons will be spread and made the common property of conscious proletarians on a higher level than before.

In this country, another great advance was in the forms of struggle undertaken by the masses and in the conscious participation in devising them. This was no calm affair of a "loyal opposition." This was revolutionary May Day, whose very diversity of forms, unified under a common red banner, gave a picture in embryo of the armed insurrection that lies in the future. In various cities, Atlanta and Cleveland among them, the authorities bragged in the major press that no "May Day trouble" was expected, because no one had applied for a permit to demonstrate. The attitude of class-

conscious proletarians is this: "Please keep on spreading such stories, bourgeoisie, and *above all* believe them yourselves. Go ahead and believe that only an orderly demonstration with a permit to march counts as a form of proletarian struggle, go ahead and believe it all the way to the revolution when your windows are rattling and your house is burning down!"

More than a few places across the country did achieve—if only for a short time and partially—the state of being politically "liberated" areas where, as the original call for May First put it, "the formerly suppressed political energy of the masses, their activism, their search for revolutionary ideas and theory is able to blossom."

Youth in particular came to the fore. This is not a sign, as some defenders of the past would have it, of the "immaturity" of the movement, but of its growing maturity. Do you remember the 1960s and the bolt that was sent through society by its youth? And, learning from international experience, as the future unfolds and the time of armed insurrection draws near, more and more youth will consciously step forward to meet the challenge to change the face of the world.

And the assault of the proletariat on all the strongholds of the bourgeoisie was more full, more wide ranging into every sphere of society than before. They were fought on the battlefield of art; they were contested in their own military. In fact one remarkable characteristic of the day was that it revealed that May First is becoming a focus for many diverse class forces. Something is developing along the lines of, "If you have a *radical* statement to make about the society, in any sphere or field, then you make it on May Day and you make it in the color red." This is a great source of strength and a further challenge to the ability of the class-conscious proletariat to lead the revolutionary process forward.

Even the demonstrations held on that day were not the same as before. They were a kind of liberated area in themselves—converging points, stage areas for more wide ranging action. May First in this country was not a day of the "labor movement." Thank god. It was a day of struggle between the bourgeois labor movement along with all forces of imperialism, reaction and the past in general, and the rising forces of the revolutionary proletariat. This was not only true in the U.S., but internationally as well. It is no diversion from the revolutionary path, but the path of advance itself. Since imperialism, with its worldwide spoils, has bribed a gang of "labor leaders" in the home country and produced a section of more bourgeoisified workers as well, how could there not be a struggle to break through their suffocating hold? There is a real proletariat, as well, and among these people, there were quite a

few taking history's stage on May First. As Engels once said, "it is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now develop." May 1st develops precisely in this way, through fierce struggle not only against the state, but between two sections of the people, one representing the old, and dying, siding with "America Number 1," and the other upholding the internationalist cause of the proletariat. This is precisely the path by which the revolution will advance and learning why this is so and how to advance through it has been pushed ahead through May Day.

From the picture of early reports, it is very clear that May 1, 1981 was a further leap ahead in the forging, and real revolutionary preparation, of a class-conscious force. But shortcomings, though secondary, must be summed up as well, and lessons drawn so as to advance in an all-around way. So far it seems that few breakouts occurred on May First, and those that did were somewhat smaller than called for. The stage things reached was apparently more characterized by mass debates and confrontation with authorities and reactionaries, with the political atmosphere crackling, and the offensive see-sawing back and forth. Usually the bourgeoisie gained the upper hand before things got totally beyond control—though uncontrolled elements sprang up everywhere. And the wounds suffered by their order will not disappear.

Last year, in summing up the leap taken ahead on May 1, 1980 and analyzing its weakness, Chairman Bob Avakian wrote, "I think it is mainly political and only secondarily tactical. By this I mean that the question still comes down mainly to what was focused on in the talk, 'Coming From Behind to Make Revolution' as the essential question: whether (and how well) we can arm the advanced in particular with an understanding of our analysis of the objective situation and its developments—of the challenges and possibilities ahead—and therefore of the importance of their taking historical action now." While there have been important advances since then, while we are far ahead of a year ago in this regard, this analysis still applies to the weaknesses of May 1st, 1981 and to their cure.

It was no mystery where major advances took place, where the forms of struggle and the initiative of the masses was at its highest. In nearly every case it was where the kind of work pointed to by the Chairman had been done, and particularly where, over some period, the Party had carried out consistent revolutionary work centered around the *Revolutionary Worker*—with its comprehensive picture of the world and of the class struggle. Because this broad exposure has gone on on a whole new scale this past year, because the con-

spiracy around the paper has spread significantly, new things were possible and materialized that could not be dreamed of last year.

But still this progress is uneven. Still the all-around work centered on, but not limited to a newspaper, is just beginning. This includes propaganda which extensively and thoroughly lays out the kind of political questions confronted in practice by the advanced workers on May 1st, and will confront them more still in the final struggle for political power.

Some places targeted for breakouts had not been consistent concentrations of this kind of revolutionary work, of systematic distribution of literature, etc. for more than a very few months before the First. For some this was only a matter of a few weeks, or even less. In others the work was incomplete, resting only at the level of broad distribution of the newspaper, with only weak political and organizational connections with the advanced workers.

The still new, fragile, incomplete nature of these connections certainly made for tactical difficulties—to confront the old order requires serious revolutionary organization. But, even more, it left intact much old thinking, much litter in the way of taking full revolutionary action. Reaching the advanced workers with the newspaper, with the all-around revolutionary line of the Party is not simply a matter of "filling a vacuum" with new ideas. The struggle against narrowness, conservatism, revisionism goes beyond the ranks of the organized movement. Many advanced workers, even while they fight such tendencies, are also influenced by them. Spontaneously, people often see the meaning of their own actions up against only what is right around them, and fail to see its real potential significance from a world perspective. To be really unleashed to take such bold actions requires a clear and firm grasp on this sweeping world view. Only the Party can provide it, and only when it thoroughly bases itself on the most advanced line. Lacking in this outlook, and often influenced by other political lines which were not strongly enough challenged by the Party, many advanced workers took "quieter" forms of action, in solidarity with May Day, rather than breaking out. Quite a few didn't show at all for work that day, others did things like protecting revolutionaries who came under attack, but didn't take a bold offensive themselves. Now, today, with the major leaps that were taken on May First here and internationally as a reference point, and with further, urgent work to prepare minds and organize forces for revolution crying out to be done, there are great opportunities to sum all this up, raise the level of the whole movement, and press ahead more thoroughly than ever before in the revolutionary line. □

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## West Europe

## Youth, Immigrants Put

May Day in Europe, until quite recently, has long been quiet, boring, and definitely pro-imperialist, as "socialist" parties in and out of government and their more pro-Soviet revisionist rivals swear loyalty to the "good life" the worldwide system of plunder has brought to a handful or demand their "fair share" in it. For those workers who don't care to come to a May Day rally to get the reformist/imperialist kiss of death as they sit or stand before the speakers' platform half sleeping, the bourgeoisie cynically offers up May Day as "bier und burst" day, a good day to get drunk. And, because in much of Europe the various imperialist ruling classes have been able to make sure that a certain section of the workers have their bread and sausages, or free lousy medical care, or whatever, that's been all there is to May Day until very recently.

But imperialism doesn't just breed its own gravediggers, it even imports them. Throughout Europe, there is a whole huge lower layer of the proletariat which combines being truly dispossessed with some broader experience of imperialism, often bringing with them a relatively high level of political consciousness and organization from the struggle in their native countries. Add to this the lower strata of the European-born proletariat and the large and growing numbers of people, especially youth, from other strata who are being impelled into political life by various aspects of the gathering imperialist crisis, and the imperialists have quite a problem—a force which is clearly drawing growing and broader numbers of people into revolutionary struggle, an internationalist force which rejects unity with its "own" bourgeoisie even (and especially) in the face of an approaching inter-imperialist world war when the bourgeoisie's need for such unity is a hundred times greater.

In West Germany, the ruling Social Democrats and their trade-union federation could tell that the infection breaking out among the scruffy, disaffected sections of the people is starting to spread by many recent incidents, such as what was supposed to be a standard strike at the Hoersch electrical plant in Dortmund where young and some older workers walked into the elegant meeting rooms where the union and management was busy discussing them, and took it over, hanging out a banner saying "building occupied for renovations," just as the squatters who take over apartment buildings do. So on May Day this year there were many hundreds of official May Day rallies, over 200 in the state of Bavaria alone, called to contain any mass initiative and prevent nasty outbursts.

Instead, these rallies became the occasion and target of nasty outbursts. At the main rally in Duisberg, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, that great "socialist," was hardly able to get through his explanation of why West Germany needs U.S. nuclear missiles "to keep from being raped overnight"—leaving out German imperialism's own less than honorable history—because of the constant catcalls and heckling and the din from hand-held airhorns among the crowd, which included many foreign-born workers, before he was reduced to yelling and screaming.

But Duisberg was the good news for the West German imperialists compared to Stuttgart, where fully half of the

7000 present were foreign-born, mainly from Turkey. The speech by "West Germany's George Meany," Otto Vetter, the head of the metalworkers' union which includes many foreign workers, could not be heard through the chants of "Down with West German imperialism, Stop Aid to Turkey" and other slogans. Afterwards, a large contingent of workers from Turkey and some more revolutionary-minded Germans held their own rally, with revolutionary songs in Turkish and German, and speeches. Throughout this action, as in other places where the presence of ATIF-ATÖF (the federations of workers and students from Turkey) was felt that day, there was a strong emphasis on denouncing both the U.S. and Soviet blocs as well as West German imperialism, and many manifestations of support for the struggle in El Salvador and Ireland, which became a very important factor in May Day everywhere in Europe.

In Frankfurt, the authorities were prepared for trouble. They had set up a very strong loudspeaker system, with loudspeakers all over the main square and throughout the adjoining area. The speakers' platform was set up against a large building, so that the stage could only be entered or left through this building. In front of the platform was a three-foot-high metal fence, and protecting that, special seating for retired workers and then another fence. Throughout the square there were union guards and on the edges hundreds of riot police with shields and helmets.

But even the pouring rain didn't provide the atmosphere the authorities wanted. In the middle of the rally a group of workers from Turkey burned an American flag, denouncing the U.S.-backed fascist junta which recently took over in Turkey, and chanting "Death to West German imperialism!" A group of Kurds, mainly from the Kurdish area of Turkey, chained themselves together to dramatize their protest against the savage and continuing national oppression of the Kurdish people in Turkey and neighboring countries.

Soon the rally was more like an internationalist festival than the imperialist one it was supposed to be. People were selling revolutionary newspapers from different countries, including Chile, the U.S., Eritrea and Turkey; leaflets were everywhere, and many people bought and wore Chiang Ching buttons. All in all this openly revolutionary and enthusiastically internationalist section of the crowd numbered about 1000 out of the 6000 people present. Towards the middle of the rally, they marched to a nearby square to sing *The Internationale* in different languages and hear revolutionary speeches.

Similar activities took place elsewhere. There were even reports of May Day posters, stickers and slogans and revolutionary newspapers appearing among GI's stationed in West Germany.

This spirit of not just "challenging" the authorities and institutions, but actually attacking them, was not confined just to May Day. On the night before May Day, celebrated as "Walpurgisnacht," the night of the witches, by the West German women's movement, thousands of women took part in an assault that tore apart the red-light pornography districts in six West German cities.

In Hamburg, 3000 women protesting the fact that a woman is raped on the average of every 15 minutes in West Germany, left a trail of spraypainted slogans on sex shops and pimp hangouts before police prevented them from attacking the infamous "sex-mile" stretch of degradation. In Frankfurt, a similar action ended in clashes with police, and in Hannover, demonstrators dispersed by police using tear gas and clubs after raiding a peep show, regrouped and resumed the battle.

Although not exactly May Day events, this outbreak under the slogan "Take Back the Night," in itself an important denunciation and declaration of war against an outrage built into imperialism and getting worse every day—and an exposure of just how far the bourgeoisie is willing to go to protect the oppression of women—took on added significance in its conscious May Day eve timing and the fact that a great many of the women continued to take part in and link their actions to other May Day activities the following day.

Across the way in Switzerland, the scene was similar but wilder. 5,000 to 6,000 demonstrators, including thousands of foreign workers mainly from Turkey, Italy and Spain, marched through the industrial city of Basel, which sits on the West German/Swiss border, to the city hall, site of the official union rally. The very international character of this demonstration was lit by the flare of working-class and other youth who are involved in the autonomous youth center movement in Switzerland. Slogans such as "We won't let ourselves be militarized," "Apprentices are not machines" (referring to the stultifying—and super-exploitative—apprentice system young workers are caught in), "Stop the Neutron Bomb," "Down With the Fascist Junta in Turkey," "El Salvador—Revolution or Death" were painted on red banners and chanted by the marchers. A large group of workers from Turkey also marched behind banners of the revolutionary paper *Partizan*, holding high various pictures of revolutionary comrades.

After a number of speeches by union officials and social-democratic mouthpieces, a fight broke out behind stage, apparently over whether a revisionist would speak for the workers from Turkey, or a worker from one of the revolutionary organizations at the rally. Some of the Swiss youth also tried to get up on stage to speak. Suddenly various goons tried to beat up and push the "troublemakers" away from the speaker's stand and out of the square. The union officials immediately announced that the rally was over. Fed up with the B.S. of the hand-picked delegates and being prevented from speaking themselves, the youth charged the stage, beat back the goons, who along with the union and revisionist supporters were beating a hasty retreat, muttering that "These people are not part of our first of May." Right they were. Once on the stage, the youth ripped down union banners, turned the stage into splinters and set it on fire. Then they covered the newly-decorated city hall with brightly-colored slogans and smashed most of its front windows. A militant demonstration of several hundred formed up and marched back through the streets of Basel, destroying 30 to 40 large display windows of some of the most well known banks and department stores in the country. The

march had way outstripped Basel police, who were taken completely off guard and were unable to reach the main streets in time to stop the actions of the militant outgrowth of this peaceful, everything-under-control May 1st rally by the reformists. Out of fear of both spoiling their "comradely" May 1st image and of accelerating the events while so many different forces were out in the streets, the cops held back from their usual brutal attacks on the youth demonstrations that continued on into the evening.

Hard as they tried, authorities were unable to keep control over their traditional unionist May Day festival in Zurich, either. The calm of a "unity and equality" march led by bureaucrats and their followers was suddenly shattered by the "Chaotics," as a Zurich newspaper called them, "masked and painted figures screaming 'Autonomous youth center!' and 'Amnesty!' for those arrested in earlier riots, throwing stones and paint bombs against the buildings, thus smashing various glass windows and shop displays...." At that point the hacks hurriedly tried to ditch the "Movement" that had latched onto them by leading part of the demonstration across the bridge spanning the river which divides the city into two sections. The "Movement," however, dispersed only to reappear on the other side of the river, waiting at the rally square as the parade of hacks marched into it, and decorating the city hall with paint bombs and slogans. Meanwhile, the other half of the official demonstration marched down the Bahnhofstrasse to the music of two union bands leading the parade. (The Bahnhofstrasse is the main boulevard, lined with the banks, hotels and shops of the wealthy, that has been the recurrent target of youth demonstrations this past year, symbolizing the dead-end future the youth want no part of.) The youth also met this section of the demonstration and heated discussion broke out between them and the older demonstrators, sometimes leading to fights.

Finally, people gathered at the city hall to hear a member of the Geneva National Council give a high-pitched speech containing some rhetoric about the capitalist system and the union struggle, leading up to a call for an effective defense of the country. A giant roar of protest broke out from the thousands gathered, many moving closer to the stage. As the speaker ended with an appeal for unity, referring to the "minority groups"—the foreigners, women and youth—and calling for nonviolence, the union goons around the stage brutally pushed back youth who tried to get on stage to speak themselves. The officials quickly ended their rally and the youth took their wrath down to the financial strongholds of the Bahnhofstrasse. Police advanced in lines and the youth started building barricades. A demand went up to retake the old factory downtown (which had served as a youth center), and the police swarmed in to disperse the crowd of about 500 before it got there. Each time the youth tried to reconstruct a demonstration during the day, the police attacked to disperse it. Then the movement went over to a form of guerrilla warfare—setting up barricades in various sections of the city, pushing the battle on into the evening.

In Berne, the capital city of Switzerland, hundreds of youth, part of the

# Flaming Red Back in May Day

"Movement of the Discontented," gathered on the day before May Day to protest a police report to the city authorities going on that day. They began to smash windows and police moved in to disperse them with tear gas. A demonstration of about 300 gathered and marched to the center of the city demanding amnesty for all those who had been arrested in past protests and demanding that the "Suicide Prison" (sarcastically referring to police murder) in Berne be closed. This pitched battle with police also lasted all evening. On May 1st itself, an action group for emergency housing occupied an empty house in tribute to May Day, hit-

ting the acute shortage of apartments in the city and the whole Berne region.

Elsewhere in Europe, we have received sketchy information of outbreaks among youth in Norway and Holland. In Spain, from where the U.S. press (and U.S.-owned press in Latin America) has given one of its few reports about May Day in the "free world"—a march in Madrid in support of fascism—and where the revisionists and "socialists," cowering in the face of this threat, on May Day pledged their allegiance to Spain's present form of government, we have so far uncovered information about demonstrations and mass fighting in the streets against the

Madrid government in the oppressed nationality Basque region involving about 200,000 people in at least three major cities. All marches and demonstrations have been banned in London following the Brixton rebellion—the first uprising to shake Britain in recent memory—but there was a May Day forum there involving Marxist-Leninists from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran and Britain. In Nottingham, in an incident repeated all over Britain at traditional Labour Party-trade union May 1st rallies according to reports, the official ceremonies were marred by constant jeering and chants of "Troops Out" (of Northern Ireland). There was

also a May Day forum in Nottingham.

There were also significant popular eruptions and revolutionary battles in many countries throughout Latin America, Asia and Africa this year. However, due to the imperialist news blackout of May Day internationally, conditions of severe repression in these countries and other reasons, it has been difficult to gather detailed reports. Our readers who are in contact with the revolutionary struggle in these areas of the world should continue to gather information and send it in to the *RW* as soon as possible. Next week there will be more news on May Day actions internationally. □



Workers from Turkey burn an American flag to symbolize what they intend to do to U.S. imperialism and its junta in Turkey, part of a massive disruption of the official government/Union May Day rally in Frankfurt, West Germany. The West German paper this picture is taken from whines in its caption, "Foreign groups used the May Day celebrations of the DGB (union federation) to make known their own problems in their respective countries." The newspaper "forgot" to add that the flag burning was accompanied by chants of "Death to West German imperialism"—nor did it dare add that this unholy alliance of revolutionary foreign-born workers and revolutionary West German youth is the harbinger of a social force that could bring West German imperialism to its "own" doom.

# Summing Up Breakouts

*An initial report on breakouts by some San Francisco Bay Area comrades:*

The depth and breadth of the breakout that occurred May 1st is still largely unknown and will be summed up as correspondence continues to come in and the overall revolutionary work of the Party is accelerated especially the distribution of the *RW*, all of which is being carried on at a whole new stage.

But already reports of the sights and sounds of May Day are coming in and a picture speaking quite well of the possibility of revolution and foretelling the greatest danger to U.S. imperialism is emerging. Participation in actions in the face of the enemy, inside his "fortresses" of oppression, was widespread and deep—the red flag was raised up in the face of the school administrators—foremen—managers—pigs and other overseers and enforcers of the red, white and blue. A red flag was spotted atop a flag factory and when a co-conspirator went to investigate he found

the workers wearing red armbands as well.

Red flags flew from Muni buses and city trucks—the Chiang Ching Brigade spirited a flag atop the Chinese Consulate and a Berkeley anarchist was part of a small march of students down Telegraph Avenue and made sure the red flag flew from the Campanile (campus tower) for the rest of the day.

In the weeks and days leading up to May 1st, among the thousands who read the *RW*, many were carefully following the propaganda and coverage of May Day developments, and were making their own plans. A young woman from a housing project in Oakland got her bundle of papers and red flags from an agitator that morning and went directly over to an apartment complex across from her old high school to do the advance work necessary for there to be inside support. She arranged the time and place with people to come out of school. A short time later she and 30 students raised the flag and held a rally

in front of the school. Similar scenes unfolded at two other high schools in San Jose.

In the base areas targeted for major breakouts, the struggle was extremely sharp and rich in lessons. The following is some of the initial summation—Mission High, Berkeley High, and a sweatshop-type industrial area. While struggle on various levels took place in all these three areas, Mission High was the only place a successful breakout occurred.

## Mission High

Since May Day 1980, breaking out had been a broad social question. Even before the first teams of revolutionaries arrived weeks before May Day, 1981, graffiti appeared on the walls inside the school and debate erupted in the halls and lunchroom.

A sympathetic teacher's aide stopped to talk asking, "You called for a walk-out last year and it didn't happen—what's going to be different this

time?"

One of the things different this year was the increased distribution and influence of the *Revolutionary Worker* throughout the Mission District and the regular distribution of the *RCY* at Mission High.

On Damián García Day, an agitator and sound truck drew a gathering of several hundred and bundles of papers were passed out. A group of students well-orchestrated by the school officials showed up, decked out with equipment from the athletic department and sharp debate broke out. (It would be quite interesting to see the form letters now being sent to school administrators advising them on how to instruct the backward students in these kinds of incidents as similar actions are happening all across the country. A co-conspirator's son came home from school right before May Day and told us how in every class that day in one junior high school each teacher lectured them about

Continued on page 30



Banner that was taken around Seattle, Washington all over the city. Many foreign-born stepped forward to translate the May Day poster into Tagalog, Laotian, Chinese, Japanese, French, German, Arabic and Farsi.

## "On This Day the Oppressed People of the World Stand Together"

Before May Day this year, a resident of a housing project had a dream: "I dreamt I was standing arm in arm with the people of the world. We made a chain that stretched around the globe. I went from person to person shaking hands and when I'd encircled the entire chain and was back where I began, I said, 'I'm ready.'" On May First 1981 this dream took further steps toward becoming a reality both through the internationalist character of the May Day actions and especially through the vital role played by immigrants in the battles of that day. The role played by Iranian comrades both in Detroit and Chicago are two examples among many.

In Detroit, an Iranian comrade entered the cafeteria of a high school (the scene of extensive and lively May Day activity) at lunchtime along with a member of the *RCYB* chanting, "Break Out! Break Free! Put the red flag in command!" As debate and struggle

about May Day erupted, students flocked to get down with this comrade bombarding him with questions and eager to hear his answers. In fact, everywhere this brother went people came up to talk to him and parted inspired and with a for real sense of what international proletarian unity is all about. And everywhere he went he played a crucial role in galvanizing people to take action on that day acting like a magnet drawing people into political motion.

At the Cabrini Green housing project in Chicago, another Iranian comrade spoke, "On this day the oppressed people of the world stand together. May Day started in this country, but it has come to have great significance to the world's people. They said the Shah would rule forever, but the masses rose up against him and U.S. imperialism." He proceeded to tie this into the potential and possibilities for revolution

worldwide. As he finished, windows in the project flew open. On the 14th floor people leaned out of their windows and waved red flags. Another resident almost fell out of his window as he leaned to catch every word waving both clenched fists. And inside other windows red flags and other red objects appeared—more than had been seen all day. Later the comrade went door to door in the project and was warmly welcomed everywhere. One brother stopped him on the stairs, grabbed his hand and shook it asking, "What's happening in Iran now, man?" And so it went. And not only did this Iranian brother help to bring the dreams of the oppressed in this country closer to reality but his own too. Moved and inspired at the days end he summed up, "I didn't know there were places like this (Cabrini Green) in this country. I have never been treated with such respect so broadly. I felt like I was at home here."

## And In the Imperialist Military...

*We received two initial reports from May Day activity in the imperialist military. They come from two different parts of the country.*

### Report No. 1

In the previous week, more than a hundred papers had gotten on to base. GIs reported that the paper and revolution were frequent topics of discussion. The Chairman's tape circulated. In one company, an officer held up a copy of the *RW* and said: "There are some people in here who want revolution and are selling this paper inside this base." Anyone who knew anything was to report to him—immediately.

In the week prior to May Day, as posters began to go up around the base, military security forces, both open and covert, began to mount a larger presence both on the base and in the surrounding town. On the eve of the First, every car entering the base was stopped and searched. Despite this, hundreds of *RW*s were distributed on the base on the First. And scores of posters lined a road through the base.

### Report No. 2

Six GIs—Blacks, a white, Puerto Rican and Chicanos—wore red ribbons all day on the base. They decided that if the officers asked them about it, they would just say it was for the children of Atlanta, but one guy reported that his superiors hadn't bought the story. May Day posters were also displayed on base. The GIs saw raising money as an important part of May Day. They collected \$90 from among themselves for the *RW*, including a \$50 donation from one guy who said it was sparked by his hatred of "What I see in Atlanta."

Four of these guys regularly read and discuss the *RW* every week. In fact, they got the inspiration for the red ribbons from a prisoner's letter in the *RW* which announced the intention of putting red ribbons on cells for May Day. The GIs felt that if prisoners could do that, they could certainly do something. A couple of the Black guys said that the Atlanta May Day article had compelled them to act; one of them wore a green ribbon along with his red one, while the other wore a Black ribbon with the red to symbolize the hatred for this system that millions of Black people feel. One of the GIs—a white guy—had become radicalized in the Philippines. In fact, he had made up his mind that when he got out, he would return to the Philippines to join the revolution. But from reading the *RW*, he has come to see that it's not only the Philippines where revolution is necessary and could be possible, but the whole world—including right here in the U.S.

## Transatlantic Radio Interview with Chairman Getting Down to Brass Tacks with Bob Avakian

During the last week in April Bob Avakian was interviewed via long distance telephone calls to France, where he is presently seeking political refugee status. These interviews were aired on several major radio stations across the country. This week, we are reprinting the complete text of an interview on the major New York station WLIB which took place on April 30. The announcer doing the interview was Pablo Guzman.

**Pablo Guzman:** In the first half hour of the show sometime, in fact coming up in a matter of minutes, we are going to hear—we've been talking about what's a political prisoner and what's a prisoner of war and we were looking at the Irish situation with Bobby Sands fasting practically to death in prison because he believes that IRA prisoners should be accorded prisoner of war status and not be dealt with as criminals, and we talked about Andrew Young's comments while he was with the UN that caused so much flack about how most Blacks who are in prisons in the United States are a form of political prisoners. And there is a young man who is the head of an organization, a political organization in this country called the Revolutionary Communist Party and his name is Bob Avakian, he's Chairman of the organization. And he and I go back to many years ago before the RCP, before the Revolutionary Communist Party, when it was called the Revolutionary Union. And he has always been quite active and I know him, I know him well. I know him well enough to be able to say that there's a lot of things we disagree on, we wrestle over but at least we got a few fundamentals in common. You know that's important. The man said, be hip, if you will, to the contradictions among the people as opposed to the contradictions with the enemy. You got to know which is which. Otherwise... because he also said—the greatest seer of our time said—that the first question of revolution is, 'Who are our enemies and who are our friends? This is a fundamental question that faces the revolution.' And with that in mind and certainly in the spirit of a broad kind of united front we're going to take a phone call and we're going to place a phone call to Bob

Avakian who had to leave this country because he fears for his safety. He and several other people call themselves the Mao Tsetung Defendants. He'll be able to tell you some more about it. But basically they were looking at a total of 241 years for their political activities. And Bob, because of that, had to go into political exile and we will talk with him and wrestle with this question about political prisoners and prisoners of war and political exiles and why such things exist in 1981 in the United States, 'land of the free and home of the brave.' And I know there are some folks out there who think this is—'oh, you've got to be kidding.' I was talking with someone the other day, ran into somebody and they said, 'you know, you really must exaggerate. All this stuff about the FBI, come on. I mean maybe they did go overboard at one time, but what were you doing that made them go overboard on you?' It was really interesting and we got into that. We got into that discussion and I'm not going to repeat or relive that discussion because that is boring, but maybe when you hear the things that come up in the conversation with Mr. Avakian you'll learn a bit more.

Rough day. The reason why I'm a little out of sorts—I'm going to shift gears—is because I spent a bad night. I only got about 2 hours of sleep and the reason for that was because, you see there's very few things that I really treasure. I'm not talking about people or anything like that. Things that I really indulge myself in. When they come they're few and far between. You take a hot bath, a hot bubble bath, when you can get hot water; simple things you know. I discovered the botanical gardens the other day, I said to myself I've been in the Bronx all my life and, wow, look at this. Flowers. Look at this greenhouse, great stuff. I like basketball, I love basketball and I'm crazy about the Philadelphia 76ers, love the 76ers. Julius Erving is unreal; he is unreal; the brother just defies gravity. He's great. Dr. J is tremendous. So I made it a point because CBS, one of our great broadcasting enterprises, right? doesn't have the guts to put a basketball game (which a whole lot of Black folks not so coincidentally are in

those basketball games) don't have the guts to put those games on at prime time. They're going to bump real heavy things on their schedule right? Like Park Place and Checking In. Great entertainment. So they put the basketball game on a tape delay so if you had a rough day at work, you've got to try to stay up at 11:30 and stay up for 2 hours to watch the game. I really wanted to know how it went because Philly had a chance to win it all and go up against, it turned out to be, Houston for the finals because if we did it to Boston yesterday, and most of you know we did not do it to Boston yesterday, we lost and it was down to the last second. It was a tear-jerker, the way we lost was. We had the game, 30 seconds left in the game, we had the game, and then we gave it away. It was pitiful. Anyhow I stayed away from radio and from newspapers and from TV news, anything that would let me know what the score was because I figured okay look, I'm not going to get the game the way I want it, live, but I'm going to make believe it's live, I'll see the tape delay and I don't want to know the ending. It's like going in to see a murder mystery and you don't come in at the end unless you're really weird. You don't want to know that the butler did it, or didn't do it. You want to see the whole thing, that's part of entertainment, right? So I'm taking this on and the first half looked pretty good, so I love the half-time things, I love the sports information. Brent Musburger, who I've talked about before, who's got a name that is hard to say with a straight, I don't know how he says it with a straight face. It's hard for me to believe that there's Musburgers out there, that there's more than one. It sounds like the new variety of sandwich at Mac-Donalds. And Musburger comes on, I was just getting to respect this guy, as a sports journalist. He comes on at half-time knowing, he must have known, or his director or his producer, somebody had to be knowing that a lot of people were doing what I was doing. Checking the game out and, you know, going with it to see, like, you know, kind of psyching yourself and you don't want to know who won until the very end until there's no more time left on the

clock, fourth quarter. So what happens? Musburger says "Be sure to join us Friday, from Philadelphia, for Game Six," which means that you know that Philly lost. Ohhh, I'm so disgusted. I said what is this? Why is this guy giving it away? Now somebody's got to talk to Brent Musburger; we're gonna talk to Brent Musburger. We're gonna get a message over to CBS, yeah we are and say look, it's bad enough that you turkeys don't put it on live, but then you give away the ending. You know they don't even do it right. Ahhh, that's just miserable, last night folks I'm really, and then I went outside and today at first it was nice and bright and I was out there about ten minutes and it clouded up. So I'm in a real, you know, I'm in a rotten mood, I'm not gonna lie to you. I don't think that that's what our function here should be to come on all the time and be cheerful and light. I remember one time here at WLIB I had to fill in one time and do a morning show, and everybody said oh you know to do a morning show you gotta wake up and be cheerful, hey later for that, it was snowing outside, it was col-l-l-d. I had to be here at 4 in the morning, hey look I don't want to be here, I know you people don't want to be here, but if I got to be here you're gonna get up. You're gonna wake up. I won't come on and say, Hi how are you, no, if I'm not feelin' fine, I'm not feelin' fine. You know. I'll tell you what we're going to do though. Now that I've got that all out of my system, now we're gonna get down to some brass tacks. Some serious information, and so what we are going to do is bring on Bob Avakian without any further ado. It's 15 minutes after 2 o'clock and he is talking with us from somewhere abroad and let's see if we've made the connection, first off.

Hello, Bob can you hear me? Bob? Ah yes, transatlantic, I love it. Hello Mr. Avakian. Are you there?

**Bob Avakian:** Hello.

**PG:** Yeah, now we got you. Hello Bob.

**BA:** Yeah.

**PG:** This is Pablo.

**BA:** Hey, how you doing?

**PG:** How you doing?

**BA:** Pretty good. Can you hear me?

**PG:** Oh yeah, I can hear you. Can you

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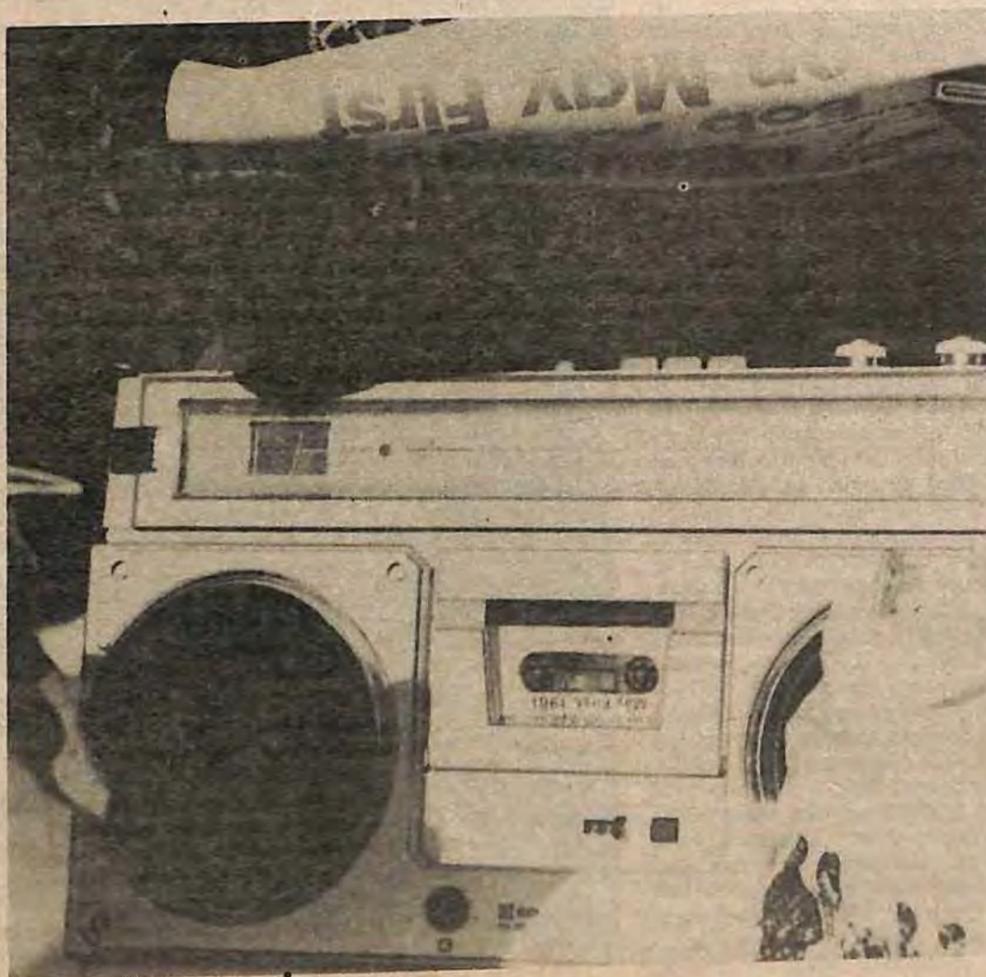
### NEW TAPE:

### BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS ON MAY 1, 1981

"Wherever people rise up in rebellion, raise up the red flag! That's the flag that the imperialists in this country and throughout the world hate, the thing, the symbol that they most fear to see raised in the hands of the oppressed because it means that we're rising up with our heads up; we're rising up with our eyes really cast to the far horizon; we're becoming politically conscious; we know what our interests are, that they lie with the international proletariat in its struggle for communism throughout the world..."

30 Minute Cassette \$2.50

Available from the Revolutionary Communist Party (See addresses on p. 3)



## Tribute to Comrade Paul Friedman

Two days before class-conscious slaves around the world rose to historic battle on May Day 1981, Comrade Paul Friedman died. He had been a fighter up to his final hours in the preparations for this leap, and would have rejoiced with us at the great victories won on this May Day, from the streets of Belfast and Zurich to here in the U.S. On May Day Comrade Friedman would have fought shoulder-to-shoulder with us, heads up and eyes on the bright red flag, preparing for revolution and victory.

In every life, no matter how long, every person must face the two roads of our time: to fight in the advance of history, or to crawl back down into the dark dungeons in which the imperialists and reactionaries would imprison the masses of people forever. Comrade Friedman began making his choice of standing with the struggle of the masses of people at an early age, becoming a revolutionary as a high school student in the 1960s. Rejecting the self-indulgent, self-centered life offered by U.S. imperialism to its middle class youth, our comrade chose instead to stand with the powerful movements of the struggling peoples of the world—the powerful revolutionary struggle of Black people, the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, and the world historic events taking place in China at that time—the Cultural Revolution. He began seeking the answer to the most important question of our era; what will it take to bring this reactionary, bloodsucking system down and move onward to a society free of all oppression? He joined the Revolutionary Union and the struggle for proletarian revolution at the age of 17 and went on to be a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, from its founding in 1975. He stood steadfast on the front lines of the class struggle until his death, defending the revolutionary leadership and legacy of Mao Tsetung against the frenzied attacks of reactionary scum around the world; fighting the battle for May Day 1980. And throughout these battles, his hands never let loose the red flag of our class, our future. When assigned difficult tasks, Comrade Friedman met them with the utmost ideological strength.

Comrade Friedman died suddenly and very young of natural causes, a husband and father of 2 young children. To the proletariat every life is precious, and none more so than those of revolutionary fighters like Comrade Paul Friedman, who dedicated half his lifetime to the liberation of all mankind. Our sorrow is deep, but even deeper is our pride and inspiration from the selfless contribution he made to the international proletariat. His death leaves a red scar on the heart of our class, and we will cherish his memory dearly as it deepens our determination to advance the cause he lived for: proletarian revolution and the final elimination of all exploitation and class division throughout the entire world.

Mao Tsetung said: "All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. . . . To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather." Comrade Friedman's death was heavier than Mount Tai.

On Thursday, May 7, 1981 a memorial was held for Comrade Friedman and a big red flag planted in his honor in the hills overlooking the ocean and the city of San Francisco, where he carried out revolutionary work for many years. □



### Bobby Sands Dies, Fighting Continues

## Northern Ireland Youth Pummel British Empire

*In our last article on Ireland (RW No. 103, May 1), we incorrectly referred to the Northern Ireland city of Derry as Londonderry, in our headline as well as throughout the article. We have since learned from other comrades active in the Irish struggle against British imperialism that the city has historically been called Derry. The name Londonderry was a product of the imperialists' efforts to reinforce their domination by imposing this name, with its obvious reference to London as a way to further insult and humiliate the masses.*

The fiery upsurge of rebel Irish-Catholic youth continued to pummel the rotting hull of the crisis-ridden and sinking British empire in the aftermath of the death of hunger-striker Bobby Sands. The street fighting, which jumped off on April 15 in response to Sands' worsening condition, picked up with renewed intensity as word of his death at the hands of his captors in the Long Kesh prison spread. Youth, who had been stalking the police and British Army troops throughout the day prior to the announcement of Sands' death, were joined by hundreds more, even as a spokesman for Britain's Northern Ireland Office was issuing their official statement which read simply in typical imperialist fashion: "Mr. Robert Sands, a prisoner in the Maze Prison, died today at 1:17 a.m. *He took his own life* by refusing food and medical intervention for 66 days." (Emphasis added—RW)

Five hundred people instantly surrounded a Belfast police station and began raining down rocks and petrol bombs on this edifice of repression. Within three hours the streets of Belfast looked like a tornado had ripped them up—a bank, a paper mill, a paint store, and an abandoned Methodist church



Belfast, Northern Ireland—Youths pelt British armored vehicle as it crashes into street barricade.

Continued on page 27

# **New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA**

**Just published—  
May 1, 1981**

These documents contain basic principles and general guidelines for the struggle all the way to worldwide classless society, communism. But from this perspective they are written especially with the immediate situation in mind. This is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day in this country and the whole world.

These documents have been weapons in preparation since March 1980. At that time they were published as drafts for discussion and have been widely circulated. They have since been the subject of debate and discussion both within the Party and more broadly in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. This process included comments and criticisms from comrades internationally as well. In this way, the drafts have been greatly strengthened, particularly in their proletarian internationalist character. Now, having been approved by the Central Committee of the Party, the final versions have been made public.

These are documents whose vision is worldwide and lofty, and at the same time which pose immediate challenges and give our Party's basic answer to the urgent situation facing the people of the whole world, including the masses of this country. Not only are the problems addressed, but so too are the basic solutions offered by the road of proletarian revolution.

With the publication of these documents, our Party calls on people to take them up and invites individuals and groups broadly to engage in serious discussion with us about them. Write us, meet with us—unite with us to carry them out.



**New Programme and  
New Constitution of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, USA.**

\$3.00 (include \$.50 postage)  
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## **Also published as a separate pamphlet New Constitution**

*Contains a section on the General Line of the RCP, USA and 11 Articles*

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

from the New Constitution

Article 1

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

the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

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

**New Constitution** available separately  
\$.75 (include \$.50 postage)

# Testimony on Political Persecution

Below is further testimony on political repression and Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status.

I was fired from my job as a waitress from King's Bakery in Honolulu. It wasn't any ordinary firing like being given walking papers. But it took full riot squad equipped with batons, riot shields and gas masks storming the coffee shop to get me off the job, where me and 8 other people were assaulted and arrested. This happened on March 17th, 1979. The police were already staked out around the coffee shop, bringing a van, other unmarked and marked cars before I went to work (10 p.m.-2 a.m. shift).

There's no question what led to this firing and arrest. I had been arrested just about a month before, on February 15, in Mayor Wright Housing (a public housing project in Kalihi, Honolulu). The police brutally attacked and busted 15 of us as we were going into the housing to put out a call to revolutionary fighters to step forward and enlist in the Mao Tsetung Enrollment in the Party.

Shortly after this, I was given notice that I was to be terminated from my job. During a period of two weeks, there was constant surveillance around the job—squad cars across the street, and plainclothesmen coming into the place sitting in my station to listen to what I was talking to the workers and customers about. Some of the workers, and also customers were getting the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, and there was always discussion going on around Iran and the Moody Park 3 trial, because I was always wearing buttons around these battles. The reasons for termination were based on phone calls from "someone" who complained that I was smoking and blowing it in the face of a customer while taking his order. It got more ridiculous when I was accused of eating an undamaged piece of meringue pie!

The last day on the job (night I and others were arrested) events unfolded more sharply. The owner of the coffee shop was called by a major from the police department (we later found this out from a day shift worker) and they met in the morning to discuss and make plans to make sure that it was my last day! The stakeout that night and a major and 15 policemen all in conspiracy with the boss to deal with the firing of one worker!?!?! These puffed-up "John Waynes" really were trying to keep their word when threatening me during the arrests at Mayor Wright, "You communist whore!—we'll get you!"

Within 6 months during this time revolutionaries were being arrested all over the country—here in Hawaii, 32 revolutionaries had been arrested, 4 fired and 3 suspended from their jobs. Even the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade had been outlawed from the University of Hawaii.

The fangs of political repression by the police and courts were more sharply exposed when during the trial of the Mayor Wright 15, they put a picture of Bob Avakian on one of the doors of the court and wrote across it "Hang Bob Avakian".

Joy Aulani Ahn  
a Hawaiian revolutionary

Greetings:

I wish to help verify the politically repressive climate in the United States and that the Revolutionary Communist Party is subject to the main brunt of government attempts to silence dissent here. Government retribution is also reflected

in oppressive sentences on protest leaders charged with minor offenses or fabricated crimes such as Leonard Peltier, Abbie Hoffman, the Plowshares 8, the UN 2 and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Bob Avakian, as Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, is correct in seeking political refugee status abroad.

In travels across the country, I have witnessed over 50 arrests of RCP members and supporters. In every case that I witnessed, these people were simply talking with others, passing out leaflets, selling newspapers, or marching in permitted demonstrations. In several places severe beatings accompanied arrests. In one case I saw a member choked and beaten unconscious. The police continued beating and choking him. At one arrest of four leafleters, a policeman bragged that he had "killed communists in Vietnam and I'm sure ready to do it here if you ever come back to this town."

I have been arrested with RCP members twice. After one arrest I was fired from my job; because of the police treatment accompanying the second arrest my right arm is crippled. In both cases all charges were dropped. My political beliefs were also used as evidence in my divorce and child custody hearings, which later entailed fabricated charges and harassment which has forced me to jump bail and move out of state.

Bernard Molenaar

To Whom It May Concern:

It seems absurd that one would have to demonstrate that there is political persecution in the USA, for its history is replete with examples of the same, and shows that the intensity and level of persecution is directly proportional to the particular difficulties the rulers and

**Defend Bob Avakian, Free the Mao Defendants!**

On April 27, as we reported last week, the Supreme Court issued its refusal to hear the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. After May 18, the process of returning this railroad back to the lower trial court will begin, yet by no means does this imply that the battle is back to Square 1. The very fact that the U.S. rulers have decided to push ahead now with this attack, despite the fact that it has been so thoroughly exposed to hundreds of thousands and despite the major hitch thrown into their attack by Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee

status in France, is itself an indication of the necessity that the ruling class faces today and of just how high the stakes are.

The battle around the Mao Defendants' case has been and remains a major battle-ground in the class struggle, a battle which today must continue to be intensified on two fronts—in support of Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status, and against the all-out assault on the revolutionary movement which the attack on the Mao Defendants represents.

their government are having in keeping control of the situation. No one that I know or talk with blinks an eye in disbelief at the obviously political nature of the attacks on Bob Avakian. "What do you expect?" is a common response. It is true that many of these people are not yet willing nor able to see the reality that the forces of the government will do whatever is necessary at any given time to silence dissent to the degree that it really threatens their rule. But that there is political persecution all around, and that this is what is being leveled at Bob Avakian, no question.

Last week I had the occasion to speak to a number of U.S. history classes at a local prep school on the subject of communism and the program of the Revolutionary Communist Party of which I am a supporter. In the course of one of these classes the question was broached, "Well, if things are so repressive with this government, how is it that you are allowed to stand here and say these

things?" It didn't take much to blow that question away since the majority of even these high school students, from right out of middle and upper America, knew enough recent history and even had enough experience in their own lives to respond... no doubt I wouldn't be a guest again at that high school, and as the war drums start beating even louder, the "man" will be kicking in the doors of people like me. A number of students were aware of the situation with Bob Avakian and the overt, upfront and vicious attacks he faces and readily made the connection of how that filters right on down to this little high school scene.

A teacher who was present at one of these classes asked a question, perhaps unwittingly, but served to demonstrate a particular face of political repression in the U.S. He asked me to explain to the students why I was doing what I was doing when I must know it means the

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## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship within the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

*This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people*

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if at all possible, notarized\* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

\* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

# Report on May 1st in New York Garment District

Below is a report from a New York comrade, focusing on the scene in the New York City garment district on May 1.

Given that there is still a lot that we don't yet know (what various networks did with the paper, what some stores who said they'd fly red flags and make more prominent displays than usual actually did, etc.) it is already clear that May First 1981 went both much broader, but also much deeper among the masses than last year and was taken very seriously both by the advanced forces and also by the enemy. This is most clear in the most concentrated experience in the garment district, but I think it is generally true. There tended to be much more interpenetration and interrelation between different activity and different strata. (i.e., a youth from the ticket lines for the upcoming *Clash* concerts who went into garment and when he saw red flags yelled "Clash"). It also seemed like a lot more of the masses and from broader sections were weighing, agonizing and struggling over what to do. The overwhelming majority of masses who came into the bookstore, for example knew it was the First. Some came in to get papers and split to garment, the Clash lines, their neighborhoods and some seemed quite sheepish they were at work.

In terms of what did actually happen [here the report includes a section on activities outside of garment]:...

*Garment*—I think that the garment district definitely had the character of a liberated area, although maybe not exactly in the way we planned or thought it would. The place was polarized, but the advanced had the initiative. Many workers of different nationalities (including older Jewish) told of how sharp the struggle was in their shops. District 65 (heavily influenced by the revisionist CPUSA) called a meeting of shop stewards and ordered people not to participate in the communist May Day. (One interesting fact that came to light is that a Haitian guy who wouldn't come out but who wore a red flag pin—an initiative some of the masses made for fundraising—to his school was told by the CP they were planning to be in garment too.) The place was crawling with red squad and undercover cops, who mainly lay low. Yet, and most fundamental the day was marked by incidents of the masses taking action firmly on the side of May Day, from joining squads and going into the shops, taking papers and going from shop to shop calling on workers where they work and other places to break out, actual physical defense of agitators, stepping forward to agitate when agitators lost their voices, and much more. I'm going to give you all the details on this, I hope you want it, because it really shows the breadth and depth. I think it did have the character very much of unleashing the suppressed political energy and initiative of the masses.

I think we had some expectations (some of which tactically could have been carried out better—more on that another time) of actually physically liberating a chunk of the area politically. But I think the reason that the cops did next to nothing had to do with the climate and atmosphere being politically liberated both in the shops and in the streets and they knew if they attacked then and there they would get fucked. For example, at this noon-time rally where hundreds were gathering around, and one of the only times where the pigs harassed the agitators, one worker was overheard saying to another "This is just like Nazi Germany, with the fascists attacking the communists. As

soon as the bricks start flying I'm going to jump in to defend the communists."

In the morning (7-8 a.m.) the tone was anticipatory. A Spanish worker called the bookstore, "Where are they? I'm at 40th and 8th and headed downtown." A Puerto Rican man who came up just as things were getting set up said after being asked about joining a squad for the day, "Look. I'm about to get a job after months and months of unemployment." He pulled out a picture of his 2-year-old and said, "Revolution is a serious thing. You have to join it all the way." He hung around and then after a while he took flags and leaflets and started calling on people to take them up. Another guy from Santo Domingo stopped and said he had brought Mao's Military Writings to work that day. Red flags were everywhere pretty quickly, on trucks, carts, carried by individuals, in people's back pockets, in and on restaurants, food stands. *RW*'s were on pushcarts, in trucks.

Two incidents charged the atmosphere and raised the stakes, and galvanized the advanced. First, one

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New York City garment district



## Los Angeles: Red Was the Color of the Day

The sights and sounds of May Day '81 broke out in the L.A. area in an unprecedented explosion of red. From the garment district to county hospital, from office workers downtown to the neighborhood of Central American immigrants around MacArthur Park, and from east L.A. to Watts, red flags were picked up and flown high and wildly across L.A. A significant demonstration highlighted May Day in L.A.

The garment district—near downtown Los Angeles—was the most spectacular display of red, despite the fact that the sweatshops have become locked up prisons during working hours with nobody allowed in or out. On this day, police were stationed at many garment building entrances to make doubly sure that this policy remained intact. But the immigrant workers found a myriad of ways to let the libera-

ting color of revolution fly throughout the district. Red pieces of material of all shapes and sizes could be seen from window after window of the 10-story buildings—in many cases, covering the entire window. One woman took a red pair of pants and waved it out the window for several minutes as the May Day demonstration passed. In a number of windows, there were racks of clothes with a red garment placed most prominently up in the front so it could be clearly visible from the street below. On the floor of one building, there was a massive bolt of red material stretched across three windows, while in another window there was a red spindle of thread.

But while the garment district was a concentrated expression of the color of the day, it was by no means alone. A woman called Revolution Books from

L.A. County General Hospital to proudly announce that an awful lot of people had worn red clothes to work that day; having read the *RW*, the workers in at least one department there had gotten together to discuss what would be an appropriate action for May Day, and had come up with a plan to wear red. It was also reported that plans were made for a number of work stations in the hospital to have the *RW* ready-made red flag hung in prominent locations.

Beyond this, the red flag flew on factory machines and workers' stations, on cars and vans, on newsstands, hamburger stands and even over a carwash which the workers declared "liberated territory."

A small factory industrial area of mainly Latin American immigrant

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# The Fight for May 1st in a Northwest Housing Project

Following is a report from comrades in one city in the Northwest where the battle for politically liberated territory on May 1st was sharply focused in one housing project:

This is the largest, "roughest," housing project in town. As far as the state goes, the scene was the sharpest here. A week before May 1st they sent in seven (visible) cars and whipped up a gun-toting reactionary, all in all, aimed at making a sweep on the Party. People disappeared into houses. A bus driver helped RW sellers circle back through the projects to regroup and sold stacks of RWs and May Day posters on the bus. Three youths, ages five to eight, right in the face of the gun-toting fool refused to put down the red flag, and later stuck with the selling team, only leaving when they had gotten May Day posters to take home. The revolutionary forces regrouped, marched through the project again and split.

In the final five days, the project became a center of activity including going out to other areas from there. One whole household joined in on the all-around work for May 1st, on the basis of the world demands, and what the opportunities are for worldwide proletariat. One brother summed it up as "being an honor to be called upon" and put off a trip he was planning until after May 1st.

Revolutionary music was taken into the courts, with houses full of people learning the *Internationale*; propaganda sessions were conducted on the spot. A righteous Black funk/rock band set up outside one day and played right under the *Revolutionary Worker* banner. They took stacks of May 1st posters out to put up in the discos, and later composed their own "Red Flag" rock song.

Surveillance on the homes of revolutionary masses heated up. Police started visiting doors and threatening arrests, especially on the youth, for carrying the red flag. Rumors started flying that "those who weren't down for revolution on May 1st, had better not be in the project." Intense political work took off.

What Bob Avakian says concerning revolutionary base areas in this country—"unleashing the formerly suppressed political initiative of the masses"—was profoundly true. The project seethed with political life. Tapes of "Bob Avakian Speaks on May 1st 1981" played on the basketball courts, in homes, out of Cadillac windows and even the ice cream truck. The band played back-up music to the tape. In various homes, especially with co-conspirators taking the lead, people debated the questions all day, and into the night with friends, relatives and neighbors. Some people travelled the circuit from RW hub to RW hub. One propagandist spent the major part of the night in one household. The discussion had ended fairly sharply and unresolved over the question of risks. Within an hour after the group broke up, they showed up at the RW house, at midnight, and got back into it until the wee hours of the A.M. New forces, on their own, were fanning out selling the RW, bundles went out broadly through the project (sometimes in a matter of hours; this immediate distribution was very much the rule for people who got papers, especially new distributors). RW sellers couldn't walk down the street without being called to struggle over May 1st, including by many people who had refused to talk to the Party before, some on principle.

Several events really did sharpen up the struggle. Along with a rumor that the nearby armory was to be taken over and gun battles could be expected, the Tenants Union (types influenced by CPML's line), put out a chicken little sky-is-falling leaflet concerning Reagan's budget cuts, with the line that if we just fight hard enough we can win and you don't have to be too extreme (the essence of it anyway) and set up a

meeting the day before May 1st. The provocative rumors plus this fine lesson in economism and the unity between economism and social-chauvinism sharpened up the political struggle. So what was May 1st? What good would it do? Atlanta was a big point of struggle as people struggled to comprehend why? Many more questions were raised as to the real possibilities for revolution and how could we unite people. Many had their own worked out programs such as the need to form separate parties based on nationalities because the divisions ran too deep. Bob Avakian's speech, especially concerning preparation or it'll be too late, struck a deep chord. As part of this, much struggle went on in summing up the '60s, the role of Black people and the effect of the struggle against national oppression on all of society. And what could we learn from that and raise to a higher level this time around. The call for May 1st struck very deep, especially on two points—the deep desire for proletarian internationalism and the question of preparation, as we mentioned above. Many advanced elements commented on that, which really concentrates how the advanced are looking at the times, what's rapidly developing and a desire to go all the way.

The night before May 1st, the project was essentially surrounded by police and heavily infiltrated by undercover. The streets were eerily empty. Rumors were started by the Housing Authority that evictions would go down behind the red flag. The organizers' house was surrounded at midnight. This was in response to a rumor that there would be a midnight march to welcome in the First of May. Many among the masses also looked for the march.

At 4:30 p.m. on May 1st, the red flag was hoisted over the Housing Authority building. All eyes were on the red flag forces. A small contingent decided to crack things open and took to the middle of the streets, marching, chanting, agitating in English and Spanish, holding high the red flag and singing the *Internationale* (especially in the courts where key advanced elements lived). Half way through the first lap one whole house broke out, running out with a huge home-made flag, literally jumping for joy as they raced for the march. One joined the contingent saying, "I have to stand with the international proletariat even if it does mean jail." Every window was open, watching. The next lap through the courtyards, a contingent of youth joined in on bikes, and on foot with red flags in hand. The streets, empty 'til now, started filling up with people. The police began to move in, first one car, then more. The march pulled back into the courtyards heading towards where a red flag was flying.

The police went wild, jumping curbs and driving into the courtyards. Some people took off through homes and courtyards with the police in chase with their cars, especially after the red flag. They ran into walls, knocked over kids and tried to run the person with the red flag into a fence. As the chase went on, a crowd of about 100 gathered (within seconds) around those who were busted. A new co-conspirator was circulating throughout the crowd agitating about the red flag. He turned and pointed to a woman with a red purse saying, "Are you going to bust her too?" Others swarmed up to the cop cars holding those who'd been caught, giving them the fist and waving the red flag. The crowd fell silent and all eyes focused on a white reactionary who staggered, drunk, to the police car, picked up the RWs and red flags off the hood and stumbled to the trash bin and dumped them in (it took two trips), all under the nodding approval of the police. A stinging symbol of what they fear. But more, it was clear it would not be tolerated by the masses. . . later.

Interestingly all those busted were immediately informed by the head pig that, "We're booking you and getting

you out of here right away" (the agitation that echoed off the jail walls added to his urgency).

Later that night people snuck back into the projects and sang the *Internationale* in some key courts. At 1:30 a.m. they knocked on a woman's door. "Who's there?" "May 1st!" Lights flashed on, the door flew open and you could hear her across two courts, "I love you people, I love you people. Did you see what I did?" (She was the one who had run out with the home made flag.)

Out in the streets we found others patrolling for "May Day people." In one scene a truck drove by and recognized a revolutionary. The truck stopped. The driver had fatigues on. "Aren't you one of the May Day people?" "Depends on why you're asking." "Well, I've got two pages of this newspaper I found and wanted to buy the rest." A retired man who had been patrolling the streets (who had been going through intense struggle over the risks of May 1st, almost not speaking to people) turned to the guy in the truck and said, "Get 50 or 100 RWs and take them inside the guards and set up a way to distribute them."

Out on the streets, there was hardly a sheet of an RW to be found. Youth had found the papers thrown around by the police and taken out all the May 1st posters and distributed the rest to friends. The next morning, neatly stacked next to a house were all those that had been thrown to the ground, folded up and ready to go.

On May 2nd, as Party members and other RW sellers went back into the project, people grabbed them. Some offered rides to make sure they were safe. Youth flocked up, fists raised with, "Right on to the red flag." Some said, "I really dig you guys, but I'm not sure altogether why." More people set up to

hear the tape by Bob Avakian. Households are buzzing with debate over May 1st. People clap when the RW goes by. Some forces even prayed for the march, saying that "the devil was the other side," as they bought a copy of the paper. Others want the red flag to go up over the Housing Authority again. While the new *Programme* has not been fully wielded, many and very broad forces have been asking for our *Programme*.

On May 1st, the red flag was held high by the proletariat and flew over liberated territory. The basis laid for further and dramatic leaps in the days and weeks ahead, centered around the RW. And it can certainly be said that in the weeks and months ahead as shit breaks loose there will be a core at it's head, raising the red flag with hundreds more welcoming it. But it has to be summed up sharply that this leap was almost blown. And that it could have gone much further. Basically the line leading throughout the day and up until the critical hours, was one of struggling for people to put up the red flags "all at once." Not the bold activity of the advanced to unleash the rest. In summing up this error, the struggle which took place in 1905 in the aftermath of the Moscow uprising is relevant here. While this was not the armed struggle, still the points made by Lenin are politically very much to the point. At that time, the dividing line was Plekhanov's, "They shouldn't have taken to arms" vs. Lenin's line that "they should have taken to arms more decisively." While certainly Plekhanov's stupidity existed, once the ice was broken, unfortunately Lenin's position was not so firmly grasped by the revolutionary forces, and thus opportunities to make further advances in the struggle and go to new political heights were missed. □

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"

A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

—Now available as a new pamphlet

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# Let the Youth Be in the Forefront . . .

"Let the youth be out there in the forefront because we know that they have been and they will be. Let them be bold and daring, let them come out on May 1st, let them challenge everything that's old and rotten, decadent and decrepit in this system. Let them raise up the banner and let the old people not be far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth to bring their experience and their whole lifetime of hatred for this system onto the political stage."

—From the tape Bob Avakian Speaks on May First, 1981

On May Day 1981, the youth were definitely out in the forefront and were bold and daring from West Germany, Switzerland and all across Europe to Turkey; from Latin America to right here in the innards of U.S. imperialism. In this country, the advanced elements of the youth of all nationalities took up Bob Avakian's call raising that bright red proletarian banner high and in significant numbers in cities throughout the country and playing a dynamic role in all the events of the days spurring on others to plunge into the swirl of intense class struggle that unfolded on that day and take history even more boldly and firmly into their hands. Particularly sharp political struggle to bust out against the old order and fight to bring alive the new was waged by the youth in the prison-like high schools, and junior highs where they are incarcerated during the day and also in the prison-like housing projects like Cabrini Green in Chicago and Techwood Homes in Atlanta where many especially from the oppressed nationalities are virtually locked up by the pigs when they go home. A number of college and university campuses were the scene of bold and liberating political actions.

In these places, attacking and breaking through the old, rotten and suffocating established order meant fighting determined and audacious political battles, meeting the enraged and desperate authorities head-on. These forces of reaction in most cases had made considerable advance preparation themselves for May Day realizing in their own way the powerful potential of the youth. In some cases Ditch Days were called, or unscheduled field trips organized, or in one school students were suddenly let out of school early "so students could attend the funeral of a student killed in a skiing accident." All mainly to defuse a potentially extremely volatile situation. Groups of jocks and backward and reactionary kiss asses were organized by the school administrations to attack May Day agitators and intimidate students from breaking out of school. The authorities tried to badger and intimidate youth, especially youth from Black and other oppressed nationalities with their tired old bullshit about "your future is in here not out there." And, of course, in most cases hordes of cops were on hand working hand in hand with the school administrators.

None of these measures were at all a sign of the strength of the enemy, but rather very real and profound weakness. Time and time again these decrepit fools found themselves on the defensive having to feebly attempt to somehow defend the very sewer they offer up as "the best of all possible worlds" and "the only future for the youth." The normal, the business as usual vanished as a politically charged atmosphere burst forth with debate and discussion of very broad and lofty political questions the order of the day. Hundreds and hundreds struggled over revolutionary ideas, over the Red Flag, over standing with workers and all the oppressed internationally, over turning things upside down for real and actually making revolution, and over what kind of future can be built after the walls of

imperialism are torn down. A number of progressive teachers were stunned at the high level of politics being taken up by these youth. A teacher at one school commented "I have been at this school for several years and always thought that these students were hopeless, completely uninterested in the world around them. Today, I could not believe that these were the same students." Some teachers also turned their classrooms into part of the May Day activities.

Amidst this very favorable political situation that had been created through sharp and staunch struggle in a number of places, new and greater possibilities opened up. In several schools actions that approached becoming mass breakouts went down. And short of actual breakouts many bold actions taking varied and creative forms and involving large numbers of students beyond the advanced were carried out. Red Flags were in hundreds of hands, red armbands on many arms and the *Revolutionary Worker* was everywhere. Business as usual or rather prison as usual was transformed into turmoil seething with the new, the alive, the future.

Below are a number of highlights and insights from May Day among the youth from around the country:

- Last year in one area of Baltimore slogans like "Race war day" and "Get the niggers" were painted next to May Day slogans. According to some youth, for twenty years there had been an ugly tradition—evidently started by the Ku Klux Klan—that had taken hold to a certain extent that May Day is "Kill a nigger day," etc. and at one junior high school in particular (which is about 1/4 Black) there had regularly been racist attacks against Blacks on May 1st. On the day before May Day, a revolutionary agitator went to the school and a debate broke out among some 200 white youth. Some were saying, "Yeah, tomorrow we're going to get 'em (the Blacks)," but others were eager to hear about what May Day really stood for and many were straining to break through the reactionary garbage that the bourgeoisie had heaped on them, becoming unleashed to take up a revolutionary orientation.

Into the midst of this came the school principal who threatened to call the cops, who traditionally make themselves scarce on this day in order to allow the racist attacks to unfold. The students sarcastically pointed out this fact to him saying, "Aw come on, they won't come here! This is the day they think the 'niggers' get beat up." The agitator demanded to be able to come

to the school to agitate for May Day but the principal whined that he wouldn't permit it and that the "kids wouldn't understand it." But when the principal grabbed a bundle of papers out of one student's hands, the students grabbed them right back and began pushing this clown around yelling, "You want a race riot! That's why you won't let them speak about May Day!" During the

afternoon white youth were coming up to some of the Black youth and saying, "We're going to be with you tomorrow, fighting together." That night Black youth in a nearby project made up their own red flags and continued to take out the question of May Day more broadly in the community.

On May Day about half the students didn't show up for school. Police were barricading the area up to two blocks away to prevent any agitators from reaching the campus. The Black youth

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In Washington D.C., an entire busload of high school students grabbed red flags from a May Day agitator where they got on the bus. They could be seen waving flags out of the windows as well as inside the bus. Topics such as communism, war and the draft were discussed and debated. Later that day the principal of their school told May Day agitators that the only reason they had taken up the red flag was because they thought it was for Atlanta. This was a complete lie, but a very revealing one. It is indeed a good state of affairs when the authorities are so much on the defensive that in order to downplay the significance of the raising of the Red Flag the narrowest they can take it is that it was only raised in opposition to the murders in Atlanta.



A number of white suburban youth came to the May Day rally in Chicago and also went to Cabrini Green, including three youth from a group they had formed called "Suburban Youth for Violent Revolution."

# Let the Youth Be in the Forefront . . .

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who had made the red flags breezed right by them into the school, and in the course of day took these flags to different classes. Meanwhile a number of white youth distributed the *RW* around the school with one going from room to room and announcing "Our paper's here!". One mother was called by school authorities to come and get her daughter because "She's leading red flag marches through the school." Meanwhile school officials had scheduled an assembly for May Day on various activities, including some panelists from the mayor's office to discuss the subject of "racial harmony in the schools." But the students who went to this demanded that they talk about May Day and the *RW*, since these really stood for internationalism, insisting that they wanted to talk about the whole world, not just their own school. The respectable ladies who had come to speak were told by the youth that "This is our school paper" and were forced to sit there awkwardly holding *RW*s and red flags while the students got up and spoke out in the assembly, calling for unity, jamming the principal for his refusal to let the agitator attend, and telling how they had learned about what May Day really is, declaring "What's so hard to understand about that?"

● At Roosevelt High in East L.A., the school administration had declared May 1, "Senior Ditch Day," allowing all the seniors to stay home; an unusually large number of field trips were scheduled for that day; all week long, the school had been like an armed camp, with all gates locked down and cops at every one of them. Still fearful that the message intended might not be the one received, the bourgeoisie greeted the May 1 agitators that morning with squad cars driving up on the sidewalk, cops all over the place, and menacing grunts at the youth, telling them to get away from May Day and back into their cells. However, a number of students had a different greeting. They told the agitators to come back a few hours later, when hundreds would be on the school grounds for their morning break, and offered to help sneak them into the school. Concealing their red flags until they reached the middle of the school quad, where 500 students were eating and the ROTC was assembling for its morning drills, the agitators suddenly surfaced yelling, "Who's going to pick up the Red Flag?" A roar erupted from the youth, as one of them stepped forward, picked it up and began waving it in front of the others, some of whom are yelling, "Go for it." The campus cops went right for the agitators desperately trying to choke one of them to shut him up. The students started shouting, "Let them go, let them go!" Ice started flying through the air at the cops. At the same time the faculty and cops were trying to grab up all the papers and red flags they could get their hands on, but the students were stuffing the flags and newspapers down their shirts and getting away with them.

● Huge debates broke out at the main Black high school in one city leading up to May 1. All this sharpened up on the anniversary of Damián García's murder. An *RW* sales team with tons of papers and red flags went to the school and a fight broke out, instigated by an agent provocateur and the principal. Two days later in the projects, the brother who threw the most punches in this fight, took a bundle of *RW*s, and apologized saying that he'd "been the fool." His mother, a new co-conspirator, had chewed his ass out and explained what the *RW* and red flag was all about.

On May 1st, the three best known agitators, went in to break the school open from within, wave upon wave. One, dressed up like a teacher coolly walked into the middle of the halls, briefcase in hand, with

students remarking "That's no adult, that's a revolutionary." This agitator jumped into it, distributing dozens of red flags out of the briefcase, and about 70 *RW*s. The agitation called for a breakout at noon. The next class break was the lunch hour. One agitator was staked out in front of the school with a giant red flag. Another snuck in with a wig and dress from the other side. Before she started agitating (with youth saying "you can't fool us") she watched the debates in the courtyard over who did and didn't have red flags, who had dropped theirs and why. She started agitating and was soon grabbed by police who proclaimed her "under arrest"—She agitated "who will take this last bundle?" Silence... more agitation, time was short... "I will." "You're under arrest," she pulled away, saying, "No, I'm not, I'm breaking out, and so are these youth." Running down the halls, and outside, the youth directed her to turn the other way so as not to get caught as 100 youth followed her out, some getting cut off by the authorities and others participating in an hour long debate outside. The revolutionaries disappeared into the community under the protection of various residents.

● At an all-Black school in Detroit a group of students who had been involved in debate and struggle all week around the taped statement by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian had been planning to break out on May Day. Just after 11:00 a.m., which is a big passing period, all of a sudden these students burst out the door and 200 students spilled outside past the guards and electronic monitors to check out what was going on. Many picked up red flags from a waiting *RW* agitator.

At the same moment, the cafeteria was filling up for lunch period. An Iranian student and an RCYB member entered the cafeteria chanting, "Break out! Break Free! Put the red flag in command!" Students turned their attention to this debate, as others clustered around the Iranian student, eager to talk, and *RW*s began to circulate. Declaring to the whole cafeteria, "We've got to break out of all this!", the two revolutionaries started for the doors, calling on others to join. A section of the cafeteria followed, and soon the whole room emptied out into a courtyard.

Outside, fierce turmoil and debate erupted amongst the students. In one group a student was saying how we couldn't start talking about revolution now because there was only a minority

ready to agree. A young Iranian woman building for May Day challenged this: "Look, it started with a minority in Iran. But more than that, it is because today people are taking to the streets over there that you must too."

● At a Washington D.C. school the principal appeared trying to stop kids with *RW*s from going into school, and came over saying to the *RW* team, "You feel for the plight of the people, but the school is in utter chaos!" His line was concentrated when he took papers from one girl who told him that she had taken responsibility for getting these papers distributed and collecting the money, brought them back to us and said, "You shouldn't have given her this responsibility." She said simply, "I took it."

● At Howard University where exams have been scheduled on May 1 since last year, a group of students planned to wear red armbands. They had been building for May Day for weeks, showing a videotape of Bob Avakian's appearance on the Tom Snyder show and playing his tape on May First 1981. On the big day, mass debate broke out about May Day, internationalism, socialism and communism. So many people wanted to wear the red armbands that they ended up tearing up the red flags to make enough to go around. The majority of students in med school and dental school exams wore them. One person building for May Day was amazed that so many people who he had never even talked to wanted to take

them up. At one point debate was raging so hot and heavy in the fungus class exam that the teacher sent and got the assistant dean or some such person to come and tell the students to "Stop it." This doesn't have anything to do with fungus." Oh, yes it did. It had everything to do with fungus.

● In a Honolulu working class area there was very intense struggle leading up to the First, at a high school and a housing project, in which the youth played the decisive role.

At the high school the bathrooms, characteristically hangouts for the "malcontents" and patrolled by the high school security forces, were transformed into liberated areas where *RW*s and *RCY*s went out and propaganda sessions were held on the spot with the youth demanding to get into questions of war, capitalism, religion and future communism. When the administration locked up some of the most "notorious" bathrooms in retaliation, the youth responded by putting up posters and leaving bundles of papers in bathrooms that were still open.

Based on the controversy generated when *RW* sellers were arrested on campus, revolutionaries went right into the classrooms and in some instances were able to divert the classes from their lessons to struggle and discussion around the politics of May 1st. One teacher who had taught elsewhere during the '60s and been influenced by the politics of that era told the revolutionaries, "I have been at this school for several years and always thought

Continued on page 26



Cabrini-Green—Youth played a vanguard role.



All

# Correspondence on Brecht

This letter was sent to the Revolutionary Worker by a writer in Washington State in response to the call put out for correspondence on Brecht:

Why call for a discussion of revolutionary art focused around Brecht, rather than someone more popular among the masses—like the Clash, for instance? Without taking away from the Clash, Brecht dominates 20th-century theater in a way that no revolutionary group has dominated the music scene. It is true that theater, because it is less successful as a commodity, doesn't reach nearly as many people in capitalist society as other forms of culture. But interest in Brecht among revolutionary-minded artists is not confined to theater; it cuts across into other fields like movies and music (including the Clash).

Brecht was not just a revolutionary artist, but a communist—someone who consciously studied the science of Marxism-Leninism and applied it in the struggle to create a powerful revolutionary theater that stood solidly on the side of the working class in its battle to wipe capitalism off the face of the earth. Brecht's theater was partisan and combative. For him, the first requirement of revolutionary art was that it take sides in the revolutionary struggle. Brecht was writing for the socialist future, but he understood that art that unites the future must divide the present. If Marxism is wranglingism, Brechtian theater is wrangling theater.

But it's more than just a question of taking the side of revolution then, "Hallelujah, brother, I'm saved"—presto, out comes a revolutionary work of art. Brecht was not satisfied with a theater that merely got people to take sides; he wanted a theater that raised people's understanding of the world around them. Brecht was disgusted with the cheap emotionalism that he found in so much bourgeois theater. Even less use did he have for the type of "revolutionary" theater that used the same cheap emotional tricks to suck people into taking positions that were little more than vague generalities (when they weren't out and out reformist). "There are many," he wrote, "who imagine they are facing cannon, when nothing more dangerous is aimed at them than a pair of opera glasses."

Brecht wrote for a theater that would present the truth in all its concreteness, and would force the audience rather than empathizing with the characters, to sit back and judge them critically. To accomplish this, Brecht developed his own kind of theater, which he called epic theater. Building on the work of Meyerhold and Piscator, revolutionary directors in the Soviet Union and Germany, respectively, he reclaimed the freedom of movement through time and space that had existed in Elizabethan theater and before that in epic poetry. He borrowed techniques from Japanese Noh plays and from modern novelists like Kafka and Joyce. And he used alienation techniques that attempted to jar the spectator and remind him that this was not real life, but a theater of ideas that required thinking and judgment.

This new theater required a revolution in acting technique as well. Brecht despised the method of acting that dominated and still dominates Western theater. This method was developed by Stanislavski for the realistic plays of

Chekhov. It is aimed at reproducing real life as closely as possible—as if the audience were watching the action of the play through an invisible fourth wall. It required the actor to submerge himself in the character—as much as possible to become the character.

In Brecht's epic theater the actor must avoid this at all costs. When he is performing an action onstage, the actor, besides being the character he is portraying, is also himself. The actor observes the action, judges it, and conveys that judgment to the audience. The critical ingredient in this type of acting is consciousness. In a play about Adolf Hitler, for example, the actor would not try to become a monster just like Hitler was. Rather, he would struggle to deepen his understanding of Hitler and the social context that created him. This is the necessary first step in portraying the character in a way that would convey this deeper understanding to the audience.

All of these changes revolutionized 20th-century theater. They also earned him the accusation of being a formalist from many of the communist critics of that day. Almost anyone who tried something new and adventuresome in the '30s and '40s was accused of formalism. The correct model for revolutionary art was supposed to be socialist realism.

Both Brecht and those who criticized his work for formalism accepted these terms as representing the correct approach to form and content in revolutionary art. But Brecht struggled consistently to apply them in a less narrow and less superficial way than they were frequently used. Brecht wrote a series of articles criticizing Georg Lukacs, one of the foremost advocates of socialist realism. The articles were published after Brecht's death; it is unclear whether he tried and failed to get them published or failed to try. (1st essay reprinted at the end of this article)\*

Brecht is not criticizing the theory of socialist realism here. He is criticizing the tendency to tie it down to the form of bourgeois realism that was developed in the 19th-century novel. He argues that form is determined by content, and that in a time of revolutionary change, new forms are developed to express revolutionary new content.

In a later essay, Brecht gives a definition of realistic that would include many "unrealistic" works of art including *Candide*, *Gulliver's Travels* and Peking Operas. "Realistic means," he says, "discovering the causal complexes of society/unmasking the prevailing view of things as the view of those who are in power/writing from the standpoint of the class which offers the broadest solutions for the pressing difficulties in which human society is caught up/emphasizing the element of development/making possible the concrete, and making possible abstraction from it."

This is essentially the same definition as the one Bob Avakian quotes from the charter of the Association of Soviet Writers: "Socialist realism, which is the fundamental method of Soviet literature and letters, requires the artist to present reality in its revolutionary course of development, in a true and

historically concrete manner." Avakian says that in both the Soviet Union and China socialist realism included revolutionary romanticism—"since to portray reality in its revolutionary course of development is inevitably to portray the tremendous heroism of the people and the vastest horizons of human progress."

When defined this broadly socialist realism/revolutionary romanticism could be looked at as opposite poles of emphasis in the overall concept of revolutionary art: socialist realism emphasizing the aspect of taking a critical look at the present; revolutionary romanticism envisioning the future. I think this is the way Avakian is looking at it when—although he makes criticisms of Stalin similar to Brecht's criticism of Lukacs—he sums up that socialist realism (including revolutionary romanticism as an aspect of it) was "a real advance for the development of proletarian art."

But I don't think that's the way it came down in practice. It seems to me socialist realism was pretty widely applied as: socialism in content/realism in form—in other words: socialist content/bourgeois form. It's not impossible to create hybrids like this, but they are usually sterile. From the '30s on down to the present, narrow-minded philistines have used this hybrid to attack anybody who deviated from the style of mainstream, 20th-century, bourgeois art.

Realism started out as a progressive artistic movement of the 19th century that combined accurate description of physical surroundings with a harshly critical view of capitalist society. But even then this critical view was through the eyes of an individual lost in a sea of individuals. The complex web of interrelationships in feudalism had been destroyed. Capitalism had triumphed and was starting to decay. Social interrelationships had been reduced to commercial transactions between competing individuals. Bourgeois realism is structured around the recreation of this world of competing individuals. The rules of plot and character development do not describe eternal laws of literature, but forms that were developed to reflect a world outlook that is rotting and dying away.

Brecht rejected the cult of the individual in bourgeois art. "It is absolutely false, that is to say, it leads nowhere, it is not worth the writer's while, to simplify his problems so much that the immense, complicated, actual life-process of human beings in the age of the final struggle between the bourgeois and proletarian class, is reduced to a 'single plot', setting, or background for the creation of great individuals." Bourgeois drama is the drama of the individual. For Brecht revolutionary drama was the drama of social forces. He tried to develop a theatrical form that would show these social forces in operation, that could convey the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Brecht's experimentation with form was not the result of "striving after originality for its own sake" but the result of an intense preoccupation with content. His development of theatrical form had such an impact on modern theater because he was,

to an extent, successful in creating a *conscious* theater—one that presented revolutionary ideas to the audience and forced it to think about them.

But although Brecht's achievements came from the attempt to create a conscious theater—his shortcomings were the result of not carrying that fight far enough. While Brecht's plays are aimed at raising the political consciousness of the audience, few of them show the audience how that political consciousness can change the world. In his plays there are few examples of revolutionary heroes—groups or individuals who because of their grasp of the ideas of the future, are able to play a role in creating it. Nor are the masses shown as heroes.

This is coming from his attempt to create a drama of social forces. But in a revolutionary period the most powerful social force can be revolutionary ideas when they are gripped by the masses. For all his experimentation, Brecht did not develop a way to show this.

In this respect the Peking Operas developed under the leadership of Chiang Ching are an advance over Brecht. (Of course, some say that since this was done in China it's too weird for Westerners to relate to. In fact, maybe this was Brecht's problem with the socialist-realist-formalists of his day, since Brecht made the mistake of adapting techniques from Japanese Noh plays, which have many formal elements in common with Peking Opera.)

The advances in Peking Opera over Brecht's epic theater should be seen in the context of the theoretical advances made in the international communist movement (and particularly in the cultural revolution) since Brecht. Brecht was writing at a time when economism and reformism was eating away at the revolutionary movement. Although he struggled against this trend, his failure to completely break with it is reflected in his art. "To Posterity," one of his greatest and, I think, most deeply felt poems, is a concentration of his strength and weakness. It is addressed to the future socialist generation trying to explain how the revolutionaries of today were forced to become hard and cruel in order to create a world without cruelty. It is a poem of deep revolutionary commitment—and also of deep pessimism. Revolutionaries are seen—like everyone else—as the victims of social forces that they are unable to control. They are able to make revolution in the world, but the world makes counter-revolution in their hearts. To this extent they are not able to understand the social forces that are controlling them, and to rise above those forces.

The outlook in this poem is mechanical materialism, not dialectical materialism. This determinist outlook occurs frequently in his plays and is at the root of the relative absence of revolutionary heroes in them. But the lack of *bourgeois* heroes in his plays was a real step forward in revolutionary art. A clear example of this can be seen in comparing the San Francisco Mime Troupe's touring production last year, *Squash*, with Brecht's *Good Woman of Szechuan*. Both of them are based on the device of three rather clutzy gods coming down from heaven

Continued on page 20

# Correspondence on May 1st

## Prisoner in India

Dear Comrades,

This time, when sitting behind bars of my cell of this prison, I take up the pen, the smiling face of the brave martyr, Comrade Damián García, one of the finest sons of USA and the picture of the streets of Chicago crimsoned with the blood of workers a century ago, are coming before my eyes, and I hear the tune of the *Internationale*. Yes, through the window that you have provided us on the high walls by which we are now surrounded—*RW*—I can also see the reverberations that are created all over the world by the message of our great martyrs. Through the same window I, we, could get acquainted, even though not directly, with numerous Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary comrades who are still languishing, yet unbeaten in the hell holes of various countries in the world. Their revolutionary courage and convictions instill enthusiasm in us.

Yet we have to march ahead too far, this year we have achieved a higher term of unity on the international scale as a presentation of May Day. Thanks to the Chinese revisionist betrayals!

On this auspicious occasion, I, we, from behind bars of this goal wish to extend through *RW* our warmest May Day greetings first to all those comrades languishing behind bars and then to all fighting for the lofty goal, in various countries of the world.

Let us chorus:

Arise ye prisoners of starvation,  
Arise ye wretched of the earth...

The *Internationale* shall be the human race.

With red salute and May Day greetings,  
Comradely yours,  
XX  
Political Prisoner  
• XX, India

## Red Flag Over Chinese Consulate

On May 1st a red flag was raised on the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco and a message left by the Chiang Ching Brigade. The following letter is about that event:

There was a lot of talk before May Day about how May First (and the preparations for it) would be a microcosm of the entire world situation. And how May First, the very concentrated form, would encompass the sharpest kind of class struggle. The intense character that those days took on for me brought all that to light. In fact, so much was jammed packed into those days that in the midst of it, it was often hard for me to sum up just really what was going on. But one thing remained clear throughout—and that was that this May Day would have a much greater impact on the entire world than I could even imagine.

There was also a lot of discussion preceding May First about "breakouts" or "red flag actions" and what kind of element these could make to the U.S. and worldwide ruling classes. Although all these things were being discussed,

it wasn't until the eve of May Day that a group of us realized what form this could take.

And even after we saw how to give expression to this "breakout" there was struggle over what kind of impact it could have. Even though I liked the idea, when it was first presented to me, I had some doubts. I realized days before that I probably wouldn't get any sleep the night before May Day but I still kept questioning whether it was worth it. Some of my first questions were political ones, "Would people really understand why we are doing this?" "Aren't they going to think we're upholding China and its present state?" When I read the *Manifesto* those questions disappeared. I also came to realize that I was viewing this action in a narrow sense—just wondering what some people driving by the embassy might think and not taking into consideration what kind of international impact this action might have. When I began to ponder about what kind of reaction people in China would have (and people who stand by Chiang Ching and Mao Tsetung throughout the world) if they were to hear of this action—then my attitude began to change.

We began to enlist other people's help and there was struggle throughout the night over many similar questions. Some people we approached felt it would be an insignificant act, after all it wasn't likely to get any press and would most likely come down very quickly. There was also questions of how can an

## Inspiring M From Hawaii P

The inspiring, internationalist and revolutionary statement issued immediately before May First by a group of prisoners at the Maximum Security facility in the Hawaii State Prison. The statement says an act of "taking history into our own hands" is the result of being leaders and rebels in a prison. The *RW* has circulated among these prisoners. It is not clear at this time what action they will take on May First. Their statement reads:

We, the prisoners of Maximum Security, stand in solidarity and support for all oppressed people.

We plan to fast and otherwise resist to dehumanize and brutalize us. Be it an act of taking history into our own hands, we will attempt to raise this to new levels as we see fit. The inspiration of Chiang Ching has given all of us new strength.

May Day is a beginning. We hope that it will make everyday May Day.

We would also like to express our solidarity with the RCP and thanks to the staff of *Worker* for its very informative news.

Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought!  
Long Live Bob Avakian!  
Long Live the RCP!

The M

Another group of prisoners in Halawa, who were allowed to leave their cells for 10 minutes a day to get materials—made the conscious decision to raise the red flag on May 1st. Contradictory outlook debate when some prisoners wanted to issue a statement to their actions.

We have also learned of a May Day action in Washington. The prison was locked down and the prisoners made red flags using red pens. One prisoner told her about the action inside the prison and the intimidation of the authorities and to take action in the same kind of cage as he is. He challenged the authorities on May Day: "You've got to run with these prisoners." He reported all this to the *RW*.

Prisoners—Send us correspondence on other

act of just a few individuals really affect the world. On his May Day tape Bob Avakian talks about a minority of class conscious fighters influencing millions. This stayed in my mind. And I also thought about how individual acts had affected me in the past. Like Damián and the others on the Alamo, or the UN2. I knew that raising the red flag over the Chinese Embassy would have a profound effect on the advanced minded people in this country and throughout the world. There were also questions as to whether the risk involved was worth it. I certainly don't consider myself heroic—but throughout the course of this May First I came to do things I never thought I could. The absolute overwhelming elation we felt as we were leaving and saw the red flag flying overshadowed any question of whether it was worth it or not for me.

The night progressed with one logistical problem after another—as well as those political questions. There was a point where we seriously doubted if we could pull it off. Our original plan had to be slightly altered for security reasons and we were all becoming exhausted. But we managed to overcome these obstacles and come daylight the Chinese embassy did display its red flag, May Day Poster and Chiang Ching Brigade Manifesto. (See Page 2—*RW*)

As a woman I am particularly proud to uphold Chiang Ching and all she stands for. I felt this action did accomplish more than the physical raising of the red flag—spoke to the aspirations of millions of women worldwide to stand with Chiang Ching as their comrade. And certainly doesn't stop there. Members of the entire international proletariat worldwide found ways to raise the red flag on May First and I'm proud I was part of it.

LONG LIVE CHIANG CHING!

# Send May 1st Reports Today

In countless ways, in countless places, the red flag was raised on May 1st. Now readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must take up the serious task of reporting on these May Day actions. Some knowledge has already been accumulated, as this present issue indicates. But there is much more that has happened, there are more experiences to be popularized and lessons to be drawn. And this can only be done through the active correspondence of readers.

Accounts of May 1st will not only enable us to assess the situation, but will also further enable the *RW* to intensify the work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion. So, readers should send written reports, tapes and photographs right away to the *RW*, both on May Day events in this country and those around the world.

# Message in Prisoners

ationary statement printed below was  
up of prisoners in the Halawa prison,  
ii state prison system. Most of these  
at being in Maximum Security is itself  
This is because many are in Max as a  
rebellion which broke out last August.  
ers and has been carefully studied by  
was taken by these prisoners on May

y, express our solidari-  
le.

e efforts of our keepers  
ng Max prisoners is in  
own hands, but we will  
e opportunity presents  
ing and Chang Chun-  
to continue to struggle.  
soon we will be able to

upport for Bob Avakian  
of the *Revolutionary*  
paper.

## Prisoners of Halawa

der even greater restraints—only allow-  
day and not allowed any reading  
use to shower, eat or leave their cells in  
is contended in this action, with intense  
statement which would give a religious

n at Monroe Penitentiary near Seattle,  
er prisoners tore apart their sheets and  
ephoned his wife at a housing project  
He struggled with her to break with the  
antage of the fact that she's not locked  
ed her to break out and break free on  
people, you really do!" His wife then

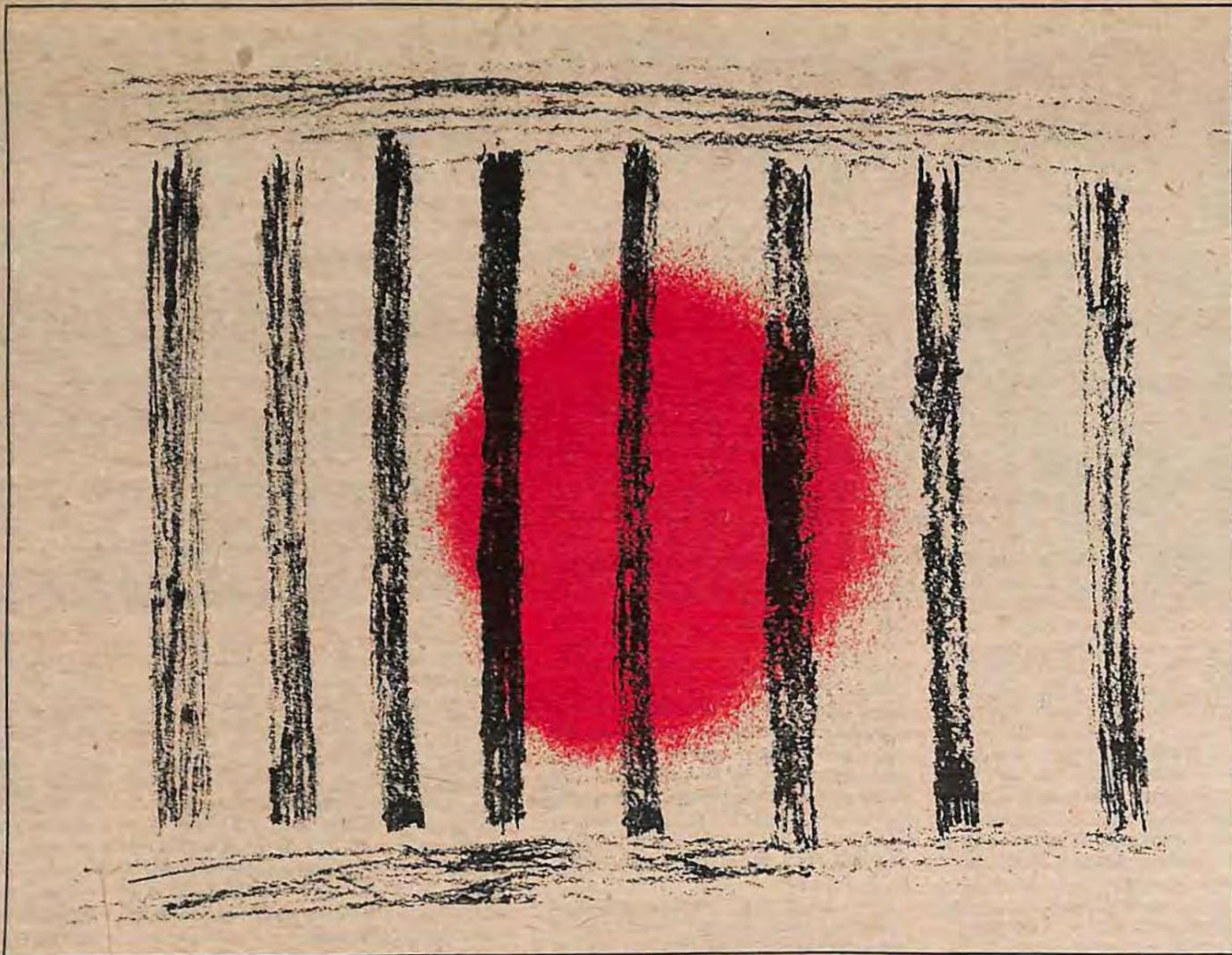
### May Day actions!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN  
REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE MAY DAY!

### L.A. May Day

We followers of the line of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party were  
involved in a great task as the great  
day, the Day of the Workers, of the pro-  
letariat, of the masses, approached.  
Hoping that all the tasks called for by  
the Party had been carried out, we work-  
ed all day and all night, pushing our-  
selves to the max to carry them out,  
achieving this fully with the great  
masses marching on May Day. We were  
involved in the great task of visiting the  
schools, the work places, to see to it  
that the youth be at the forefront and  
the old people not be far behind, provid-  
ing them with organization to join the  
march. We couldn't imagine all the stud-  
ent, worker breakouts.

Finally, in terms of the people, the  
march was glorious. Everyone chanting  
"our flag is red, not red, white and  
blue," with our great red flag held high,  
waving freely in all hands, in those of  
the students, of the workers, in all the  
breakouts. We passed through many  
workplaces with our march always mak-  
ing a bigger impact, gained more and  
more workers. The slogans were incre-  
dible, in languages of all over the world:  
we think it was better than last year.  
Another thing that had an impact was  
the march into MacArthur Park: we  
think that will remain engraved in histo-  
ry; that is where the action had a bigger  
impact, swelling the number of masses  
that were already in that area, of great  
political potential, an area completely  
liberated during the march by revolu-  
tionaries of different countries, Cuba,  
El Salvador, Chile, etc. Later, we decid-  
ed to end this great day by taking to the  
street, and thereby completely attain-



Drawing done by a Chicago high school student as a class assignment after listening to Bob Avakian on the radio.

ing our objective. Hoping that our Party  
was satisfied of our effort.

—2 Salvadorans from  
MacArthur Park area

### Garment District

As the May Day march went through  
the garment district in L.A. red flags  
were raised from the sweatshops. The  
following is a talk with one woman who  
raised a flag.

What did you think when you saw the  
red flag?

Oh! It was a tremendous thing, it  
makes one feel like you are not alone,  
that there are others fighting for the  
same cause.

I saw the demonstration and I recog-  
nized the struggle, especially with the  
crimes that are occurring in El Salvador  
now; this is why I had to raise the red  
flag. I don't believe I was the only one  
that had that impulse; here we have va-  
rious Salvadoranos, but this does not  
mean that everybody understands,  
there are some that ignore the situation  
in El Salvador.

What were you thinking of when you  
raised a red cloth out the window?

I remember in El Salvador, the chop-  
ped up bodies, the dogs eating the peo-  
ple's flesh, children 12 years old being  
dragged from their homes, with their  
eyes being cut up by razor blades, they  
are burned with cigarettes, their nails  
are torn out. 15-year-old girls have their  
breasts cut off and turn up dead with  
stakes up their vaginas, and that is why  
I raised the red flag.

What happened when you raised the  
red pair of pants out the window?

When I was waving the red pants, the  
owner came and told me not to do it  
because she did not want any prob-  
lems; and she suspended me for that  
day. I responded to this by saying that it  
was something I had to do.—That she  
did not know what was going on in El  
Salvador. Why then, shouldn't I support  
those people by raising the red flag?

I raised the red flag for all the injusti-  
ces that happen. To the people of El  
Salvador their lives do not matter, they  
want changes.

(translated from Spanish by the RW)

### "We have to prepare..."

Brothers & Sisters of the World,  
Brothers & Sisters of the RCP,

I believed and went to sea thinking

that the U.S. was a democracy. In the  
U.S. democracy doesn't exist, because  
there are so many problems like the ra-  
cial problems, there is no freedom of ex-  
pression. Here there is repression like  
in Latin American countries, like Euro-  
pean countries...like all over the  
world. Here we do not have liberty  
(freedom) to say what we feel. This May  
Day I was with the brothers and sisters  
of the RCP, USA at 24th & Mission  
Streets where the demonstration was  
preparing to leave. Before leaving there  
were words spoken, there were songs,  
songs about the red flag. When we left  
walking, we were singing, but didn't get  
to 22nd Street but the anti-riot police  
were waiting to break up the demon-  
stration. These were wounded and beat-  
en by the authorities. Why do the imper-  
ialists want to quiet the sentiments  
and shut up what the North American  
people are feeling? I don't know. But  
one of my feelings is that I am from a  
country where there is oppression,  
where they don't only come at us with  
clubs but with machine guns. But still I  
thought they would let the march reach  
its destiny. I don't know if there was  
permission from the City Hall to march,  
but we were marching peacefully,  
shouting and singing with our flags,  
demonstrating to Yankee imperialism  
that we want freedom, Yankee imperi-  
alism does not let us demonstrate this...  
We say, "We're not Americans, we're  
proletarians, our flag is not blue, white  
and red, but red." This is our flag, bro-  
thers. Because here in the U.S. we must  
understand, this land is not the Yank-  
ees', here are many races. Here we  
come and here we must fight for the  
benefit of the world.

For what happened here on May Day  
on the streets of the Mission, we Latin  
Americans feel proud because it was in  
our barrio, in the Latino district where  
most of the people are from Central  
America, the majority of us are Nicara-  
guan and El Salvadoran, where now  
U.S. imperialism is trying to take away  
our freedom. It is interfering in our prob-  
lems. We are fighting in our countries  
for our rights. We don't want the So-  
viets, the Cubans or the Yankee imperi-  
alists. We want to resolve our own  
problems, to eliminate the military dic-  
tatorship that has dominated for over  
50 years. We want to throw off the re-  
pression of U.S. imperialism, and  
military rule of our government, and the  
only way to save ourselves is through  
armed struggle—insurrection. We don't  
want any imperialism interfering with  
us.

We don't want U.S. or Soviet imperial-

ism. We want our own government put  
in by our own people to solve our own  
problems.

I came to this country from where  
everything is silenced by the club, the  
gun and jail. I thought here there was  
democracy, but May Day left me con-  
vinced there doesn't exist democracy,  
because neither you, nor the elderly, nor  
the youth nor anyone can shout for  
liberty, you can't go to the streets  
without facing their anti-riot police,  
their clubs, their blows.

When the 52 hostages in Iran were  
freed after 444 days, Jimmy Lopez came  
out and said that his emblem is blue,  
white and red. But the emblem of Jim-  
my Lopez is deceived. The emblem of  
our flag is red, like the red of our blood  
and the red of the communism that we  
want in the world. When Lopez came to  
San Francisco for a dinner, Channel 14,  
the Spanish TV station, went to make  
an interview with him. They said, "Jim-  
my, would you say something?" He  
said, "I don't speak Spanish." The Latin  
American people felt roto del corazón  
(sick at heart) because he demonst-  
rated himself to be corrupted by Yankee  
imperialism, like a traitor.

The 1st of May for me, I don't know  
what happened in other cities, or in  
other states, but for me there doesn't  
exist any democracy here, and when in  
a country there's no democracy...well,  
I don't know what might happen except  
that if people have no other recourse,  
when there is no dialog possible, then  
the people must take to arms. So it will  
be a struggle, like we've seen in small  
countries, in poor countries. When the  
struggle hits right here inside Yankee  
imperialism it's going to be heavy and  
we will have many with us, because in  
all countries in the world there are  
many organizations against Yankee im-  
perialism. In Latin America, the only  
ones who are with U.S. imperialism are  
the governments, because they are fed  
by imperialism. But the masses are not.  
And in Asia and Africa, because of the  
crimes of imperialism, thousands die of  
hunger. U.S. imperialism will not be the  
last, it will be the next to fall. Because  
all empires have had their times. There  
are two main struggles, with Yankee im-  
perialism and Soviet imperialism.  
These two satellite powers against the  
world. I've never lived in a communist or  
socialist country, but I want to live in a  
country where there is democracy and I  
don't live in one.

I believe we're proletarians and not  
Americans, because we're all poor, we  
fight for our interests. We have to fight

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for something better for ourselves, for the proletarians all over the world.

I think we're on a long road, it's a difficult road, hard to follow. We may have to give up our lives, because it's just beginning. We have to prepare ourselves, physically, and intellectually, because we have to beat them, but it won't be easy. It's a long road. There is much to be done, we must wage class struggle, work among La Raza and other people. Here it will be hard, possible but hard.

a proletarian from Latin America

#### A Whole New Existence

This hall that I work out of isn't exactly full of guys who want to tear up the system—in fact, a lot of them are so dulled by false dreams that they say they like the red, white and blue, and proclaim over and over again about how things are so great here. I think they're full of shit—when the red flag/Revolutionary Worker people came on the morning of May Day, I knew there would be a big uproar—one group hooping and hollering about how they loved imperialism, and another group not quite so lame, but not all that interested either. These guys usually play dice on the floor just to pass the time because more often than not, they don't get a fucking work assignment anyway. The yelling got quite sharp and those ass-kissers were being called out for exactly what they are—backward drags on society. One thing kind of interesting that happened was that those guys playing dice started to listen and left the hall when the red flag people called for people to break out. And when we got outside—these guys actually started to talk seriously about politics—much higher level of conversation than who they're gonna screw tonight. (It kind of pisses me off how these guys treat these women, especially those selling the paper.) Pretty soon—the pigs came and blocked the doorway—then people started to leave. Actually—I think this surprised those assholes, and they could no longer claim how free this country is—I sell the papers and try to talk to guys down there. It'll probably be a little different now—the red flag represents raising mankind to a whole new existence—and its presence here will be felt—no matter how loud they turn up the loudspeaker when the red flag people come—and those ass-kissers aren't quite so brave. Right on to May Day!

a worker at the Laborers Hall, San Francisco

#### Statement from Chicana

This is a statement from a young Chicana, 20 years old, from East Los Angeles. She learned of the RW and the Party from a co-conspirator in East L.A. She went to the bookstore to learn more—bought and read the Communist Manifesto, Socialism Utopian & Scientific and State & Revolution and decided she wanted to get more involved. Two weeks before May Day she went out with RW sellers to build for May Day and came to the march.

What I think and what I feel is hard for me to put on paper, especially with such little time. I'm proud to have been a part of a contingent of the worldwide proletarian army. I was glad of the number of people who took up the paper after I explained the march and its political message to them: That we, the oppressed of the world are uniting and are going to overthrow this decrepit system we are forced to live under. There was little struggle over this message, only over what part they should play in it. They took up flags proclaiming their unity. They took up papers proclaiming their desire to understand. My role was a small one, but so very important in that I put the actual weapon (the paper) in their hands. One woman I spoke with said she didn't know anything about politics. I told her that that was the way the ruling class wanted it. That they try to make understanding politics seem very complicated to deter us from making the effort to understand. By reading this paper she would be armed with the understanding necessary to make intelligent political decisions from the

standpoint of her class. Now, it was hot outside. My assigned partner and I had been running to catch up with the march. This woman gave us water and bought the paper.

#### Student from India

We must realize the importance that each human being has the capacity, the capability that has to grow with analysis and science. And I wish you all a good day.

statement by a student from India at Holly Park housing project in Seattle, who had raised the red flag at Pike Place Market earlier that day

#### "With the Fury of the Sun..."

"Brothers and sisters in common struggle, we saw today the spirit of revolution in the market place, we were drawn like a magnet to that struggle. The youth in particular we're gonna have to make revolution night and day to win this struggle 'cause it's not an easy struggle and it's gonna take constant hammering away to win this struggle and the point is that tomorrow we've got to fight even harder than we did today to answer to what went down at the marketplace today, this morning but we're gonna show out there that we won, the proletariat. The red flag flew and we are on top, the world's workers, the proletariat.

Don't be afraid of the struggle that lies ahead because the contradiction of the outbreak of revolution is going to overtake the contradiction of fear. Don't be afraid of those oranges (thrown by reactionaries in the Pike Place Market—RW) 'cause it's a bunch of bullshit and especially don't be afraid of Ronald Reagan.

We got to take this on with the fury of the sun and with the strength and the power and the optimism of mountains that tomorrow, those people's faces, we're gonna be looking at their faces and their mouths are gonna drop because of not only our own force and tenacity, but more so the tenacity of the international working class. Que viva Primero de Mayo! Que viva Primero de Mayo! Long live the First of May! Long live the First of May!"

statement made in the Holly Park housing project, Seattle, by a revolutionary Nicaraguan youth (translated from Spanish by a Chicano brother on the spot)

#### From a May Day Rebel

RW.

Two of us arrived at XXX High School in Watts early the morning of May 1st. Other people from the community were supposed to have met us but they weren't there. We hesitated. Both of us had recently been popped at the school for taking out May Day, me two days prior, XX only yesterday. A mere handful of students could be seen outside the school.

When I'd been busted two days ago, the narcs had escorted me to the security office by going right inside the school (fools!) with me agitating every step of the way. The crowd from outside had followed me in. Heads were popping out of classrooms. One kid yelled, "Shut her up! Put tape over her mouth." One of the students following me growled, "Shut your mouth, motherfucker!" By the time we reached the office, a whole gang of kids was following, listening to the agitation. Calls of "May Day!", "Hey, it's about May Day" were passing from group to group. After they'd locked me in the room, the pigs had to shut the blinds cuz kids were crowded around the one tiny opening, looking in, laughing, giving the fist, mouthing "May Day" to me through the window.

Far from the cocky, puffed-up porkers who'd swaggered up to us outside, these were dismayed and fearful little vermin. Their simple scheme to keep May Day outside their crumbling "hallowed halls" was not going well. As one pig unfolded the "evidence," a May Day poster, the others moaned, "That's the damn poster that's all over the school." I couldn't contain my chuckle.

(That afternoon my "cohort in crime" returned across the street as school let out, calling on the youth to pick up the red flag. Scores swarmed over to him,

# Correspondence

where about 40 took up the flag and the RW.)

Anyway, here we were, May 1st. Things were not exactly as we'd planned, to say the least. Looking at it one way, one might even say the situation was not favorable. But all I could think of was the article in last year's RW about those places where the struggle around May Day had been raging and how on the day itself the advanced had been waiting, counting on us to lead them in busting out and how we hadn't recognized that and run with it. I knew XXX High School was ripe for a JAIL-BREAK! So we set up across the street, raised bundles of RW's high above our heads and started agitating. From out of "nowhere" scores of youth poured out of school, hanging on every word. One young woman broke ranks and marched across the yard, planting herself directly across from us, grinning from ear to ear. The others couldn't stay behind. We were calling on them to step out, to be the first one to dare to raise the red flag. The narcs were racing across the lawn toward us. We agitated about what it would mean to people not only in these projects (adjacent housing project where many of the students live—RW) but to the masses across the country and even around the world if these students, in the heart of Watts, broke out on May Day.

Then the narcs hit. One guy went for me, two for XX. I pushed the pig away. "Get out of my way, pig!" I yelled. Behind me, XX was struggling as the two pigs were beating him. "My" pig left me to join the fray and I kept on agitating. By now, the students were pouring across the street. I turned to see these three motherfuckers on XX, choking him, beating him with their clubs. I was agitating about why they had to attack him, when they cuffed me and pushed us across the street toward the office. As we crossed the lawn I looked up at the flag pole, expecting to see "the rag" as I had every morning we'd been out there. Instead, the pole was empty!

When we were inside the office the pigs kept talking about how the kids were threatening to bomb the school.

The next day when I went to pick up my car, two youth, one of them a student at XX High School, came out of their house, "It's okay, isn't it?" They'd watched it all night long so no one could fuck with it. The student said that not much had happened inside: just that the teacher in one of his classes had everybody read the RW and they'd spent the whole day discussing the centerfold: "Why would people get arrested and beaten for this?" "What's so important about May Day?" "Why would they come out to this school?" The kid told us that the paper had been all over the school that week. "I know what May Day's about. It's about getting rid of these capitalists who control the means of production." He was really surprised that "our narcs" had beaten up XX. Why? "Because he's a brother. They never mess with people that way." Why do you think they did it? "He must have been saying something really dangerous they didn't want us to hear."

A May Day rebel

#### May Day

May First started with me with the whole idea of seeing what I could accomplish for revolution. And surprising to me, I learned that there was peoples out there willing to stand for what they believe in. They wanted to express themselves in other ways in how they felt towards revolution. I thought it was my May Day but they showed me it was their May Day too. They was just slow in showing it but they showed it and made a point to me.

Our May Day, it seemed to me that people were willing to stand up not for the red, white and blue or just for themselves, but for the revolution. It's out there and they could see it. And the feeling was great. There was fear, anger, but love and together at the end. Because we showed peoples what we could really do as the revolutionary workers. And I think there will be more

of us out there the next May Day, or before. There was a time when I thought we'd have to pay this so-called country our way out to freedom. But freedom only speaks through revolution. The cops sees it, that there's no stopping us now. The bigger fine we have to pay, the more of us they would have to put away. They can't keep the revolutionary workers down. I felt like we overcame.

May 1st came. The peoples (at the Sanitation yard) at first didn't want to take the flag. But when they came to see there was no stopping us, they came to be as one, a shield for us. The feeling of having them around me, and telling lies for me... they took my flags and papers. After that, the cops couldn't find me. They carried me in their trucks to a safer place, they took their time and made efforts to see that I overcome the cops. People there are scared for their jobs but they have a mind and they're going to continue to read the papers. They want to survive but yet and still they know they have to make a choice. What really showed me they was willing to be a revolutionary worker was taking the flags on their trucks.

It was the big talk at church today too. They all wanted to know what did I think was in this, why was I involved. If I'd been there, I'd have said if they wanted to read the paper, I'd be glad to get it to them.

One of the revolutionary workers Greensboro, N.C.

#### El Salvadoran Revolutionary

This is a short report on what happened on May 1st in Los Angeles, California.

I am a co-conspirator among the many who are fighting so that one day, a day that is not far off, we reach our objective, the objective of uniting in mass and those masses have to be the masses who are oppressed under the heel of capitalist imperialism.

We who are conscious of the fact that we are being exploited and massacred by this capitalist imperialist system face the necessity to fight to overthrow this system and we will only achieve that by uniting in a single mass, conscious and aware of why it is necessary to wage a revolutionary struggle in this country. That's why this past May 1st, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (we, the masses united with the Party) marched with the red flag in our hands to show that our flag is red, not red, white and blue, and making it known that ours (our flag) is not soaked with lies or the blood of other massacred countries. I was very surprised to see a lot of people leaning out of the windows of their houses or factories with red flags that they had prepared for that moment, and they were waving them; this filled me with joy because I realized how the masses are reacting in favor of our struggle and this past May 1st, the great impact that we are having on the masses really showed. We are confident that we will be able to unite in a single conscious struggle to attain our needs, the revolution in this country (USA) will be achieved. Just like we were able to take the streets this past May 1st—it was only two blocks, but through that we showed that we are capable of seizing much more and if we keep on fighting, we will be successful in doing it, just as the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador is succeeding in doing in part.

—a conscious revolutionary from El Salvador, in the MacArthur Park area

#### A 12-year-old Revolutionary Worker Boy—His Story of a Real May Day

The first five days when I was first involved, people were laughing, some people didn't understand. In school I tell people what May Day is and they call me the Klan. What would a Black person be doing in the Klan?!

On May First, we kept walking around the projects and then we all decided to stop for a few minutes. Then we started to sell more flags and papers. About the time when we started reaching the peo-

# on May 1st

ple, the police came and arrested people. People were saying, "Butch, you ought to quit that, it's the white man's problem, not yours." I told them it was my decision and my Mom said I could go ahead. They said I would get shot and I said at least I'd know why. On May 1st, the police came to my house and asked a lot of questions about me and my friends and asked if I was at Grimsley High School with the revolutionaries. My grandma told them they could leave. Before I was into the *Revolutionary Worker*, the police sent me to detention home to clean up, mop floors but I wasn't going to do it.

May Day is for the kids in Atlanta, in El Salvador and all over the world. If the United States and the Soviet Union was to go to war, they'd have a big problem on their hands. The people in Russia will fight on May Day to be trying to overthrow their government and the people in Amerika will be fighting to overthrow their government too. I think we can win by force of logic. Why are they cutting out the food stamps? To better us or to better them?

The red flag means freedom and peace, for all people, between all colors, red, white, black, yellow. Instead of people being shot, like in Africa. In social studies, we have reports about other countries fighting.

P.S. We have a saying, the revolutionary workers, about the feelings of the red, white and blue flag—red, white and blue, we spit on you. You stand for plunder, you must go under.

12-year-old revolutionary worker boy  
Greensboro, North Carolina

## May 1st—Very Good

Well, it really was very good. On May 1st, many fellow workers did not show up for work and they went out into the streets, showing the imperialists that we the

workers also have our day and that we also celebrate it. On May 1st, I was given the task of distributing propaganda, distributing the newspaper, putting up posters, letting people know what this great day means to us workers. We showed that even here, in the United States, in this country that is the biggest power in the world, even here we are striving to carry out, as soon as possible, a great revolution because there will come a time when people will have to open their eyes and realize who it is, that is to say, who are those who are responsible for us being in the situation in which we live here. We Salvadorans know that we have won 50% of the revolution.

—a 17-year-old Salvadoran

## Talk About Revolution

An acquaintance of a co-conspirator, a Chicano about 40 years old, called Revolution Books in Los Angeles Thursday evening. After he got off work he went over to the co-conspirator's house, saying I want to get in touch with these people and tell them what happened at work today. The co-conspirator called, who is Spanish-speaking, and as he and I were struggling to talk, the Chicano guy got on the phone and told his story.

He said he was driving on the freeway to work and guess who he heard on the radio, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP! He said he was not a radical, revolutionary or a kid. He said he could understand what Bob Avakian was saying, he agreed and it made a lot of sense. He thought the questions that Michael Jackson asked were tough, but they were questions he would have asked, especially the one about are there any socialist countries that the U.S. should be like. When Bob Avakian said *not* Russia or China today, but China under Mao, he said that the way Bob

Avakian described it, that was the way he wanted things to be.

Everytime the Chairman was getting into it, Michael Jackson (the radio announcer) would say the connection was fading out. This guy didn't believe him, he couldn't hear Bob Avakian fine. He couldn't believe it, someone on the radio saying what Bob Avakian was saying, that was why the line was fading. Everyone in his office thought the same thing. He thought it was good that so many people heard Bob Avakian. He said he worked in a government office building and that about 80% of the people heard Bob Avakian. He couldn't believe it, that Bob Avakian and May Day was the main thing people talked about all day. He thought he worked in a reactionary office, never talked with people about what he thought. Here was the whole office talking about whether communism would work, if revolution could work in this country and is that what it would take. In the afternoon people were talking about whether people would be there at May Day, people were talking about last year's May Day; he said he didn't know people paid such close attention. He said a lot of people supported and respected May Day last year, a significant number.

He said people were going to check out the demonstration at lunch and he was making a red flag. He was trying to get his friends to go to the demonstration for the whole time like he was going to. He had no idea people in his office felt like that. He said one Japanese woman said she had a friend who had a cousin who had a friend who went to school with Bob Avakian. He said she talked about Bob Avakian, revolution and May Day more than he had and he said he thought she was the progressive one in the office.

He asked if we heard how Michael Jackson was trying to cut Bob Avakian off, but Bob Avakian just kept talking and announced May Day. He said that he was saying hang in there (to Bob Avakian), get it all out. He thought it was good because so many people listen to Michael Jackson's show.

A Revolution Books staffer

This statement is from a Chicano man who stepped forward the evening of May 1 in the MacArthur Park area. The pigs had been trying to shut down the agitator—they grabbed the bullhorn, and it was grabbed back, etc.—and the crowd had grown to 30-40. This guy, Raul, came up to the agitator and said, "I don't have any money but I want a copy of the paper to read in front of the pigs and show them I'm not afraid of them." She laughed, gave him a paper and he stood right across from the pigs and started reading the paper—holding it up high and proud, red flag in their face and flipping through the paper slowly. A little later as the agitator continued agitating, the pigs went up to her and said, pointing to the stack of RW's at her feet, "Whose property is this?" Two young guys went right up to her and said, "I want to buy a copy of this paper" and held up 50¢. After this the Latino man started agitating about "They stole California, now they are trying to steal Mexico and the whole world." We talked to him later and he described himself as a friend of Damián García's!

## On Damián

I met Damián García at about 6:30 on 7th and Los Angeles and he inspired in me a certain escape, certain emotional escape of what was hurting me, from what the imperialist system was doing to me.

They bought my work and youth at prices of exploitation, because they only gave me work when they needed me, and later they dumped me on the streets. I spent 15 years like that here in California. Damián García's faith in giving a step toward a total political change inspired me. Because I'm a victim of capitalism.

My viewpoint is that Damián was murdered by the imperialist system to try to stop or hold back the firm steps that are advancing in all the Latin American countries, based on the experiences of suffering in all levels, physical and psychological, inflicted by a handful of capitalists.

It's high time that the people materially and mentally in order to contribute through those experiences to the struggle against this imperialist sys-

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# Art Attack

The red flag of proletarian internationalism bloomed in the arts this year as May 1st broke out in every sphere of society. As we go to press we have received only scattered reports of activity among artists, musicians and so on, but these indicate that the impact of May 1st was quite broad. In the coming weeks, we will continue to report and print correspondence on the battle in this arena. Following is a brief and partial report on the events in the San Francisco Bay Area:

In the window of an international distributor of New Wave music was a Mayday display: two armies locked in battle, one side carrying the American flag, the other carrying the American flag upside down! And suspended above, symbolizing the future, was a large red rose. Such caught what was going on that day in every sphere of society, culture included. Everywhere class struggle raged (and where doesn't it?), the red flag had to be raised.

The tremendous amount of creativity unleashed, not to mention the events we knew were planned (as well as don't know!) but have yet to hear about as of this writing, make it possible to cite more than a few ways the flag was raised. By the week of Mayday, however, it wasn't uncommon to find on street corners not only the national Mayday poster, but a number of flyers advertising different Mayday events, concerts and benefits, as well as graffiti such as "ART WAR; BREAK OUT, BREAK FREE!" Not that the creativity of the artists was to passively wait until Mayday. At one postcard store frequented by artists and punkers, an employee made her own postcards which read "ALL POWER TO THE REVOLUTION, MAYDAY 1981" and "1981 MAYDAY, WORKERS POWER" which she too displayed in the window (adding postcards of Mao on the 1st). And two days before Mayday, the Mudflats, a long expanse of

land running alongside the freeway where artists construct ever-new sculptures out of the wood and debris that washes up from the Bay, was transformed into a single Mayday piece with red flags waving in the wind and the words "MAYDAY", "REBEL" and "ART ATTACK" painted on different sections of wood.

All this, however, was only leading up to and building for the day itself. Actions continued that morning including a large red banner hung outside the Museum of Modern Art. Was this a minimalist statement about a primary color? The beginning of a new Christo piece? Spectators looked and walked up to read the plaque to better appreciate this "new acquisition". "Futuro", it read, "artist: Sans Pays: Mayday 1981" which translated means "The Future; artist: one with no country". It was that night, however, and, due to the magnitude of events, the next as well, that the red flag was raised in the most concentrated fashion, taking the form of art, music, and film, liberating school, gallery, and clubs alike.

At a gallery located in a building where artists have been fighting an eviction struggle for a number of years, *Incite!* was beginning a weeklong Mayday exhibition of revolutionary artwork. At their opening party the following night, the red flag on the window glowed from the lights inside, and in the gallery, people coming off the poster as well as the street, were discussing the role of revolutionary art, Mayday, and revolution itself. The band that played complemented the graphics, with songs ranging from pigs to Poland, and their instrumentals conveyed the same sort of fire. At one point when they spoke about Mayday and how it was when the oppressed all over the world rise up proclaiming the future, someone in the crowd yelled out "but not in this country!" The musician countered by pointing out what had gone down the day

before, and the crowd cheered. The band also announced they were donating their proceeds from an album they were selling to the bail fund and set up a special display. The principle way they were waging the struggle, however, as was *Incite!*, was through the sounds (and images) themselves. No bourgeois art here today.

Across town, another Mayday concert was going on with other well-known revolutionary bands, the bass player of one proudly wearing a black eye he received after being knocked unconscious at the demonstration. Due to the severity of his injuries, there was some concern as to whether he would be able to play, but as he said earlier in the day: "Nothing is going to keep me away from this concert!" It was another front of the same struggle, and the bands reflected through their art the internationalism that Mayday's about. A red flag flew from the drums, and with songs like "CIAega", an exposure of U.S. imperialism in Jamaica in a reggae beat, they brought the house down. These guys weren't just righteous in what they "said"; their rhythm and overall presence brought out the revolutionary optimism of the proletariat. It was like a festival of the oppressed.

250-300 people came to a local art school on May 1st itself where *Artists for Revolution in the 80s* (ARE) were holding another Mayday celebration. A multi-media event; revolutionary films were shown in the patio, including one of a Black Panther Mayday rally in 1969 that included Bob Avakian, reflecting an unflinching and inspiring internationalist stand. And the people, mostly too young to remember those days, attentively watched with excitement. Inside, 3 bands were pounding out New Wave tunes and the crowd was jumping. In the halls were posters, and the stairs to the balcony were lined with flags.

One thing interesting about this par-

ticular event was the way the anarchists and communists united against international imperialism while contending for their different ideologies, a contention reflected not only in the black flags amidst the red ones, but in what people wore. While some bands played on a bare stage, another would raise the red flag before starting the set. While some would play "as they were", others would wear all red or a red bandana on their head, arm, or leg. This wasn't only true for the musicians but the audience itself, a few even having red in their hair. As one artist who had been to the demonstration earlier laughingly recounted: "I couldn't decide this morning what to wear—black or red—so I wore both!", adding in regards to the demonstration itself: "I never thought I'd pick up the red flag and yell 'Take History into our hands', but I did; I picked up the red flag today!"

At yet another May Day concert that night, the same sort of things were happening, a number of punkers, staying outside past closing time, discussing the significance of the demonstration that day, as well as the cultural events themselves.

In a Mayday leaflet ARE handed out, it read in part: "Music is a powerful weapon in ideological warfare... The music of the Army marching band is designed with its martial rhythms and banal melodies to stir up a false sense of national unity... When such cultural lobotomies are challenged, the hegemony of the bourgeoisie falters—this ARE benefit holds a promise for the future".

These cultural outbreaks on Mayday not only held up a promise for the future, but as one part of the overall offensive in every sphere that day, helped to forge it. Indeed, as news of other actions in society and the world filtered in, artists began to sense in a living way the greater movement of which they were a part.

# Which Way Is The CWP's Train Running?

Buried away in the most recent issue of the *Workers Viewpoint*, newspaper of the Communist Workers Party, is a most interesting paragraph. It leads into an otherwise dull and ordinary article on the U.S. mass transit system, and it reads as follows:

"Got 7c? Hop aboard a train in Moscow. They come on time and they'll get you there on the dot. You don't even have to plug your ears with cotton. The train's wheels are rubber coated to prevent screeching and screaming along the tracks. Moscow's system is relatively new, built in the last few decades. Although not as sophisticated nor as complex as the U.S. system, it's clearly efficient and serves the needs of the people."

Now why should the CWP, which has always paraded beneath the colors of Maoism and anti-revisionism, be going into raptures over the subway system in the capital city of the USSR, whose exposure as a social-imperialist power and the lessons of capitalist restoration there for the class struggle under socialism was so central to the work of Mao and the anti-revisionist movement? Perhaps a line from a recent CWP letter to friends and supporters will clear away the fog: "We conclude that the Soviet Union and China are socialist countries." This letter, by the way, was passed on to the *RW* some time ago, but we could not be certain of its authenticity. But now this outrageous little paragraph makes it highly likely that the letter is what it says it is—at least likely enough to raise the question of just which way the CWP's train is running these days.

It seems, then, that this little fanfare on the wonders of Moscow trains heralds an apparently momentous change of line. How narrow and philistine! And yet how fitting! It is definitely the epitome of economism: "socialism makes the trains run on time" (but different from Mussolini's fascism because the trains have rubber-coated wheels?). It is indeed a fitting introduction to CWP's latest permutation because it perfectly fits this group's banal and petty vision of socialism—instead of the remaking of all society and the transition to a new epoch of human his-

tory when social classes are completely swept away worldwide, for the CWP socialism is far more "concrete"—a 7-cent subway ride. This goulash view of socialism ("meat and potatoes, piping hot," as Mao referred to it in a poem) is certainly not a new development for the CWP, and we've commented before on their vision of the future in terms of a full belly, a quiet, peaceful and prosperous life. (See "CWP: The Not-So-Great Impostor of Marxism," *RW* No. 69, 8/29/80.)

What at first sight does seem inconsistent, with inter-imperialist war between the two superpowers on the horizon, is the combination of this new line of support for the Soviet Union and the social-chauvinist stance, waving the American flag, which has increasingly characterized the CWP in recent months (see the letter in *RW* No. 100, 4/10/81, p. 16). Time and again they have defended the red, white and blue. Although there is an obvious contradiction here, at a deeper level there is an underlying unity, centered in the CWP's reformism. For their upholding the USSR is not based on any deep loyalty to the Soviet ruling class, but simply on the fact that their vision of socialism is not so different from the state of affairs in the Soviet Union, and to their need in practice to have something concrete and "realistic" to point to as the goal of people's struggle. Their reformism manifests itself in not being able to envision anything higher than goulash socialism in the future, and in not seeing the possibility of anything higher than patriotic capitulation to the U.S. bourgeoisie in the present. The common thread is that they simply do not grasp the possibility of revolution.\*

This is related to another aspect of their letter we quoted above. Lamenting the fact that their party has not made the progress they'd hoped for, the CWP declares: "Despite all the achievement,

\* The reversal of verdicts on the Soviet Union has characterized several "communist" groups and individuals over the past year and a half, and clearly deserves more extended analysis, which it will receive in future issues of the *RW*.

we haven't reached our goal in building the CWP as a mass communist party."

We now stand at the end of a period of several decades of relative stability for imperialism, during which the U.S. bourgeoisie in particular has used some of the fruits of its hegemonic position in the world to bribe large sections of the masses in this country, resulting in the temporary bourgeoisification of significant sections of the working class, including parts of the basic industrial proletariat. In this situation, as is pointed out in the "Basic Principles" paper by leaders of our Party and of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, "...it is very important to combat the tendency and resist the pull to attempt to become a 'mass party' before conditions allow it and at the expense of revolutionary principle."\*\* Posing the question as "what do we have to do to become a mass party," as the CWP does, is a sure recipe for reformism in today's situation—although in their case it's hard to say that it's "at the expense of revolutionary principle," since they had little or none to begin with.

The CWP's stand on the revisionist China of Deng Xiaoping (assuming the letter is correct), on the other hand, is not really a departure from their previous position at all. Not only do they not seem to have ever stated that capitalism has been restored in China, but over the past years they have continued their support of China's actions (like its invasion of Vietnam) and have unabashedly embraced what has become the symbolic stinking hallmark of the Chinese counter-revolution, the "three worlds" theory—all this coupled with the hollow claim to support Mao and the "Gang of Four" against Deng and Hua. Now, they have made a minor adjustment:

"Our General Secretary, Jerry Tung

\*\* *Basic Principles For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and For the Line of the International Communist Movement*, a draft paper for discussion prepared by leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, par. 177.

takes the lead on this question. He points out there is an incorrect 'combating, restricting, preventing' line in the Party. This line represented by the 'Four' absolutizes political and ideological struggles and neglects totally the historical experiences of building socialism in the Soviet Union and China.

"We conclude that the Soviet Union and China are socialist countries. We take critical attitude toward the present leadership with revisionist lines in both countries. But, the line represented by the 'Four' is metaphysical and idealist."

It's not surprising that the Four are jettisoned, and criticized in exactly the same terms as by every other revisionist and reformist force in the world. It was always clear that the CWP had no use for the revolutionary line developed in China, and during the recent trial—which saw two of the Four capitulate but far more importantly saw a stirring revolutionary stand, defiance and indictment by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao—the CWP carried not one word about these stirring and historic events in their paper. The CWP will probably continue to uphold Mao in words—but so does Deng Xiaoping.

In fact CWP's "new breakthrough" on the question of the USSR is a fitting sequel to their previous performance on the China question. As we remarked at the time, when they came out publicly with their position on China:

"So it ends up that their stand on China is almost a carbon copy of the stand of the *Guardian*, that 'independent radical' newspaper, with regard to the Soviet Union. In both cases the stand is that the country in question is admittedly revisionist but nonetheless 'objectively' manages often to play a progressive role." ("Closet 'Maoists' Expose Themselves," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 6, June 1979, p. 20)

Now they have simply, and quite consistently, followed out the trajectory—or so it would seem. If this isn't the way the CWP's train is running, they should give some indication of just what other well-worn track they are skidding along.

## BRECHT

Continued from page 15

and bestowing a gift on somebody. The Mime Troupe's production was a thoroughly bourgeois drama where, due to selfishness, greed, and basically fucked up human nature, everybody ends up killing each other off at the end of the play. We are shown a world of snarling, struggling individuals, and a fairly typical, trite, and bourgeois statement about human nature is made. Brecht's play is not about human nature but about the social forces that create human nature. The "good woman" is just that—a good woman. But Brecht's play shows how it is impossible for anyone to be good when capitalist social relations prevail. He shows that deep and lasting change in individual human nature is possible only with the complete destruction of existing social relations.

Brecht's drama of social forces was a real advance and made possible further advances in *The Mother*, a play which vividly brings to life the process of revolutionary ideas changing the world, and the heroism of those who hate capitalism deeply, study it carefully, and systematically take up its destruction. If Brecht gave us only a few examples of people doing this in his plays, he gave us the example of an artist who did it all his life.

### \* Bertolt Brecht Against Georg Lukács

(The Essays of Georg Lukács)

I have occasionally wondered why certain essays by Georg Lukács, although they contain so much valuable material, nevertheless have something unsatisfying about them. He starts from a sound principle, and yet one cannot help feeling that he is somewhat remote from reality. He investigates the decline of the bourgeois novel from the heights it occupied when the bourgeoisie was still a progressive class. However courteous he is in his treatment of contemporary novelists, in so far as they follow the example of the classic models of the bourgeois novel and write in at least a formally realistic manner, he cannot help seeing in them too a process of decline. He is quite unable to find in them a realism equal to that of the classical novelists in depth, breadth and attack. But how could they be expected to rise above their class in this respect? They inevitably testify, too, to a decay in the technique of the novel. There is plenty of technical skill; it is merely that technique has acquired a curious technicality—a kind of tyranny if you like. A formalistic quality insinuates itself even into realistic types of construction on the classical model.

Some of the details here are curious. Even those writers who are conscious of the fact that capitalism impoverishes, dehumanizes,

mechanizes human beings, and who fight against it, seem to be part of the same process of impoverishment: for they too, in their writing, appear to be less concerned with elevating man, they rush him through events, treat his inner life as a *quantité négligeable* and so on. They too rationalize, as it were. They fall into line with the 'progress' of physics. They abandon strict causality and switch to statistical causality, by abandoning the individual man as a causal nexus and making statements only about large groups. They even—in their own way—adopt Schrödinger's uncertainty principle. They deprive the observer of his authority and credit and mobilize the reader against himself, advancing purely subjective propositions, which actually characterize only those who make them (Gide, Joyce, Döblin). † One can follow Lukács in all these observations and subscribe to his protests.

But then we come to the positive and constructive postulates of Lukács's conception. With a wave of his hand he sweeps away 'inhuman' technique. He turns back to our forefathers and implores their degenerate descendants to emulate them. Are writers confronted by a dehumanized man? Has his spiritual life been devastated? Is he driven through existence at an intolerable pace? Have his logical capacities been weakened? Is the connection between things no longer so visible? Writers just have to keep to the Old Masters, produce a rich life of the spirit, hold back the pace of events by a slow narrative, bring the individual back to the centre

of the stage, and so on. Here specific instructions dwindle into an indistinct murmur. That his proposals are impracticable is obvious. No one who believes Lukács's basic principle to be correct, can be surprised at this. Is there no solution then? There is. The new ascendant class shows it. It is not a way back. It is not linked to the good old days but to the bad new ones. It does not involve undoing techniques but developing them. Man does not become man again by stepping out of the masses but by stepping back into them. The masses shed their dehumanization and thereby men become men again—but not the same men as before. This is the path that literature must take in outrage when the masses are beginning to attract to themselves everything that is valuable and human, when they are mobilizing people against the dehumanization produced by capitalism in its fascist phase. It is the element of capitulation, of withdrawal, of utopian idealism which still lurks in Lukács's essays and which he will undoubtedly overcome, that makes his work, which otherwise contains so much of value, unsatisfactory; for it gives the impression that what concerns him is enjoyment rather than struggle, a way of escape rather than an advance.

† Alfred Döblin (1878-1957): German novelist and exponent both of Expressionism and *Neue Sachlichkeit* (Neo-Objectivity). His major work was *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929), written under the influence of Joyce and Dos Passos.



V.I. Lenin

## Lenin's War on Opportunism, Social-Chauvinism

# The Collapse of the Second International

Beginning with last week's issue of the RW, we are serializing V.I. Lenin's historic work, *The Collapse of the Second International*. Written in June of 1915, this pamphlet proved an invaluable weapon for the revolutionary proletariat. With the outbreak of World War I, the vast majority of the leaders of the socialist parties in Europe—the Second International—deserted their stated convictions and joined with their own respective governments in the imperialist bloodfest. Lenin subjects these traitors to biting exposure. He analyses the economic and political basis for this collapse, and draws the connection be-

tween the opportunism already evident in these parties prior to the war and the social-chauvinist position they embraced after the war began. Lenin takes special aim at Karl Kautsky, a notorious leader of the German party, whose theoretical justifications in particular are raked over the coals. Collapse played a key role in the struggle to decisively break with social-chauvinism, as well as to prepare proletarians for the revolutionary situation which was developing in different countries. Lenin's theses of the historic conjuncture are outlined in *Collapse*.

### III

But how *could* it have happened that the most prominent representatives and leaders of the Second International have betrayed socialism? We shall deal with this question in detail later, after we have examined the attempts being made to give this treachery "theoretical" justification. We shall try to characterize the principal theories of social-chauvinism, of which Plekhanov (who in the main reiterates the arguments of the Anglo-French chauvinists, Hyndman and his new adherents) and Kautsky (who advances much more "subtle" arguments) with their semblance of far greater theoretical profundity may be regarded as representatives.

Perhaps the most primitive of these is the "who-started-it?" theory, which may be worded as follows: we have been attacked and are defending ourselves; the interests of the proletariat demand that the violators of the peace in Europe should be properly dealt with. This is merely a rehash of the declarations made by all governments and of the outcries of the bourgeois and the gutter press all over the world. Plekhanov embellishes even this threadbare piece of vulgarity with his inevitable Jesuitical reference to "dialectics"; to be able to assess the concrete situation, he says, we must first of all find out who started it and punish him; all other problems will have to wait until another situation arises. (See Plekhanov's pamphlet, *The War*, Paris, 1914, and Axelrod's repetition of its arguments, in *Golos Nos*, 86 and 87.) Plekhanov has set a new record in the noble sport of substituting sophistry for dialectics. The sophist grabs at one of many "arguments"; it was Hegel who long ago very properly observed that "arguments" can be found to prove anything in the world. Dialectics calls for a many-sided investigation into a given social phenomenon in its development, and for the external and the seeming to be reduced to the fundamental motive forces, to the development of the productive forces and to the class struggle. Plekhanov has plucked out a quotation from the German Social-Democratic press: the Germans themselves, before the war, admitted that Austria and Germany had "started it", he says, and there you are. He does not mention the fact that the Russian socialists repeatedly exposed the tsarist plans of conquest of Galicia, Armenia, etc. He does not

make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history of at least the past three decades, which history proves conclusively that the conquest of colonies, the looting of foreign countries, the ousting and ruining of the more successful rivals have been the backbone of the politics of *both* groups of the now belligerent powers.\*

With reference to wars, the main thesis of dialectics, which has been so shamelessly distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie, is that "war is simply the continuation of politics by other (i.e., violent) means". Such is the formula of Clausewitz,\*\* one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose thinking was stimulated by Hegel. And it was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded *any* war as the continuation of the politics of the powers concerned—and the various classes within these countries—in a definite period.

Plekhanov's crude chauvinism is based on exactly the same theoretical stand as the more subtle and saccharo-conciliatory chauvinism of Kautsky, who uses the following arguments when he gives his blessing to the desertion of the socialists of all countries to the side of their "own" capitalists:

"It is the right and duty of everyone to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in this right being recognised for the socialists of all na-

tions, including those who are at war with my nation...." (See *Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author.)

This matchless reasoning is such an unutterable travesty of socialism that the best answer to it would be to strike a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side and of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, we are told, means that we must justify German workers fighting at French workers, and French workers firing at German workers, in the name of "defence of the fatherland"!

However, closer examination of the theoretical premises in Kautsky's reasoning will reveal the selfsame idea that Clausewitz ridiculed about eighty years ago, viz., that when war breaks out, all historically created political relations between nations and classes cease and that a totally new situation arises! There are "simply" those that attack and those that are defending themselves, "simply" the warding off of the "enemies of the fatherland"! The oppression of a number of nations which comprise over half the population of the globe, by the dominant imperialist nations; the rivalry between the bourgeoisie of these countries for a share of the loot; the desire of the capitalists to split and suppress the working-class movement—all these have suddenly dis-

appeared from the ken of Plekhanov and Kautsky, although they themselves were describing these very "politics" for decades before the war.

In this connection, false references to Marx and Engels are the crowning argument of these two chieftains of social-chauvinism; Plekhanov recalls Prussia's national war of 1813 and Germany's national war of 1870, while Kautsky argues, with a most learned air, that Marx examined the question of whose success (i.e., the success of which bourgeoisie) was more desirable in the wars of 1854-55, 1859 and 1870-71, and that the Marxists did likewise in the wars of 1876-77 and 1897. In all times the sophists have been in the habit of citing instances that refer to situations that are dissimilar in principle. The wars of the past, to which they make references, were a "continuation of the politics" of the bourgeoisie's national movements of many years' standing, movements against an alien yoke and against absolutism (Turkish or Russian). At that time the only question was: the success of which bourgeoisie was to be preferred; for wars of this type, the Marxists could rouse the peoples *in advance*, fostering national hatred, as Marx did in 1848 and later, when he called for a war against Russia, and as Engels in 1859 fostered German national hatred

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\* Very instructive is *The War of Steel and Gold* (London 1914, a book dated March 1914!) by the British pacifist Brailsford, who is not averse to posing as a socialist. The author clearly realises that national problems are now in the background, and have been solved (p. 35), that this is not the issue of the day, that "the typical question of modern diplomacy" (p. 36) is the Baghdad railway, the contracts for rails for it, the Moroccan mines, and the like. The author correctly considers as one of the "most instructive incidents in the recent history of European diplomacy" the fact that French patriots and British imperialists fought against Cailaux's attempts (in 1911 and 1913) to come to terms with Germany on the basis of an agreement on the division of spheres of colonial influence and the quotation of German securities on the Paris Bourse. The British and the French bourgeoisie frustrated such an agreement (pp. 38-40). The aim of imperialism is the export of capital to the weaker countries (p. 74). In Britain, the profits from such capital totalled between £90,000,000 and £100,000,000 in 1899 (Giffen), and

£140,000,000 in 1909 (Paish); we would add that, in a recent speech, Lloyd George calculated it at £200,000,000, which is almost 2,000 million rubles. Unsavoury machinations and bribing of high-ranking Turks, and cushy jobs in India and Egypt for the younger sons of the British aristocracy, such are the main features (pp. 85-87). An insignificant minority gains from armaments and wars, he says, but that minority is backed by "society" and the financiers, whereas behind the adherents of peace there is a disunited population (p. 93). A pacifist who today talks about peace and disarmament tomorrow proves to be a member of a party wholly dependent on the war contractor (p. 161). If the Triple Entente wins, it will grab Morocco and partition Persia; if the Triple Alliance wins, it will take over Tripoli, strengthen its hold on Bosnia and subordinate Turkey (p. 167). In March 1906, London and Paris provided Russia with thousands of millions, and helped tsarism crush the movement for freedom (pp. 225-28); today Britain is helping Russia to throttle Persia (p. 229). Russia instigated the Balkan

War (p. 230).

There is nothing novel about this, is there? All this is common knowledge and has been reiterated a thousand times in Social-Democratic newspapers all over the world. On the eve of the war, a British bourgeois sees all this as clearly as can be. Against the background of these simple and universally known facts, what drivelling nonsense, what smug hypocrisy, what glib lies are the theories advanced by Plekhanov and Potresov concerning Germany's guilt, or Kautsky's theory concerning the "prospects" of disarmament and a lasting peace under capitalism!

\*\* Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Werke, I. Bd., S. 28. Cf. III. Bd., S. 139-40: "All know that wars are caused only by the political relations of governments and of nations; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a totally new situation is created, which follows its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but the continuation of political relations, with the intervention of other means."

# San Francisco

Continued from page 1

same time, at the union hall, the challenge went out—the time is now, break out, break free. 100 workers walk out of the Laborer's Hall to gather by the sidewalk to listen to the agitator. The police at Mission High get a frantic call: go to the Laborer's Hall, there's trouble.

9:45 a.m.—The police arrive back at the hall and line up on the street to prevent the breakout from going any further. A sharp battle for those who would dare lead ensued—in the end a small minority of workers take up the red flag in the face of the pigs and clearly in opposition to the red, white and blue. Meanwhile the revolutionaries at Mission High have entered the school. And the Black youth who were debating earlier have broken out.

10:00 a.m.—A team from the Hiring Hall goes out to the neighborhood to other plants in the area, to restaurants and street corners—groups of youth are already beginning to gather on the streets in anticipation of the demonstration later in the day as bundles of RW's and red flags continue to go out. The stakes are high, as the response of the overlords demonstrates. The week before May 1st in the big commercial laundries around the Mission, agitators were welcomed into the plants by the workers there. When people arrive at one such factory on May 1st, the workers are locked inside. Bundles of Revolutionary Workers are sold through locked gates and bolted windows.

3:00—The March begins to assemble at 24th & Mission. At first there is some confusion. There are 150 people... someone starts to sing the Internationale and the character of the demonstration begins to take shape.

The SFPD has denied all permits—but at the last moment BART gives its permission to use the subway plaza.

3:30—The crowd begins to swell some and there is a corresponding massing of police. The Internationale is resounding and people are beginning to line the streets. Red flags are fluttering in the wind off the ocean that blows everyday here. Some of the people arrested that morning are bailed out just in time and one by one they pop up from the BART station. There are Black and Latino youth buzzing with talk of the events earlier in the morning at Mission High School and an anarchist contingent with A's painted on their red flags. The Iranian students arrive and push the strains of the Internationale a few decibels louder.

3:45—The SFPD respond by demanding that all flags be turned over.

All the remaining red flags are quickly passed out to the marchers. Infused with the spirit of fighting through—which has filled the air since early morning—they are determined that their actions are to be in line with the urgent demands history requires and in step with the heroic stand being taken by the youth of Brixton and Ireland, and welding a force in unity with the international proletariat and especially the people of the oppressed nations. Many of the people lining the street and about one-third of the march are political refugees from Central America concentrated in the Mission district. There is a glimpse of the spectre of world revolution and a confirmation that the present decade is unfolding not just one stream of revolution but two.

The police captain is ordering the demonstrators to take up no more than half the sidewalk so they can be picked off single file—the tac squad is massing on the side streets.

Somewhere between 4:20 and 4:30, 250 to 300 people, as the news reported "communists, revolutionaries and workers" take to the street behind a stake truck with the 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 punkers, surge to the front of the march and a sturdy group of older Latino workers, including some who had vacillated in the union hall that morning, bring up the rear.

Alongside about 100 people are mov-

ing along both sides of the sidewalk, some of them with RW's under their arms—some holding red flags—there are several hundred more watching from the side of the street.

Several stores close for the day.

4:35—The corners of 22nd and 23rd are packed with people. The pigs in blue helmets string a barricade across 22nd Street as the marchers reach two-thirds the way through the second block; it's clear the path of the march is blocked.

4:38—The pigs are bringing in two more columns of tac squad in white helmets across 22nd Street. When the march reaches the barricade some people drop back only to find the same is true in the back—the tac squad has barricaded 21st Street and is moving forward in a pincers movement.

There is no opening left—a pig tactic used when the object is to disperse a demonstration. This is a statement meant not just for those marching but for the hundreds watching as well. The pigs want the red flag driven into the ground.

A revolutionary youth wrote the following account to the RW:

First of all, I would like to say, "You pigs in blue, You're nothing new, You stand for plunder, You must go under!" That was my exact sentiment as I marched with my red flag through the Mission District.

Before the march started and we were rallying, one of the agitators delivered a powerful statement to the crowd and the bourgeoisie. From now on, beginning on May 1st, it was going to be advance, advance, advance, fight to bring

alive the new. And no matter what, we were not going to let the red flag fall on that day, and so when I started off that was my exact orientation.

I remember all kinds of thoughts were going through my mind, the outbreaks, May Day in Iran, and May Day in the U.S.A....

I remember there had been a call when the march had been formed for rebellious youth to be in the front lines. So there I was in the front lines. The youth looked so militant there. We were setting an example to the youth in this country that while we could be getting high on dope or something, we were getting high on revolution. And not only that, I had come to set the record straight and let it be known to the youths in Brixton, Derry, etc. that here in the monster I was going to join the struggle, I was going to learn from their actions.

And so we marched, then I spotted this wall of pigs, looking so tough with their riot gear out ready for action. We started getting closer and my heart was beating so hard I thought it was going to come out... I ran until I made myself stop!... I noticed I had run in the opposite direction because I saw we were surrounded by the pigs. By then the fear had subsided and I was trying to figure out what I was going to do. Well, it didn't take me too long, because a few feet in front of me was a comrade who has then heroically taking on the pigs. I mean, did you really have a choice? It was either that or get the shit beat out of you.

I watched this comrade and I heard the pigs squeal for help and then pigs

came running to the rescue. So there I was, and then they were beating up on my comrade. Just before the comrade went down, he was calling on the masses to help him. I looked around and to my side was another comrade who was agitating out of shock 'cause there weren't any masses next to us, so I looked at the person and said, "Remember the youth in Brixton." Our eyes lit up and once again the battle cry could be heard... "Pick up the red flag!"

4:40—The pigs are brutally beating anything that moves in the street—and launching a second wave into the crowd on the corners. The masses are extremely resolute—continuing to march and hold high the red flag. A 13-year-old boy is mercilessly beat to the ground by several pigs at once. They chase him under a car, continuing to beat him till he is rescued by masses on the sidelines who lift him up, and with hugs and kisses rush him to a medical room set up on the spot in a storefront.

Blood is running from head wounds. But instead of beating this march into submission, it is dawning on the pigs that it is they who are completely surrounded and as the demonstrators see the horrified looks in the pigs' eyes it is clear that the air is charged with the formerly suppressed political energy of the masses. These pigs in blue are in enemy territory.

Yes, enemy territory. In this district where tens of thousands of foreign-born workers and other immigrants mainly from Central America are con-

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MORE LIKE 15 PEOPLE



Police attack front of the march.



On May 1st someone thoroughly trashed the army recruiters office in the Mission District, San Francisco.

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centrated, the *RW* has been a hub of political debate and activity. Especially through the last year, as revolution surged in El Salvador, there have been profound revolutionary stirrings and sharp struggle between revolution and revisionism here. The influence of the *RW* over the months prior to May 1st sharpened crucial questions confronting the international communist movement. Open street debate went on week after week over the exposures of Soviet imperialism and their revisionist henchmen in Latin America. Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and legacy and the Chiang Ching trial became focal points of sharp struggle with revisionist forces, who freaked out at the growing political involvement even of forces around them that were studying *RW*'s and moved to openly attack proletarian revolution and genuine proletarian internationalism. The more the revisionists jumped out to attack the *RW*, the more the advanced forces saw the importance of the dividing line between revisionism and revolutionary Marxism. One week revisionist forces around the BPR attacked *RW* sellers on the streets and burned their papers—the next week, the advanced were openly calling them out with a handpainted banner upholding the *RW* and the international communist movement around the legacy of Mao Tsetung. A graffiti war ensued, with the revisionists writing "RCP Out of the Mission" on the walls, and the masses painting out the "R" to leave "CP Out of the Mission" on the walls. Finally the revisionists gave up and painted over the whole thing. Revolutionary proletarians shocked the revisionists by openly debating them and arguing against the economist political line, citing Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, which they had carefully studied.

From the moment the call went out for May 1st, there was broad enthusiasm. Nearly 50,000 May Day leaflets went out in the Mission alone. On Damián García Day, more than 20 restaurants and stores put up posters of Damián in their windows. And an equal number were displaying May Day posters.

Propaganda forums had been held. The call for May 1st and the decisive role of the advanced sharpened up the difference between revolution in the oppressed nations like El Salvador and an oppressor nation like the U.S. For many the question wasn't that they didn't dig being in the minority, but that they had real doubts about the possibility of revolution inside U.S. impe-

## Detroit

# "It is good seeing the red flag raised by proletarians in the U.S.—it is time this happened."

In hopes of frightening people away from rallying and marching on May 1 in Detroit, the authorities and their press, withheld the permit. They warned about the possibility of violence. But none of this was about to stop people from converging in downtown during the rush hour in order to join ranks with the international proletariat on its day. Thirty people had come together from one housing project. In their hands they held red flags that they had saved from last May Day. The march proceeded along some highly favorable terrain and when it reached a plaza area, a crowd of some 200 people encircled the agitators and those holding a huge red banner. It seems that new and previously unknown *RW* sellers had been downtown all day in advance, selling the paper and preparing public opinion for the march. One resourceful agitator from among the masses had spent the previous night preparing May Day agitation on cassette, which he blasted from his box since he hit downtown early that morning.

Suddenly, commands to "move on" rang out from the phalanx of Detroit pigs. No one budged. An agitator cried out: "Who will step forward to pick up

this flag and stand with those taking to the streets today around the world on International Workers Day?" An older Black man stepped forward, and grabbing the pole in his two hands, he thrust the red flag defiantly into the air above his head. He moved the red flag to the head of the march and they continued down the street. Dozens of people followed alongside, on the sidewalks, while still others found themselves a spot in the ranks of the march.

An especially striking remark was made by an Arab worker at the scene: "I have been all over the Middle East. I have seen the red flag raised in many places. I have been in Ethiopia, which is dominated by the Soviets, where the KGB is murdering people. They wave the red flag there and they call it 'revolutionary.' But we know that it is not revolutionary. It is good seeing the red flag raised by proletarians in the U.S.—it is time this happened."

A group of professional anti-communist provocateurs, well known in Detroit, began taunting and pulling on a red flag. Several Black men from the crowd stepped alongside the agitator, determined to protect the red flag. The march stopped, turned



May 1st in the Bay Area, singing the Internationale.

and passes papers to passengers through the windows—he takes his last 10 papers—puts a dime in a newsstand and deposits the *RW*, making sure to replace the display copy. A medical team appeals to the store owner to use his place to attend to people who are hurt—the pigs are charging after people, following them into restaurants and beating people up—so the owner ushers people into safety and then lowers and locks the iron grill in front of the store. People open up their homes to demonstrators who have scaled fences and landed in their back yards. These same people find resourceful ways to transport several demonstrators past police lines to hospitals.

16- or 17-year-old girl from San Jose moved and angered by this sight grabs a bullhorn and makes her way through restaurants and pool halls, exposing the nature of bourgeois dictatorship and calling on the cholos to come forward. She plays a decisive role—fighting to regroup the march until she is arrested and charged with felony threatening the life of a police officer.

5:00—About 5 o'clock flanks of pigs descend on an Army recruiters' station two blocks behind police lines to find every window shattered—this recruiters' office had displayed a Texas flag since April 22nd and had put a gigantic American flag in the window for May

1st. The pigs curse each other out, whining and squealing. They notice a red flag taped to a pole and descend on it, flailing at it with their riot sticks. Then, jumping up and down on it in the street.

Approximately 6:00—The truck which managed somehow to drive through the string of pork across 22nd Street is stopped—only after it has circulated through the Mission with a "solomon" on the loudspeaker for over an hour. Plainclothes pigs jump the agitator.

Police patrol Mission Street in groups of four, posted at each corner late into the night, but the sidestreets and alleys stay liberated, and roving bands of youth—sellers and agitators—roam the streets until way past midnight—the red flag is everywhere.

"It was precisely when the lines were sharply drawn that May Day took on its greatest significance. It was during those moments that the initiative and heroism of the masses was most in evidence." (*RW* No. 53, May 1, 1980)

The bourgeoisie has moved to recoup their losses and counterattack. The brunt of the actual attack has been concentrated, as could be expected, on the busts stemming from the battle in the Mission. 22 people were arrested there in the afternoon. But there has been a concerted and broad effort in the realm of creating reactionary public opinion to lay the basis for further attacks. And as of this writing, they have stepped up arrests on Party supporters, busting three people leaving an Ireland support demonstration Wednesday night, May 6, on trumped-up charges and then raising bail on one and holding him for charges of inciting to riot. As of Thursday night, they had not specified any particular event in this charge, but made loud remarks in the jail about seeing this person at such and such a place and at 24th & Mission St. on May Day, and so on. It so happens that this person was in jail all day on May 1st. But the counterrevolutionary public opinion campaign and their vicious gestapo tactics have continued to draw increasingly broader sections of the masses, and the advanced, more sharply and deeply into political life.

The day after May 1st, the police showed up in force in the Mission in order to bust the red flags which were hoisted onto the light poles during the battle. They stomped around, busting and beating anyone they saw with a red flag—one person with a flag was roughed up and busted outside a May Day concert put on by a punk band on the other side of the city. But in the days following, they have kept a relatively low profile on the streets.

A battle has raged in summing up May 1st. Outrage was extremely widespread at the pig brutality. For example, one agitator had been trapped in an alley by pigs, who called for reinforcements, and together 12 of them worked her over, breaking ribs and beating her

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# Collapse

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of their oppressors—Napoleon III and Russian tsarism.\*\*\*

Comparing the "continuation of the politics" of combating feudalism and absolutism—the politics of the bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty—with the "continuation of the politics" of a decrepit, i.e., imperialist, bourgeoisie, i.e., of a bourgeoisie which has plundered the entire world, a reactionary bourgeoisie which, in alliance with feudal landlords, attempts to crush the proletariat, means comparing chalk and cheese. It is like comparing the "representatives of the bourgeoisie", Robespierre, Garibaldi and Zhelyabov, with such "representatives of the bourgeoisie" as Millerand, Salandra and Guchkov. One cannot be a Marxist without feeling the deepest respect for the great bourgeois revolutionaries who had an historic right to speak for their respective bourgeois "fatherlands", and, in the struggle against feudalism, led tens of millions of people in the new nations towards a civilised life. Neither can one be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky, who speak of the "defence of the fatherland" with regard to the throttling of Belgium by the German imperialists, or with regard to the pact between the imperialists of Britain, France, Russia and Italy on the plundering of Austria and Turkey.

There is another "Marxist" theory of social-chauvinism, which runs as follows: socialism is based on the rapid development of capitalism; the development of capitalism in my country, and consequently the advent of socialism there will be speeded up by her victory; my country's defeat will retard her economic development and consequently the advent of socialism. In Russia this Struvist theory has been developed by Plekhanov, and among the Germans by Lensch and others. Kautsky argues against this crude theory—against Lensch, who defends it overtly, and against Cunow, who defends it covertly; his sole purpose, however, is to reconcile the social-chauvinists of all countries on the basis of a more subtle and more Jesuitical chauvinist theory.

We need not dwell on this crude theory. Struve's *Critical Notes* appeared in 1894, and during the past twenty years Russian Social-Democrats have become thoroughly familiar with this habit of the enlightened Russian bourgeois of advancing their ideas and advocating their desires under the cloak of a "Marxism" purged of revolutionary content. Struvism is not merely a Russian, but, as recent events clearly prove, an international striving on the part of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism with "kindness", to crush it in their embraces, kill it with a feigned acceptance of "all" the "truly scientific" aspects and elements of Marxism except its "agitational", "demagogic", "Blanquist-utopian" aspect. In other words, they take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), the "general" recognition of "socialist ideals" and the substitution of a "new order" for capitalism; they cast aside "only" the living soul of Marxism, "only" its revolutionary content.

Marxism is the theory of the proletarian movement for emancipation. It is

\*\*\* Mr. Gardenin in *Zhizn* labels as "revolutionary chauvinism"—but chauvinism—Marx's stand in 1848 for revolutionary war against the European nations which in fact had shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary, viz., "the Slavs and the Russians in particular". This reproof of Marx reveals once again the opportunism (or—properly speaking *and*—the inconsequence) of this "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary. We Marxists have always stood, and still stand, for a revolutionary war against counter-revolutionary nations. For instance, if socialism is victorious in America or in Europe in 1920, and Japan and China, let us say, then move their Bismarcks against us—if only diplomatically at first—we certainly would be in favour of an offensive revolutionary war against them. It seems strange to you, Mr. Gardenin? But then you are a revolutionary of the Ropshin type!

clear, therefore, that the class-conscious workers must pay the utmost attention to any substitution of Struvism for Marxism. The motive forces in this process are varied and manifold. We shall indicate only the three main forces: (1) the development of science is providing more and more material that proves that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically—not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept Marxism, while emasculating it by sophistry and turning it into a holy "icon" that is harmless to the bourgeoisie. (2) The development of opportunism among the Social-Democratic parties fosters such a re-fashioning of Marxism, and adjusts it for a justification of all kinds of concessions to opportunism. (3) The epoch of imperialism is one in which the world is divided among the "great" privileged nations that oppress all other nations. Morsels of the loot obtained as a result of these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall to the share of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and to the working-class aristocracy and bureaucracy. These strata, which form an insignificant minority of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, gravitate towards "Struvism", because it provides them with a justification of their alliance with their "own" national bourgeoisie, against the oppressed masses of all nations. We shall have occasion to deal with this later, in connection with the causes of the collapse of the International.

#### IV

The most subtle theory of social chauvinism, one that has been most skillfully touched up to look scientific and international, is the theory of "ultra-imperialism" advanced by Kautsky. Here is the clearest, most precise and most recent exposition of this theory in the words of the author himself:

"The subsiding of the Protectionist movement in Britain; the lowering of tariffs in America; the trend towards disarmament; the rapid decline in the export of capital from France and Germany in the years immediately preceding the war; finally, the growing international interweaving between the various cliques of finance capital—all this has caused me to consider whether the present imperialist policy cannot be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital. Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable. Can it be achieved? Sufficient premises are still lacking to enable us to answer this question..." (*Die Neue Zeit* No. 5, April 30, 1915, p. 133).

"The course and the outcome of the present war may prove decisive in this respect. It may entirely crush the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism by fanning to the highest degree national hatred also among the finance capitalists, by intensifying the armaments race, and by making a second world war inevitable. Under such conditions, the thing I foresaw and formulated in my pamphlet, *The Road to Power*, would come true in horrifying dimensions; class antagonisms would become sharper and sharper and with it would come the moral decay (literally: "going out of business, *Abwirtschaftung*", bankruptcy) of capitalism.... (It must be noted that by this pretentious word Kautsky means simply the "hatred" which the "strata intermediary between the proletariat and finance capital", namely, "the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeois, even small capitalists", feel towards capitalism.) But the war may end otherwise. It may lead to the strengthening of the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism.... Its lessons (note this!) may hasten developments for which we would have to wait a long time under peace conditions. If it does lead to this, to an agreement between nations, disarmament and a lasting peace, then the worst of the causes that led to the growing moral decay of

capitalism before the war may disappear." The new phase will, of course, bring the proletariat "new misfortunes", "perhaps even worse", but "for a time", "ultra-imperialism" "could create an era of new hopes and expectations within the framework of capitalism" (p. 145).

How is a justification of social-chauvinism deduced from this "theory"?

In a way rather strange for a "theoretician", namely as follows:

The Left-wing Social-Democrats in Germany say that imperialism and the wars it engenders are not accidental, but an inevitable product of capitalism, which has brought about the domination of finance capital. It is therefore necessary to go over to the revolutionary mass struggle, as the period of comparatively peaceful development has ended. The "Right"-wing Social-Democrats brazenly declare: since imperialism is "necessary", we too must be imperialists. Kautsky, in the role of the "Centre", tries to reconcile these two views.

"The extreme Lefts," he writes in his pamphlet, *The National State, the Imperialist State and the League of States* (Nuremberg, 1915) wish to "contrapose" socialism to inevitable imperialism, i.e., "not only the propaganda for socialism that we have been carrying on for half a century in contraposition to all forms of capitalist domination, but the immediate achievement of socialism. This seems very radical, but it can only serve to drive into the camp of imperialism anyone who does not believe in the immediate practical achievement of socialism" (p. 17, italics ours).

When he speaks of the immediate achievement of socialism, Kautsky is resorting to a subterfuge, for he takes advantage of the fact that in Germany, especially under the military censorship, revolutionary action cannot be spoken of. Kautsky is well aware that the Left wing is demanding of the Party immediate propaganda in favour of and preparation for, revolutionary action, not the "immediate practical achievement of socialism".

From the necessity of imperialism the Left wing deduces the necessity of revolutionary action. The "theory of ultra-imperialism", however, serves Kautsky as a means to justify the opportunists, to present the situation in such a light as to create the impression that they have not gone over to the bourgeoisie but simply "do not believe" that socialism can arrive immediately, and expect that a new "era" of disarmament and lasting peace "may be" ushered in. This "theory" boils down, and can only boil down, to the following: Kautsky is exploiting the hope for a new peaceful era of capitalism so as to justify the adherence of the opportunists and the official Social-Democratic parties to the bourgeoisie, and their rejection of revolutionary, i.e., proletarian, tactics in the present stormy era, this despite the solemn declarations of the Basle resolution!

At the same time Kautsky does not say that this new phase follows, and necessarily so, from certain definite circumstances and conditions. On the contrary, he states quite outspokenly that he cannot yet even decide whether or not this new phase is "achievable". Indeed, consider the "trends" towards the new era, which have been indicated by Kautsky. Astonishingly enough, the author has included among the economic facts "the trend towards disarmament"! This means that, behind innocent philistine talk and pipedreaming, Kautsky is trying to hide from indisputable facts that do not at all fit in with the theory of the mitigation of contradictions. Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism"—this term, incidentally, does not at all express what the author wants to say—implies a tremendous mitigation of the contradictions of capitalism. We are told that Protectionism is subsiding in Britain and America. But where is there the least trend towards a new era? Extreme Protectionism is now subsiding in America, but Protectionism remains, just as the privileges, the preferential tariffs favouring Britain, have remained in that country's colonies. Let

us recall what the passage from the previous and "peaceful" period of capitalism to the present and imperialist period has been based on: free competition has yielded to monopolist capitalist combines, and the world has been partitioned. Both these facts (and factors) are obviously of world-wide significance: Free Trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as capital was in a position to enlarge its colonies without hindrance, and seize unoccupied land in Africa, etc., and as long as the concentration of capital was still weak and no monopolist concerns existed, i.e., concerns of a magnitude permitting domination in an entire branch of industry. The appearance and growth of such monopolist concerns (has this process been stopped in Britain or America? Not even Kautsky will dare deny that the war has accelerated and intensified it) have rendered the free competition of former times impossible; they have cut the ground from under its feet, while the partition of the world compels the capitalists to go over from peaceful expansion to an armed struggle for the repartitioning of colonies and spheres of influence. It is ridiculous to think that the subsiding of Protectionism in two countries can change anything in this respect.

Let us further examine the fall in capital exports from two countries in the course of a few years. In 1912 these two countries, France and Germany, each had about 35,000 million marks (about 17,000 million rubles) of foreign investments, this according to Harms's statistics, while Britain alone had twice that sum.\* The increase in exports of capital has never proceeded evenly under capitalism, nor could that have been so. Kautsky dares not even suggest that the accumulation of capital has decreased, or that the capacity of the home market has undergone any important change, say through a big improvement in the conditions of the masses. In these circumstances, the fall in capital exports from two countries over several years cannot imply the advent of a new era.

"The growing international interweaving between the cliques of finance capital" is the only really general and indubitable tendency, not during the last few years and in two countries, but throughout the whole capitalist world. But why should this trend engender a striving towards disarmament, not armaments, as hitherto? Take any one of the world-famous cannon (and arms) manufacturers, Armstrong, for instance. The British *Economist* (May 1, 1915) published figures showing that this firm's profits rose from £606,000 (about 6,000,000 rubles) in 1905/6 to £856,000 in 1913, and to £940,000 (9,000,000 rubles) in 1914. Here, the interweaving of finance capital is most pronounced, and is on the increase; German capitalists have "holdings" in British firms; British firms build submarines for Austria, and so on. Interlinked on a world-wide scale, capital is thriving on armaments and wars. To think that the fact of capital in the individual states combining and interlinking on an international scale must of necessity produce an economic trend towards disarmament means, in effect, allowing well-meaning philistine expectations of an easing of class contradictions to take the place of the actual intensification of those contradictions.

Continued next week

\*See Bernhard Harms, *Probleme der Weltwirtschaft*, Jena, 1912; George Paish, "Great Britain's Capital Investments in the Colonies, etc." in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXIV, 1910/11, p. 167. Lloyd George, in a speech early in 1915 estimated British capital invested abroad at £4,000,000,000, i.e., about 80,000,000,000 marks.

# Getting Down to Brass Tacks with Bob Avakian

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hear me?

**BA:** Not too well.

**PG:** Alright I'm shouting.

**BA:** Alright go ahead, I'll do the best I can.

**PG:** Okay, first why don't you do this. I've already told people who you are. This is Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party. He has gone into exile quite involuntarily. Now why don't you tell people exactly why it is that you had to go into exile.

**BA:** I'm here in France. I've demanded political refugee status, or asylum, because of the sharpening situation, the developing tendency toward world war and the deepening crisis, everything that's happening in the U.S. is happening all around the world and the level of repression, everything from what's happening in Greensboro to the murder of Damián García, a member of our Party, murdered last year while building for May 1st. And I want to remind everybody tomorrow is May 1st, time to break out in an internationalist spirit in a revolutionary way. But all this kind of thing is what's being stepped up, because, I think a good symbol of it is the fact that the U.S. ruling class has to put forward Reagan as president. It's symbolic of the situation they're in, the fact that they have to bare their fangs and they're going to have to be laying it on the line a lot more and they can't allow for a revolutionary movement to be developing... (fades out)

**PG:** We're kind of losing you with the drift. Yo Bob, we're kind of losing you with the drift, if you can keep it firm and...

**BA:** Can you hear me now?

**PG:** Now you're fine. Now you're great.

**BA:** Okay I'm sorry. I don't know how much of that you got but basically it comes down to that things are intensifying; there are developments toward world war between the Russian gangsters and the U.S. gangsters, and the bloc of gangsters they've got lined up to see which cutthroats can run the world, that's the kind of situation that's on the agenda now, and there's heightening developments, from Brixton to Miami from people all over the world. The Soviets have their hands full in Afghanistan and in Poland, the U.S. in El Salvador and all throughout its empire and people raising a lot of deep questions about what the hell's going on in Atlanta and other things. This is the kind of situation that's going to be becoming much more intense in the period ahead and that's why they've got to come down hard on revolutionaries.

**PG:** Let me ask now, not everyone has to, is forced to, go into exile. For those people who are here in the United States what do you advise? What do you suggest? To meet with this coming crisis as you put it?

**BA:** Well, I mean I think that these questions are tactical questions. I mean obviously the main thing is that people have to carry out revolutionary work in the place where they can carry it out best. And in the case of people who are, who have grown up, or are familiar with the U.S. best, looking at it from an internationalist perspective, if that's where you can best carry out revolution that's where you should do it. But you should always be mindful of doing it in unity with the proletariat, with oppressed people throughout the world and if you have to make certain tactical steps, like this particular step, well, you do on the basis of considering things overall. But it's always on the basis of how to contribute best to revolution. Now our Party has obviously not left the U.S., in fact it's deepening its work there. It's working to build its ties among the basic proletariat, among those people who have the most basic interest in revolution. Like tomorrow, for example, our May Day activity in New York is going to be centered in the garment district. And at the same time it is necessary to work among all different movements of people who recognize more and more clearly they've got to

fight back. So it's a question of tactics but the overall goal and the overall strategy's got to be: work for revolution, not just in the U.S. but to advance it on a world level.

**PG:** Bob, I want to ask you something, particularly for our audience, our audience is predominantly Black, also a lot of Blacks from the Caribbean. What I wanted to ask you is this. Given some of the things that have been happening lately in Atlanta, in Buffalo, in Salt Lake City, the almost indiscriminate attacks against Black people coupled with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi activity. How do you analyze that, how do you interpret all that? Why now, why is that happening now?

**BA:** I think it's in line with everything we're talking about. I mean this is a situation where the people that run the U.S., who are responsible for these various things you are talking about, they are the ones that unleash these forces. The police in Atlanta, if you remember about 6 or 7 years ago, there was on top of the ordinary terror, there was a concentrated attack on Black people with the police themselves, directly, openly with their justifiable homicide, murdered 18 to 20 Blacks in a period of about a year and a half. And yet they now claim well, they can't... All they do in a situation like Atlanta is get in the people's way and carry out terror against the people even when the people are trying to put an end to this madness. And the reason they have to do this is connected to everything we're talking about, there's a growing crisis and unlike ever the '60s, like I started to say, they are going to have to put it all on the line this time. They were rattled by national liberation struggles all around the world, by Black liberation and other oppressed people's movements in the U.S. but they still had enough reserves at that time to be able to maneuver and deal with the situation. But this time they have to go straight up against a rival set of gangsters that are putting it all on the line just like they are, headed in the Soviet Union. And they've got to deal with growing revolutionary movements and growing crisis right within the U.S., so one of the things they've got to do is, they've got to crush or attempt to crush that force that they've seen and know is one of the most volatile forces in rising up against them and has one of the most basic interests in revolution and that is, of course, the masses of Black people in the U.S.

**PG:** Bob from your vantage point, from where you are now outside of this multi-national state's boundaries and from where you are in Europe, what's the feeling of people in Europe about what's happening in the world today, about events inside the United States that we've been talking about, about the Reagan administration coming to office, about Alexander Haig and some of the remarks that he's been making? What feeling do you get from people in Europe about the world events today?

**BA:** I think, you know it's good sometimes to get away from the U.S., it's good for your perspective. A lot of people are very, very much aware of it. Some people are confused as to the cause and effect. They think that the U.S. is getting more and more outrageous because somebody like Reagan is in office. The way we see it that's more a symptom of what they have to do that they bring forward a decrepit, reactionary fool and dog like Reagan. But nevertheless people can see that something is happening very sharp in the U.S. when Reagan comes forward. I mean people are hip to the U.S. A lot of people all over the world recognize U.S. imperialism for the crimes it has committed. They know... there was an article run in the (International) *Herald-Tribune* that I want to hip your listeners to, about Haig, where they bragged about something and it's something that he brags about. In the Korean War he (Haig) supposedly, and I don't even believe he did it, but he supposedly was

fighting back through the lines so he could, now get this, so that he could save his hero General MacArthur's bathtub so that (and this is a quote from Haig) "No chink can get in that bathtub of my General, MacArthur."

**PG:** Really?

**BA:** People know...

**PG:** Haig said that, huh?

**BA:** People up there like this running the U.S. this is symbolic of the fact that they are stepping up all those outrages that they've been known for, for a long time, you see what I'm trying to say?

**PG:** Oh yeah. On a more personal note, Bob, by the way it's 20 minutes after 2 over here, what time is it over there?

**BA:** Twenty minutes after 8. Six hours difference.

**PG:** On a more personal note, how does it look for you in terms of getting political asylum in France?

**BA:** Well one of the difficulties, and I think it's something I would like to appeal to your listeners, whether they agree with everything or almost everything or have quite a bit of disagreement with our Party I would like to put this out to your listeners. One of the things that I'm running into is that people say that, 'Well, the U.S. is a democracy. Yeah, okay they did what they did in Chile and the result was tens of thousands being murdered, millions of people suffering, okay they did what they did in Vietnam, or the Philippines, okay, all over the world, they may be carrying out murderous activity, but in the U.S. it's all nice and democracy, fair play.' And one thing our paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, has called for, and I'd like to add a personal note to this, we're calling on people in the U.S. who've suffered directly inside the U.S. in addition to what they've done all over the world. We're calling on people who've suffered inside the U.S. at the hands of the police, the bureaucrats, the judges, the whole state there, the whole criminal regime there, to come forward and testify and contact, for example, they can contact the Party in New York by calling 243-8638 at the bookstore, and give statements. Give statements in their own words, taken from their own experience, what they have in fact been up against, what they've observed of the so-called democracy and the actual dictatorship that they exercise over the masses of people there. And this is a way we can, in fact, add to an international indictment of imperialism. And you don't have to agree with our view on everything or you can even have a lot of differences. It would be good if we struggled over those. But I think it's still an opportunity, a focus, to make a statement about this particular thing.

**PG:** Once again, Bob, for those people who've just tuned in this is Bob Avakian. We're talking with him long distance, quite long distance. He's in France seeking political asylum, he's had to flee this country because of political reasons. He's facing, along with several other people known as the Mao Tsetung Defendants of the Revolutionary Communist Party, they're looking at 241 years and as the Chairman of the Party obviously most of the brunt of that is going to come down on Mr. Avakian. Bob if you could tell us what were the initial events that triggered off what resulted in a 241 year sentence?

**BA:** Well the original thing was a demonstration we had down in Washington, D.C. About 500 people went up against Deng Xiaoping when he came to put the official stamp on the normalization of relations, that is the sell-out of the Chinese revolution and the enlistment of China, at least in the short run, at least for the time being, unless they go over to the Soviet bloc, but in the short run enlisting China in the U.S. war bloc in preparation for World War 3. And as the U.S. government said at that time, that demonstration was an embarrassment to them. They unleashed the pigs down there, they attacked us and brutalized us, arrested us and then, as everybody is familiar with, they turned around and charged us with 20 some odd counts of assaulting police officers, so-called. You know, that's the way they framed their indictment, and right now I just heard the Supreme Court just refused to hear our last appeal about throwing the case out. It's such

an outrageous case and I think this is another example. It's one of many but I think it's an important one, the fact that they're not playing around, they've got to get much more serious even than before about repression. This is the essence of the case.

**PG:** Okay Bob we've got to break. We've got a guest that's been waiting very patiently and he's going to talk about Trinidad after the death of Dr. Eric Williams, the former Prime Minister of Trinidad, but before we go, and considering the fact that you're in France, the home of the Paris Commune, tomorrow is May First, in most of the world recognized as the day for the workers, international workers of the world day, have you got any last words you'd like to send to people here in New York on this eve of May Day, 1981?

**BA:** Yes, I think one thing again, being outside of the U.S. you see this more sharply. Everybody knows about the U.S. but the way they see it, they see it as a bastion of reaction, an octopus whose tentacles are reaching all over, oppressing and squeezing the life out of people and murdering them. But what they do not know about, and what they're systematically kept from knowing about is that there's a revolutionary movement developing in the U.S., that there are already millions of people who hate in their guts the way that that system not only treats them but the way they can see it subjects people throughout the world to sometimes even more vicious exploitation and oppression. People around the world need to see on May First, in various ways, like I said, in New York it's going to be centered in the garment district, but in various ways they need to see the red flag of the international working class, as you said, May First is International Worker's Day. They need to see people in the U.S., proletarians who really do have nothing to lose but their chains, other oppressed people who are sick and tired and are not going along with the daily grind but breaking free, breaking out and making a statement together with the people all over the world, and making an impact and a force so strong so that all the world will take notice of it and be inspired to step up their struggle against the same enemy. That's what we were calling for on May First—tomorrow. I guess that's a good place to leave.

**PG:** Bob, thank you very much. Listen, good luck to you, watch out for your back, you know, and as we used to say a long time ago, "All Power to the People."

**BA:** It's still real. It's still valid.

**PG:** I hear you, take care. Really, take care of yourself.

**BA:** Thanks a lot.

**PG:** Twenty-two minutes after 2 o'clock. That was Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States of America. He is in exile, involuntary exile in Paris, France. He's had to flee this country, he along with several other defendants called the Mao Tsetung Defendants of the Revolutionary Communist Party for their political activities are facing 241 years, but Bob as the Chairman of that organization, as someone who's been active for quite awhile, comes under most of the scrutiny, if you will, of the powers that are, and the powers that maybe will not be for too much longer. But he has had to flee for his life, for his safety, and he is trying to get political asylum in France. We're going to stay on top of that to see if he is welcome there, or some country welcomes him. For those of you who are interested in following up more about the Revolutionary Communist Party or about the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants or about Bob Avakian in particular, you are advised to call in New York, 243-8638. That's 243-8638, and the Revolutionary Communist Party will be leading various demonstrations in New York, and so will many other people, but the Revolutionary Communist Party, I believe their target area of activity, most of their activities will be going on in the garment center tomorrow and again this is the day before May Day and it is considered quite a holiday, quite an important event around the world...

## youth

Continued from page 14

that these students were hopeless, completely uninterested in the world around them. Today I could not believe that these were the same students."

In the nearby housing project, loose bands of rebel youth had begun selling the *RW*. One group of youth took a number of May Day posters to put up. Their example prompted an older *RW* reader, a veteran, to organize them to paste the posters on every floor of the project in front of the elevator. The situation was getting so "out of hand" that the Housing Authority organized a goon squad to confront *RW* sellers coming into the project and called in the pigs to bust two, while they took photographs of the youth and threatened to show them to their parents and use them to have their parents evicted.

A number of youth came forward on the First itself. One 12-year-old Samoan youth took off from school to join the revolutionaries for the day, selling the paper, organizing other youth to distribute papers and flags. He had previously taken the initiative to sell the paper and talk about the red flag not only in his own school but at two elementary schools and at Pearl Harbor. His parents kicked him out of the house for his revolutionary activities on May 1st. When asked how he felt about this, his response was, "Good."

• In Chicago, the youth played a vanguard role on May Day at the Cabrini Green housing project.

At one building 50 youth hanging around waiting for school ran up to May Day agitators yelling "May Day!—we want red flags!" The cops came and told them you have to go to school and they wouldn't listen. The agitator called on people to hang red flags out the windows. In about ten minutes about 10 windows had opened and red flags and red sweaters and red curtains came out. Several remained, others popped in and out of the windows.

One youth in particular, who we'll call James, a very young kid played a very advanced role struggling with folks many times his age from a very high political plane. At one building a guy about 22 started jamming James, "What are you doing with these people?" He was trying to grab the red flag the kid had pinned on his shirt. James

was not backing down. He said "We are fighting for freedom, for revolution. What are you doing?" The other guy said "Look, I am a little high. What you're talking about is like Fred Hampton." He apologized to James and left. The cops came after James and asked, "What are you doing. Why aren't you in school. Did they make you go with them." Again James stood up to them. "It's May Day we are talking about. Freedom and the red flag." The cops left.

• At Cabrini a sixteen year old girl said, "I came here because I want to check out the communist idea. I want to change the world. I want to see a world without nations, without borders, but I'm not convinced if we can do it." Another white youth enthusiastically sold the *RW* in the hallways. As he met another Black youth he said, "Hey brother, this is May Day. We've got to fight for a better life, we've got to fight so that people don't have to live in places like this, so we can get some decent housing." As the Black youth passed by, the two clasped hands and the Black youth's face broke into a broad smile.

• Also in Chicago, the following story from one high school vividly illustrates that intense struggle and real advances that went on in building for May Day even among those who were active in the period leading up to May Day itself. A May Day organizer was already ready for the last minute plans for the day with some of her own "Go inside with stickers and chalk and get the words, Break Out & Break Free, and challenge May Day '81 Break the Chains in every room." But then said she couldn't do it early, but would join later, because she had a Spanish mid-term that she couldn't miss. She added, "I could be dropped from the class, end up not carrying enough credits and mess up my whole education." Others came back, "But who is going to do it if you don't?" Struggle ensued. She showed up the next morning on time and ready. Later on when the pigs tried unsuccessfully to break up a group of 100 youth who came out of the school after 4th period, the pigs approached this woman who had not gone to take her Spanish mid-term—told her to put that Red Flag away. She looked them straight in the eye and said, "No hablo inglés." Her comrades told her that she had passed her mid-term in flying red colors as the pig walked away in total disgust.

• One youth, in honor of May 1, donned an RCYB T-shirt and went all around New York City singing the *Internationale*. Among many incidents: one old man stopped him and said, "I know that song, it's the *Internationale* and today is May First!"

• At Music and Art High School in New York, 350-400 students hung around listening to the agitation before the bell rang. 150 stayed out for nearly 3/4 hour after the bell rang. 35-50 stayed longest and were seriously considering splitting for the day. One group of backward (15-20) started to sing "God Bless America" which was met by a response of total boredom and irrelevance. They stopped.

• In addition to the events at Mission and Berkeley High schools in the San Francisco Bay Area (see article on Bay Area May Day activities), there was a tremendous breaking loose of students at Roosevelt Junior High in San Francisco two days before May Day. When agitators arrived at noontime that day, literally hundreds of students poured out of the school and tore up red flags in order to get more out. (50 red flags had been brought.) When the pigs came (lots of them), the students protected the agitators and no one was arrested.

But on May 1st itself, the doors at the school were locked. A group of organized reactionary students appeared at the door. They were confronted politically and sharply by more revolutionary minded students who wanted to get out but were literally locked-up inside.

On the UC Berkeley campus was the scene of sharp struggle with reactionaries of the Moonie variety on May Day. A Moonies rally was fiercely confronted by an angry, chanting crowd of about 500 students on the Monday after May Day. They made very clear their opposition to the "free speech" platform given by the University to these reactionary, CIA-backed puffballs. Chanting, "U.S. NO, REVOLUTION YES!", the crowd's political mood struck such fear into the hearts of the campus cops that very few efforts were made to rescue the Moonies, or their signs and banners which were thoroughly demolished, as approximately 100 of the most advanced students moved quickly and decisively to action. Clearly the effects of May Day which electrified the entire campus area three days previously were still in the air, with the red flag on the minds of many. □

## Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism

### Los Angeles May 29, 30, and 31

The second in the series of five hearings of the mass proletarian war crimes tribunals will be held in Los Angeles for three days on May 29, 30 and 31. The two principle areas of testimony in these hearings will be:

- Central America, South America and Mexico and ...
- Internal expansion of U.S. imperialism, past and present, focusing on the oppressed nationalities.
- In addition there will be testimony from veterans and testimony on the question of scientific research for U.S. imperialism.

Send testimony, tapes, written reports, photos, etc. or participate directly by contacting:

**The National Office at 2625 E. Third Street  
Long Beach, California 90814 (213) 439-4985**

## TESTIMONY

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end of my career and education. No one bothered to question the premise. And if they had, I could have told them some stories, one about myself.

I was the Dean of Students at a university in the middle 1960s, and in connection with the job raised the issue of changing universities from their role of guardians of the reigning ideology to models of participatory democracy. I gave talks at other campuses and elsewhere, speaking in support of various militant Black student organizations, and, to the interest of far too many students, saying that revolution was the order of the day because the institutions of this society were making life intolerable for the majority of people. At the time I had no ability to analyze these perceptions scientifically, but just the rather feeble expression of such sentiments was more than the institutions themselves could tolerate. As it all came down, because of my political stance, whatever career and education I might have had in mind was destroyed by government agencies and major business interests which controlled the finances of the university.

I say government agencies, because immediately upon my taking the post as Dean, a local agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation visited my office. Evidently assuming that because I was a Jesuit priest and a Dean of the University that I was on "their side," he commenced to run down the file on the more radical of the student dissidents,

and solicited my help in keeping track of them and others. It wasn't a few weeks later that he came in grinning from ear to ear with the news that on that very day students X and Y had become "card-carrying members." And it wasn't a week later that the visits ceased, and the local police became visible around campus, and other administrators began to discreetly question my loyalties, and eventually the Board of Regents called me to account.

When the Board queried if I didn't see some contradiction between my "attitude," my speaking openly of revolution, and my post at the university, I answered to the contrary. However, I soon found out that the Chairman of the Board of Georgia Pacific, the President of Saga Industries, the President of the American Psychological Association and other such luminaries of American business and education were not altogether impressed with my thoughts on the nature and purpose of a liberal and liberating education in this so-called democracy. They fired my ass, commending my administrative skills but denouncing my politics. In the same free spirit as this, though in different contexts and at different times, I was summarily dismissed from a faculty of theology and a doctoral program. One needs only to be vaguely familiar with the elaborate procedures and incredible cost of moving legally against such actions to know the legal route is a ruse.

When I compare my experiences in the late '60s with those of the thoroughgoing revolutionaries who are calling for the overthrow of the government, it is sandbox stuff, child's play and I am

humiliated with my lack of militancy and insight into what could have been contributed. Still, by the very mildness of the position, it stands as another and clear proof that political repression and persecution is part and parcel of the American way of life, and seeps into every facet of it, and that the four freedoms are a fake and a deception unless you play the game according to the rules of the high and mighty and their very well-armed enforcers.

In the course of the '70s I began what might be termed other careers, all of which have met with a similar fate. One such venture has particular bearing on the purpose of this correspondence, since it revolves around the call that Bob Avakian made in May of 1979 for a revolutionary May Day 1980, and the legal battles and threats on his life that surround him because of his revolutionary leadership, including that call.

I was working as a waiter at a popular local bar and restaurant and worked my way up to the position of manager. However, as May Day 1980 approached, the great political questions that faced the world, and particularly the heroic revolutionary struggle of people of Iran, were more and more becoming the topic of conversation among the staff. The *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper was making a regular appearance. Even customers were beginning to take up the political debate, and often specifically the question of Bob Avakian's leadership role, and his trial, since it was a place frequented by legal types and city employees who might follow more closely such matters.

This activity was joined by a notice-

ably increased police activity, patrolmen wandering through the place at different times of day and night, swinging their nightsticks, "just checking." A week before May 1st, in consort with an action across the states, 5 or 6 members of the staff carried red flags into the nearby public square and sang the "Internationale" in English and Spanish. Following this, certain "anonymous" threats were delivered to the owner, and on the day before May Day, I was fired. It patently had nothing to do with my ability to manage, and everything to do with my politics, Revolutionary May Day, and the fight to keep Bob Avakian on the streets.

Is there political persecution in the United States of America? Certainly not if you say what you are supposed to say, and do what you are supposed to do, and keep your objections within limits. But it's got to be either naïvete or hypocrisy not to recognize what historically happens in this country if one steps beyond those limits which are deemed acceptable depending on the particular economic and political situation in the country. Since we must assume the former, I call upon whatever body has jurisdiction over this matter to examine your evidence of the blatantly political attacks on Bob Avakian and the context of the political reality to this country. If this is done, he will be granted the political refugee status that he rightly demands.

Thomas H. Greif  
Seattle, Washington

# IRELAND

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were reduced to burning rubble. Ghetto residents, mainly women, filled the streets in the Catholic neighborhoods and began clanging garbage can lids upon the pavement; a traditional alarm system used to signal the approach of British troops that was now signaling the death of Bobby Sands. It was a bloodcurdling warning to the authorities not to come into their districts, with one newspaper reporter describing it as "tribal and ferocious." Indeed, the sense of desperation among the beleaguered forces of the state was probably best captured by the radio report that crackled over the air as a Belfast cop gazed at the scene in the streets: "There are hundreds and hundreds of them here and we cannot contain them!"

Bobby Sands died on Tuesday, May 5 (Belfast time), after being on a hunger strike for 66 days. The strike began on March 1 and was demanding that the British imperialists reinstitute the status of political prisoner to the men incarcerated at Long Kesh and the women held in Armagh. The British government had abolished political prisoner status and adopted a policy of "criminalization" on March 1, 1976, in an attempt to deflate growing exposure and worldwide opposition to the crimes of the imperialists in Northern Ireland. Since that time, the struggle of the political prisoners in the north, and more recently the hunger strike of Bobby Sands, have come to be the focal point for the opposition to British imperial domination.

This truth was powerfully demonstrated on May 7, the date of Bobby Sands' funeral in Belfast. The massive procession, with estimates varying between 30,000 to over 75,000 people from areas all across the north and from the Republic of Ireland in the south, illustrated not only the support for the struggle of Irish political prisoners but was a broad statement against British imperialist rule in Northern Ireland as well. The imperialists themselves had no trouble grasping this fact, and they moved to make sure that the funeral would not blow up in their faces. A combined force of British troops and police amounting to some 30,000 men covered the procession route between the church and the Milltown Cemetery. Helicopters hovered vulture-like in hopes that they would serve as further means of intimidation. Even a special 600-man battalion was sent to Northern Ireland in an emergency airlift the night before the funeral—just in case. Another march was held in the city of Derry by some 3,000 people who, for various reasons, could not go to Belfast. There, as the services wound down, youth took to the streets to battle the authorities. And, as we go to press, all of Northern Ireland hangs in the grip of a very tense calm—with three other hunger-strikers inching closer to death inside Long Kesh while some 80 other prisoners are prepared to start another round of hunger strikes—and with the imperialists deeply concerned over what will happen next.

There is no doubt that the upsurge of rebel youth in Northern Ireland has been deeply inspired by the mass outbreaks that have erupted around the world. Who could fail to see the parallels in the Sandinista-style bandanas that hide the identities of these youthful faces from the prying eyes of the authorities. And who can fail to see the impact of the recent drubbings handed a number of NATO allies by street-fighting youth on the situation inside the British empire—one week it's blacks and white youth ripping up the London suburb of Brixton, the next week it's barricades in the cities of Northern Ireland. In fact, the youth have indeed played a vanguard and initiating role in pummeling the rulers in Switzerland, Holland, Rome and the used-to-be-like-granite state of West Germany. This is a haunting spectre for the various imperialists, as this editorial in the May 3 edition of the British *Manchester Guardian* vividly shows: "Meanwhile, fingers are crossed that the outbreaks of revolt by Europe's inner city young remains isolated phenomena and not a precursor of more general social conflict." But while they keep their fingers

tightly crossed, their knuckles turning white in desperation, their worst nightmares are already outlined before them.

In cities around the world, people took to the streets in the thousands to demonstrate their outrage in the wake of Sands' death and in support of the struggle against British imperialism, inspired and aroused by the upsurge of the masses in Northern Ireland. Over 1,000 people marched in Athens, Greece, and were joined by others in Paris and Dublin. In the course of the Dublin protest, angry marchers trashed the main downtown business district. In New York City, outside the consular offices of the British government, hundreds, including some not customarily involved in such political struggle, gathered, and an effigy of Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of Britain, was wrapped in the bloody Union Jack and burned. Queen Elizabeth, on a royal visit to Oslo, Norway, was met by demonstrators who shouted, "Elizabeth Go Home!", and some let fly plastic bags filled with catsup in her direction. Some 1,000 people took their outrage right to the British government's doorstep at Number 10 Downing Street in the heart of London itself. And from Iran, where the revolutionary upsurge that overthrew the Shah has driven the imperialists of all stripes into teeth-gnashing frenzy, a message of solidarity was sent to Northern Ireland!

While British troops and local authorities maneuvered around the outskirts of the Irish-Catholic ghettos in an effort to contain the wrath of the youth from moving to a heightened and more sustained level, so too have the imperialists' media mouths moved to try to contain the spread of favorable public opinion in support of the upsurge in Northern Ireland.

In fact, a veritable torrent of slanders and deceit were loosed by the prostitute press in the U.S. immediately following Sands' death. Ted Koppel, of ABC's *Nightline*, played the point man for the rulers on the very same night that Sands died. He spent the first half of the show running their twisted version of Bobby Sands' life, which essentially boiled down to trying to degrade Sands, calling him a "cheap hoodlum," "a golden wand in the IRA's publicity machine," and that he came to prominence on a "fluke." The "fluke" that Koppel is referring to is the election of Sands to the House of Commons in the British Parliament! It was a sharp blow to all the crap about how everyone loves British rule in Northern Ireland and a real embarrassment to the British government. Even the British rag, the *Manchester Guardian*, could not deny its impact:

"Years of myth-making go out the window with the election of Bobby Sands as MP (Member of Parliament—RW) for Fermanagh and South Tyrone," they write in their April 19 edition. "...the vote means that scarcely a Catholic can have voted for the Union as it stands now."

Koppel then tried to brow-beat a former cellmate of Bobby Sands, Seamus Delaney, into saying that Sands' death was a futile and senseless action. To his credit, Delaney kept the heat on British rule in Northern Ireland. Koppel wound up his talk with Delaney with an ominous remark about Delaney being in the U.S. without a visa (read: "you're illegal and you'd better watch how you act"—RW). But the truly gross example of imperialist doublethink came when Koppel brought on a British government spokesman to set the record straight.

"A hunger strike is a form of political violence, a form of blackmail," this petty diplomat stammered out. Ah yes, Bobby Sands, who died on a hunger strike, committed an act of terrorism! Like their U.S. counterparts, British imperialism too, brands all forms of opposition to their rule as "terrorism"—domestic and international. But this fool wasn't through yet. "In Britain, as in the U.S. we do not have any political crimes and we don't have any political prisoners." This clown was too good to be true, picking the U.S. as his analogy for convincing the masses of people that the Irish-Catholics incarcerated in Northern Ireland are not political prisoners. Yeah, like the Pontiac Brothers, the UN 2, Leonard Peltier, Geronimo Pratt, etc., etc., etc., are not political

prisoners!

With the fact that there are 25—30 million people in the U.S. of Irish descent in mind, many U.S. politicians, from both the national and local levels, have jumped out as "spokesmen for Irish freedom," with the conscious goal of keeping any sort of political awareness from developing by keeping this whole thing narrowed to merely a question of "my people." Don't even think about the possibility that it's not "my people" but it's the masses of people around the world oppressed by a blood-thirsty system called imperialism—of which the U.S. is the No. 1 vampire. What else but this can explain the formation of a group that calls itself the "Friends of Ireland," that has as its main pillars Senator Ted Kennedy, House Speaker Tip O'Neill, Senator Daniel Moynihan and New York Governor Hugh Carey?! That these forces have gathered for very conscious reactionary purposes was powerfully driven home recently, with the announcement that the U.S. Justice Department was going to be clamping down and investigating (read: harassing) the New York City-based Irish Northern Aid Committee. The investigation comes, uncoincidentally, on the heels of biting criticism and exposure by a Committee spokesman as to just what the Friends of Ireland were up to and how they were serving the interests of British imperialism by their talk of non-violence—non-violence to be practiced by the masses only, of course. And what else but the conscious manipulation of the masses away from seeing the bigger picture of the whole imperialist system can be seen in the actions of the International Longshoreman's Association and their one-day boycott of British ships? This was the same leadership that turned the workers against the Iranian revolution.

The low-life efforts of the imperialists to discredit Sands, and through him the struggle in Northern Ireland, are not surprising, especially given the fact that all the previous behind-the-scenes maneuvers to pressure Sands himself were dismal failures. And while the press made a big deal over the fact that the Pope's personal envoy, John Magee, finally got to talk to Sands as he slipped towards a coma—especially harping on the fact that Sands clutched a gold crucifix presented him by Magee—they conveniently left an important part of the story out in their efforts to push the church back into the limelight after it had been rejected by Sands and by the actions in the streets. What went virtually unreported was the fact that Sands commented that he mistrusted Magee for putting so much pressure on him and none on the British government! The Irish youth too have turned a deaf ear to papal pleas for non-violence (on the part of the Catholics of Northern Ireland, not the British, of course).

To those who live in the Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland subject to the whole gamut of discrimination and oppression from massive unemploy-

ment to constant beatings and murders at the hands of police, British troops, and reactionary Protestant thugs, non-violence doesn't seem all that appealing. Non-violence just doesn't seem to be the solution when your country is occupied by tens of thousands of British troops and when hundreds of Irish Catholics are jammed into prisons like Long Kesh and Armagh under so-called internment laws (short for "administrative detention without trial").

In these prisons, standard operating procedure for interrogations consists of being beaten, being forced to run the gauntlet of club-swinging pigs, getting anal probes with nightsticks, being threatened with dogs, blindfolded and pushed from helicopters that prisoners do not know are only a few feet above the ground, and the withholding of food and sleep. The authorities have also been experimenting with perfecting the techniques of sensory deprivation, using their captives as the guinea pigs. Prisoners are placed in a room and forced to lean against the wall with their feet spread behind them. Their heads are completely enveloped in dark hoods and a constant, monotonous sound runs through the room, creating an effect similar to total silence. Symptoms that result from this sensory deprivation are loss of sense of time, visual and auditory hallucinations, profound apprehension, and depression. The long-lasting effects are forms of traumatic neurosis, best described as being comparable to shell-shock. Sensory deprivation has the added benefit of leaving no distinguishing marks, thereby creating the impression that the interrogators are completely "innocent" of any and all torture.

In contrast to the militant struggle of the Irish youth against all this stands those who have joined their voices in a chorus that counsels capitulation to the oppressor. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leading spokesperson for the Smash H-Block Committee, might as well have quoted the biblical passage about the meek inheriting the earth when she told a rally, "It's not those that inflict the most, it's those that endure the most that will be inevitably victorious." (We might note here that if endurance of oppression was the key to victory, the world would have been completely freed from all imperialism ages ago.) Not only did McAliskey counsel capitulation, but rally marshals at the gathering actually physically restrained the youth from stoning some passing British troops. Her words were echoed by IRA leaders too, in a statement that called for "mourning Bobby Sands' death in a dignified manner" (read: assuming a cowed and submissive manner—RW).

As for those who want to rid the world of imperialism of all shapes and sizes at the soonest possible time, those Irish youth standing in proud rebellion on the flaming barricades, just like their counterparts in countries in many parts of the world, look quite dignified indeed. □

## on May First

Continued from page 19

tem, which is based in a secret society to harm the Latin peoples.

I have a motherfucker hatred for this system. I wish its destruction and the destruction of everything it protects. I'm not the only one who says so, everybody is saying it.

Raul, friend of D.G.

### Berkeley Bookstore Reopens

After a 5-month battle to reopen the evicted Revolution Books in a new Berkeley location, the new bookstore's doors were opened on the morning of May 1st. The red flag flew brightly from the front gate, proclaiming this victory as part of May Day 1981, and the store was visited all day and all night long by excited supporters and new neighbors. One woman said, "I'm so proud, Revolution Books is on my block!" Others drove by, waving red shirts, cloths, and flags, and raising their fists. Many parked long enough to run in and tell the staff how glad they were that such an important victory had been won, and on May Day, too! A young man later told us that he'd woken up not realizing it was May Day, looked out his window and seen the bright red flags, and chucked

work for the day, running down to Sproul Plaza to join the May Day actions he expected would be there. Over the next few days, many came by to congratulate the bookstore and to offer support and efforts to help build the store's work. A victory celebration is planned for Saturday, May 9.

If the people of Berkeley who support Revolution Books are celebrating the reopening, what must the other side think? What of the threadbare "liberals" of the City Council who held firmly with the government's attempts to shut Revolution Books down, calling the cops into a public meeting to avoid putting a support resolution on the agenda? What of the mayor of Berkeley, who supported every attack on the store, from FBI harassment of potential new landlords and helicopter surveillance of the people at the store the day after the eviction to constant arrests on the Berkeley campus as the university defended the old order—jailing staff members for selling books that challenged the "authorities," that help people to see the world as it really is. Revolution Books has become a sharp political dividing line in Berkeley among very broad forces. With the reopening and the overall victories of May Day still ringing in the air, new and exciting opportunities to get revolutionary literature into the hands of the people are being opened up.

## Garment District

Continued from page 11

rabid (Russian) anti-communist grabbed an agitator. People at first started to fight and then focused on agitation. He went across the street and tried to grab a Black woman's red flag. She held on to it and got ready to go after him and he fled across the street. Then he heaved a beer can at her hitting her in the back. Just as he did, a Black woman who had been sitting in her car jumped out and threw a whole container of orange juice across 8th Avenue splattering at the guy's feet. The second was when two Black truckdrivers put red flags on their truck, took a large stack (100?) of *RWs*, started distributing them to other truck drivers they knew, and then let an agitator with a giant red flag get on top the truck and agitate and drove down the street for about two blocks. An older Black man with a red flag ran down the street waving it and started jumping up and down when he saw the truck. A Puerto Rican worker took a bunch of papers and *RWs* and said "Reagan is fucking up the whole world."

In one button shop of 75-100 a squad went in a few minutes before lunch calling on people to break out. The boss tried to act real cool, "You've said what you want. Now go. They get out in 10 minutes for lunch anyway." In a small 20-worker sweatshop, all Spanish-speaking workers, the boss went nuts. He started screaming, "Fuck you. Fuck you. Get out. Don't you know this is a place of work." Then he hit the agitator with a broom, hard. The agitator punched him, evidently did some damage. As he was leaving, the agitator shouted "Long Live the First of May!" A section of the workers cheered.

In another shop one woman took a big bundle under the boss's nose. (She was also encouraging the agitator, urging him on) and started passing them down the table. Out came the purses. A number of workers took flags, two Dominicans holding them up and dancing with them. Started discussing the article on Santo Domingo. Two Haitians started talking about what would happen if people broke out. They couldn't do it, they'd get fired. Then again, the red flag was very important.

We were later told that there was an organized massing of reactionaries to attack. But all that never came off and was diffused politically by more advanced workers. Again, not confirmed. One older worker was asked by his friends, "Are you with the commies?" "Yes, of course. I know what's going

on. You read this paper, you'll know too."

Around noon forces started gathering at one of the main busy intersections in garment (38th and 8th). One worker brought over 3 yards of red cloth and said "Make red flags." A Black youth with a red flag in hand came by the lit. table set up there running a parody of the bourgeoisie, "Oh, we wage slaves love this system. Yes we do. We like to get killed in Atlanta, we like to get killed in their wars." Another youth put a red flag on the police car. (This was definitely a point where the role of youth as a radical incendiary type force was pretty evident.) The pigs had come up to harass either the table or maybe a hotdog vendor (not clear). The pigs came back livid and the masses cracked up. While these cops were yelling, the youth put the red flag on their car again. The next time they came back, they threatened to bust *everybody* on the scene—the whole corner. Anyway this scene was one of great chaos. Hundreds around, watching, selling papers, etc. Two older workers, one who told us of the shop stewards' meeting, the other an older Mexican worker who has worked in garment for 20 years, were distributing the paper. Cops started harassing the agitator, told him to stop using bullhorn—first harassment of agitators by pigs. One of the workers went right up against the cop yelling, was pushed by cop. Comrades do keep describing this as having the atmosphere of a festival of oppressed. There was some attempt to liberate part of street by piling *RWs* in it. One woman sang a song. At various points (I'm not sure exactly when) masses continued to get on bullhorn.

People of all nationalities were expressing outrage over the U.S. in El Salvador. Dominicans pretty broadly were also talking about the U.S. ships off the coast of Santo Domingo, the invasion and the armed struggle in 1965 and the recent uprisings.

Afternoon: In another shop people start taking Red Flags and *RWs*. The boss informed us he was a "reader of the *Daily World*" [revisionist "Communist Party" paper] and was very, very friendly until he ordered his workers to go back to work and they wouldn't do it. He freaks and starts to get foreman to push squad out door. They start singing the *Internationale* in English and Spanish. The boss does too—as he's trying to push them out the door. The workers are singing too. Finally when they get shoved out the door and are singing outside the shop they can hear through the door that the workers are still singing on the inside. Two Salvadoran workers (women) took papers during this, also took more *RWs* after work to take to May 3 demonstration against U.S. imperialism in El

Salvador. When *RW* sellers went back to this shop on Monday, the "communist" owner had bolted the freight elevators shut to keep them out.

The *Internationale* did become quite a rallying cry through the course of the day. In another shop where operator of freight elevator already had *RW* and helped them sneak into one shop, operator of another freight elevator who also already had *RW* sang them the *Internationale*. First it was reported in Italian, then said might be Spanish.

Another plant where foreman went crazy "Get every cop in the building up here now!" Cops threw one woman in elevator, started pushing squad out. Someone threw a bundle of about 40 over the heads of the cops onto sewing table where workers started passing it out. Foreman had a red flag and one of the women ran over and grabbed it out of his hands. Debate over whether to pick up *RWs* with foreman there.

Quite a few workers joined different squads, went into different shops, agitated, etc. One Black woman who has heard the tape said, "I'm going to do this, even if it takes 99 years, even if I'm in a wheelchair, I'll keep doing this. I can't let these high society dogs keep ruling us. They have the yellow flag for the hostages. If we let them keep doing this we're bigger jackasses than they are." One thing that happened a number of times (other examples to follow) was the masses drawing a distinction between the CP type revisionists and the Party. This woman who was active in the '60s exposed Angela Davis for giving up the struggle when she was freed and forgetting about the masses who are enslaved. She also kept agitating with others about the necessity to expose these dogs to try to stop the world war before it starts.

Some Dominican workers were hanging out in a doorway reading the Red Book in Spanish, and said "May Day will be on all these corners out here today."

One very significant focus of the day was the literature tables. Am enclosing a list of what was sold, overwhelmingly theory (classics and Party lit.). Also revealing was what was requested but not there *Capital* in French and Spanish; *Palacios' Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise* in French and Spanish. Ran out of *Communist Manifestos* and *What Is To Be Done?*. Wanted Mao's *Selected Readings* in French and Spanish. Total \$130 in sales. (Also interesting was today the SWP had table there and they closed up shop. Masses seem to be drawing some sharp lines.) One woman bought \$30 worth of books. Ten to fifteen people made "It's about time" type comments or "This country needs something like this every day" or "Glad to see somebody carrying red flags. Are you com-

ing back tomorrow? We should have May Day every day." One middle-aged man kind of concentrates sentiments and aspirations of the advanced. Active in '60s, got burned out. Has been inactive except for reading some Marxism. His brother was in CP in '50s and capitulated to McCarthy witchhunts. As person was about to tell him about the Chairman, the guy says "You're with Bob Avakian's group aren't you?" He contrasted the firm stand taken by the Chairman with naked capitulation of old CP and went on to draw some conclusions about just who is serious about making revolution and who isn't. Said even though he's been inactive for 10 years he's thinking people don't have the option of being inactive anymore. The events in the world are making people read something like the *RW* and are making people, including him, think about getting involved again.

One Puerto Rican woman on a squad (who hadn't sold the *RW* broadly since last year's May Day) said she ran into at least 10 Latino Americans (especially Central Americans) who read the *RW* regularly, are "positive to the Party's line" especially joint exposure of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. Still raised questions about our analysis of Cuba, however.

Two general points—seems like cops did attack or try to more often than I thought. They were called into at least that one shop. Also twice tried to do provocatuerish type stuff and masses who knew who they were or smelled their type exposed who they were. This is why I think it was "liberated" the cops did not feel free to really go on the offensive and suppress the revolutionary masses or their leadership and when they did they lost.

Many of the comrades and the advanced did comment on the First being one of those days where you learn more than in 20 years, or at least 5. General feeling among the ranks was much more a sense of how insurgent this was. May Day much more being a microcosm of the insurrection than the old view of the insurrection being a bigger and bigger May Day or demonstration. When we did finally get this, our tactics advanced too. Things went forward to the degree to which this orientation was stuck to, when we fell back on old models and ways we tended to lose bearings and miss opportunities.

One Puerto Rican youth came up to table asking how to join this organization. On Monday, an African worker said "May Day was very, very good. But it was not only Friday, it was Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and today. Anybody who thinks revolution in the U.S. can't happen has got to be dreaming." □

## San Francisco

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even while she was down in a real attempt to murder her. But she never lost consciousness, and she agitated and mocked the pigs from the ground and in the jail cell (the pigs at first refused hospital treatment). When she finally arrived at the jail ward, the doctors and nurses were so enraged they threw all cops and guards out of the jail ward.

Many among the advanced were exhilarated by the battle. A retired seaman from the Philippines said, "I was very happy I took part in the demonstration, I feel very proud. Especially proud about the women. They took a great stand—they kept shouting 'Pick up the red flag!'" Youth who had hardly spoken to paper sellers before came up eagerly. One said, "I never thought Mission could be like this. This paper made it a different world." One person who had been around and influenced by the BPR came up to a seller on Sunday and embraced him. Co-conspirators and others reported constantly on excited phone calls from friends who saw the battle on TV. One phenomenon was the several workers, at least one from Oakland, who deliberately walked up and down Mis-

sion Street after the battle, looking for debate and stimulating argument and discussion. One worker reported he even walked straight into a group that was being subjected to the dirty-mouthing of a police "community relations" agent—a few short comments had the crowd laughing uproariously at the pig.

It was this favorable situation for the proletariat and dangerous situation for the bourgeoisie that forced the overlords to strike out hard in the realm of public opinion in order to further attack the Party and the masses.

At the time of the May Day demonstration the mayor had been out of town, not intending to come back for a week. On Saturday, the day after the demonstration, she flew back hurriedly to San Francisco and held a press conference. The first item on the press conference was the May Day demonstration. She opened by thanking the Mission community of which, she said, 200 people had helped police beat off the attacks of the May Day demonstrators, and if they had not the demonstrators would have murdered the police. Then she went on to say that she fully intend-

ed to visit the injured policemen in the hospital which would have been a good trick, since the police were already out of the hospital at that time. The Cinco de Mayo demonstration which had been planned for months, which is a huge event in the Mission, was canceled that weekend.

The press conference was a signal for the all-out propaganda attack by the bourgeois media. On Saturday, at least one TV station re-ran the footage of the battle on the news. This account took the tack that has become the major line of the bourgeois offensive—the attempt to drive a wedge between the Party and its supporters (this alone shows the defensive quality of the bourgeois moves at this time). The RCP was "known for its disrupting activities and is isolated even among other left forces," according to the bourgeois media. Suddenly the TV and newspapers became experts on the left movement, even reporting the Party's name correctly! The next day, Sunday, articles in two major newspapers, the *Oakland Tribune* and *San Francisco Chronicle*, both written by assigned reporters and not off a news wire, ran the same

exact line and the same wording about the May 3rd El Salvador demonstration that the RCP had been "ejected from the park" by the sponsors of the rally. This was a complete fabrication. The next day, Monday, *three days after* the incident, the *Berkeley Gazette* ran a front-page feature on May Day at Berkeley High School, focusing on how the action had supposedly been a race riot. This lie is hardly "hot news"—why did the paper suddenly decide to run it? Obviously, some decisions had been made higher up. On Tuesday, four days later, the university student newspaper, the *Daily Cal*, ran a story on the high school action entitled "RCYB Melee Could Prompt Legal Action"—this piece was said to be written by an on-the-spot observer, yet this exclusive scoop took four days to get into print.

Further retaliation from bourgeois quarters is to be expected. But as Mao Tsetung said, "To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing," and yes, it is further testimony to the imposing character of May 1st 1981. The masses must be politically prepared to counter these attacks and make further advances in the revolutionary struggle. □

# Los Angeles

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workers was another place where some chains began to be broken on May 1. Knowing that May Day agitators would be showing up at break time, one petty cockroach capitalist ordered "his" workers to take their break a half hour earlier and withheld their weekly paychecks, normally given out in the morning, until late afternoon.

Looming behind such moves lay the clear threat of the Migra—and deportation—which for some would mean instant death upon arrival in the U.S. neocolony of their origin. However, these threats only made some workers more determined to break out on May Day. Workers in two of the plants had specifically requested RCP agitators to show up inside their plants on May 1. In both of these plants, the agitators' arrival was the signal for a volcanic eruption of whistling, stomping, cheering and banging on machines with wrenches. Red flags hung at many work stations. A huge May Day poster was pasted high up on the wall.

In one of these plants, the foreman went around begging both the agitator and the workers to cool it, saying that while "I agree with what you're saying," too much disruption could cost him his job. At both places, some of the workers told the agitator that they were organizing for a walkout at lunchtime to go to the march. This was a situation ripe with opportunities. And while this situation needs to be summed up more deeply, it's clear that leadership had become decisive here but the initiative was lost and spontaneity tailed.

Walkouts did not occur at either place, though it is possible that some workers then took off and went to the march. One observer downtown reported that four Latino workers told him they had walked out of their plant to come to May Day.

Unleashing of formerly suppressed political energy began to take place in the MacArthur Park area, the destination of the march. With its high concentration of recently arrived Central American immigrants, this part of town is seething with the political ferment. Principally through widespread distribution of the *RW*, a core of class-conscious proletarians has emerged in this area. In the weeks before May Day, the police began to conduct sweeps, arresting those they found with *RW*s in their hands while conspicuously releasing others. In the face of these attacks, the advanced intensified their efforts to saturate the area with *RW*s, leaflets, posters and spraypainting about May Day. This was visible on every street corner in every run-down hotel and all around MacArthur Park, which has become a revolutionary political center. The area was set for May 1. A woman from Mexico put a red flag on the newsstand where she works, placed a large stack of *RW*s on the ground and began playing the Spanish translation tape of Bob Avakian's May Day '81 speech on her tape recorder. She told the May First squad: "I know I'll get in trouble with the owner, but I don't care. I like revolution because of what they did in 1968 in Mexico with the students. These motherfuckers are doing it all over the world. And I want to see all these motherfuckers down."

Noon hour and the scheduled start of the march approached. Threats and intimidation escalated. Radio stations blared out the "top story" throughout the morning hours: "Police are bracing... police will be much in evidence... police will have 150 trained riot cops at the ready, as trouble is expected..." Leaflets were passed out in English and Spanish warning people that the march had no parade permit, and citing all the rules and regulations that "must be obeyed." In case none of this worked, the pigs had stationed a squad of 10 cops on each corner of Pershing Square (the starting point of the march) while others with high-powered rifles sat atop the hotel across the street. The police were making this march a major question, and especially in light of the attack on last year's May Day



May 1st march through downtown Los Angeles.

march, many looked toward the demonstrations as the central May 1st action—and many joined it.

People converged on Pershing Square from all different parts of the city. Many came from one housing project in particular, including 12 Cuban youths recently arrived from a detention camp. These Cubans had posed in front of a poster of Damián García for an *RW* photographer and then left for the march. Many more came from the area around MacArthur Park. The march, very multinational, took off with 120 people. Everywhere it went in the heart of downtown, people hung out of the windows while literally hundreds followed along two other "marches"—one parallel across the street and one slightly to the rear. There were two phalanxes of cops deliberately set up on the side and the rear of the march to keep these people from joining in. But the masses certainly found ways to express their real sentiments—from cheers and fists flying in the air to more discreet signals from some of the store owners along the march route. A number of people who had taken red flags were seen blocks away from the main May Day march conducting their own marches with flags waving. The cops, broadly exposed for their attack on last year's march, decided not to attack this year. Hundreds stepped up to buy the *RW* right in the riot-clad pigs' faces.

As both the impact and participation in May Day heightened, many of the most advanced stepped forward to play a key role in pushing things forward. In particular, a number of youth who had been actively preparing for the day leaped to the fore. When the march ar-

rived in MacArthur Park, one Salvadoran youth grabbed a bullhorn and shouted "Long Live the BPR." The BPR (Popular Revolutionary Bloc) is the main opposition formation in El Salvador and has some support in this area. In response to this, another Salvadoran sought to broaden the question beyond just the struggle in El Salvador. He spoke clearly from an understanding of the international character of the proletarian struggle: "We're here on May Day to protest all the barbarity and atrocities of the imperialists in El Salvador, Iran, Nicaragua and here in the U.S. with the Migra and so on. We have no reason to be afraid of the Migra. We have the red flag, it shows the imperialists we're not afraid. We know what we're doing, and we won't put up with their shit. We know that revolution is possible in this country too..." This cut against the tendency of many to view revolution as hopeless in a country like the U.S., as did another Salvadoran who danced through the crowd chanting, "The U.S. is going down. The U.S. is going down." And more, this sentiment was clearly coming from some understanding of the present situation worldwide and the depth of the imperialist crisis.

Suddenly, a number of Latino youth surged to join the front of the march which crossed over the sidewalk and took to the streets. As the marchers roared into the center of the boulevard, more whooping and hollering, electricity shot through the whole neighborhood. People rushed out of the stores and apartments, many of them cheering and applauding. Marchers dispersed into the surrounding neighborhood and regrouped in MacArthur Park. There,

the police challenged the use of a bullhorn and grabbed it out of an agitator's hands. She grabbed it right back as someone else shouted, "You can't dictate to us on this day." Suddenly, a Mexican man stepped up in front of the cops and said, "I don't have any money but I want a copy of the paper to read in front of the pigs and show them I'm not afraid of them." He took one and held it up, back page-red flag in their face and flipped through the paper slowly. The whole area had become politically charged. Two more people came up to buy the *RW* and the first man began agitating to the assembled crowd. "They stole California, now they are trying to steal Mexico and the whole world." Other squads of May First rebels took the liberating internationalist message of May Day out throughout the neighborhood. Squads from among the masses formed up as May First rebels continued to spread the word until as late as 2:00 a.m. the next morning. One Bolivian man, who had originally been reluctant to participate because he didn't think anyone else would support the red flag, joined the squad and later was asked to step up and agitate at a crowded laundromat in the Latino neighborhood. He agreed on the condition that one of the white activists introduce him. The message was clear—this was *International Workers Day* and the old boundaries were being brought down.

The next day, the *RW* ran into some of the youth who had jumped to the front of the march. We commented on their bold action, and one youth said, "Yes, I know, we were there. But you see, there are many dangers and many opportunities today. So we did." □



The Pike St. Market, Seattle—two sections of the people face off—one singing the Internationale (above right), the other singing "My Country tis of Thee."

# BREAKOUTS

Continued from page 6

how "the communists would be coming to school the next day and they want to overthrow your government—whatever you want to do to them is fine.")

One Black youth at Mission went up in their faces holding up a copy of the *RW* and telling them they didn't know what the hell they were talking about. He agitated about Brixton, spoke about how he used to feel nothing could be done until he started reading the paper. The jocks tried to drown out the agitators and discussion among the students, chanting "Bullshit, Bullshit," but about 10 Black students started a counter chant of "May Day, May Day" until the reactionaries were finally deflated and slunk away. The pigs came, but were unsuccessful at provoking a fight and were unable to attack.

In the following weeks the struggle intensified, demanding a higher level of all-around revolutionary work. The Chairman's tape was played to quite a few students and methods were perfected by the students to look out for Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigaders who spent hours going from bathrooms and hallways talking to students and posting.

While the degree of organization firmly in the hands of the students necessary for a mass breakout was never achieved, particularly in uniting the revolutionary-minded Black and Latino students who did take action but independently of each other, nevertheless, the whole school awaited the day with anticipation and several groups of students made up their minds ahead of time to breakout.

The school administration, coordinating their tactics with the San Francisco Police Department and perhaps even higher authorities also laid plans. Acting on rumors that the fire drill bell would signal the call for the breakout, they rigged the system and took plainclothes pigs inside and outside the school. That morning, they stopped the students entering the school "randomly" searching girls' purses. When an *RW* reporter and students went into the school, they found struggle already raging especially among a certain group of Black students, on how and when to breakout.

Outside, the team of revolutionaries began to make a move to approach and enter the school but they had been tailed and observed—a group of pigs swooped over grabbed and cuffed them. But things were by no means over yet. While still surrounded by pigs, the revolutionaries heard the pig radio crackle, "Incident at union hall at Shotwell Street..." The May Day agitators had struck in another part of the Mission at the same time! Then, more reports, another union hall incident, a vocational school... the revolutionaries were warned and then turned loose—the cops scurried over to another hot spot... and then, no doubt, to another...

As soon as the cops were out of sight, teams sprinted for the school. Three made it, walking through the halls agitating. The cops were back and a wild fight broke loose on the first floor. In the midst of this, an agitator was freed—he leapt up to another floor. Finding all the doors locked, he agitated in the halls until he and the others were arrested. As soon as the busts came down, four students picketed the principal's office and the red flag went up on top of the school.

All in all, at least two groups of students, totaling more than 30, walked out that day—a real advance, but still somewhat short of what could have been. One group of Black students left even before the busts came down. Another group of Latinos left after the busts. Later, really large numbers of Black and Latino youth came to watch the demonstration on Mission Street.

## Berkeley High

At Berkeley High where there is a rich history of revolutionary ferment and activity, (a plaque which honors the contributions made by Bob Avakian to the athletic department hung here until he was arrested in the Free Speech Movement at Cal) similar work and activity led up to the events of May 1st.

An agitator, himself a graduate of Berkeley High School, was invited to speak in one classroom; several students took red flags and accompanied him to the school cafeteria where hundreds were engaged in debate before he was finally arrested. One regular hangout for revolutionary-minded white youth closed by the school has been the scene of broad-ranging political debate as students left their frisbee games in favor of the Chairman's tape and to argue over articles in the *Revolutionary Communist Youth* newspaper. But as events here starkly point out, this was not enough...

On May 1st, the whole school waited in anticipation for the revolutionaries to arrive. A couple of students went from classroom to classroom, while an agitator set up in the courtyard. However, it was the school administration that gained the initiative—school security was able to incite a group of Black students to "kill those commies," to instigate a fight, assaulting white members of the Brigade. (An interesting first-hand bourgeois version of the fight run in the university student newspaper, the *Daily Cal*, made the point that the agitator, who was Black, came through unscathed—a not-too-disguised warning to "not let the same thing happen next time".)

A number of students intervened on the side of the revolutionaries and as the fight was winding down a fire alarm was pulled which emptied the whole school. But in the absence of sufficient initiative on the part of the advanced, an excellent situation was dissipated and the initiative lost, resulting in heated discussion all day about May Day, communism, world war, etc... but no breakout.

The *Berkeley Gazette* has made the high school action the edge of its slander campaign to create public opinion and pave the way for further attacks on the RCP. The newspaper ran a front page feature three days after the events, portraying May Day as supposedly crushed at the high school by overwhelming opposition from Black students. Naturally, this vicious (and chauvinist!) *Gazette* article has caused outrage among Berkeley students and especially angry stirrings among many advanced Black students. The twisted "race fight" story, set up and publicized by the bourgeoisie here, will certainly in the long run, and perhaps very soon, blow up in their smug faces.

And even beyond their outrage, the students at Berkeley have been drawn in even broader numbers into political life—in the aftermath of May Day, people who were apathetic or even hostile now want to check out the paper, hear the tape and have bought the Chairman's pamphlet "Letter to 'Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations'" (among those checking out this revolutionary line have been some who were swept into the attack on May Day). While seeing more sharply the revolutionary possibilities and the power of the line of the Party, a number of revolutionary-minded white students have raised certain pacifist ideas in opposition to the kind of battle which raged widely on May Day, and particularly that in the Mission District. Many have been fairly deeply influenced by "mainstream"-type thinking, wrestling with the fact that they are an advanced minority, but long for a big

mass movement. All this debate has been extremely refreshing and healthy for the political scene at Berkeley.

The overall impact of May Day has given rise to even better conditions to carry out revolutionary agitation and also taking up the urgent task of conducting propaganda that was inadequately carried out before May Day. Same questions that were raised prior to May Day are even sharper now—there is not only opportunity but necessity to more deeply get into the possibilities and path to revolution and the line of the latest Central Committee notes. The content of genuine proletarian internationalism is a sharp dividing line and requires much more than general agitation.

## Industrial Area

In the industrial area the battle for the troops was the sharpest of all the three targets mentioned. This area concentrates in many small plants a section of the proletariat that has not received the bribes of imperialism's plunder off the backs of the people of the world. Basic sweatshops with large sections of Black, Chicano and other minority nationality workers, their conditions and their life experience as part of the lower strata of the proletariat makes these workers most receptive to the Party's revolutionary line. For these workers to breakout—potentially in substantial percentages—would actually represent a strengthening of the backbone elements for proletarian revolution. Among this section of the proletariat is where the stakes were high—for both the class-conscious proletariat and for the bourgeoisie. It required, as correctly summed up last year, doing things extremely well both tactically and politically.

This industrial area was also the site of tremendous struggle during May Day '80 and has been a base area where foremen had actually given up on chasing paper sellers out of the plant. During the leafletting blitz the response was electric—workers were pulling money out of their pockets as soon as revolutionaries entered the plants. One regular reader of the paper went plant to plant with the *RW* agitating for people to breakout and circle organizers played the Chairman's tape before, during and after company time. On Damián García Day at one plant, many workers suddenly began pounding their machines in unison, chanting, "May Day, May Day." In many ways the proletariat was in a strong position and the bourgeoisie in a desperate one. Politically the impact of the *RW* over the past year has trained a section of advanced workers there, overall the advanced were preparing to take greater risks than last year. And given the nature of this strata that it is indeed propertyless, the potential to influence even the bulk of the workers was strong (strikes were not out of the question here). It was in this situation, very favorable for the revolutionaries, that the bourgeoisie operated.

On May 1st the situation could be best described like this—the wage slaves were in a virtual state of lockdown. The bourgeoisie had organized their small bands of reactionary workers to respond immediately and in force to the slightest activity by the revolutionaries. They understood what it would represent for significant numbers of their workers to bust out that day and join ranks with the international proletariat. The struggle that was unfolding here was truly a glimpse of the civil war to come when in fact two sections of the people will do battle; one determined to be free, to free all mankind, the other ready to go down with imperialism—both fighting for the broader troops.

Agitators arrived early in the morning to find regular security doubled along with managers, foremen and a very small but organized number of reactionary fools puffed up and reinforced by the bourgeoisie united to enforce their law and most especially their order.

The political "battle for the troops" gave way to a physical one. The reactionaries attacked the agitators with lethal weapons and then called the awaiting pig patrols to arrest the revolu-

tionaries for precipitating violence. Most were grabbed up. The enemy was taking the situation very seriously—the bourgeoisie understands what it means for a section of these real proletarians to actually breakout and break free, the kind of impact that they could have on the class as a whole. It was to stop these breakouts at all costs that they resorted to these blatant physical threats and pig attacks.

Why was this not able to be broken through, and the revolutionary forces gain the initiative? Again politics is key. The revolutionary forces were in a far more favorable situation this year than last. The influence of the newspaper in particular had been spread for some time through these plants and, even beyond that, there were consistent networks of distributors and readers, with a number of conscious organizers for May First in these places. But the solidity of these connections was tested and came up short in all cases. The level of political understanding necessary for people to act under these very sharp circumstances was not fully present. While many things had been done, including spreading the paper and playing the Chairman's tape, still almost universally there had been no deeper propaganda done, even among the advanced workers there, about the world situation and the specific path to revolution in this country—questions which are raised, for example, in the recent documents from the Party's Central Committee. Specifically the questions of what difference does it make for a minority of people to act now, and the fact that the revolution will develop in large part as a civil war between two sections of the people—two armies—not "all the people against the government"—all this was not deeply conveyed to these workers, and many still held different views. Faced with a reactionary force, including some workers, these political questions were made into an instant living reality—with the depth of understanding of the advanced workers sharply tested on the spot. All the broad revolutionary activity that had gone on before was good, but to actually *walk out* on May 1st, especially in the face of opposition, took a clear understanding of the developing world situation and the worldwide impact and importance a breakout could have. Political clarity around these questions had tactical repercussions. For example, had the point that it would be a struggle between two sections of the people been the understanding of all involved in advance, then it would have been possible to have had sharper tactical discussion anticipating what would happen, scouting it out, and making plans to deal with it. Instead people tended to be politically, and thus tactically paralyzed.

In the face of firing and physical intimidation a small number of workers in these places still carried through with job actions—putting red flags on their forklifts (a number of people, especially Mexican workers, didn't work that day). News of the arrests and May Day breakouts in the Mission spread like wildfire through this area and even in the wake of May Day the bourgeoisie has not dared to lift their lid of intimidation. Sellers who went through the area after May 1st found an abundance of pig activity including the presence of gray men in three-piece suits and "secret service-type" ear-phones.

Overall in light of both the tremendous changes in the world situation in the past year, and most importantly the tremendous advances and the influences of the class-conscious forces and the work of the Party, the basis for even greater achievements were both called for and possible, including breakouts in all these areas. That they did not happen as widely as possible (along with the overall advance that did occur that day) can itself be an excellent "school" for broadly and deeply getting down on these questions—extending the scope of the Party's work, bringing forward the advanced proletarians to act with even more understanding—and impact. □

# Atlanta: Actions Sting Old Order

Continued from page 1

tionaries arrested were threatened with outright murder.

On Thursday night, a revolutionary stepped into the offices of the hated Special Task Force (the police agency "investigating" the murders) and splashed red paint everywhere. The news reported: "...and that was the first indication that May Day 1981 could be a rough time for the police." A police official "investigating" the man screamed, "Do you know you have destroyed the most important operation in this city," knowing full well how politically exposed and vulnerable this operation is. The stuck pig went on in a rage of chair-throwing hysteria, "We ought to string you up... cut your balls off... throw you in the river..." fitting threats from an official of an "operation" that is thought by many to be adept and experienced at carrying out precisely such threats. The revolutionary was then thrown in solitary confinement and put under \$10,000 bond, though only charged with 4 misdemeanors. Task Force detectives had sneaked him out the back door to keep the news media waiting out front from verifying the action. But red paint had already seeped under the locked front door.

The May Day action against the Task Force stung the authorities badly. The "no clues, no suspect" Task Force, along with the Atlanta Police Department has consistently arrested and harassed Black people generally and in particular anyone attempting to stop the murders. It is indeed the "most important operation" in the city. It is also one of the most hated. Word of the action hit areas of Atlanta like a bolt of lightning. One Black woman at Techwood Homes housing project told the *RW* on May 1st, "I'm so glad someone had the nerve to do that." A high school youth from Bowen Homes took a bundle of *RW*'s laughing, "That gave it to them right where they needed it!"

Early in the morning of May Day, Techwood Homes became the center of the battle. Techwood, known internationally for the "bat patrols," a symbol of armed resistance against the murders of Black youth, became an even more powerful symbol on May Day. Members of the bat patrols and other residents surged onto history's stage in action behind the red flag. One of the bat patrollers put the struggle in Atlanta into the context of the struggle the world over: "All over the world we get letters and mail from GIs and everybody asking us to explain to them what the bat patrols is all about. It has international significance. Today in Techwood we should send that message back!"

As *RW*'s and red flags began passing from hand-to-hand and 100 people began streaming from their homes, 50 motorcycle cops swarmed into the area and other police set up roadblocks around the project. The roadblocks are a common occurrence near Techwood, part of the heavy repression that has existed there especially in the wake of the bat patrols. All this was beefed up on May 1st. What these cops fear the most was beginning to happen right before their eyes—the masses were taking up the call of revolution. The very moment a bat patrol member stepped up and grabbed the bullhorn to call on others to break out, the police went berserk. The fight which followed was viewed by tens of thousands on the noon news. The police finally managed to get a chokehold on 4 people and cart them off to jail. The arrested bat patroller was captured at gunpoint, a special police threat to the project residents who had stepped forward to lead the battle.

Inside the jail, revolutionaries met a

man arrested in the roadblock who told them of a discussion he had heard between two cops. "They have bats. We should shoot them," demanded one, who had glimpsed the bright red bats holding up red flags in the hands of May Day activists.

Soon, three of the arrested activists were back on the streets to join the force that had regrouped and continued on. (The fourth required medical attention and couldn't join the others.) A day long battle continued to rage and dozens of people joined in at times, especially around Techwood.

But the arrests in the morning had temporarily set things back; the revolutionaries and other advanced forces struggled to regain the initiative. They correctly decided to focus on the internationalism of May 1st.

With this vision in mind, late in the afternoon people once again came into the streets as revolutionaries and those who had stepped forward in the morning called for a mass burning of dozens of American flags. A Salute to Internationalism came at 9:00 p.m. Several dozen American flags were burned in unison. A mother started it out when she brought her young children to put the torch to U.S. rags as she told them, "This is not your flag." One of the youth proudly held high the red flag he had gotten earlier in the day. Two brothers struggled sharply over the question. One of them said, "I agree with everything you said, but I can't burn this flag because I fought in Vietnam and earned a piece of this country." To this his brother grabbed the flag to burn, "They always take the flag when they go to war. These aren't wars for the people, they were for the rich..." Another Black youth set the terms straight, "This one's for the kids... and this one's for the people of El Salvador," as he challenged others to step forward. A group of 25 youth on a street corner all joined in. People stood in door ways, in the courtyards. Youth under 14—inside their homes because of the 7:00 p.m. curfew which has existed for months in Atlanta—hung out the windows, also burning American flags.

Once again as May 1st became a truly mass question, the pigs swooped in. All of a sudden undercover cops were everywhere, handcuffing and arresting

eight. Two cops (the driver and passenger in a taxi) threw one man on the ground to hold him. The bat patrol member was singled out again by two cops, guns drawn. The police very selectively arrested people they recognized who had taken part in May Day. Arrests were used to threaten the youth involved. A pig pointed to one of the arrested revolutionaries and yelled to three youth, "See this? You gonna burn anymore flags?" But the busts had come on the heels of victory and the authorities were not able to snatch that back. The incident had so burned their already frazzled wires that even their best media mouthpieces could not figure out a way to attack it. They chose to black out the whole scene.

But word of mouth travels fast, and by morning the news had swept the area. Several youth who had approved the flag burning the night before came out of their apartment chanting, "Red, white and blue, we spit on you!" A Black worker who got home to Techwood shortly after the incident reported that three different friends came to him telling him about it and that he had to fly a red flag from his window. A Black Vietnam vet spoke directly to the powerful impact of the flag burning and especially to the big changes that have developed since the revolutionary struggles of the 1960s: "I haven't seen that kind of stuff since the Vietnam war and then it was students that were doing it. I was amazed that people had done it in the projects." The people had risen to the political heights of May 1st and struck the deepest blow against the enemy.

The battle for May 1st, while concentrated at Techwood, was waged in other areas of the city as well. From the campuses to the jails to the airwaves, the unmistakable sights and sounds of May Day were evident. At Atlanta University on Thursday, several fraternity members played the taped speech of Bob Avakian for May First, 1981 out their fraternity house window. On May Day itself, at Georgia Tech (the so-called MIT of the South, adjacent to Techwood and recently in the news as the Alma Mater of one of the Columbia Space Shuttle astronauts) a large fountain on the campus mysteriously ran red—an anonymous act that angered the administration which rushed to

drain and clean the basin to get it clear white again. Undoubtedly, more May First actions went down that the *RW* is yet unaware of. And again, as last year, jailers from the city and county jail, got plenty of red headaches. A co-conspirator reported that when the news went across the TV about the red flag flying over the State Capitol, the inmates on one floor at the DeKalb County Jail burst out laughing. And in the women's wing of the Atlanta City Jail, jailers had to tear down a red flag flown out the window by six women, only to see one of them hang a red sock by her bed in defiance. Another woman, reminded of what day it was, pulled out a May Day button she had gotten the year before while in jail with May Day brigaders.

A tremendous cultural explosion erupted all week before May Day on the radio waves of several music shows on stations in the Atlanta area. Rebellious and revolutionary music in many different forms served to stimulate even more controversy and debate about the challenge and significance of May Day. One DJ devoted half of her three hour program to an RCP supporter who is also a Mao Tsetung Defendant. The program literally blasted out with songs like *Revolution Rock* by The Clash and a reggae version by a British group U.B.4.0. of the Billie Holiday song *Strange Fruit* about lynch terror in the South. A DJ on a reggae show played "Stand Up and Fight Back" by Jimmy Cliff in honor of May Day. He introduced the song by saying, "as Third World (a reggae group—*RW*) says 'Arise!'—to all Black people in Atlanta, not just Black people but *all* people in Atlanta and the people all over the world—because of all the terrible things happening here in Atlanta, we should arise." Still another DJ had begun his show talking about how Labor Day was created, "obviously, to get labor away from those nasty revolutionaries and those who want to change the system." Then on May Day, a show aired a powerful 1969 song by Nina Simone, *Revolution*.

May Day in Atlanta. Revolutionary action of a profoundly internationalist character has changed the nature of the struggle there. The red flag was truly held aloft.



This photo, taken in Techwood Homes, shows Atlanta cops arresting several May Day activists. While this picture was used in a number of newspapers nationally (incorrectly labeled as members of the Communist Workers Party) the important developments that evening in Techwood, where scores of people burned American flags, were kept out of even the local news.

Staff Photo—Louie Favorite

**TO THE  
MARXIST-LENINISTS,  
THE WORKERS,  
AND THE OPPRESSED  
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

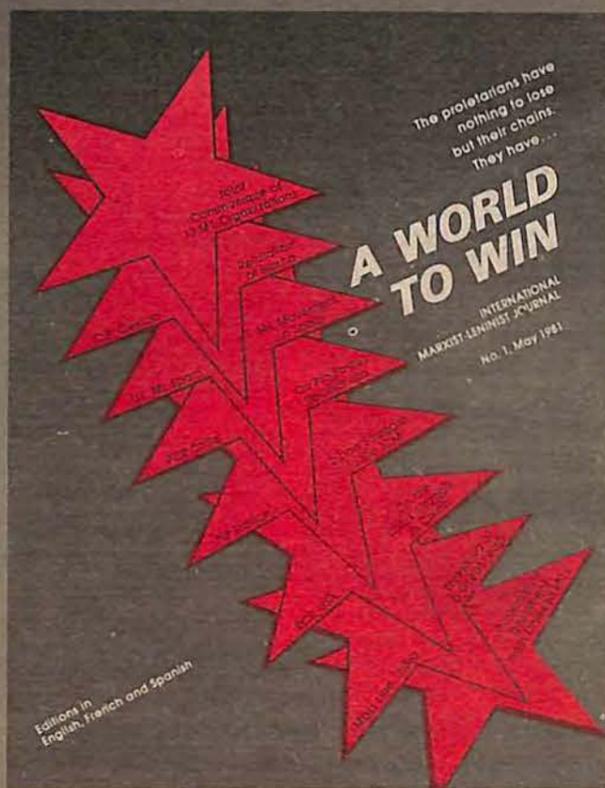
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