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فراخوان جهانی برای بزرگاری روز اول ماه

UN LLAMADO
INTERNACIONALISTA
A LA ACCIÓN
EL
1º DE MAYO

Internationalistam
Extana
Mayam Etangigan
Awamngan

*Un Appel Internationaliste à l'Action
le Premier Mai*

*1 Mayısta Uluslararası
Dayanışmaya
Çağn*

Un
Appello
Internazionalista
all'Azione per il Primo
Maggio

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

國際主義的
號召要在五一節採取行動

May First, International Workers Day, is coming! First proclaimed a worldwide holiday by the international workers organization led by Marx, it is a day which forcefully stands for the international unity of the proletariat and its mission to turn the whole world upside down. In this issue we are publishing a call to action by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. It is a call to the proletariat and oppressed people from whatever part of the globe who are presently living in the U.S. to carry this struggle forward to the maximum this year within the belly of this beast as a component part of the worldwide struggle toward the common goal. The text appears this week in eight languages (see pull-out section pp. 9 to 16) and we ask for help in translating it into more.

This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in different languages, make criticisms of it and collect suggestions for it and forward them to us before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more powerful internationalist actions on May 1st.

CHICAGO PIGS GO DOWN, COME DOWN, ON THE SOUTH SIDE

Chicago. On February 9 at 2:00 in the afternoon, police patrolling the Black Southside neighborhood of Auburn pulled a car over at 81st and Morgan Streets. But what began as, they say, a routine stop did not end that way. According to the police version of the story, as Officer Fahey ordered the driver to submit to a search and then attempted to place handcuffs on him, a scuffle ensued. The Black man grabbed Fahey's .357 magnum, shot both of the pigs and then sped off. Fahey was sent then and there to his final resting place to be joined by his partner O'Brien the next morning. The shootings brought the Chicago pig death toll to three within just five short days. On February 5, cop James Doyle was blown away as he attempted to arrest a 22-year-old Black man on a public bus.

Underneath the non-stop appeals for "tougher law enforcement" that have been emanating from the authorities since the killings, a distinct note of panic can be detected. At least two hundred police were immediately turned loose to wreak vengeance on the community of Auburn where the shootings occurred, prompting even that renowned lackey Jesse Jackson to label the area "a war zone." In a statement delivered as a warning to the ruling class, the leader of Operation PUSH declared pointedly, "This ice is going to melt and unemployment is at record levels. Unless there is calmness and leadership, we will have a civil war where no one will win."

Not since 1970, when two cops were snuffed out by bullets fired from the towers of the Cabrini-Green Housing Project, has such a widespread rampage been unleashed against Black people in Chicago. It has been a rampage over wide sections of the city, especially on the vast Southside. The shooting itself—and some of the most intense repression—actually came down in a neighborhood inhabited by the more stably employed sections of Black workers. Many of these workers were able to move out of the projects and into this Southwest side community around 10-15 years ago as the struggle against discrimination, combined with the world position of U.S. imperialism, helped to open some better industrial jobs to Blacks. But the economic

situation which made a certain degree of stability possible is rapidly reversing itself, and this has had the most profound impact on the youth.

The talk on the streets among these youth is the shooting of the cops was no gang hit job, but more of a basic counter-attack to intensifying police harassment. "It's retaliation," explained one teenager at the unemployment office. "Over the last few months the cops have been coming down real heavy, constantly busting people. And people don't have \$50 to spare to get out of jail. They're broke and they just don't have that kind of money. It was bound to happen."

Whatever the exact facts of the shooting, this attitude is significant. It is this rebellious and angry spirit of the youth in particular that the authorities are trying to suppress by unleashing the pigs to run amok for a few days.

PUSH reports that scores of people have called in to relate stories of rifle-toting pigs who kicked down their doors, ransacked their homes and pointed guns at the heads of their children. The Cook County Bar Association, an organization of Black lawyers, has received 190 complaints from people who were dragged to the police station, interrogated and held up to 30 hours for no other crime than being young and Black. Southside ministers and community groups have made additional reports of police brutality, and all of this represents only a fraction of the abuse heaped on Black people in the week since the slayings.

For several days this heavyhanded repression was virtually blacked out by the major media while the police were praised for their "professionalism." But when the mountain of police brutality charges became too high to ignore, the bourgeoisie counter-attacked with an effort to create public opinion in favor of the crackdown. The media rose to the occasion with new levels of hysteria as the cop killings were seized upon to turn up the volume on a campaign of slanderous attacks on Black people that has been running for months now. The major themes of this campaign were concentrated in rank and raw form in a February 15 column by Mike Royko, a big gun for the *Chicago Sun Times* who



The aftermath of the rampaging police "search".

was trotted out to fire a put down against those who would dare to charge "police brutality."

For openers, this column paints a picture of Black people who are alternately "suffering from terminal stupidity" or who are gangbangers. ("In all the complaints about police excesses that I've heard... all I've heard about are wounded egos," declared Royko. "And I have some difficulty working up sympathy for the wounded ego of a member of the Insane Idiots or any other street gang.") Starting from this premise, it's a short hop to the conclusion that police violence is perfectly justified. Then there is the ominous note that the captured suspects were "lucky to be (taken) alive," which can only be interpreted as a death threat against the Black masses since the "suspects" in this case are any Black male old enough to wear long pants. And the clincher to this whole rabidly racist argument is the following: "If anyone has any reason to complain about this case... it's the families of the two young policemen who are now dead and buried." This is the bottom line—Blacks have no right to speak about police brutality since they are nothing but gangbangers terrorizing the populace. The cops, on the other hand, have been painted as virtual saints by contrast. Since the killings we have heard an endless string of eulogies that they were "doing God's work," were model neighbors and friends, and that how their families "live with stress."

Terror Unleashed

This idyllic picture of noble family men notwithstanding, the clampdown enforced since the afternoon of February 9 has revealed once again the terror that Black people are subjected to at the hands of the police. What happened to Patricia and Alvin Smith, the parents of five kids, is typical. The Smiths had just gone to sleep in their Southside home when six or seven cops stormed into the

house, knocking down the front door. "They snatched the sheets off my daughter and put a gun to her head while others put a shotgun to mine and a pistol to my wife's head," said Smith. "They threw my two sons from the second floor down the flight of stairs. They were not dressed and were asleep. The officers began to tear up our furniture looking for the suspects they said killed the policemen."

Smith went on to describe how the pigs snatched the covers off him and his sleeping wife. The whole family was ordered to face the wall with their hands up. "My little girl was in near hysteria. My sons, Anthony and Kenneth-Hall, were dazed and lying on the floor." Anthony, 18, was hauled into the police station as a suspect. He was later released with no charge.

Alonzo Pinex, 18, was at home with his younger brothers and sisters. When the 10-year-old heard a knock at the door and opened it, 30 plainclothes cops pushed past her and began ransacking the house, overturning beds and tables, dumping out drawers and breaking the furniture. Alonzo was dragged outside with no shoes or coat and beaten at the police station with a flashlight. He was later released without charge.

Within hours of the shooting, all the streets in Auburn were blocked off with the cops picking up anyone unlucky enough to be out. Aerial surveillance was conducted for two days by helicopters sweeping overhead Vietnam-style. All bars, pool halls and hangouts were immediately vacated because of constant raids by the police looking for more "suspects." Mothers have ordered even their small children off the streets. On the fourth day of the search, police promised that the dragnet for the getaway car would be cast over the whole city, providing further opportunities to terrorize the entire Black population. This was called "the largest and best organized

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Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the RW. Previous sections ran in RW Nos. 136-142.

Q: To continue with the party and to deal with the point that you brought up a number of times here about developing the party quantitatively and qualitatively: in "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Can and Will" you brought out that the key was quality and I would like to get into these two aspects now and how you see that.

BA: Well, let's take an obvious negative example to show in an extreme form why quantity cannot be made principal which is the revisionist parties, or the parties that were part of the Third International and ended up revisionist, such as the CPUSA or the CP of France, etc. The CP of France, for example, just hands out leaflets and says, "Sign up with the Communist Party; sign here to join the Communist Party"; it's like mass enrollment and the CPUSA does the same thing. They put out a pamphlet and you can write in and get a free, cut-rate membership to the CP. And the British CP, for example—I remember hearing stories about how they did the same thing as the CPUSA did during the '30's and the war. They would have mass rallies and at the end of it just sign up people on the spot. The CPUSA sometimes used to sign up 1500 members all at one time at a big mass rally.

Well, that's a certain kind of quantity, but the quality was obviously of very low character. These were not really communists that were joining these parties—I mean the parties were not really communist either. That's a little bit of a flip way to say it, but even at that time there were serious, serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism in the line of the CPUSA for example, and their method of building the party was a rather sharp expression of that kind of opportunism, reformism, patriotism, etc. and the deformation in the direction of just plain bourgeois democracy and bourgeois ideology in general.

But obviously these were not communists who were joining the party. How could someone join the party on the spot like that just off the street and be a communist? At the most you could say that there is someone who has some strong class feelings and maybe a basic sense of the need for revolution, but certainly they are not a Marxist-Leninist; certainly they don't have a communist consciousness. Of course that is not a metaphysical thing, as if one day you acquire communist consciousness. But there are leaps, and there is a leap to when you join the party. In particular with people drawn from among the masses that do have both the material interests and also a basic ideological stand for proletarian revolution, you don't have to do a tremendous, an extended period of training and preparation before they can join. Most of their training in fact should take place *inside* the party. And that's a very important point to stress. But they still should be recruited only after they have been worked with. Even on an obvious level you should check to make sure they're not police agents. But even beyond this, a certain amount of work should go on with them in practice; they should get some kind of practical training, and also some kind of ideological training and a theoretical groundwork of a certain basic kind before they can come into the party and work and struggle in that arena and get the bulk of ongoing training as a party member.

I remember an extreme example where somebody told me that they had a relative working in the steel industry and one day a bunch of people came to go to a meeting to organize the union or something like that. They took this person's relative to the meeting and on the way they told him that they were members of the CP and they asked the guy to join. And the guy said, "Well, hey, I'm a believ-

A PARTY IS NOT A HOLY THING... IT'S GOT TO BE A VANGUARD

by Bob Avakian

ing, practicing Catholic." And they said, "Well that doesn't make any difference." And the guy said, "Does to me." There's a sharp example of where he was more principled than they were. And suppose they persuaded him to join. What kind of party are you building by doing that? So these are all extreme examples, but they make a point. And the point is that saying quality is principle over quantity is another way of saying what was pointed out in "Conquer the World..." that *line* is the key link. In other words, people have to be won to a certain line; and even more basic than that, of course, is the quality of the line itself, whether it is in the main and in its essence a correct line or incorrect line, a revolutionary line or an opportunist line, will determine also the character of the party and how it's built. And while there will be ebbs and flows in the party too—people who come in, people who leave—the line will determine what the overall direction and character of building the party is, whether the party gets stronger qualitatively, that is, continually deepens its grasp and application of the correct line, and also whether it gets stronger quantitatively over time and through ebbs and flows and in a spiral and

not a straight-line way. The line will determine whether the party gets stronger quantitatively at least in the sense of that it's able to grow generally (though not in a one-to-one or mechanical way) in proportion with the growth of social ferment, political movement and activity and struggle, and particularly the leaps that take place toward and then in the development of a revolutionary situation.

Growth of the Party & World Developments

I don't think a party can or should grow in a straight-line kind of way. Even if you say "through ebbs and flows and spirals" I still don't think that its motion should be from smaller to bigger over any given period of time, say ten years, regardless of what's happening not only in that country but most fundamentally in the world as a whole. If the world as a whole is generally entering a period of ebb, then maybe, like Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?*, you have to know how to defend and maintain aloft the revolutionary banner in periods of revolutionary depression. He didn't say you have to expand and grow and develop in such periods or at all times. That would be, I think, undialectical and unmaterialist. That's also an error that has been a big component of the wrong thinking of the international communist movement, that you ought to be able to grow quantitatively (if you are on the correct road at least) regardless of what's going on in the world and, as part of that, in the country that you are situated in.

Someone a while back asked about the history of our party, wanted to know all about it. So I said, well our party was founded in 1975 and I guess you could say that was the low point of the party. And that's a way of saying that there was a certain history before our party was founded and since then there has been tremendous struggle and development. At the *particular* time our party was founded the U.S., and the world as a whole, was in the midst of an ebb, and along with that, interpenetrating with the objective situation, there was the influence of opportunist lines, the Menshevism, that existed in our ranks and was able to achieve quite a bit of corrosion (without fundamentally changing our line to a counter-revolutionary one). But it was able to corrode the revolutionary character of our party to a significant degree. That was at its high point in that period of the founding of our party and shortly afterwards. And while it's not mechanically or deterministically related one-to-one with the objective situation in the world, including in the U.S. at that time, it was obviously strengthened by that. (Proof of the fact that it's not deterministically related to it is the fact that since the split with the Mensheviks, they've gone completely into the quicksand, buried themselves in it and now are eating it, whereas we have made leaps in forging further along a revolutionary line. And it's been the same objective situation in the world and including in the U.S. that we both are operating within.) But even saying that and taking that into account, still that objective situation did exert a strong influence, a strong pull, and strengthened the Menshevik tendencies and corrosion.

I made that statement that the founding of our party was its low point to indicate that you can't treat the question of a party metaphysically. Here we founded the party and we've talked about how it was a great victory that the party was able to be formed. Well actually it was, because the real victory is that out of all the upsurge of the '60s a revolutionary vanguard was able to be forged and preserved and was able to carry through, with whatever corrosion did go on, and emerge in this period of tremendously sharpening contradictions and growing opportunities worldwide as well as growing tendencies toward war. A revolutionary vanguard was forged and actually was tempered and strengthened and is in a position where it can make advances in the period ahead. If it continues on the road it's on, it has the real possibility of leading the revolutionary movement if the objective conditions ripen fully for that.

A party was formed and, even with all that was bad about that period, taking its principal aspect it had a correct line. Especially, I think, that has shown in what has endured and been built on since that time and further developed, which is its line on the overall world situation, the line on revolutionary defeatism and the criticisms it made (even though they were only partial and still didn't represent a thorough rupture, they were still criticisms in an important direction) of the past policy of the Comintern as concentrated in the Dimitroff line and the line of the Seventh World Congress. If there hadn't been that, then the present line and policies of our party would not be explainable. We didn't leap out of nowhere. We leaped from somewhere, a very sharply contradictory line that was loaded down with and corroded by a lot of economism, but also had a very strong revolutionary kernel which took important expression around the world situation and around proletarian internationalism and revolutionary defeatism in opposition to social chauvinism.

To 'Be Around' Is Not An End In Itself

But, with all that, the point precisely is to say that a party is not a metaphysical thing. What I'm getting to is the statement that was made at the time of our founding party congress that "this is the second time the party of

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Developments in Bob Avakian's Refugee Status Case

Last December, we brought to people's attention the fact that the appeals commission reviewing Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France had refused to accept the first batch of testimony on political persecution in the U.S.—unless it was all translated into French. This amounted to an obvious move to avoid hearing any of the testimony collected from the masses and was also an attempt to impose conditions far beyond the means of almost all immigrants living in France. We asked people to protest through telegrams.

All the rejected material was sent back to the appeals commission by attorneys in the case, insisting they accept it. Since then, additional material has been sent off and received by the commission. From these facts we conclude that the commission is either accepting the material necessary to Bob Avakian's appeal, or is coming up with new maneuvers.

In light of all this we are asking people to hold off for now on sending more telegrams, while staying tense in anticipation of further twists and turns in the case. We thank all who have sent telegrams.

Poland—A Case in Point

Why Spontaneity Is No Damn Good



At the gates to the Shipyards at Gdansk, summer 1980.

Spontaneity—the worship of it has always been the scourge of the revolutionary movement. This has certainly been true in Poland where a powerful mass movement involving millions is now attempting to come to grips with the present impasse—a most abrupt and quite unspontaneous martial law crackdown by the revisionist rulers. There are many—both in Poland and elsewhere—who have been fascinated and, it must be said, somewhat blinded by the fact that what emerged from the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk in August 1980 was indeed a genuine workers' movement, one which seemed to multiply as if by magic and which rose more or less spontaneously to challenge the ruling powers that be. The infatuation with this has objectively been a significant trend among those who support the Polish struggle internationally and there has been a strong tendency to trail behind and uphold the movement almost *because* of its spontaneous character.

But for those who would make a religion of the "pure spontaneous" workers' movement, the martial law clampdown and the vicious repression meted out in Poland should be a warning and an indication that there are some lessons to be learned here. Not the least of these is that revolution—at least genuine, emancipating proletarian revolution—doesn't stand a chance in hell without a determined and protracted struggle precisely *against* the influence of spontaneity.

Lenin had some things to say about this question in *What Is To Be Done?*—many of which sound as if they had been written specifically to address the situation in Poland today. For instance, at one point he comments that, "Indeed, no one, we think, has up to now doubted that the strength of the present-day movement lies in the awakening of the masses (principally, the industrial proletariat), and that its weakness lies in the lack of consciousness and initiative among the revolutionary leaders." Indeed, the spontaneous awakening of the Polish workers on a broad scale, and the influence this has exerted on other strata, has been a great strength: it shows, as Lenin said, that "the 'spontaneous element', in essence, represents nothing more nor less than consciousness in an embryonic form." But as he also emphasized, it is just that—embryonic—and what stands out

in Poland is that (leaving aside for a moment the conscious spokesmen for U.S. imperialism in the Church and elsewhere) the honest leaders of the movement have, at best, tailed behind and, at worst, worshipped the "spontaneous element," adapting themselves to the prevailing level of consciousness with some disastrous, and predictable, results.

Spontaneity is anything but something pure and pristine, something which asserts itself "at random" and exercises its influence abstracted from the realm of class struggle. It is, in fact, part of the prevailing atmosphere in bourgeois (including revisionist) society and an ideological weapon in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie against its greatest enemy—the *consciously revolutionary* struggle of the masses. Why, Lenin asked, "does the spontaneous movement, the movement along the line of least resistance, lead to the domination of bourgeois ideology? For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than the socialist ideology; because it is more fully developed and because it possesses immeasurably more opportunities for being spread."

Lenin's warning here has more than general relevance in Poland where the line "spontaneously" dominating the movement has been tailor-made to fit the specific and immediate strategy of Western imperialism—i.e. encouraging a certain amount of upheaval to keep things "destabilized" while, fundamentally, restraining the masses from consciously going over to the seizure of power at least until a time—war time—more opportune for the West.

Linked to this is another point—the (often demagogic) deriding of leadership "from outside" a "pure workers' movement," a line which usually is promoted in opposition to revolutionary parties and/or revolutionary intellectuals. It should be clear enough from the example of Poland (along with many others) that the real target of this objection is "revolutionary." There will be influence "from without"—spontaneous or otherwise—the question is, in what interest? The proletariat—at least those sections that truly have nothing to lose but their chains—is certainly the revolutionary class in modern society and the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought corresponds to their most basic conditions and interests.

But this understanding does not dawn spontaneously. As Lenin stressed, such revolutionary consciousness could never appear spontaneously among the workers however mightily they appear to be in motion: "It could only be brought to them from without," pointing out that in Russia it was members of the non-proletariat intelligentsia who brought revolutionary consciousness to the working class movement. The problem in Poland, however, is that what has been brought to the workers "from without" has, frankly, been *bourgeois* consciousness by the largely pro-Western intellectual advisors to the Solidarity union and by the Catholic Church—a large part of which has been exactly the worship of spontaneity in various forms. (It need hardly be said, for example, that the Church's preaching of "passivity" and "prayer" and its calls to "overcome the hatred" are an age-old form of such "worship" used to blunt revolutionary consciousness.)

Ironically—or, perhaps, not so ironically in this case—it is these intellectuals who "from without" have pushed the line of a "pure" workers' movement, advancing step-by-step along the path of least resistance and confined to the limits of prevailing bourgeois-democratic aspirations. That this is not at all incompatible with (and, in large part, has been inspired by) Western intriguing can be seen from the fact that the U.S. rulers themselves have been among the first to boast that here, indeed, is a *real w-o-r-k-e-r-s'* movement.

Diversion

In more ways than one, the situation in Poland illustrates that, as Lenin put it, "The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much more rapidly, incomparably more rapidly, grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of Social-Democracy (revolutionary communism—*RW*)." For revolutionaries, all this serves to underscore the importance of "diversion" and, more to the point, diversion "for what." We have said that the question posed objectively for the proletariat in Poland has been no less than one of state power, of who will rule. And as we pointed out in the article, "Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion" (see *RW* No. 84 or the pamphlet): "... it is extremely important to grasp that the main task of the communists is to *divert* the spontaneous struggle of the masses, particularly the proletariat, to a revolutionary struggle. This means preparing the masses to go over from the spontaneous struggle they are waging to something different—an organized offensive to seize power from the capitalist class. The importance of diverting the spontaneous struggles cannot be underestimated, because in and of themselves these spontaneous struggles will never lead to a successful revolution even when a revolutionary situation develops and it is truly the case that millions and millions are aroused and in the streets." The ultimate aim of such diversion was well-stated by Mao: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution." Needless to say, *this* is something that will never happen spontaneously.

Unfortunately, however, a large part of the "diversion" practiced by the leadership of Solidarity over the past year and up until martial law has been the increasing tendency to channel spontaneous outbreaks (occupations, street demonstrations, etc.—at least those that were threatening to mushroom out of control) onto an even *lower* level of struggle. Thus the frequent calls for "two-hour warning strikes" à la the best (bourgeois) traditions of trade unionism, the threat of a general strike and then the use of this as "pressure" for negotiations. The view here has often been one of "wresting power" piece-by-piece (a pipedream in the real world of capitalist rule) and that these eruptions, if properly controlled would, in and of themselves, lead to a weakening of the government (if not to its collapse) to the point where it would be forced to grant the desired economic and political concessions.

There has been conscious reinforcement of the spontaneous belief that, short of proletarian revolution and

the armed seizure of power, there is some *other way forward*. And this angle has been played up by those who, as Lenin put it, "imagine that the pure working-class movement can work out, and will work out, an independent ideology for itself..."—actually an uncanny and far-sighted characterization of a trend that is pre-eminent in Poland today.

The effects of this line were reflected in the remarks of one progressive Polish seaman who said he was fed up with what he called "red ideology" and remarked that: "We need a brand new ideology. We'll make it as we go."—i.e., as he put it, a society on the order of something like Sweden or Finland. Such confusion is not surprising. There are many such honest masses in Poland who have no love for either the Eastern or Western varieties of bourgeois society and who, due to the lack of a revolutionary vanguard, have for the most part been unable to grasp that what they are up against is *not* socialism, but state-capitalism operating under a "socialist" cover. Lenin spoke powerfully to the underlying illusion here: "Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of workers themselves in the process of their movement, the *only* choice is: either the bourgeois or the socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to *turn away from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." And under present world conditions this means the bourgeois ideology of *both* Soviet-style revisionism and Western capitalism.

Nationalism and the Troops

Spontaneity has led along the well-worn path of straight-up nationalism which in the absence of a revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line, will always be a pole toward which the workers' movement in imperialist countries will gravitate. The promotion of the idea that "renewal" is best for the Polish nation and its interests—"Let Poles Be Themselves", etc.—has ultimately played right into the hands of the revisionist rulers who portrayed their martial law clampdown in the very same light, appealing to the necessity of "ending the chaos" in the best interests of the nation, of reaching a "national accord", etc. Thus the terms of much of the struggle were reduced to a bourgeois argument about who are the "true upholders" of the national banner. The union leaders' appeals to nationalism became a recipe for erroneously assuming that the "sons of Poland" in uniform would automatically refuse to be used against the workers. (Here, Mao's remark is quite to the point: "If you don't hit it, it won't fall.")

It has also come out that one of the reasons the top Solidarity leaders made few preparations to deal with the possibility of a government roundup was that they fully expected that workers' protests would erupt as a matter of course and on such a scale that the government would be forced to come to terms. But, while spontaneous explosions did occur to a certain extent, they were no match for the conscious preparations made by the ruling class to deal with them in advance—especially considering that in the absence of a conscious "fight for the troops" the soldiers spontaneously carried out their orders.

There is much more that could be said, and in much greater detail about the chilling effect that bowing before spontaneity and the type of *bourgeois* (vs. revolutionary) "diversion" just mentioned have had on the movement in Poland. And, independent of motives, the fact remains that, in Lenin's words: "... all worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, all belittling, of 'the conscious element', of the role of Social-Democracy, means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler wants to or not, strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology over the workers."

To those who would toss in the towel in Poland today on the basis of the weakness of the conscious revolutionary forces, Lenin has some relevant words. He declared that: "Yes, our movement is

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THE STATE VS. THE DANGEROUS DAUGHTERS

All family planning centers that receive federal funds will soon be ordered to snitch to the parents of any young woman under 18 who receives a birth control device or prescription. This was the word delivered by Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker when he appeared before a House of Representatives Subcommittee on February 9th. The current law states that "girls should be encouraged to involve their families themselves" in such decisions, but Schweiker and the class he represents are quite worried that this encouragement is not producing the desired results. "We've built a Berlin Wall between the kids and the parents," he told the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment. "We think that's wrong."

The Secretary's concern is quite reminiscent of the prison guard in the 1967 Paul Newman movie *Cool Hand Luke*, who kept stressing "What we have here is a failure to communicate," as he brutally bludgeoned the rebellious prisoner. Apparently there are far too many teenage women who have failed to respond to the bourgeoisie's "communication" of the family morals appropriate for the times. Lady Di (who willingly offered proof of her fitness for His Lordship on their wedding night in accord with royal custom), Marie "I'm still a virgin and proud of it" Osmond, and Barbie are just not gathering the following required. Indeed, the American rulers' vast concern over this and related questions brings to mind a line from another cultural work of the '60s—the old Bob Dylan song that goes "Your sons and your daughters are beyond your command"—with the emphasis here on the daughters.

It seems that these daughters have been noticeably reluctant to base their outlook and whole life on the approved goal of "service to family," with the bottom line being fathers and husbands. Statistics, such as the fact that 1-1/2 million unmar-

ried teen-aged women are currently using the birth control services of family planning centers, only hint at the problem here. According to America's foremost experts on "adolescent socialization," the thinking behind such widespread views of contraceptives is revealed in the results of "attitude surveys" of youth—where such traditional American values as religious dogma and the importance of preserving one's virginity for one's future husband are being rejected outright. Furthermore, 58% of the country's 2 million youthful runaways are female—and everyone knows that they are not running away to get married and bring up children in the proper setting.

Even those young women who do get pregnant and bear children (1.1 million teenagers last year) are apparently not being properly socialized. Bourgeois academic journals have made a big point about the fact that the rate of teenage births *outside of marriage* has been steadily increasing over the past 15 years. This is a reflection of a number of factors, including various bourgeois efforts to limit the availability of birth control in local areas and the ideology inculcated into young women that having a baby is the only way to make their lives worthwhile, and it usually portends a life of great hardship starting at a very early age. But what the bourgeoisie is upset about here is the fact that, unlike the good old days of shotgun weddings, not enough women are "legitimizing" the occasion, in fact, the very term "illegitimate children" is proof enough of what the rulers consider "legitimate"—a family headed by a man.

Acts of Congress on the Family

What is obvious from all this is that today's youth—especially *female* youth—do not have a sufficient appreciation for America's family morals. This is a matter of great concern for the entire bourgeoisie and both the moral majority types and the liberals among

them have rallied to the defense. Schweiker's proposed regulation is based on an interpretation of a bill passed *unanimously* by both houses of Congress last year, and co-sponsored by Teddy Kennedy with much of the language provided by his equally liberal sister Eunice Shriver. This law says, in part, that "prevention of adolescent sexual activity and adolescent pregnancies depends primarily on developing strong family values and strong family ties." Kennedy is certainly one of the foremost *all-around* authorities on American family values and their application in both the internal and external arena; indeed, his own "strong family ties" have proved indispensable in solving certain difficulties that his active practice of typical family morals of the bourgeoisie have presented—such as the little "incident" at Chappaquiddick. (After all, "the family" would have been damaged had Mary Jo Kopechne lived.) And then there is Jeremiah Denton, a former POW and proponent of the original bill (called the "teenage chastity law") on which Kennedy's version is based. In backing up Schweiker's proposal, Denton said that it was "a long overdue step toward re-establishing what are long overdue parental rights." While less is known about Senator Denton's *personal* concerns in this matter, his public concerns for the "parental rights" of the Vietnamese, on whom he engaged in numerous bombing and strafing runs until he was righteously brought down, are quite well known—and he is equally strident about bringing such familial concerns to the Salvadoran people at the present.

Of course, even *American* parents have severe limitations on their "parental rights" as evidenced in the schools and streets and as will be even more in evidence when the military comes calling in the very near future. But there is no contradiction here. For the family is supposed to operate in *conjunction* with these governmental forms of socializa-

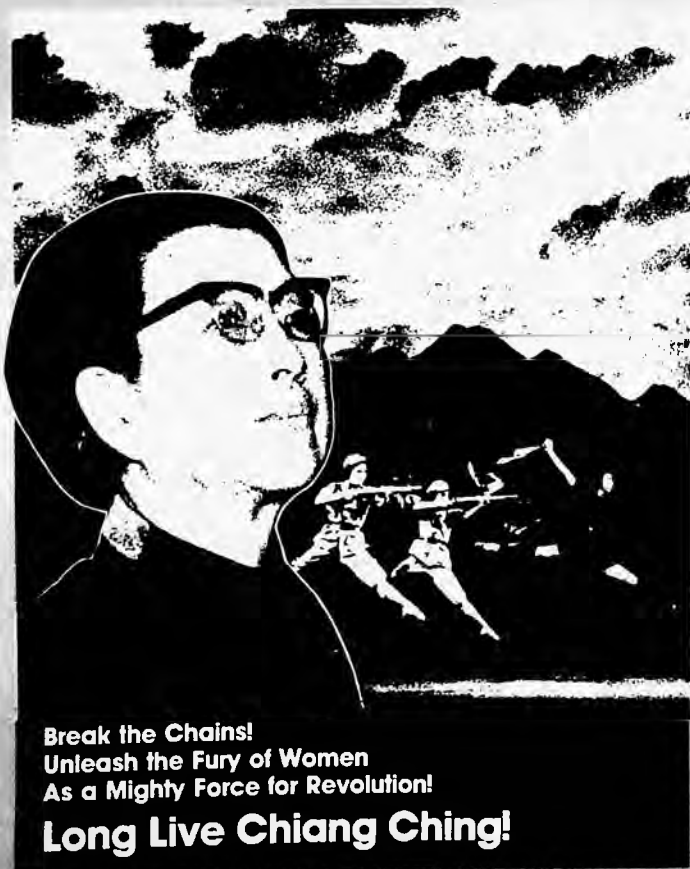
tion in order to *discipline* the youth to be "responsible citizens." What is at issue in this proposal—and in the bourgeoisie's perverse fascination with the sexual activities of teenaged women more generally—is the matter of *female discipline*. And that means, first and foremost, accepting the role of submissive slaves that is at the heart of the oppression of women, dedicating your life to caring for your "lord and master" and raising "his" children in accord with the overall demands of the bourgeois state.

While the state has any number of forms to enforce this discipline, the family is the "first line of defense" of bourgeois morality in regard to women. The ways in which the proper lessons are taught are truly myriad, and can and do range from endless lectures on the sterling qualities of "nice girls" to the widespread use of sadistic physical torture and even murder—commonly known as "child abuse." The growing incidence of incest is also very much a part of the picture here. The point is that whether the bourgeoisie's "family discipline" takes the more moderate or the more extreme form, the ideological content from which the form arises is the same—making sure that girls learn the "proper place for a woman."

The '60s

This traditional role of family morality vis à vis its daughters was severely ripped by the upheavals of the '60s and the involvement of tens of thousands of young women in them, including but not limited to the specific focus of fighting against the oppression of women. This not only forced many parents to re-evaluate their own role toward their children, but it also forced some concessions from the bourgeoisie in this arena—in a period where their international position gave them more freedom to give them. In the early '70s, family planning centers began to be set up around the country—and

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International Women's Day Poster Dedicated to Comrade Chiang Ching

This vibrant, colorful poster produced last year for International Women's Day is still available and still very relevant for International Women's Day 1982. Throughout the storms of the Cultural Revolution and the subsequent reactionary coup d'état, Comrade Chiang Ching has provided revolutionary proletarian leadership and inspiration to millions worldwide.

The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to distribute this poster in various ways and through various channels can contact the RCP in the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses see page 2), or can write to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Those who would like to print this poster can obtain printing negatives from the same locations. Posters are 17"x22".

Khomeini Regime Strikes Leaders of Mojahedin, Peykar

On Wednesday, February 10, Radio Tehran programming was interrupted by a message from the Khomeini regime stating that the Pasdaran, the so-called revolutionary guards, had delivered "a present to the Iranian people on the 3rd anniversary of the revolution." This latest gift of the Khomeini regime consisted in attacks on leading members of the People's Mojahedin and the Peykar organization.

On the morning of February 8, 1,800 heavily-armed Pasdaran surrounded the five-story apartment building in North Tehran where members of the Mojahedin were meeting. After fierce fighting for 3 hours, Mousa Khiabani, commander of all Mojahedin forces in Iran was killed. Killed with Khiabani in the battle were his wife Azar Reza'i, Ashraf Rabi'i, who is married to exiled Mojahedin leader Massoud Rajavi, and 18 other Mojahedin fighters.

On the following day, in what the regime described as a coordinated attack on 22 hideouts of the Peykar organization, several leading members of Peykar were captured. Reuters news agency reported the sound of heavy fighting in downtown Tehran during this time.

These attacks, deliberately timed and executed to coincide with the anniversary of the revolution, were clearly meant to deliver a message to the people of Iran, and to cut off the head of various revolutionary organizations, in a situation where the brutal attacks of the regime

against a broad array of opposition forces have failed to quell resistance. The government itself has admitted that there have been an average of 20 armed attacks a day by rebels in Tehran, and the workers there are now under military guard. Khomeini himself was reported to have threatened oil workers in Khuzestan with death if they struck. And resistance has spread into many different strata of society, as evidenced by the recent execution of three doctors and the stationing of armed Pasdaran in all hospitals.

At a press conference in Paris, Massoud Rajavi accused the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party of complicity in the attacks by giving Mojahedin addresses to the regime. And several Iranian revolutionaries have linked the attacks to the arrival of 34 KGB agents in Iran late last year, whose task was to beef up the internal security forces in Iran.

All of those killed and arrested have long histories of dedicated struggle against the regime of the Shah. Mousa Khiabani had been a Mojahedin activist since shortly after the founding of the organization in 1965. Like many leading members of that revolutionary Moslem organization, he had received guerrilla training with the PLO and fought with the PLO in Jordan during the traitorous September, 1970 attack on the PLO by Jordan's King Hussein. He returned to Iran in 1971 and was arrested in Tehran along with 33 other Mojaheds; he received a death sentence, later commuted to

life imprisonment, and was jailed for 8 years under the Shah. Khiabani got out of the Shah's prison 11 days before the 1979 uprising when the prison gates were stormed by the masses. Azar Reza'i has been active in the Mojahedin since she was a young girl as had her brothers and sisters. She is now the fifth child of the Reza'i family to be killed in Iran; four of her brothers and sisters were killed under the Shah. Ayatollah Khomeini has now condemned this whole family to death. Ashraf Rabi'i, married to Mojahedin leader Rajavi, joined the Mojahedin in the mid-1970s. Her first husband, a member of Mojahedin, was killed in 1975 in a clash with SAVAK. Ashraf was jailed three times in the struggle against the Shah and severely tortured. Among other political activities, Ashraf trained women in the use of weapons.

Among the Peykar leadership reported captured were Hossein Ahmadi Rohani, Ali Reza Sepasi Ashtiani, Masoud Mohammadi, and Masoud Gigari. Two of these fighters were popularly known in Iran because they were put forward by Peykar as candidates for the Majlis (Parliament) before leftist candidates were barred from running by the regime. Ali Reza Ashtiani was drawn into political life during a popular uprising in Tehran in the early '60s. Arrested, he was imprisoned for four years by the Shah, and then built an Islamic revolutionary group which merged with the Mojahedin. Living as an underground fighter for

7 years, he participated in the capture and execution of an infamous general of the Shah. Then traveling abroad he spent time in guerilla camps in Lebanon and Oman, fighting against troops sent by the Shah to repress a revolutionary movement in Oman. Subsequently he joined Peykar, part of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Iran.

Hossein Rohani was a veteran of 19 years of struggle in Iran, one of the founding members of the Mojahedin and a member of its Central Committee. As political struggle intensified in Iran, he later became a founding member of Peykar. For the last year and a half Rohani's picture has been posted in wanted posters on walls all over Iran, yet he was never betrayed by the masses.

In its foul attacks and murders of these people, the current regime only further exposes itself in its blood-soaked reaction and ever-quickenning capitulation to imperialism. At this writing the condition of the captured Peykar leaders is unknown, but the policy of the gangsters of the ruling Islamic Republic Party has been to execute all captured Mojahedin and Marxist-Leninists.

In a display of internationalist solidarity, Komala, a revolutionary organization based among the Kurdish people in Iran, has sent word to the UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar and the Iranian government offering to exchange captured IRP officials for Peykar prisoners held by the regime. In response to the attacks of the regime, February 12 programs held by supporters of the Khomeini regime in Houston, Cleveland, New York and Berkeley, California were disrupted by supporters of the Peykar organization. Iranian students in Paris occupied the Iran Air office on Saturday, February 13, and marches were held in West Germany which included the participation of workers and students from Turkey, now living in West Germany. []

Cornered Rats Speak Out On El Salvador

"The senior United States military commander in Latin America arrived in El Salvador today at a time of increasing doubts that the Salvadoran military can defeat rebel forces, even with more United States aid."

"We are losing the fight with the guerrillas in the countryside," President José Napoleón Duarte said Monday."

"The Salvadoran Government cannot win without troops from the United States—or from someone," a non-American diplomat said."

These three quotes from the Feb. 17, 1982 *New York Times* are a good representation of the intensifying U.S. "concern" over the situation in El Salvador which has heated up considerably in recent weeks. They also demonstrate the growing thrust on the part of the U.S. ruling class toward a significant increase in U.S. military activity in El Salvador and environs in the near future on top of already large increases in military aid made several weeks ago. The question of actual large scale use of U.S. troops or troops from "somewhere else" is being posed both frequently and urgently from many corners. U.S. spokesmen are way out there rabidly "refusing to rule out any possibility for U.S. action in El Salvador." And some of the possibilities are being floated out as well. CBS News reported that \$600-\$800 million in U.S. economic and military aid to El Salvador was slated to be requested for the next 18 months—a figure that would put El Salvador behind only Israel, Egypt and Turkey in the U.S.' receiving line. In a related story, CBS also reported on a "confidential" CIA report notifying the Reagan administration that the Salvadoran guerrillas could only be defeated through the introduction of U.S. combat troops. The following day, the *Washington Post* featured a front page article under the banner headline,

"Reagan Backs Action Plan for Central America." The action planned and/or already in operation includes "the encouragement of political and paramilitary operations by other governments against the Cuban presence in Nicaragua," according to the *Post*, especially citing Argentina as a possible U.S. front man but also envisioning the "unilateral" use of American personnel in paramilitary activity.

This is not the first time that "leaks" (in reality plants) have magically appeared in the press threatening major U.S. escalations in Central America—especially focused on El Salvador—but the sheer volume is important to take note of. Frank admissions that the junta's military is incapable of doing the job required by U.S. imperialism are no light off-the-cuff remarks. It is especially unusual to have your puppet, junta president José Napoleón Duarte admitting, "We are losing the fight with the guerrillas in the countryside," in citing the need for greater U.S. military aid. And now things are getting more specific—down to brass tacks. According to the *Times*, U.S. counter-insurgency experts say the Salvadoran military needs 40,000 to 60,000 soldiers to counter the guerrillas, but present forces only total about 22,000. Despite the fact that the army regularly conducts sweeps of villages, press-gang young teenagers into the military, the junta has been unable to solve its severe manpower shortage. Could it be that there are just not enough Salvadoran youth willing to die for the U.S. and its junta?

The military situation in El Salvador has apparently deteriorated to such an extent that some in the U.S. bourgeoisie are opposing sending more rifles and ammunition by themselves to El Salvador on the basis of possible counter-productive results; that is, that many of them would fall into the hands of the guerrillas. On the other hand, such con-



Salvadoran troops training at Ft. Bragg. The entire 500-man class of officer candidates at the Salvadoran military academy, as well as 1,000 troops, have been sent to the U.S. in a desperate attempt to bolster their beleaguered puppet regime.

cerns would be lessened if the weapons were sent in the hands of ground troops from "other countries."

Of course there already are troops from a number of countries in El Salvador but obviously not nearly enough. For one thing, there have been persistent reports that Honduran troops have been joining with the junta in patrolling the border region between the two countries, and participating in the various massacres of old people and children that U.S. puppets in Central America specialize in. Salvadoran opposition spokesmen have also reported the presence of Guatemalan air force planes in the skies over El Salvador. Furthermore, the tiniest bit of the extent and nature of the current role of U.S. "advisers" in El Salvador appeared on America's TV screens this past week, as five of these fellows were shown, out of uniform, carrying M-16s in the Department of Usulután, where relatively heavy fighting has been reported recently. Not only did this clearly demonstrate the already widely-exposed lie that the activities of U.S. "advisers" were limited to "training" Salvadoran troops behind the walls of securely buttressed garrisons, but a White House spokesman also said that these soldiers were not even part of the officially acknowledged contingent

of 49 U.S. troops in El Salvador. Despite half-hearted U.S. attempts at covering up the *faux pas*—such as saying that the soldiers were just there to help "build a bridge" and recalling the senior military commander involved—the fact that U.S. counter-insurgency soldiers are directly participating in and leading the junta's failing war efforts had become obvious to almost everybody.

Still it is clear that new and qualitative military escalations in El Salvador may very well be on tap. The U.S. government is, of course, being tight-lipped about any precise plans as they threaten, through fiendish grins and gritted teeth, to "do whatever is necessary" to keep their hold on El Salvador. Such open sabre-rattling is both necessary and calculated to further two purposes, 1) obviously to help lay the basis for actually taking more bold military action in Central America and 2) to threaten and pressure some of the opposition forces in El Salvador and declare U.S. intentions to opposition in this country and places like Western Europe as well. The message to all is quite simple: The U.S. will do whatever it has to do in El Salvador. And they do have to do something even in the face of widespread opposition in the U.S. Whatever

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On February 10 and 11, an important teach-in was held in Atlanta: "Only the People Can Close the Case on the Atlanta Black Youth Murders." The event was both organized and attended by people with a wide range of views. It brought forward a vivid exposure of the state and a broad diversity of both experience and ideas as to the nature and meaning of these hideous crimes.

In order to spread this exposure and to deepen the discussion and struggle focused up at the teach-in, we are printing excerpts from some of the speeches presented. Unfortunately, space prohibits publishing each of the numerous presentations. However, a tape of the event has been made available and can be ordered by calling 404-766-8726.

Mike Langford

Michael Langford is project director of the United Youth Adult Conference, which organized the weekend searches.

A lot of us in this community, we have been fooled and we believe almost everything we hear or see in the media. I can testify to this because I work around a lot of the people who say things like "I heard it on the TV, on the news — so it must be true." But we've got to make sure and take responsibility as community groups that that balance of justice is there. After these searches were organized for the missing and murdered children, the police and their investigative ability, they were so embarrassed after a community group organized and hit the woods in this community and found a body, that they had to make sure they got involved and they discredited the capabilities of the organization.

We participated for 6 months in the search effort for the missing and murdered children. Today the offices of the United Youth Adult Conference are basically closed. We were receiving funds from the city of Atlanta and federal grants before we got involved in the search effort for the missing and murdered children. Now we are receiving not one grant from the city of Atlanta, not one federal grant. I think every person in his right mind can basically see that this thing is much larger than a Wayne Williams.

After we got involved in the searches, then the police became more active. We saw things begin to pick up. After organizing the search efforts of the UYAC we organized a community watch patrol. We said, "Look here, we got to organize and watch and protect our own communities." And the police kinda came in, they used us. I think a lot of people can see how they used UYAC. It may have been because Arthur Langford — the president of UYAC — was a city councilman that they felt "Well, maybe we can use him a little better than we can the hot-heads over in Techwood. They won't listen to us, they won't reason. So maybe we can get our point over to him a little better."

So they kinda used us; as we organized the community watch the police come in. We started off with community people being in control, and we organized base stations in different communities and the community watch was going very strong. But soon the police came over and said, "OK, we want to work with y'all because those hotheads over in Techwood are going to give folks a bad impression of what's happening in this city, we got to save this city."

They came in and wanted to join forces and as soon as the police joined forces with us, the strength of that community watch program was daily decreasing. Many of those people who came in out of concern and came in committed began to daily disappear from the activities, and the police really destroyed it; it became a police patrol rather than the community watch patrol.

We were receiving calls and the police were using us to get information to give it to them. . . . we got a lot of real serious calls that came in; these calls went into the police department. And I'm here to testify to that tonight because I signed a lot of those reports that came in where people who called in said they had seen both Black and white people in their communities chasing children they had seen.

One young lady had a white man chase her son home from school. He broke into

"Only the People can close the case in the Atlanta Black Youth Murders"

Venus Taylor

Venus Taylor is mother of Angel Lanier, one of the Black youth murder victims, and founding member of STOR.

First of all, I just want to say, I'm very disturbed by a lot of things I've heard and that I've seen and a lot of the things that are happening around me since the arrest and trial of Wayne Williams. What disturbs me so is all of these people who are going on the stand now testifying they've seen Wayne Williams (W.W.) with the kids and the boys. Why didn't anybody come forward when there was \$100,000? I mean, I can't understand it.

You see, I know for a fact — I see my cousin electrocuted to death in Chicago for a murder of a police he did not commit. But he got the electric chair regardless. So I know how this injustice system is. I know how you can very easily get railroaded. And it wouldn't be more satisfying to a bunch of bourgeois Blacks and bourgeois people period, whether they are Black or white, than to see a Black man go down for these murders.

In these last few months I've been real quiet and that's hard for me to do because I have a very big mouth and I'm very outspoken and I will say as I please. I don't care who it hurts or what it takes or whose toes I might be stepping on. You know I'm very disturbed because the investigation has stopped around the missing and murdered kids — I should say murdered kids and the few that are missing. I talk with people in various communities and they say, "Well, you should see how the kids play now, you should see how at ease they are." But yet still, these

her house, ransacked her house, told her son "You better come with me, nigger, 'cause I'm goin' to get you anyway." The boy hid up under the bed and saw the man's shoes.

Many people called in and testified that this never reached the press, because the press is part of these power-drunken people in this country, the same racist people, and this never reached the press. One was the story of Timothy Hill, who lived over in the Harris Homes community. I worked very close myself with this case. His 5-year-old niece was one of the last people to see Timothy alive. She was out in the yard with Timothy and she told us, and she told the police department, that she saw two men in police uniforms in a yellow checkered cab. She said they put Timothy's face in the mud and then forced him into a car. But the police never released none of this information. They never warned people about what was going on. They knew it some 6 months before, they even gave us the first reports of what was happening. The first attempt was to try and squash all information that may get folks riled up.

The searches were a good outlet, they used us in many ways but it was a chance for people to get involved at the same time and it was not as much for them to satisfy the public as it was for them to pacify the public. I don't care tonight, my friends, whether you are a member of the communist party or socialist party, whether you are a democrat or republican or whether you don't believe in the government at all. Community involvement is what's going to solve the problem. Like the sign says, "Only the people can close the case." People are the answer. If we sit back and continue to listen to the press and those distorted reports, if we continue to believe that information, we've got to question Maynard Jackson as much as we would question Lester Maddox.

It's not enough to be Black any more in this country, we cannot afford to be fooled any more because the struggle is not over. They want us to believe. They told us "Well, you better work with us because if you don't there is going to be a riot in this city. Everybody in this country is watching Atlanta and you all can help us save this city by participating." Because we had both Black and white participants in many cases we had more whites in the searches than Blacks because they were concerned and committed people. But what they tried to make us think was that it was a race thing — Black people against white people — as far as solving these cases. But that is not the question. It is rich against poor, haves against have-nots, needy against greedy. That is the question.

They want us to fight one another because if it had happened to poor white kids in many circumstances it would have been the same. But if it had happened to middle class or upper class — you let Reagan's son or one of the Rockefellers' kids or several of them become missing — it wouldn't take 6 months for this to be solved.

And I'm giving you this information tonight. What I'm saying and what I think is the point behind all this — this we got to remember too — is that we're in America and many of us do not agree with a lot of the principles and beliefs in this country. We are in America, a country that has oppressed its own people, and I don't see tonight where anyone would be surprised because nothing has changed. And I'm saying tonight that the power is with the masses of the people. We have experience during this time; we have made our greatest accomplishments when the people became their own investigators. It is time for us to stop believing everything we hear on the racist media. It is time for us to stop following those leaders who are not concerned with our interests but only with advancing their own careers and goals. □

are the same, same streets; kids are still missing, kids are still being murdered since Wayne Williams was arrested. And since everyone is going to center around 28 kids, actually from May of '79 to when I last got the report which was Nov. of '81, 56 had been murdered. But we only got a list of 28 or 29 as far as the Task Force list.

We need to find out who is really innocent and who is really guilty, and how many are involved. Stop being so programmed as to what we hear on TV — I very seldom put my TV on except to hear news, and when I do the first thing I do is say, "What are they saying now? Why is it the police were saying over a year ago that they did not have any suspects? They didn't have any clues, they didn't have anything?" I talked with an investigator — matter of fact, last week when I went to the trial — and I asked him, "Why is it all the cases of the kids seem to be open and shut cases?" And he said, "Well, ah, you know, we took all our manpower and put it on this investigation of Wayne Williams." So I go hysterical, I was outside the courtroom. I said, "You mean to tell me all the manpower you got is going to the investigation of Wayne Williams? Hell, he's behind bars, are you trying to tell me he's responsible for 28 kids?" He answered, "Well, we believe it could be a lot, 9 or 10." I said, "You believe. What makes you believe that, what have you got? You haven't gotten one witness to come forward to say they actually seen him put a rope or a blanket or anything around any one of those kids' necks and strangle or smother them or anything."

Continued on page 21

Very soon we will again print large numbers of the famous May Day poster. We hope many different people will take it up—and get it up—and starting now will donate the money required to print it.



The Deficit Debate

and the Deep Dilemma

Even though long-heralded and widely expected, the official unveiling of the Reagan administration budget with its huge deficits of \$91.5 billion for fiscal year 1982 and a projected \$83 billion for 1984 (on top of a currently projected \$98.6 billion deficit for this year) has unleashed a furor in Congress and the press—as well it might. It's highly ironic, of course, that Mr. Fiscal Conservative himself, whose campaign had a balanced budget by 1984 as one of its central themes, should be admitting that the total national debt to be accumulated in his administration will be greater than the total debts of the Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations combined. Reagan administration economists have even gone over to preaching that deficits do no harm. Naturally the halls of Congress, TV airwaves and newspaper pages are filled with accusations of the administration's hypocrisy. Of course David Stockman's statements in the *Atlantic* magazine that the initial rosy budget projections were achieved by fudging the data are prime ammunition here, and when the young budget expert went before a committee recently, one congressman refused to ask him any questions, on the ground that "I wouldn't have any faith that you weren't lying to us again." But the hackneyed questions of broken campaign promises and falsified data—some of the ordinary practices of bourgeois politicians—are hardly the point. And it isn't as if the congressmen and other bourgeois hacks have any fundamental disagreement with the basic course of the administration's economic game plan—for it isn't a Reagan program, but the U.S. imperialists' program, built around the necessity of rapidly preparing for war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. But the big military buildup which these war plans necessitate, totaling some \$1.6 trillion over five years, is essentially what is bringing about the large deficits. Deficits are not in and of themselves a problem for imperialism. At times of expansion, deficits do have a limited stimulative effect along the lines preached by Keynesian theory, but such is hardly the case today. And the hard fact for the bourgeoisie is that these deficits are and will be inflationary and destabilizing at a time when they desperately want to bring the explosion of inflation and debt which has marked the 1970s under control and stabilize the international monetary system (in which the U.S. dollar has a pivotal role). The dilemma, then, is that of the imperialists as a whole, and not just that of the Reagan administration. But if this is so, what are they fighting about in the brouhaha around the Reagan budget?

The Reagan administration program calls for a combination of a tight money supply, cuts in social programs, increase in military spending, and tax cuts designed to funnel more funds to capitalists to use as capital. But this program, introduced with fatuous optimism by Reagan at the start of his administration, has run into some hard realities. Although it was clear from the beginning that this was not (contrary to promises put out for public consumption) a program for economic recovery from the ongoing crisis faced by the U.S. and its bloc, the bourgeoisie did hope it would be a viable transitional program, providing stabilization and a "controlled disintegration" during a period of rapid preparation for war. In the meantime, however, the economic situation has worsened faster and further than they had hoped, culminating in a stubborn recession throughout the U.S. bloc, with record levels of unemployment in all its major countries, and continued high in-

terest rates in the U.S., which not only worsen the effects of the recession here and make recovery more difficult, but divert capital from Europe (by attracting funds into the U.S. to take advantage of the interest rates) and strengthen the dollar against European currencies, thus hurting these junior partners of U.S. imperialism and sharpening contradictions within the bloc. In addition, it is well-known that the situation is worse than would appear from the Reagan budget itself. For not only are various "creative accounting" devices used within the budget to reduce the deficit by charlatanism, but it is also based on rather unrealistic economic assumptions concerning rates of interest, unemployment and economic growth. Most congressional analysts are projecting an actual deficit for 1983 in the range of \$150 billion. Thus the acute difficulties and murky economic prospects of the U.S. and its bloc have made it problematical whether the Reagan administration program can do what it was supposed to do in the short run.

In this situation, various "alternatives" have been proposed, ranging from that of South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings' proposal to freeze military spending, freeze social security cost-of-living increases and repeal last year's tax cuts, to that of the AFL-CIO to reinstate axed social programs, repeal tax cuts and add a big surtax to pay for defense expenditures, to the more "balanced" recommendation of the *New York Times* of tax increases and a cutting-back of military expenditures. None of these, however, represent the actual terms of debate, although they do indicate that there are certain contradictions within the bourgeoisie concerning the Reagan program, and that these are being struggled out among the ruling class and its agents. Of course each of these variations on a single theme is couched in different terms, according to its different political purpose in the bourgeois setup. Senator Hollings' proposal plays nothing more than the role of straight man, a totally untenable proposal acting as a foil to the Reagan program. The AFL-CIO tries to rally its social base behind the bourgeoisie by pleading for reduced cuts in social programs and for soak-the-rich taxes—neither of which, as these labor

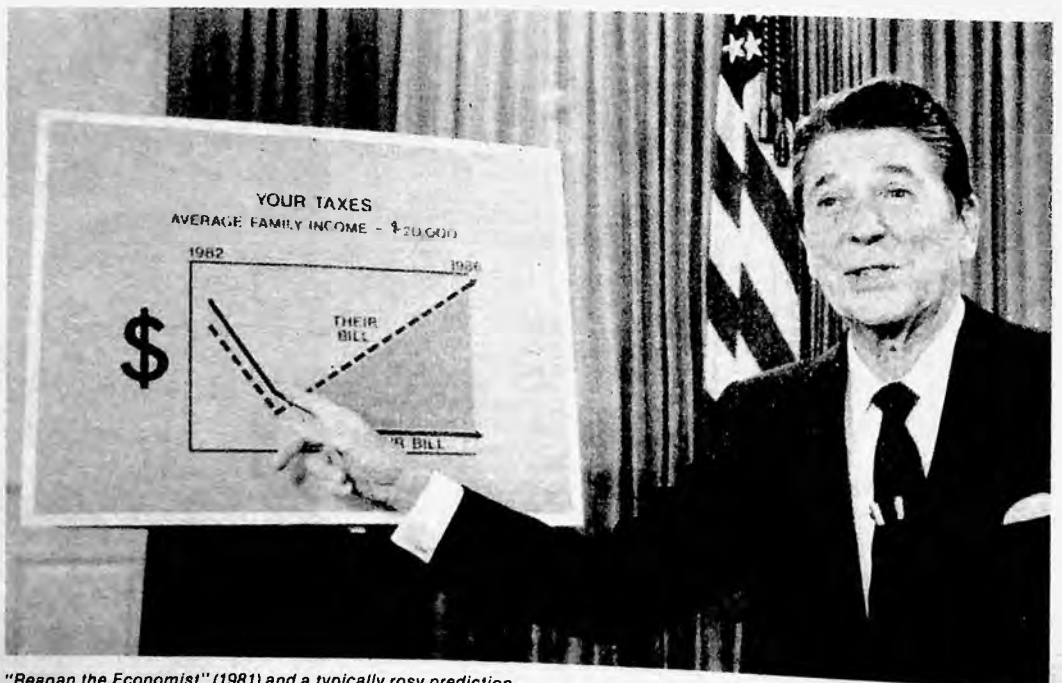
lieutenants well know, have a snowball's chance in hell, but which serve a demagogic purpose—along with the heart and soul of things, "America's need for a strong defense." As for the *New York Times'* reasoning, they say: "Unable in one year to generate simultaneous economic and military recovery, the president now prefers the fastest possible military buildup even though the resulting budget deficit will jeopardize economic revival... Without prosperity, Mr. Reagan could never sustain the arms race by which he hoped to force the Kremlin to weapons reduction and other restraints... The president has also rejected higher taxes. He thus makes military recovery the enemy of economic recovery." Although containing the obligatory bows to the possibility of cutting back the military and to the purely peaceful intentions of U.S. imperialism, the *Times'* concern is obvious: the economic problems caused by budget deficits may hinder war preparations. This is the imperialists' central worry—and it is a real problem, an objective contradiction.

The acrimonious disputes around the budget are in large measure pure demagoguery, and revolve around a basic programmatic unity within the bourgeoisie—principally increased military spending and secondarily the need to cutback inflation and debt through monetarist policies and social program cuts. But there are some tactical questions which are points of struggle within all this, points which gain in importance as objects of dispute because of the depths of the dilemmas gripping the imperialists. The only question at issue is whether the Reagan program, as represented by the new federal budget, represents the best mix of the various unattractive options. The main area of actual controversy is the tax cuts. These cuts have been designed as short-term profit-subsidizing devices to buoy up the problem areas of the U.S. economic structure. They resulted, for example, in several major industries (ones that are more "on the rocks" in terms of international competitiveness) not only paying no taxes at all in 1981, but getting tax credits applicable against taxes on older investments made prior to 1981. Under the current schedule, some of these will have a negative 6% tax rate by 1986. Such

measures do help in keeping things going in dangerously weak areas of the economy as the imperialists bend their efforts in preparing for war, but the question now has become whether the deficits are going to screw things up more than the tax cuts help things. For the purpose of the tax cuts was to make capital more available; however, the huge government borrowing made necessary by the deficits (in combination with tight money) will tend to squeeze out private corporate borrowing and drive up interest rates, thus making capital harder to come by. In other words, perhaps it would be a better tactic to scale back the tax cuts in order to scale back the budget deficits.

In the face of this Reagan has made a show of standing firm. At most he has appeared to offer a cosmetic concession, announcing in his press conference of Feb. 18 that he would be appointing a special commission "from the private sector" to "eliminate waste" in various federal departments. However, there have been hints coming from the administration of a willingness to consider a compromise. The most likely outcome is a modification of the tax cuts along with a minor reduction in the military budget as window dressing.

As a result, the imperialists may come up with a slightly different tactical approach to these intractable problems—or they may not. Either way, they will be unable to eliminate the deficits which plague them. Even the most optimistic estimates of revenues which might be gained from reversing tax cuts indicate large deficits remaining, especially since the expected continuing economic stagnation lowers government revenues and raises expenditures. They cannot eliminate either these problems or their necessity to redivide the world through war. They must continue to arm for this war against their Soviet rivals while at the same time seeking to buoy up the U.S. economy and stabilize the crisis in ways least disruptive to the unity of their imperialist bloc and to the stability of their international monetary system. The rub is that not only do these necessities come into contradiction with each other, but fulfilling these imperialist needs intensifies the underlying contradictions which brought these needs to the fore in the first place.



"Reagan the Economist" (1981) and a typically rosy prediction.

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

Un Llamado Internacionalista a la Acción el 1º de Mayo

en español

in Spanish

A los obreros, a los Oprimidos y a todos los que se atreven a luchar por el Futuro: Guerra Mundial y revolución. . . el choque de estas dos tendencias marca la llegada del 1º de Mayo, el Día Internacional del Obrero. Es lo que prepara el escenario—y manifiesta lo que está en juego—para las acciones de obreros revolucionarios en cada país.

El 1º de Mayo es la fiesta revolucionaria del proletariado internacional, una clase que de veras no tiene nada que perder más que sus cadenas que la amarran al sistema mundial de la esclavitud moderna y el asesinato modernos. Este día tiene un sólo significado auténtico: la resolución de todos los que son explotados y esclavizados, de todas las fuerzas que encarnan lo nuevo y lo naciente, de llevar a cabo la revolución en contra de este orden pervertido; la resolución de dar un salto hacia adelante—superando las barreras de idiomas, naciones y raza—hacia la abolición de todas las clases y las distinciones de clase, y acabando con la subyugación de una nacionalidad por otra, y de la mujer por el hombre, hacia la extinción de las guerras y de la los Estados nacionales mismos, y el rompimiento de todas las cadenas de la tradición. Y hay sólo un modo auténtico de celebrar esta fiesta: en lucha y rebelión, enarbolando la bandera roja hasta los cielos en cada rincón del globo, y luchando cuanto más posible hacia el futuro revolucionario.

La historia se desarrolla en solevantados estallidos que estallan repentinamente y vuelven a calmarse, sólo para estallar nuevamente, con más intensidad. Un conflicto de dimensiones profundas y literalmente estremecedoras subyace los temores de hoy.

De un lado, las potencias imperialistas de los bloques encabezados por EU y la URSS se preparan a librar la guerra, pateando en arena movediza (que existe por culpa de ellas mismas) intentando mantener sus imperios, mientras avanzan tambaleando hacia el conflicto nuclear. Arrastradas por la lógica maníaca de su sistema, también se ven impulsadas a infectar aún más a "sus propias" masas con esa lógica y a alinearlos para que se maten los unos a los otros bajo el rótulo de "libertad y democracia" (al estilo imperialista occidental) o de "justicia y liberación" (al estilo imperialista soviético).

¿Y en contra de ellos? La única cosa con que jamás cuentan: el espíritu y la lucha de las masas, difundiendo como fuegos subterráneos desde Gdansk hasta El Salvador y los campos de refugiados haitianos en Florida. Se oye esto en los gritos de la juventud—son los mismos acentos que hacen eco en las calles de Inglaterra y en las colinas de Eritrea—indicando de modo desafiador que el emperador está desnudo y desafiando su imperio. Se ve en los ojos que una vez más brillan de la visión de liberación que reflejan los fuegos en los cielos nocturnos. Se siente en el latido de los corazones que una vez más pulsán al compás de la marcha de trueno y del eco de iconos que se hacen añicos. La revolución—una llama roja que quema en las naciones oprimidas del mundo y que se alumbra hasta en las fortalezas centrales, los países imperialistas mismos, y el eslabón decisivo es el papel y el liderazgo revolucionarios del proletariado consciente de clase en cada país.

El encontronazo que se está preparando actualmente entre las fuerzas de la guerra imperialista y las de la revolución social serán la forja en que se fundirá el futuro. El 1º de Mayo, las fuerzas de la revolución tienen que dar un salto en cuanto a los preparativos.

Ese día tiene que brillar una visión: el embrión de un proletariado consciente de su carácter internacional y de su antagonismo respecto toda forma de reacción y de su misión histórica de llevar a cabo nada menos que la conquista del mundo. Lo que tiene que infundir las acciones comunes que se desarrollen en diferentes partes del globo tiene que ser la resolución de proceder, como lo dijo Lenin: "no desde el punto de vista de 'mi' país. . . sino desde el punto de vista de *mi participación* en la preparación, en la propaganda y en la aceleración de la revolución proletaria mundial".

Para desempeñar semejantes preparativos activa y urgentemente y encontrar los medios, sobre todo el 1º de Mayo, para avanzar este proceso, hay que hacer una ruptura con el peso muerto del pasado. Los ojos y los corazones revolucionarios tienen que enfocar la mira más allá del miserable nivel de seguidismo tras cualquier lucha que se presente, más allá de decirles a las masas lo que ya saben, manteniéndolas espiritualmente y políticamente dentro de los confines de su nación. También hay que deshacerse de la aritmética ilusoriamente sencilla pero cabalmente incorrecta según la cual las luchas populares—incluso las luchas revolucionarias—de cada país "equivalen" a una revolución mundial para reemplazarla con el cálculo revolucionario

del leninismo. Especialmente en una crisis aguda que será de dimensiones globales, también el proletariado tiene que tener una concepción del mundo y un enfoque globales, coordinando sus fuerzas como destacamentos de un ejército único. Aún adelantos en un solo país, o en varios países, pueden llevar al debilitamiento del edificio en ruina entero, y proveen posibilidades aún más amplias para la revolución mundial. De acuerdo a este espíritu y esta orientación, es urgente que las fuerzas conscientes de clase avancen hacia un programa común, una estrategia común, y una organización común a escala internacional de la tendencia comunista revolucionaria/internacionalista proletaria.

Quizás parezca que todo esto es un sueño—hasta una visión. ¡Pues bueno! Hoy día se requiere nada menos que visiones: visiones que penetren el velo de lo diario y lo aparentemente obvio para revelar las verdaderas causas fundamentales subyacentes. ¿Pues no le acusaban a Lenin en 1917 de ser visionario? ¿Y a Mao en 1966? Y sin embargo, ¿verdad que sus sueños cambiaron la faz del mundo y de la humanidad, y comprobaron ser más reales que las exhortaciones a escoger entre "el menor de los males" y a "ser realista"? Lo que determina los confines de este revisionismo y este reformismo es el marco del imperialismo y el statu quo. . . y hoy día esto llega una vez más en un tiempo en que los acontecimientos mundiales harán que coronas rodaran por las alcantarillas, proveyendo grandiosas oportunidades para los revolucionarios. ¿Pues no deberíamos nosotros también aspirar a las mismas alturas elevadas que escalaron Lenin y Mao?

He aquí este llamado del Partido Comunista Revolucionario, EU:

Que el 1º de Mayo atestigüe, en EU mismo, desencadenamientos de fábricas y escuelas, y una diversa actividad política revolucionaria de muchos tipos diferentes en las urbanizaciones, cárceles, esquinas, y en todas las esferas y plazas fuertes sagradas, indicando para millones no sólo aquí sino a través del mundo entero, que hoy mismo una creciente sección de la población está "preparando mentes y organizando fuerzas" para hacer la revolución en este bastión del imperialismo.

Pero más, que el 1º de Mayo, 1982, revele el sueño de la unidad proletaria internacional saliendo a relucir en acciones unificadas extendiéndose desde las naciones oprimidas por el imperialismo hasta las ciudades mismas del imperialismo; que presagie políticamente, aunque sea por un sólo día o dos, y que ayude en preparar el camino para los días no muy lejanos en que el proletariado liberará el territorio y tomará el Poder, un día por aquí, otro día por allá, forzados a retroceder sólo para lanzarse más hacia adelante, emancipando cuanto más del mundo posible de las cadenas perreras del imperialismo. Entonces, que el sol del 1º de Mayo brille en todas partes sobre banderas rojas de revolución, floreciendo como rosas rompiendo el concreto, indomitable vida en medio de los escombros y la putrefacción de los moribundos.

Partido Comunista Revolucionario, EU

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

en inglés

in English

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

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

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

History moves in restless outbursts that flare up and then subside, on-

ly to erupt again, still more intensely. Beneath today's tremors lies a conflict of profound and literally earthshaking dimensions.

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

And against them? The one thing they never reckon on—the revolutionary spirit and struggle of the masses, spreading like underground fires from Gdansk to El Salvador to the Haitian refugee camps of Florida. You can hear it in the shouts of the youth—the same accents echoing in England's streets and the foothills of Eritrea—defiantly pointing to the emperor's nakedness and challenging his empire. You can see it in the eyes that once again shine with a vision of liberation reflected in the fires of night-time skies. You can feel it in the heartbeats once more pulsing to the rhythm of charging feet and the echos of shattering icons. Revolution—a red flame burning in the oppressed nations of the world and stirring even in the central fortresses of the imperialist countries themselves, with the decisive link being the revolutionary role and leadership of the class-conscious proletariat in every country.

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

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

To actively and urgently carry out such preparations now, and to find the ways on May 1st especially to push this process forward, demands a rupture with the dead hand of the past. Revolutionary eyes and hearts must be set above the miserable level of tailing after whatever struggle comes to hand, telling the masses what they already know and keeping them spiritually and politically bound within the confines of their nation. The deceptively simple but thoroughly wrong arithmetic in which the struggles—even revolutionary struggles—of the people of each country "add up" to a world revolution must also be thrown off for the revolutionary calculus of Leninism. Especially in an acute crisis that will be global in its dimensions, the proletariat too must be global in its outlook and approach, coordinating its forces as detachments of a single army. Breakthroughs even in one or several countries lead to a weakening of the whole rotten enemy edifice and open up still wider world revolutionary possibilities. In this spirit and direction class-conscious forces must urgently go forward toward a common program, a common strategy and a common organization on an international scale of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend.

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

This call then from the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA:

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

But more, let May 1st, 1982 reveal the dream of international proletarian unity coming to life in unified actions stretching from the nations oppressed by imperialism into the very citadels of capital itself; let it politically foreshadow, if only for a day or two, and help prepare the way for, the not-too-distant days when the proletariat will liberate territory and seize power now here, now there, pushed back only to surge further forward, emancipating as much of the world as possible from the twisted chains of imperialism. Let then the May 1st sun shine everywhere on red flags of revolution, blooming like roses pushing up the concrete, unconquerable life amidst the rubble and decay of the dying.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

國際主義的號召要在五一節採取行動

en chino

in Chinese

致工人們、被壓迫者和所有敢於為前途而鬥爭的人們：

世界大戰和革命——這兩股潮流的衝突激蕩，標誌着五一國際工人節的來臨。這就為每個國家的革命工人們的行動佈置下舞台——以及定下了利害得失攸關。

五一節是國際無產階級的革命節慶，國際無產階級真正地是一個除了捆綁它到現代奴役和謀殺的世界性制度上去的鎖鍊之外毫無所失的階級。這一日只能有一個真實無偽的意義：所有那些被剝削和被奴役人、所有包含着新興事物的勢力下決心去進行革命到底，反對這扭曲的秩序，向前驅進的決心——跨過語言、民族和種族的障礙——朝向消滅所有的階級和階級差別，朝向抹除一個民族欺壓另一個民族、男人欺壓女人，朝向消滅戰爭和民族國家本身，以及粉碎所有傳統的鎖鍊。而且也只有

一個方式去真正地慶祝這個節日：從事鬥爭和造反，在全球的每一個角落高舉紅旗衝天，為革命的前途而盡我們所能地戰鬥前進到最遠的地步。

歷史是不息地以波浪式前進着，浪花衝激蔓延散開，之後消沉了下去，接着就又爆開，甚至更加地激烈。在今日的微動之下蘊藏着深刻的和毫不誇張地是震天撼地程度的衝突。

在一方面是美蘇兩帝為首的帝國主義列強集團在準備着大戰，在他們自己所造成的流沙中顛簸，試圖穩固住他們的帝國而同時正躊躇地傾向核子衝突大戰。不僅自己被他們的制度的狂人邏輯所驅迫着走在此途徑上，他們還被迫着那樣的邏輯去傳染病毒給"他們的"群眾，將他們排起隊來送上戰場，打着"自由和民主"(西方帝國主義樣式)或"正義和解放"(蘇聯帝國主義樣式)的旗幟去彼此廝殺對方。

而反對他們的是什麼呢？有一件東西他們永遠也不認識的——群眾的革命精神和鬥爭，像地之火到處蔓延，從格但斯克到薩爾瓦多到佛羅里達州的海地難民營。你可以從青年的怒吼聲中聽見它——同樣的聲調口香通蕩在英國的街道上和埃塞俄比亞的厄里特里亞山區里——頑抗不屈地指出皇帝的赤身露體和向他的帝國挑戰，你可以在其眼光中看見此，眼神再次閃耀着解放的想象和願見，反映在夜空的火光裡。你可以從其心跳聲中感覺到此，心跳再一次地隨着衝鋒步伐的旋律以及被砸碎的偶像的迴聲而加速脈動。革命——紅色的火焰燃燒在世界上被壓迫民族的裡，甚至在帝國主義國家本身裡這些核心壁壘中都激動飛舞着，而關鍵性的聯繫就是在每個國家中階級覺悟的無產階級的革命性角色和領導。

現今正在帝國主義戰爭與社會革命這兩股勢力之間建造起來的衝突，將會是鍛鑄未來的模子。在五一這一天，革命的勢力將在準備工作上作出一項飛躍。

在那天一項景象識見必須閃耀透出：一個無產階級的胚胎，這個無產階級自覺到其國際性格及其與反動事物的一切形式勢同火火的對抗性，以及認清其歷史性任務絕不能少於征服世界。灌注着在全球各個不同角落的工人們的共同行動的必須是這樣的決心：有如列寧所說的，"不是出自'我的'國家的觀點——而是出自我的職責本份去準備、宣傳、和加速世界無產階級革命這樣的觀點。"

為了要現在就積極地和緊迫地落實這樣的準備工作，以及為了要找

出特別是在五一那天推動這個過程向前的方法，這就要求我們與那種拖着我們停留在過去事物裡的毫無生機的手腳作出決裂。革命的眼光和心胸必須定得超過有如下述這般的可悲水平：尾隨在不論是什麼臨到頭上的鬥爭的屁股後面，告訴群眾他們自己早就已知道的事，和將他們在精神和政治上維持閉鎖在他們的民族圈子裡。那種以為每個國家的人民的鬥爭——即使革命的鬥爭——"加起來"就會成為世界革命的易使人受騙地簡單和徹底地錯誤的算術，必須也被拋棄掉，換上了列寧主義的微積分。尤其是在一場就其範圍來說是全球性的尖銳危機中，無產階級在其世界觀和態度方向上也必須是全球性的，作為單一軍隊的分遣隊而組織調配其力量。甚至在一個或幾個國家中的突破都導致整個的腐臭的敵人龐然大物的被削弱，而打開了甚至更為寬闊的世界革命的可能性。本着這樣的精神和方向，階級覺悟的勢力必須緊迫地朝着革命共產主義/無產階級國際主義潮流在國際範圍上的一個共同綱領、一個共同策略和一個共同組織的目標而邁步前進。

也許所有這些似乎像是在作夢.....甚至空想。好得很！今天所要求的若少於想象力就莫辨——舉透日常的和似乎是明顯的事物的遮掩面紗的想象力，顯出隱藏在底下的真正的奔騰主流。難道列寧在1917年不是被指控為一名空想家嗎？難道毛在1966年不是被指控為一名空想家嗎？然而難道不是他們的夢想，改變了世界和人類的面貌，而且證明了是比那些選擇"兩個惡魔中較少惡者"和"要現實實際啊"的呼籲號召要來得更為真實嗎？這個修正主義和改良其局限是由帝國主義和現狀的結構架子所決定的.....而再一次地看看此時，當今世界局勢將要令到王公的皇冠滾落到臭水溝中，為革命者展開偉大的機會之際。難道我們不也必須立下崇高志向，攀登上會由列寧和毛登上的同樣高峰嗎？

因此，就有以下這項由美國革命共產黨發出的號召：

讓五一那天目睹經歷到，就在美國本身裡，從工廠和學校中的衝破囚籠，在政府廉租屋、監獄、街角和每一個神聖不可侵犯的領域和強硬據點裡進行許多不同種類的革命性政治活動，向數以百萬計不只是在這裡而且是在全世界各地的人民發出訊號，說明此處確實有一股日益成長的部份人民，甚至在今日都已在這個帝國主義的強大堡壘內"準備人們的思想，組織起力量"去幹革命。

但尤有甚者，讓1982年的五一顯示出：國際無產階級團結的夢想由於帝國主義壓迫的國家延伸到資本的正宗大本營本身裡的統一行動而成為活生生的現實；讓該日預兆出，即使僅僅一兩天也罷，而且幫助為那不遠的將來當無產階級將解放領土和奪取政權的時日而預鋪下道路，這樣的解放領土和奪取政權也許今日在此、明日在彼出現，被打退後也

只不過下次高潮會衝殺得更遠更前，從帝國主義的扭曲鎖鍊下盡可能地解放出最大量的世界。到那時讓五一的太陽照耀在每個地方的革命紅旗上，像玫瑰般地盛開花朵，在垂死事物的廢墟和衰敗之中挺立出具體的、不可征服的生命。

美國革命共產黨 敬啟

這是一份號召書草稿。我們希望不同的人士和團體將以不同的語言廣泛地傳播它。作出以及收集對它的批評和建議，並在三月底之前將這些意見匯交給我們，以便我們能將此號召書以最後定稿的形式重新發表——這全部將俾助在五一那天更為強大有力的國際主義行動。

美國革命共產黨 地址: P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart

Chicago, IL 60654



May Day demonstration in Tigray.

Manifestación del Primero de Mayo en Tigré.

این فراخوان است از طرف RCP حزب کمونیست انقلاب آمریکا

بگذارید اول ما همه در قوه انقلابی که کنش از ما جدا و مدرک واقع مملکت نیست امر انقلاب لایه ای خانه سازی، زندان، توتش با خیارها و پلچک های اصلاح طرح بر تفرقه (امپریالیسم) باشد و به سرزنش از مردم، ترغیبی بچه های دانشات و هم که واقع بخش رجال مذهبی وجود دارد که حتی در این زمان مشغول آماده گات اندیشه کمونیستی برای انقلاب دینت با یکدیگر هم پر ایسم است.

ولی بیشتر از این، بگذارید اول ما همه ۱۹۸۲ رویای اتحادیون ریک بین المللی را که بعینت اقدامات متحد سوسیالیستی همایه داشته اند، انقلاب کنگه ملت های ستوده فرسای امپریالیسم بدینت خود پایتخت های سوسیالیست شده، بگذارید اولی که سوسیالیست، خودشان دهه، اگر حق فقط برای یک دو دهه، و در آنک راه بر اینک کوشیده برای آن از حال که جهالت ده نیستند، وفق که برون دنیا ما را از اولی کنند و قدرت را به دست آسانی باید، قدرتی که بر سینه زخمی ها فرشته امپریالیسم از آنک گرفته شده است. پس بگذارید اول ما همه بر همه پرچم سرخ انقلاب بدر فضا، مانند گل که سرخ بشکند، رنگرنگت رنگت تا پیروز از میان ذرات و هرگز بر جبر سرقه.

حزب کمونیست انقلاب آمریکا

همه است ملت سحرشنگ نمی دارند. مجبور می ساست بقا هر ساده ولی بطور کل غلط از هر سازه ای - حق مبارزات انقلاب - کرده ها که به انقلاب جوان "ازده" می شوند باید از ساسات با نهایت انقلاب بنیسم برداشته شوند. بخرم در بر اینی که ایجادشان جوانی خواهند بود، بردت و با هم باید با هیرو جوان بر بیره ها در اینک کرد و همگی برده هایش را باید بر بشر ارتقی واحد در اینک جوان دارد همه، پسرشوی ریک یا چند کشور می فرانسه بر کیفیت سرمان کننده و دشمن کم زنده و دینی بر ستمی از املک است انقلاب با باز نماید. در این جزو سیه، نزدیک طبقه آنگاه، ضرورتی باید بر طبقه یک بر نده مشترک، یک ستم از این ستم است. و یک ستمی است ستم که در سطح جنبش بین المللی انقلاب کومنیست... پرودای یک جهات همایه دارد.

شاید قایل اینها هستید بیا... حق جنبه روزی طبقه آید. بسیار خوب! هیچ چیزی که از نصیب است... تعریفی که آن برده اند و که نظریه بر وضع املک های واقعی که بر آن بوده شده است که بکنند... امروز از زمانی باشد. همکاران کمونیست بود که در سال ۱۹۱۷ بر بدست بر اصلاح حقایق بدست بود و اگر بکنید که بکنید... است بکنید؟ این روزی بنیسم و فریسم است... واقعیت است که با جدایی سید قایل از امپریالیسم و آس بدست... بشرفی که در سینه و در باره زمان فرا برسد که وقایع دنیا تاج های فرمانروان از جریبان مملکت و فرصت ای بزرگ برای انقلابیون فراهم می آید. پس آیا ما نباید آن هدف بلند والای که کمونیست ما را داشته اند تسلیم کنیم؟

برودای تمام شده بعد؟ و مگر ما از سینه که در سال ۱۹۱۷ بر همین امر ستمگشت؟ عملی این همه ستمگرها با اینک که در دنیا بیشتر است با عرض نخواهند و حیثیت آزادی بیشتر از آن فرات است ثابت که کورنده بر ستم است شاید شده بر می است که بدست ای ستوده چه نام میسوزد، حتی در کار فداک نظامی و در قوه کشوری امپریالیست انقلابی است.

بر خودی که کمونیست بینت برودای جنگ امپریالیست و انقلاب سوسیالیستی در گرفته می شده، بمرزی ظاهر بود بر آینه که اجرا می شود. در روز اول ما همه، برده های انقلاب باید قوی برای تهیه مقدمات آن بچیند دارند. در آن روز با یک تصویر را هم بدیده شد؛ نظریه برودای آنگاه از شخصیت از سیرالیستی خود سیرالیست با هم شکل عقیده منکره و از سرت قوی از برای تجزی که از سیرالیست. بدون اقدامات مشترک بر سرت کارگران را که فقط که در زمین باید با ستم پیش هر که باشد در مملکت کمونیست طرفت در وقت است از نقطه نظر کمونیست... بلکه با بدید ستم در تیره مقدمات، در تیغ و در شتاب انقلاب برودای جهان باشد.

در این زمان برای یک جنبش آنگاه را بصورت فعال و مردمی پیش ببریم. بفرسوی برای بافتن راهی پیش برد در اول ماه ستم ستم بر بدست از آنک ستمه فراهم بود. چشم و جبهی و انقلاب باید از آنک ستم بر دست و درگیر کرد که بر چال هر تراش که در دست باشد و چسبند و برودای ما می ای که کمونیست که آنک از پیش می دانند که آنک را از این طریقی میسر در

1 Mayıs'ta Uluslararası Dayanışmaya Çağrı

en turco In Turkish

İşçi Sınıfına, Ezilenlere, Gelecek için savaşanlara: Dünya savaşı ve Devrim... Bu iki olayın çelişkisi yaklaşıyor. Yaklaşmakta olan 1 Mayıs'ı gündeme getiriyor. Yaklaşmakta olan 1 Mayıs her ülkenin devrimci işçileri için devingen bir süreç ve onların çıkarımları için bir sahne belirliyor.

1 Mayıs, (kendisini günümüzde varolan köleliğe, kıyıma bağlayan) zincirlerinden başka kaybedecek şeyleri olmayan uluslararası proleteryanın devrimci bayramıdır. Bu günün vurguladığı bir başka önemli nokta ise; ezilenlerin, köleleştirilmişlerin dil, ulus ve ırk engellerini aşarak, ulusalcılığın zincirlerini kırarak, kadın/erkek gözeteksizin, sınıf kargaşasının ortadan kaldırmak için, savaşları yok etmek için, bozuk düzenleri yıkmak için yükselen bu gücün, alışlagelmiş yokeden kararlılığıdır. Gerçekten bu günü kutlamanın tek yolu vardır; savaşım vererek, kızıl bayrağı yer yüzünün her köşesinde göğe açarak ve devrimci gelecek için dövüşerek.

Tarih sonsuz bir devinin içinde, yükselip alçalıyor yeniden ve daha şiddetli patlamak üzere. Bugün hissettiğimiz sarsıntılar gerçekte dünyayı sarsan boyutlardadır.

Bir yanda, Amerikan ve Sovyet yanlısı kutuplar savaşa hazırlanmakta ve nükleer savaşa yol açacak bir bataklıkta imparatorluklarını sürdürmek uğraşındadırlar. Batılı emperyalistlerin "özgürlük ve demokrasi", Sovyet emperyalizminin "adalet ve kurtuluş" adları altında açtıkları bayraklarla ve sistemlerinin hasta mantığı ile güdümlere oluşturulmuş tavırları ise kitlelerini, birbirlerini öldürmek için sıraya sokmuştur.

Ayrımında olmadıkları bir şey, devrimci inancın ve savaşımın Gdansk'tan El Salvador'a, ve Florida'daki Haiti iltica kamplarına kadar uzanan ateşidir. Aynı ateşi, Eritre cephesindeki yada İngiltere sokaklarındaki gençlerin sesinde, Kral'a çıplak olduğunu hatırlatan çocuğun inancı gibi duyabilirsiniz. Aynı ateşi özgürlük düşü ile parlayan ve geceye yansıyan gözlerde görürsünüz, yürüyüşün ayak sesinde, devrilen putların yankısında hissedersiniz. Devrim - Sömürülen ülkelerde ve hatta emperyalizmin kendi şatosunda bile yanan kızıl bir alevdir. Ve devrim ile devrimcilik sınıf bilinci olan proleteryanın liderliğini her ülkede oluşturmuştur.

Emperyalist savaş güçleri ile Devrimci oluşumun çarpışması geleceği belirleyecektir 1 Mayıs'ta devrimci güçler bunu karşılamak için birleşmelidir.

1 Mayıs'ta şu görüş paylaşılmalıdır: Proleter bilincin çekirdeği, onun uluslararası kişiliği, tarihsel görevi ve her türlü reaksiyona karşı tavır dünyayı ellerimize almak istediğimiz doğrultusunda olmalıdır. Dünyanın değişik köşelerindeki işçilerin ortak hareketi, Lenin'in şu sözü ile belirlenmeli, "Dünya proleter devrimi süreci içinde, hazırlık, ivme ve propoganda için gerekli görev, 'benim ülkem için' şeklinde değil, buda bana düşen pay" nedir, şeklinde olmalıdır.

Bu hazırlıkları aktif ve çabuk oluşturmak için ve 1 Mayıs'ta bu gelişimi daha da ön plana çıkarmak için geçmişteki cansız oluşumlardan arınmak gereklidir. Devrimci gözler ve kalbler, onlerine ilk çıkan uğraşa kapılmamaları için ve kitlelere sadece içinde buldukları konuyu açıklamakla yetinip, onları ülkelerinin kaderi ile sınırlandırmamaları için eğitilmelidirler. Her savaşımın - içlerinde devrimci savaşımında olabilir - dünya çapında bir devrime katılmada bulunacağını sanmak basit ama yanlış bir hesaptır ve Leninist yaklaşım gereği dışlanmalıdır. Özellikle yüksek gerilimli ve çok boyutlu sorunlara proleteryanın bakış açısında çok boyutlu olmalıdır. Proleter güç, bir ordunun bölükleri gibi şekillendirilmelidir. Bir tek veya birkaç ülkede, bozuk yapıları sarsacak olaylar dünya çapında devrimci bir oluşuma yol açabilir. Bu bağlamda sınıf bilincine sahip güçler ortak bir program altında, ortak bir strateji ve ortak bir organizasyon ile devrimci Komünist/proleter enternasyonalist harekette birleşmelidir.

Bütün bunlar bir rüya hatta hayal gibi gelebilir. Guzell! Hayalden öte şeyler değildir - günümüzde peçeyi kaldırıp arkasını gören - ve aranan bugün. 1917'de Lenin değil miydi hayalcilikle suçlanan? 1966'da Mao? Ve onların düşleri değil miydi dünyanın çehresini değiştiren ve "ehven-i ser" veya "gerçekci olalım" gibi sahte seçenekleri çürüten? Bu revizyonizm ve reformizm sınırları emperyalizm ile belirlenen bir gerçekçiliktir. Ve bugünler devrimcilere yeni seçenekler getirmektedir. Lenin ve Mao'nun aştığı engelleri bizinde aşabileceğimizi ummamalıyız?

A.B.D. Devrimci Komünist Partisinin Çağrısı: Sizi 1 Mayıs'ta, A.B.D.'de ki fabrikalarda, okullarda, hapishanelerde, sokaklarda, devrimci politik devinimi olan her yerleşim oduğunda, sadece buradaki değil, dünyanın her yerindeki milyonlara hissettirmecesine, bu emperyalizmin kalesinde, geleceğe düşünür yetiştiren ve gücünü birleştiren bu kitlenin varlığına şahit olmaya ve harekete geçmeye davet ediyoruz.

1 Mayıs 1982 uluslararası proleter dayanışmayı ve beraberliği simgesin. Bu güç emperyalizmin ezdiği ülkelerde kaynaklanmaktadır. Sonu gelmiştir emperyalizmin, günleri sayılıdır. Uzak olmayan o güzel günlere hazırlanan, yardımcı olun. Proleterya her yerde gücü eline alacak ve dünyayı emperyalist zincirlerden kurtaracaktır. 1 Mayıs'ta, kızıl bayrakları devrimin dalgalsın, betonda biten güller gibi, güneş ışığı saçılınsın her yere, yaşam ölümlü yensin.

A.B.D. Devrimci Komünist Partisi.

Bu birleşmeye bir çağrıdır. Değişik organizasyonların, değişik insanların bunu değişik dillere aktaracağını umuyoruz. Eleştiri ve tavsiyeleri toplayın ve Mart'tan önce bize yollayın ki son haliyle yayınlıyabilelim. Horscy 1 Mayıs'ta daha güçlü uluslararası devrim için. RCP,USA, Box 3486, Chicago Ill. 60654, USA.

فراخوان جهانی برای بزرگاری روز اول ماه مه

en persa in Farsi

تمام زیردانی نیست. پس ما همیشه منتظر کسی که برای ما جشن گرفته است روز و مردود دارد. در سبزه و شورش و نگار و شمشیر و پرچم سرخ تا آسمانها و در نقطه از زمین، و سبزه و آبی که در دست داریم و نایبانه انقلاب.

تاریخ جشن و خورشید بدون وقفه پیش میرود و انهدار میاید و بی درمیتن قوتش کرده. اما قوی تر و گویا از آن تر برای انهدار میاید. زیر کوشش امروز، تصادف است همین به ابعاد تکلیف جهانی قدر گرفته است.

از طرف قدرت ای پراپراریستی بدست آورید و شدیدی برای جنگ آمده شده. خود را بسنگینزه می خودم خود از انهدار و در حدی که در نقطه بر طرفی خود دارند. بطرف سب بر خدای بر پیش می آید. در سبزه که از وسط منطق در براند سیستم خود مانده شده. همیشه رفته بسوی آن که در کلمات زده می شود. آنکه با رصف کرده تا همیگر اولوی پریم. آنکه از کوه و کوهی (شیره پراپراریستی عرب) و با عدالت در عالم. انهدار پراپراریستی شوروی و قدره انهدار.

و همیشه آنکه یک مسئله که هرگز بر طرفی خود نمی آید. همیشه سبزه را و انقلاب را است که در کوشش از زمین از کوشش تا اس لوماد و تا آنکه این همه جانات هایتی در خور باشد و نیستند. زیر کوشش آنرا در فریاد می جوانان بشنوی... درست همین تناقضی است که با انگلیست و تپه ای ایتره میسر میسر. فقط آنکه پراپراریستی در کوشش نشد رفته و بر طرفی میسر به سبزه نایبند. در میان آن آنرا در جوشان میاید. و بگر از انگلیست قدر آنرا در کوشش ای آنکه از طرفی در کوشش میاید.

می توان آنرا در پیش قیام حال که به آنکس با ای به خورشید و شمشیر قدر رقیقتر تصادف بر آنکه از زمین از کوشش میسر کنی. انقلاب... چقدر تغییر کرده و نقش انقلابی در هر یک از این ایگاه هر کشور.

پاره گران، زحمتش و تمام کن در دست سبزه برای آنکه دارند. جنگ جهانی و انقلاب... بر خور اولی و درین شمشیر کشته و جسته اول ماه مه روز جهانی که گران میباشند... این زمینه را برای اقدام انقلابی در هر کشوری قرار میداد.

اول ماه مه یکسکه جشن انقلابی در آن برای این است و طبقه ای که حقیقتا برزی برای از دست دادن فکر برای و با سنگین اش به رسمت جوانی عصر جدید جنیست و برده ای ندارد. اما این روز یکسکه معنی روشن دلد: معزم تمام آنرا که دستدار شده و به یکدیگر کشیده شده، تمام آن نیرویانی که یکسکه فواید در دست گرفته، بر پایی انقلاب علیه این نظم خط، تصمیم برای فرزند به هر دو... آنرا در کوشش در میان دست، زبان و نژاد... بوسه ناپودی جنگ و نیستند و ایست آنرا در اوضاع آنرا که



This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in different languages, make criticisms of it and forward them to us before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more powerful internationalist actions on May 1st. RCP, USA, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.

Un Appello Internazionalista all'Azione per il Primo Maggio

en Italiano

in Italian

Ai lavoratori, gli oppressi e tutti quelli che osano combattere per il futuro:

La Guerra Mondiale e la Rivoluzione... lo scontro di queste due tendenze segna l'arrivo del Primo Maggio, giornata internazionale del lavoratore. Queste preparano la scena e la posta su cui si svolgono le azioni dei lavoratori rivoluzionari in ogni paese.

Il Primo Maggio è la festa rivoluzionaria del proletariato internazionale, una classe che veramente non ha nulla da perdere fuorché le catene che la legano al sistema mondiale della schiavitù moderna e dell'eccidio. Il significato di questo giorno non è che uno: la determinazione di tutti gli sfruttati e gli schiavi, di tutte le forze che incarnano il nuovo e nascente, di fare rivoluzione contro questo ordine contorto; la determinazione di fare un balzo in avanti — oltrepassando le barriere di lingua, nazione e razza — verso l'abolizione di tutte le classi e le loro distinzioni, verso l'eliminazione del soggiogamento di un popolo ad un altro, delle donne agli uomini, verso l'estinzione delle guerre e delle nazioni stesse, e verso la rottura di tutte le catene della tradizione. Non c'è che una maniera di celebrare veramente questa festa: nella lotta e nella ribellione innalzando la bandiera rossa verso il cielo in ogni angolo della terra e avanzando il più avanti possibile verso il futuro rivoluzionario.

La storia si muove in scoppi senza sosta che s'infiammano e poi si attenuano, soltanto per erompere di nuovo ancora più intensamente. Sotto le scosse di oggi si nasconde un conflitto di dimensioni profonde e da far letteralmente tremare la terra.

Da una parte entrambe le potenze imperialistiche degli Stati Uniti e del blocco dell'Unione Sovietica si preparano per la guerra, dimenandosi nelle sabbie mobili di loro fattura, mentre cercano di mantenere saldi i loro imperi tendendo allo stesso tempo l'agguato del conflitto nucleare.

Spinti su questo corso dalla logica demente del loro sistema, sono anche costretti ad infettere ulteriormente le "loro" masse con quella logica e le schierano per uccidersi a vicenda sotto la bandiera di "libertà e democrazia" (stile USA) o "giustizia e liberazione" (stile sovietico).

E contro loro? L'unica cosa da essi mai considerata — lo spirito rivoluzionario e la lotta di massa, che si allarga come un fuoco sotterraneo da Gdansk a El Salvador ai campi dei profughi Haitiani in Florida. Si può sentire tutto questo nelle grida dei giovani — gli stessi toni echeggiano nelle strade d'Inghilterra e nelle colline d'Eritrea — che con accento di sfida puntano il dito alla "nudità dell'imperatore" e fronteggiano il suo impero. Tutto ciò si può vedere negli occhi che ancora una volta brillano di una visione di liberazione riflessa nei fuochi di cieli notturni. Si può sentire ancora una volta nei palpiti che pulsano a ritmo di passi incalzanti e negli echi delle icone mandate a pezzi. La rivoluzione — una fiamma rossa che si accende tra le nazioni oppresse del mondo, riverberando perfino nelle fortezze centrali, gli stessi paesi imperialisti, e il cui decisivo anello di congiunzione consiste nel ruolo rivoluzionario e la direzione del proletariato con coscienza di classe di ogni paese.

Lo scontro che sta ora crescendo tra le forze di guerra imperialista e della rivoluzione sociale sarà la fucina in cui il futuro sarà forgiato. Il Primo Maggio le forze della rivoluzione devono fare un balzo avanti nelle loro iniziative. In quel giorno una visione deve risplendere: l'embrione del proletariato cosciente del suo carattere internazionale e del suo antagonismo a tutte le forme di reazione, e della sua storica missione di conquistare niente meno che tutto il mondo. Infusa nelle azioni comuni dei lavoratori nei diversi angoli della terra dev'essere la determinazione di avanzare, come Lenin c'insegna, "Non dal punto di vista del "mio" paese... ma dal punto di vista della mia parte nella preparazione, nella propaganda e nell'acceleramento della rivoluzione proletaria nel mondo".

È necessario operare una rottura con il peso morto del passato per portare avanti attivamente e con urgenza tali preparativi ora, e per trovare i modi specialmente il Primo Maggio per fare avanzare questo processo. Occhi e cuori rivoluzionari devono puntare al di sopra di questo miserabile livello di accodamento a qualsiasi tipo di lotta che sorga spontaneamente istruendo le masse su ciò che già sanno e mantenendole spiritualmente e politicamente incatenate tra i confini della propria nazione. L'aritmetica ingannevolmente semplice ma completamente sbagliata per cui le lotte — perfino le lotte rivoluzionarie — del popolo di ciascuna nazione si "assommano" a una rivoluzione mondiale dev'essere anch'essa abbattuta a favore del calcolo differenziale rivoluzionario del Leninismo. Specialmente durante una crisi acuta che avrà dimensioni globali, il proletariato dev'essere anch'esso globale nel suo approccio e nella sua visione, coordinando le sue forze come distaccamenti di un singolo esercito. Breccie anche in uno o molti paesi conducono all'indebolimento dell'intero marcio edificio nemico e aprono ancora più vaste possibilità rivoluzionarie nel mondo. In questo spirito e direzione le forze coscienti di classe devono urgentemente avanzare verso un programma, una strategia e un'organizzazione comune a scala internazionale della tendenza comunista rivoluzionaria, internazionalista proletaria.

Forse tutto ciò può sembrare un sogno... o perfino una visione. Bene, benone! Niente meno di una visione — visioni che sfondino il velo del giornaliero e ovvio apparente per rivelare la vera forza motrice che si cela sotto — è necessario oggi. Non fu Lenin nel 1917 accusato di essere un visionario? E Mao nel 1966? Eppure non furono i loro sogni a cambiare la faccia del mondo e dell'umanità, provandosi più reali che gli appelli a scegliere il "minore dei due mali" e all'essere "realistici"? Questo revisionismo e riformismo è un "realismo" i cui confini sono determinati dallo scheletro dell'imperialismo e dello status quo... e arriva ancora oggi quando gli eventi mondiali manderanno le corone a rotolare nel fango aprendo grandi opportunità per i rivoluzionari, non dovremmo noi pure aspirare alle grandi altezze scalate da Lenin e da Mao?

Questo l'appello, dunque, da parte del Partido Comunista Rivoluzionario, U.S.A.:

Facciamo sì che il Primo Maggio sia testimone, entro gli Stati Uniti stessi, di uscite di massa dalle fabbriche e dalle scuole, e attività politiche rivoluzionarie di molti tipi diversi, nei quartieri popolari, nelle prigioni, agli angoli ed in ogni sacra sfera e nelle fortezze segnalando a milioni non solamente qui ma intorno al mondo che c'è in verità una sezione crescente che anche ora "prepara le menti ed organizza le forze" per la rivoluzione in questo bastione dell'imperialismo.

Ma ancor di più, facciamo sì che il Primo Maggio 1982 riveli il sogno dell'unità del proletariato internazionale, che viene a vita in azioni unitarie che si spandono dalle nazioni oppresse dall'imperialismo fino alle cittadelle del capitale stesso: Facciamo sì che sia di presagio politico, anche se per un giorno o due, e che aiuti a preparare la strada per il giorno non troppo lontano quando il proletariato libererà il territorio e prenderà potere, ora qui, ora là, indietreggiando solo per avanzare ulteriormente, liberando quanta parte possibile del mondo dalle catene contorte dell'imperialismo. Facciamo sì che il sole del Primo Maggio risplenda dappertutto sulle bandiere rosse della rivoluzione come rose che sbucano dal cemento,

vita invincibile tra le rovine e il marciume di ciò che sta morendo.

Partido Comunista Rivoluzionario, USA

Questo è un progetto d'appello. Speriamo che diverse persone e organizzazioni lo circolino in diverse lingue, facciano e raccolgano critiche e ce le presentino prima della fine di marzo, così che possa essere pubblicato di nuovo in forma definitiva — contribuendo così ad ancor più potenti iniziative internazionaliste il Primo Maggio.

RCP/USA

Box 3486 Chicago, IL 60654, USA

Internationalistam Extana Mayam Etangigan Awamngan

en aleutiano

in the Aleut language

Awasnekan ngan, sakalegan aganan amey angagen usungin egatikan sakutn-angin wuyamulu ngan:

Slum aletxu amey slox tsin esxanaxtax... Wakun txechin utxethun Mayagan etangi ulgana txih ukuchgethukox. Slum usungin awasnekanngin angali. Wey anagen tanamchin ilan agali... amey anagen akalegan aganangin... slum txin esxanangan awasnekanngin manangin ngan tanam usungin ilan.

Mayam etangin slum txin esxanangan angalim anguna akox slum usu awasnekan sakalegan etalaganan, wayengin anagen ekethukalkegan taga kesetainangin slum chemekagan ilan wuyam matakniin anagen malgangin talthax amey asxathgox. Atakan atxasex qalaxtanax wan angalim ngan malgakox: Amakun sakalegan aganangin amey talagnangin anuxtanachin akatali, usungin txichin uli tagatham angegnangin amey akalegan aganangin, Slox txin esxanaxtax amakun atxagnanginulu enguli: Kathim athan exetegan anuxtasathali—tunox, tanax amey angam etxalaxtangin usungin ageli—angagen usungin txechin lethtaxtan angagen akalegan athunulu sakalegan txechin atxakthaxtan, amey ayagan amey tayagan txechin lethtaxtan, aletxun masakthaxtan, amey tumin achetanan tumin kesatthanganin eselgali. Atakan agachetha malgakox matakniin wan angalim anguna examnatax: Kaslugeli amey anagen atxagchix-anulu esxanali, kachemotham ulutha soxtali enimathan slum chimikagan ilan, sakuli kathamathan anan sanax ulgathukagan ilan wuyamulu slum txin esxanax-tagan ngan.

Slum ilan malgakangin kegnax lethali kogthakun amey tatam txichin sakax-tethakun, taga tatam kogthakun tamnan angunesi. Wuyam anagen malganangin ngan.



May Day 1981 Chicago

Primero de Mayo 1981, Chicago



May 1st in West Germany, 1981—thousands of immigrant workers and German youth disrupted traditional, reformist sponsored May 1st rallies with revolutionary internationalism.

Primero de Mayo 1981 en Alemania Occidental miles de obreros inmigrantes y jóvenes alemanes trastornaron las concentraciones tradicionales y reformistas del Primero de Mayo con el internacionalismo revolucionario.

Inssetxan achan wan slox kum ayugnekox.

Atakan athan machgethgo kayungin wan tanam ilan amey kasakan aletxum ngan txichin atxaxtekon, wakun alax tanan tukungin anagechin anakamchin txichin asxatexan istakun. "takaxtax amey angagem extanangin malgaxtan" (wan tanam ilan tukum machsethangnulu istanangin) athunulu "atxagen amey takacheglganan" (Kasakum tukun machxethngnulu istanangin)

Amey athan anungnulu? Atakan akatnangin ulu—anagen txichin isganangin ange amey angagen usungin txichin isxanangin, tanam setxan kegnax lethali (Gdanskax El Salvadoras athan Haitinam kekoxtam tanathan athan Floridam mayu. Akasagun imichxanangin tutakoxtxin—tatam Engldam akalogun ilan amey kayam setxan Eritream ilan—tukum anunangin kachxemchin angathan athan amey tanangin atxagtegan. Tatam ukoxtakun than tatam agethnangin patretax achextam ilan takali kegnan txichin ukuchgeli angalkingamchasam inignin.

Kanogen tunganangin ilan tutakun tatam tugali ketam angunisi akanangin amey ubrusan sexalanganangin. Anagen txin esganangin—Kegnax ulutha atali tanam sakaligan aganangin slum ilan amey txin ayugnili achextam ulang in ilan keya, tanam machxethngnulu key, anagen txichin esganangin awa amey tuku wakun angagen thakage akanangin tanam usungin ilan.

Wan txichin utxinangin angagen machxithnangnulu aletxu amey angagem txichin esganangin wuyamulu ngan txichin ukuchgethukun. Mayam etangi, waku n txichin esganangin exethukun txichin atxagtegan.

Aman angalim ilan ikogananx athegagan extakox. Wakun txichin esganangin chetha tanan usungin lethnangin amey amakun anagen usungin atxachegganulu, wan slox soxtan. Awasnekan usungin txichin uli txichin agetali awali slum tanam itxalaxtan ilan Leninam extaqa, "ting tanang istalakan. taga elagonsangin wan txin esxanam ngan, anagan ngin sakuli, amey slum txin isxana kayutoxta."

Awali amey angunisi anugnanan mali weya, amey Mayam etanegan ilan malgagan ukulgali wan anaganax ingaligan asxali, aman cham asxaxta yam mayu sextechxegagan iltakox.

Anagen txichin esganaxtam thaki amey kanogen akalegan istagn estakun nan nanax kosan thakolextax akathun, angagen usungin ngin nganegali akatnangin n amey kanogengin aqalegan axtali amey tanam chin ilan malganangin ilan ali Anagen malganangin atsatali samilkegan wan slum ilan, qaslugalnanangin Revolunonarim qaslugasnanin keya—angagen tanam usungin ilan txin "samikox" slum txin esganangan keyarevolutinam samina Leninam angetqanginsaminagan ngan.

Angagen usungin slum ilan malganangin ukox tagn istakun tamnan atgagulu malgan ilan slum chemeka athgathukun, angagen anagen txichin esxanaxtan anutanangin slum chimika ukoxtagan istakun, slum ukoxtanangin amey mataknin txin esxanaxtax athan, kayuchin ataan armegan ilan. Anagen txichin esganali ataqan tanam ilan athunulu tanam agetasam ilan wan angathutam sextagan ula kayutogolu etethukox amey tamnan slum txin esgana agathukox. Wan angetali amey athan uyanachin akatali wakun angagen txichin angathutlakan, txichin agetali awali slum usu angetali anagen txichin esganangin Cummunistam angagen sakulegan aganangin slum usu athan uyana.

Wan usu sagam ilan ukogna letham sukox...ukoknetha keya. examnakox! ukoknetham ilan setgogex alakax...ukoknethan kachemotham antuchkayulu unatili angalim usungin amey anagen atxagnangin setxamathan ukuchxeli—anugakun wuyam. Leninax 1917 igan ilan ukoknethali iltakax eh?

Maax keya 1966 an ilan? Snageqangin slum sethaqotha amey angagen isxanan, amey tamnan atxageli amakun kethalanan "machethnulu ilan angunlakan" amey "atxaxtali anagen ukoxtali"? Wan anagen esxalanganangin anagen tatxganangin ilan amey tatam anagen malganangin esxanalangan "aqatalganax akox" machxethganulu awunangin emunugin ilan txichin awukun amey angagen usulegan angethanan ilan...amey tatam wuyam slum ilan malganangin kamgin kothan chogathna sakaligan setxim ilan etethukun, angagen anagen txichin esxanaxtan anutanangin ngan anagen examnangin agathukun. Tumin keya Leninax amey Maax lethali akalegan angekangin soxtaxtan lethakun.

Weya eganax Revolunonarim (anagen txichin esxanangin) Comunistam Partigan ilan, USA! Mayam etangi ukuchgetha, wan tanam ilan anakam, awam ulagan ilan amey achegulum ulan ilan txichin taqali, amey anagen txichin esxanangan politicalum manangin etxaglaxtangin ulum chegathamchin ilan, ilan angagen achetalangan, akalogen amey anagen examnax etagana ilan amey kayutna, angagen achan amnagangin ngan signaligali walegan agachitha ulu taga slum chimikagan ilan anagen txichin atxatinangin txichin awukun weya "kamgin txichin atxatili amey anagen txichin uli kayutuli" wan anagen txichin esganangin ngan wan angagen machxethnangulu ulam kayutugan ilan.

Taga tatam, Mayam etangi, 1982 ugam ilan slum chimekagan angagen sakalegan aganangin sngagengin ukuchxetax txichin uli angage akali txichin agetali tanam sakaligan aganangin .wakun angagen machxethnangulu ilan ulangin examnathnangin anutasnangin amey aqaligan axtanangin ilan; politicali uqochgetha, atakan athunulu alag angilum ilan, amey ilagoli athan uyalgana athan, amatgangolu analengin angagen sakuligan aganangin tanan takachgeli amey waligan kayutunax suli, weya amalegan, tumin qesetnan engulgali amakun tukun machxennangulu ilan. Mayam etangi athegachgetha awan usugan flakum uluthagan anagen txichin esxagan ngan, chexongin aganangin lethali, tanam nogenengin akalegan inguli, angim ungasgathukay—ulu keqagnam amey sextinax tanaxthan mayungin.

Revolunonarim (anagen txichin esxanangin) Communistam Partigan, USA

Un Appel Internationaliste à l'Action le Premier Mai

en français

In French

Aux Ouvriers, aux Opprimés et à Tous Ceux qui Osent Lutter pour le Futur:

La Guerre Mondiale et la Révolution... Le conflit de ces deux tendances marque l'approche du Premier Mai, le Jour International des Ouvriers. C'est ce qui prépare la scène—et les intérêts en jeu—pour les actions des ouvriers révolutionnaires dans tous les pays.

Le 1er Mai est le jour de fête révolutionnaire du prolétariat international, une classe qui n'a vraiment rien à perdre que les chaînes qui l'attachent à un système mondial d'esclavage et d'assassinat modernes. Ce jour n'a qu'une signification authentique: la résolution de tous ceux qui sont exploités et asservis, de toutes les forces qui incarnent ce qui est nouveau et naissant, de mener à bout la révolution contre cet ordre perverti; la résolution de faire un bond en avant—passant au-delà des barrières de langage, de nation et de race—vers l'abolition de toutes les classes et distinctions de classe, pour en



May Day 1980 Detroit

Primero de Mayo 1980, Detroit

finir avec la subjugation d'une nationalité par une autre, de la femme par l'homme, vers l'extinction des guerres et des états-nations mêmes, et le brisement de toutes les chaînes de la tradition. Et il n'y a qu'une seule façon de vraiment célébrer cette fête: en lutte et en rébellion, déployant le drapeau rouge jusqu'aux cieux dans chaque coin du globe, et combattant aussi loin que possible pour le futur révolutionnaire.

L'histoire se développe en éclats rétifs qui s'enflamment brusquement et puis s'apaisent seulement pour éclater de nouveau avec plus d'intensité. Derrière les secousses d'aujourd'hui se trouve un conflit de dimensions profondes qui secoueront le globe, littéralement.

D'une part, les puissances impérialistes de tous les deux blocs de guerre dirigés par les E-U et l'URSS se préparent à la guerre, faisant des contorsions frénétiques dans les sables mouvants qu'ils ont créés eux-mêmes, essayant de préserver leurs empires alors qu'ils avancent en titubant vers le conflit nucléaire. Poussés sur cette voie par la logique de fou de leur système, ils sont aussi forcés à infecter davantage "leurs" masses avec cette logique et à les aligner à s'entretenir sous le drapeau de "la liberté et la démocratie" (style impérialisme occidental) ou de "la justice et la libération" (style impérialisme soviétique).

Et contre eux? La seule chose sur laquelle ils ne comptent jamais: l'esprit et la lutte révolutionnaires des masses, se répandant comme des feux souterrains de Gdansk jusqu'au Salvador, jusqu'aux camps de réfugiés en Floride. On peut l'entendre dans les cris des jeunes—les mêmes accents faisant écho dans les rues d'Angleterre que sur les collines de l'Eritrée—indiquant d'un air de défi que l'empereur est nu et défiant son empire. On peut le voir dans les yeux qui brillent une fois de plus d'une vision de libération reflétée dans les yeux des cieux nocturnes. On peut le sentir dans les battements de cœur qui battent de nouveau au rythme des pieds à l'attaque et des échos d'icônes qui se brisent. La révolution: une flamme rouge qui brûle dans les nations opprimées du monde et qui s'allume même au sein des forteresses centrales, dans les pays impérialistes mêmes, et dont le maillon décisif est le rôle et la direction révolutionnaires du prolétariat conscient de classe dans tous les pays.

C'est dans la forge du conflit qui se développe actuellement entre les forces de la guerre impérialiste et celles de la révolution sociale que sera coulé le futur. Le 1er Mai il faudra que les forces de la révolution fassent un bond, en préparation.

Ce jour là il faudra que brille une vision: l'embryon d'un prolétariat conscient de son caractère international et de son antagonisme par rapport à toutes les formes de réaction et conscient de sa mission historique de conquérir le monde, ni plus ni moins. Les actions communes des ouvriers dans des régions différentes du globe devront être infusées de la résolution de procéder, comme disait Lénine non pas "du point de vue de 'mon' pays... mais du point de vue de ma participation à la préparation, à la propagande, aux travaux d'approche de la révolution prolétarienne mondiale."

Pour arriver aujourd'hui à exécuter de tels préparatifs activement et de toute urgence, et pour trouver les moyens, surtout le 1er Mai, de faire avancer ce processus, il faudra absolument faire une rupture avec le poids mort du passé. Il faudra fixer les cœurs et les yeux révolutionnaires au-delà du niveau misérable de suivre n'importe quelle lutte qui se présente, racontant aux masses ce qu'elles savent déjà, les maintenant renfermées spirituellement et politiquement dans les confins de leur nation. On doit aussi se défaire de l'arithmétique trompeusement simple mais profondément incorrecte selon laquelle les luttes populaires—et même les luttes révolutionnaires—dans chaque pays "équivalent" une révolution mondiale, et la remplacer par le calcul révolution-

naire du léninisme. Surtout au cours d'une crise aiguë qui aura des dimensions globales, il faut que le prolétariat adopte une perspective et une méthode globale, coordonnant ses forces comme des détachements d'une seule armée. Des percées, ne serait-ce que dans un seul pays ou dans plusieurs, mènent à un affaiblissement de tout l'édifice pourri de l'ennemi, et présente des possibilités révolutionnaires encore plus larges dans le monde. C'est avec cet esprit et cette orientation que les forces conscientes de classe doivent avancer avec urgence vers un programme commun, une stratégie commune, et une organisation commune à l'échelle internationale de la tendance communiste révolutionnaire/internationaliste prolétarienne.

Il se peut que tout ceci semble n'être qu'un songe—qu'une vision. Eh bien! Aujourd'hui ce n'est rien de moins que des visions qui est exigé—des visions qui percent le voile du quotidien et de ce qui apparaît évident pour révéler les vrais ressorts moteurs. N'accusait-on pas Lénine d'être visionnaire en 1917? Et Mao en 1966? Et cependant, n'est-ce pas que leurs rêves changèrent la face du monde et de l'humanité, et qu'ils se révélèrent plus réels que les exhortations à "de deux maux, choisir le moindre" et à "être réaliste"? C'est le cadre de l'impérialisme et le status quo qui déterminent les limites du "réalisme" de ce révisionnisme et ce réformisme... et aujourd'hui cela arrive encore une fois au moment où les événements mondiaux vont faire rouler des couronnes dans le ruisseau, offrant de grandioses opportunités aux révolutionnaires. Ne devrions-nous pas aussi aspirer aux mêmes hauteurs élevés qu'ont escaladé Lénine et Mao?

Donc, cet appel du Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire, E-U:

Que le 1er Mai porte témoignage, au sein même des E-U, de déchaînements en fabriques et dans les écoles, et toute sortes d'activités politiques révolutionnaires dans les immeubles ouvriers, les prisons, aux carrefours, et dans toutes les sphères et bastions sacrés, qui feront savoir à des millions de personnes, non seulement ici mais à l'échelle mondiale, qu'en effet il se développe ici une section toujours plus grande de la population qui, aujourd'hui même, "prépare les esprits et organise les forces" pour faire la révolution au sein de ce bastion de l'impérialisme.

Mais de plus, que le 1er Mai, 1982 révèle le rêve de l'unité prolétarienne internationale qui s'éveille à travers d'actions unifiées qui s'étendent des nations opprimées par l'impérialisme jusqu'aux citadelles mêmes du capital; que le 1er Mai soit un présage politique, même-si ce n'est que pour un jour ou deux, et aide à préparer le chemin pour les jours pas très éloignés où le prolétariat libérera du territoire et prendra le pouvoir d'abord par ici, puis par là, repoussé seulement pour se lancer de nouveau à l'attaque encore plus fortement, émancipant autant du monde que possible des chaînes tordues de l'impérialisme. Que le soleil du 1er Mai brille partout sur les drapeaux rouges de la révolution, fleurissant comme des roses se frayant un chemin à travers le bitume, indomptable vie au milieu des décombres et la putréfaction des moribonds.

Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire, E-U

Ceci est un appel brouillon. Nous espérons que beaucoup de gens et organisations de toutes sortes le feront circuler dans de langues différentes, et qu'ils recueilleront les critiques et les apports d'autres, ainsi que les leurs, et les feront suivre avant la fin du mois de mars pour l'édition finale de l'appel—tout ce qui contribuera à des actions internationalistes encore plus puissantes le 1er Mai.

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Feudal Lords Run Amok in India

It was during the pre-dawn hours of October 30, 1981 that police under the direction of area landlords staged simultaneous raids on more than 20 villages in the Patna district of the state of Bihar, India. At least 12 people were reported to have been brutally put to death at the hands of these hired guns as in village after village the same pattern of attack was duplicated again and again: police breaking into homes and dragging people to nearby fields to be tortured and killed, or indiscriminately shooting people down wherever they found them. One report in the local press remarked: "... the fields, with patches of crushed and bloodstained paddy stalks, provide a mute testimony to the police fury." And the wounded fared little better in the hospitals as they were left unattended for hours on end on orders from the authorities—after all, these people are merely landless peasant "Untouchables."

Exactly three weeks later, on November 18, the village of Deoli in the Mainpuri district of the state of Uttar Pradesh, witnessed similar landlord-inspired terror—this time in broad daylight. There, at about 4:30 in the afternoon, 16 hired assassins wearing (allegedly) fake police uniforms gunned down 24 poor peasants and wounded at least 6 others before they fled. Both incidents, though occurring in different states and miles apart, are rooted in one common reality—an intensifying reign of terror being unleashed by landlords and their class allies among the rulers of India against the "Untouchables" in an effort to crush the resistance in the countryside and further tighten the chains of feudal domination.

In Bihar, there was no effort by the authorities to cover their motivations nor their plans for a bloodletting among the "Untouchables." The Patna district has recently been the scene of growing demands by the poor peasants, headed by the Kisan Sabha (or peasants' organization), for minimum wages to be paid to the agricultural laborers. The landlords' response was the staging of a demonstration on October 22 to which they mobilized and flaunted their private army called "Bhoomi Sena," and spent the day howling for the blood of the Naxalites. (The Naxalites are so named for a peasant uprising that took place in Naxalbari, West Bengal, in 1967 within which the Communist Party of India—Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML) played a leading role. The rebellion was marked by land appropriations, peoples' courts and executions of tyrannical landlords before it was put down. Today the name Naxalite is closely associated with the followers of the CPI-ML and with revolution and the death of feudalism in India's countryside.) It is little wonder that the landlords were agitating for Naxalite blood—and they were not alone in their counter-revolutionary bayonings. Indeed, October 22 saw the putting aside of the electoral differences of a number of ruling class parties—Congress (I), Indira Gandhi's stronghold; the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India; the pro-Western Bharateeya Janata Party (BJP); and the Janata Party—all actively cooperated in organizing this reactionary show of force. This was the "official" blessing bestowed upon the murder spree that took place.

It was also during this time that a landlord in the Bihar area raped a 12-year-old girl. The police immediately used this to prepare the groundwork for their brutal attacks. Staging a mock kidnapping of the landlord the police set up the whole thing as peasants seeking revenge for the rape and used it as an excuse to terrorize the peasants in their "investigation" of the kidnapping. It was but a prelude of things to come on October 30.

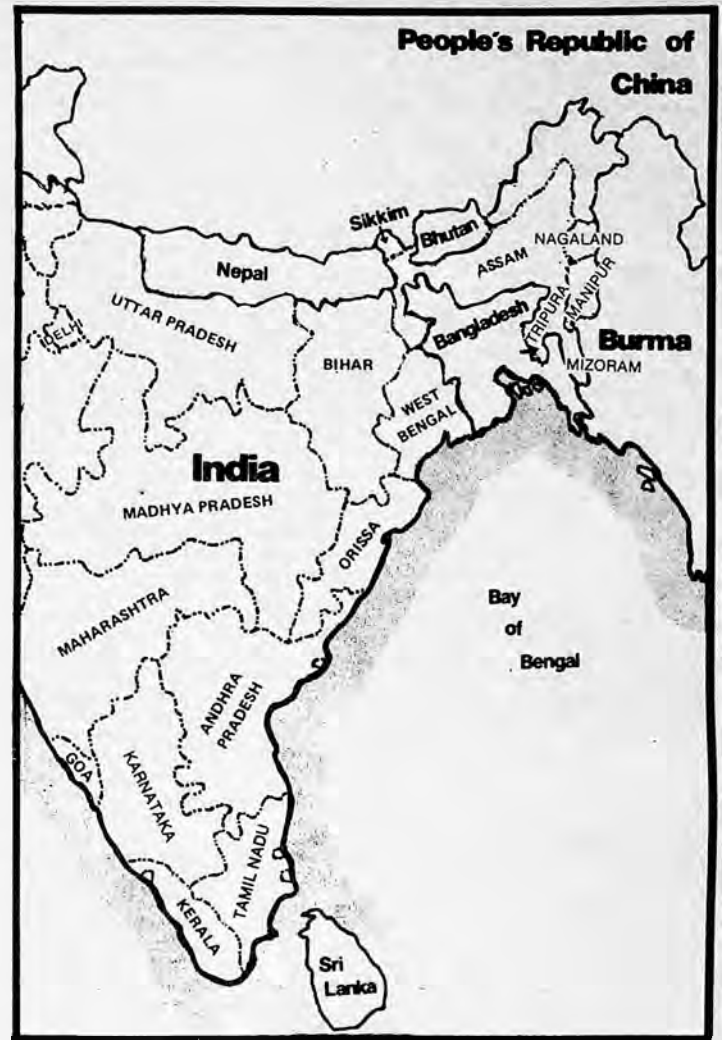
In Uttar Pradesh a different tack was taken in an effort to mask the face of the landlords behind these murders. Immediately following the attack the bourgeois

press, like the magazine *India Today*, began running out the story that the whole thing was nothing more than a "personal vendetta," an intra-caste rivalry. Somehow the fact that 24 people belonging to different families were brutally murdered because they all slighted these so-called vengeance-seekers doesn't quite float. And while two different castes were involved—Jatavs (cobblers) and Thakurs, the attackers—the fact that the Jatavs are "Untouchables" and were demanding an end to the bonded-labor system in which they are forced to work in near slave-like relations to the landlords (Thakurs) is precisely the backdrop that this massacre was played out against.

Over 75% of India's population lives in the countryside and is dependent upon the land for survival—and bare survival and subsistence is exactly what it is under conditions of feudalism that characterizes much of the relations in the agricultural sector—in a country ravaged by U.S., British and Soviet imperialism. For the vast majority of poor and landless peasants life is a living hell at the hands of the landlords. Subjected to exorbitant rents (often paid in-kind with crops), high interest loans, bonded labor (estimates run over 7 million peasants held in this way) and torture and death, the peasants eke out an existence using wooden and iron ploughs pulled by bullocks and animal-drawn carts. India's countryside in 1982 is cast in a medieval pallor. In fact, so backward and distorted has been India's development under more than a century of imperialist domination that over 10 million people have been forced to turn to handicrafts—operating handlooms for employment (handlooms, operated by individual laborers account for 45% of all the cotton cloth produced in India!) The caste system plays an important role in perpetuating these semi-feudal relations.

In Bihar and in Uttar Pradesh the targets of the landlords and their underlings have been the "Untouchables" or "harijans." "Harijans" means "Children of God," a name bestowed upon the "Untouchables" caste by none other than Mahatma Gandhi—sort of an Indian version of the paternalistic and condescending maxim: "God must've sure loved poor people because he made so damn many of them." The "Untouchables" form the bottom tier of the caste system. In 1947 when India achieved formal "independence" from Britain "Untouchability" was legally outlawed. Today the "harijans" even have political representation in the Parliament, but the caste system not only remains but is very consciously propped up by the government especially. And the government has plied both forms of political control in the countryside on behalf of the landlords—paper reforms and formal proclamations of equality resting on armed might and terror.

Outside the boundaries of the caste system entirely are the country's tribal peoples called Adivasis, who face merciless national oppression at the hands of the ruling classes. If one finds it hard to comprehend what being "lower" than an "Untouchable" in India is like, perhaps this one example of what life is like for the Adivasis will help drive home the point. At an Indian Army artillery testing range some 475 miles south of the capital of New Delhi, Adivasis, having been forced from their traditional hunting and gathering spots in the jungles, are now compelled to make a living by scavenging the metal shrapnel from the range. The only problem is that the competition is so fierce that only the ones that move their carts fastest and as close behind the exploding shells as possible will get enough money to live on. Whole villages of Adivasis in this area stand witness to the position of the tribal peoples in India—villages where one can scarcely find



a person unaimed from this desperate life. It is reported that over 500 people a year are killed at the artillery range.

Significantly, in the face of escalating repression in the countryside and along with political agitation being carried out by revolutionaries, many of the traditional barriers between the "Untouchables" and the tribal peoples are beginning to break down and they are joining forces in a number of areas against their oppressors. In fact, the Tripuris of Tripura, the Nagas of Nagaland and the Mizos of Mizoram have been waging armed struggle against the regime for the last few years. It is against this growing resistance in the countryside and the spectre of much more, coupled with the desperate urgency of the landlords in the face of heightening economic crisis to further exploit and oppress the peasant masses, that this reign of terror is being unleashed.

But the calculated brutality of the Deoli massacre did not go down so easily and the actions of the state and national governments only revealed full well the vital role that the feudal oppression in the countryside—reinforced by the caste system—plays for the rulers and why they must prop up their landlord social base as part of maintaining their rule.

Amidst a veritable deluge of crocodile tears, mock outrage, and even a personal visit by helicopter by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself, a number of new and improved forms of repression were implemented. Under the signboard of "anti-dacoit measures" (anti-robber gangs—RW) the area around Deoli has been turned into a virtual military camp. Police outposts have been beefed up and they have been given "greater mobility"

to conduct investigations (read: terrorize). An ordinance is also being readied in the state government that allows for the pre-trial detention (up to 6 months) of suspected gang members (read: communists and peasant rebels). In the national Parliament, where public outrage over the massacre forced a "debate" for two days, a member of the opposition of Indira Gandhi's ruling party demanded that the "harijans" be settled in separate villages and given arms for their self-defense. No one should hold their breath awaiting the ruling class of India's steps to provide arms for the "harijans"—but the idea of separate villages à la the strategic hamlet concept used by the U.S. in Vietnam may just catch on.

But despite the brutal repression being delivered by the landlords, their hirelings and the ruling class itself, all does not bode well for the parasites. For as this excerpt from the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper *Mass Line* (December 1981) points out in no uncertain terms, the oppressors are teaching the oppressed an invaluable lesson in the aftermath of Bihar and Deoli:

"In the wake of this latest massacre, the ruling politicians have again started talking about 'giving arms to the harijans.' These hollow words of theirs ... are really aimed at stopping the oppressed from acquiring arms on their own. But this is the crux of the matter—the answer to Deoli lies precisely in the downtrodden masses rising up in arms. And the masses are increasingly becoming aware of it, which sends cold shivers down the spine of the landed gentry and its protectors—the fascist state." □

It's Got to Be a Vanguard

Continued from page 3

the proletariat in the U.S. has been formed and this will be the last time." Well, that itself is a little bit of a metaphysical statement. On the one hand, yes, it's very important, as I have just said, and in the way that I have just said, that a new party was formed. But on the other hand, if, owing to both the objective and subjective conditions, this party exists and carries on for 40 or 50 years like the CPUSA before it and never leads a revolution, what's so great about that? Really why would it be so terrible if somebody got together and formed another party and tried to learn from the positive and negative and went ahead and tried to make revolution? Not because "to be around for 40 or 50 years and not make a revolution means you are a failure," or that you must be wrong because you didn't make a revolution. It's quite possible that the conditions never ripened to where you could make a revolution in that period and nevertheless you might have made real and important contributions not only in that country but more importantly on an international scale. And if you were continuing in that direction then it would be wrong for people to form another party. They (and you) should still seek to build that party as the vanguard and to draw on its mainly correct past and on its contributions and to continue going forward. But there's nothing so holy about a party.

It is very hard to imagine that a party could stick around for 40 or 50 years, not have the objective and subjective conditions come together for making a revolution, and stay on the revolutionary road. It is not impossible. But it is not a virtue. Maybe the party is stale and basically lacking in what's required to be a revolutionary vanguard if it's been around for 40 to 50 years. And again that's not to say that it's inevitable that if a party is around for 40 or 50 years that proves that it's stale, that it has no revolutionary vigor, that it has lost its revolutionary thrust and so on. But, the point I'm trying to make here is that parties are in fact vanguards, they are in fact the expression in terms of the subjective factor of what is going on overall in the world as a whole, though they are not, as we've insisted on correctly, mechanically an expression of that. They are dialectically related to it and they react back upon it and have a tremendous role to play, which is linked to the role of consciousness and conscious initiative. They have a tremendous role to play in reacting back upon the overall objective situation internationally and, as a subordinate part of that, within a particular country.

It represented a tremendous contribution that in China a party was able to exist and remain a revolutionary vanguard for more than 50 years, with all the tremendous struggle that was involved in that whole process, before it was finally reversed by the revisionist triumph in China. That was a tremendous achievement, nothing to take lightly, or to say "it's really old so it's bound to be decayed and rotten." There is a law that the new supersedes the old but you can't mechanically apply that to parties because parties also take in the new. You can't just look at the length of time a party has been there and say it's old now, because it's constantly taking in the new and getting rid of the old itself. Even-

tually every party will be replaced by the new—which is communism, and not necessarily another party. So we have to understand it that way, but at the same time what I'm combatting is this metaphysical notion that a party is an "institution." It's sort of like socialist states, as if they should exist because abstractly they are good things. Well, that depends on the content of them and the role they play. One of the tendencies we have to struggle with very strongly is the line that anything a socialist state does to maintain itself and defend itself is justified because it's a socialist state, even if the content of it is against the socialist revolution and the advance toward communism internationally. This is the kind of thinking that has been handed down to us from the international communist movement. The same thing applies to parties. Whatever a party does is not good or justified just because it's a communist party and you need a communist party, a vanguard.

Precisely this leads us back to the question of quality and what a party's line is and whether or not it is able to steel and temper itself through all the periods of ebb and flow, through the periods of both revolutionary depression and tremendous upheaval and revolutionary advance. There's nothing magical or metaphysical that says just because a party is formed and plays a good role for some amount of time, that party therefore has a right to exist in perpetuity, no matter what it does after that—as if it somehow ought to be upheld and defended regardless of the content of what it does. There has to be tremendous struggle over the content of what its line is and therefore what it does, the role it plays.

The Chinese party remained on the revolutionary road for over 50 years and it continued to advance, because you can't remain on a revolutionary road unless you do continue to advance, and it did lead the struggle of the international proletariat to its highest pinnacle so far. But precisely that stands out very sharply in contradiction to the general trend. Almost all the parties which were members of the Third International (and now the Chinese party itself as well) degenerated into revisionism. So it's not an absolute law, and there's not some kind of time barrier you pass after which you are bound to go into revisionism. But on the other hand there is a lesson to be drawn out. The important thing is that the party must actually be a revolutionary vanguard. And furthermore, that revolutionary vanguard is going to tend to ebb and flow and the overall development of things in the world is going to influence the conditions in which any party is working, which obviously will have an impact on the party itself—both its size and even its line. Of course, this has to be understood as a very sharply contradictory thing, a dialectical process, because the objective conditions in the world also include the revolutionary struggles in the world as a whole, which in turn are obviously influenced by the subjective forces—and not just in each country taken separately but by the overall effect of what they do. So it is very sharply contradictory.

I'm trying here to sharply combat this metaphysical notion that the party should somehow grow from smaller to bigger in a straight line. This is wrong even if you make a "dialectical adjustment" of your straight line concept in the sense that you allow for ebbs and flows, twists and turns and spiral development, but you still say that from Point A to Point B in time, over any ten-year period, the party should as a matter of principle grow if it is on the right road. No, the party should

not only maintain but deepen its revolutionary line and its revolutionary practice (and this again shows how its revolutionary practice is principal over quantity). But that development is going to be reflected differently in different periods. In some periods it may be, like Lenin said, upholding the revolutionary banner and maintaining revolutionary principle in periods of acute revolutionary depression.

However, with that understanding the party should seek to grow as much as it can, to develop its quantitative aspect as much as conditions allow on the basis of putting quality first. And particularly in periods when there are the beginnings of social ferment, of upsurge, when the conditions are beginning to ripen and that's beginning to find expression politically in the society and in the world, the party should seize every opportunity to expand, develop and grow quantitatively, to enlarge its membership in dialectical relationship with the qualitative aspect in the way we have been talking about it, and with that qualitative aspect being the principle aspect, the one that overall is playing the decisive and determining role in this back and forth between quantity and quality.

We can go back to those examples I gave earlier of the CP's recruiting methods, which are a sharp expression of its opportunism overall. Of course you can build a bourgeois party big quantitatively without it having a Marxist-Leninist line, because the Democratic Party has a much bigger membership than the CP, and certainly than our party does. (That much we'll tell the FBI: the Democratic Party has a bigger membership than our party.) That is an example where quality is also determining quantity in a different way; there is a bourgeois line that's reflected in a bourgeois kind of way of getting membership and a bourgeois way of building that organization. But a qualitatively different kind of quality—that is, a qualitatively different kind of line, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line—requires that you build a party in a qualitatively different way. And in that context you cannot over a long period of time quantitatively build up your party and membership as a Marxist-Leninist party without putting the question of the line in first place. If you don't continually train the members of the party itself, and also those advanced forces who are drawn toward and brought into the party, in the theory and application of that line, if the party as a whole is not constantly deepening its grasp and application of a Marxist-Leninist line in dialectical relationship with the development of the world situation and of the objective factor in an overall sense, then over a period of time that's going to also be reflected quantitatively. It's going to be reflected in the fact that you'll lose membership and not only, at least, as a result of what may be an unfavorable objective situation, but also because of the situation in the subjective factor. That is, your line will eventually cause you to lose membership much more so than even a temporary ebb or a temporary setback in the overall movement will cause you to lose it. And a wrong line will also cause you to fail to gain membership, or perhaps even to lose membership, when the objective conditions are becoming more favorable and when you could gain a lot more membership if guided by a correct line. So that's one aspect of this quality and quantity thing.

(to be continued)

DAUGHTERS

Continued from page 4

while birth control for unmarried teenagers was by no means available to all who wanted it, most of the major cities that had been wracked by the rebellion of youth had some center that provided it without parental notification or consent. In a certain sense, this meant only "giving" legally what was already being taken by many in hopes of preventing further questioning of the roots of this oppression—and all oppression—and much more serious rebellion as a result. But it also had the effect of further loosening the family discipline clamp on young women.

This situation cannot be tolerated by the bourgeoisie today. Wracked by a crisis requiring an all-out gearing up for the ultimate defense of the empire, every form of reaction—including the ideological, and physical, stick of "family morality/family discipline" wielded against young women—must be marshaled for the bourgeoisie's gathering of forces in the field. The current official "concern for the family" fits in nicely with the "family is the backbone of America" line that is being run out with greater force these days both to raise up a banner to defend (along with God and, of course, country), and to ideologically advance the overall escalating offensive against women—which also includes such physical manifestations as the denial of federally-funded abortions and the elimination of day care centers. At the same time, the "family discipline" can help prepare girls for a direct role in the defense of the empire.

But while there is basic unity on all this within the bourgeoisie, there is some dispute over whether the particular proposal by Schweiker will actually have the desired effect. For example, Congressman Henry Waxman openly fretted that the "stronger family ties" desired would actually be made weaker by the proposed regulations. "Such a proposal is a real barrier for many adolescents," he said. "The effect of such regulations would be to discourage an adolescent from coming into a clinic for counseling or contraceptive services and to set back the desired results of encouraging communication between the adolescent and parent." Same worries about the "failure to communicate," but Waxman feels that the bourgeoisie would have better success at counseling teenaged women in accepting family morals rather than at bludgeoning them.

There has also been worry within the bourgeoisie about the prospect of a massive increase in teenage pregnancies, especially among the most oppressed strata of society that tend to use the federally-funded centers the most (over 50% Hispanic in Los Angeles, for example). This is already recognized as an explosive problem for them, as evidenced by the fact that 20% of all Black women, 1/3 of the women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico and an estimated 42% of Native American women (including 85% of the women of the Cheyenne tribe) have already been coerced into sterilization.

As things now stand, Schweiker can issue the regulations at any time—in

which case, they will be scheduled to go into effect 60 days from the time of publication in the Federal Register. A court fight will undoubtedly ensue, but we would hasten to remind those who have faith in this that the Supreme Court last summer upheld a Utah State law requiring approval from both parents—or the court—before a teenager can get an abortion; in his legal justification, Chief Justice Burger identified the protection of "family integrity."

Of course, there are many further moves in this area available to the bourgeoisie. They are not about to tolerate a whole raft of "unwanted" pregnancies (that is, those that they don't want). In fact, that would be proof that the revival of "family discipline for the female" is not successfully reversing the current trend among young women. This will require a further escalation of another current trend among the bourgeoisie, that is, the placing of young women in official institutions to restore discipline. As an example, we can look to recent testimony before the Senate Juvenile Justice Subcommittee about one such place in Oklahoma that houses runaways and orphans. A 19-year-old girl revealed that she had been tied to the wall during the day and chained to the bed at night, and had repeatedly been beaten with a leather strap with keys attached to the end. A 20-year-old was strip-searched and locked in a 4-foot by 8-foot room for two weeks; at another time, her arms were strapped behind her back and her legs were bound. An 18-year-old had been sexually molested, and others said they had been given drugs, including LSD by guards. But the superintendent of the institution claimed that all this was neces-

sary. "We're trying to change lives and therefore you have to have confrontations to have changes. They come here angry. They're mad at the courts, at their parents. They've been kicked out of school."

There is a great deal of dedication to the cause expressed in the above words—a dedication which the bourgeoisie hopes will be spread by the proposed regulation to many more fathers. But the official quoted above does have one advantage here. Unlike fathers who many times operate under the vicious illusion that "their" children are their own, the superintendent knows quite well that young women in bourgeois society ultimately belong under the authority of that patriarch of patriarchs—the bourgeoisie state.

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High Court Upholds Theft of Black Hills . . . Again



In a recent decision, the U.S. Supreme Court has once again upheld the federal government's centuries-long robbery of Indian land. On January 18, the Supreme Court affirmed a lower court ruling that the Oglala band of the Lakota (Sioux) Nation is entitled to monetary compensation *only* for the Black Hills of South Dakota and can never regain the land. This decision comes smack dab in the middle of an intensifying struggle by Native people for the return of their territory and underscores the irreconcilable nature of the conflict between the Indians and U.S. imperialism. With the establishment of Yellow Thunder Camp ten months ago in the Black Hills (see *RW*, Sept. 18, 1981) the Indians announced their determination to reclaim the stolen land, and the recent Supreme Court decision has drawn the lines more sharply and raised the stakes of this battle.

As the spiritual center of the Lakota Nation, the Black Hills has long been a focal point of Indian struggle and resistance. The area was part of a total of 7.3 million acres guaranteed by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty for the "absolute and undisturbed use and occupation by the Indian people." But the ink was barely dry on this agreement when the discovery of gold in the Black Hills precipitated an onslaught of the cavalry with the white settlers not far behind. After the U.S. government failed to get the required three-quarters of adult Indian men to vote for the sale of the Black Hills, the 1868 treaty was expeditiously scrapped in favor of outright seizure of the land and the murder of the "hostile Indians."

The history surrounding the legal battle that ensued to regain the Black Hills is an exposure of the decades of subterfuge and swindle of the Indians. In an attempt to legitimize the ripoff of Native land, in 1920 Congress declared for the first time that the Indians had the right to sue for monetary compensation, but not for the return of their land. After the passage of

this act, the courts took a leisurely twenty years to rule on the suit filed for the return of the Black Hills. When the case finally came up in 1942, it was thrown out of court.

But to keep the hope of legal remedies dangling before the masses, in 1946 Congress set up the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), again with the same purpose of monetary awards only. This time around the law suit for the Black Hills was pending for an even more leisurely 24 years before the court ruled on it. In 1974

the ICC held that the Lakota Sioux should be paid what amounts to worthless trinkets for their land. Even going by 1877 standards, the \$17.5 million in principal and \$85 million in interest for the Black Hills amounts to highway robbery. Because of the rich subsurface mineral deposits in the hills, the area is today estimated to be worth at least \$50 billion. The court conveniently skirted this issue on the grounds that in 1877 the Indians were not aware of the mineral wealth. The timing of this ruling, coming on

the heels of the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, was far from coincidental. Pine Ridge Reservation where Wounded Knee village is located is the home of the Oglala Lakotas, and recognition of the Fort Laramie Treaty was raised as a central issue during the heroic and inspiring occupation. On June 30, 1980 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ICC decision and awarded \$122 million to the Sioux nation.

In the meantime, a movement to reject Continued on page 20

May DAY

On the first of May
every man doing time hadn't been lookin' towards that day
But the pigs they've always known
May DAY
meant more than a grade school dance, a lollypop
and a local 25 parade.

The
May DAY
Brigade's blood fresh on their heels
& too nervous to fake it
they slammed each man into his cage
and

May DAY
the lock down cut a line deep enough
forcing each man to decide.

May DAY
To sing a tuneless rhythm
May DAY
a fearsome bellow

May DAY
echoed through the catacombs of the L.A. County Jail
May DAY — May DAY — May DAY — May DAY

Everywhere
with glue made from tooth paste
the Mexicans has plastered Damián
García's picture on the jail walls
May DAY

Dark man
May DAY
Cat's cap
May Day
Bull Horn
Communist flag over the Alamo
Cut a red mouth into the sky

The pigs shit bricks
scrambled to peel, scrub, scrape and blast that
May DAY
subversive, down-right communist image from everyone's sight

But when the time came to skulk along the painted line
on the far side of the bars,
in the second circle of Hell,
It wasn't just the Cheshire
May DAY

grins
that bent a kink of nerves from their rectum to their hearts
Damián García
May DAY
Standing loudly on their venerated monument
and the dreaded cloth, color of blood
May DAY
unpeeling the prophecy of their demise.

This Story knocked about South Central
Stories like these
leave a wrinkle in your brain
and shit, it ain't often
that you see those bulls tasting earth
Quake
May DAY
shakin'
May DAY
shakin'
and nowhere to run.

D.H. 1981



El Salvador

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economic, political or military steps they take will be determined mainly by international considerations. As the trusty U.S. spokesman Alexander Haig so accurately put it: "It would be fallacious to conduct foreign policy based on the lowest common denominator of the national mood." In other words, they will do what they got to do in Central America or anywhere else and then worry about trying to drag U.S. public opinion along with it and neutralize opposition as much as possible. The imperialists are not fascinated with where the majority of people are at on any particular policy they may take. If a particular move is unpopular, they will present people with a *fait accompli* and then use all their state apparatus to try and put down or cool out opposition hoping to rely on the relative passivity of a large section of the masses of people in this country at this time and use various political spokesmen to increasingly narrow the terms of the debate over the particular action. For this reason it is very dangerous to get caught up in the trap of thinking that public opinion in this country alone will prevent U.S. escalation in El Salvador even as growing opposition continues and must be built. It is imperialism itself that has to be dealt with at the soonest possible time.

The liberals are out there in a big way at this point playing their typical role of deflecting opposition and acting as a cover for government plans whatever they turn out to be. While there are real divisions among the ruling class over tactics in Central America with a number of liberals advocating negotiating with the FDR/FMLN, this does not lessen their role as defenders of imperialism one bit. (In fact, it puts a little more self-righteous indignation into their act.) In the past week, three separate tours of El Salvador by members of Congress have taken place, and virtually everyone came away moaning about the current situation and calling for "negotiations" with the FDR/FMLN. At the same time, 30 congressmen have filed a lawsuit against the Reagan administration, claiming that he is violating the War Powers Act requiring the president to get the approval of Congress before he changes the status of U.S. combat troops anywhere in the world. And a non-binding resolution has been introduced in both houses of Congress calling for an "internationally supervised cease-fire" in El Salvador and

negotiations toward a "political solution." All this is a real indication of the difficulties the U.S. is facing in El Salvador.

In the context of the deep U.S. worry over Central America the debate entitled, "Is El Salvador Another Vietnam?" has once again surfaced in the media. *Newsweek* points out that the "Vietnam analogy is particularly sensitive," while *Time* devotes a 2-page essay to make the point that "it is not Vietnam." More than anything particular about the actual situation in El Salvador, the *Time* essay stresses the "unnatural, and certainly unhealthy extent" to which the Vietnam analogy has even been raised—pointing very sharply to the overall public opinion needs of the U.S. bourgeoisie around this. Calling the Vietnam analogy "fallacious not just in the objective difference between the two situations, but in the way that indulgence of a false analogy can skew judgment," the essay repeatedly makes the point that Americans have to get Vietnam behind them or they will not be able to rise to the challenges of today. "Soldiers, it has often been said, have the bad habit of waging the last war. Americans, in their current fretting over El Salvador, are similarly afflicted... those who dwell obsessively on the past are prone to poor analysis, divisive debate, unconstructive criticism and bad decisions as they face the future." The very tone of this essay, coupled with the repeated administration need to convince one and all that El Salvador is not another Vietnam (for the nakedly imperialist reason that it is in "our hemisphere") is testament to the political damage that the U.S. suffered—and has still not recovered from—in Vietnam.

In the case of El Salvador, the obvious surface similarities with Vietnam continue to haunt them. Not only is this yet another brutal imperialist war in a small "third world" country, but the very way that the U.S. has been getting into it is very reminiscent of the past. Certainly the shameless lies from U.S. officials, the rhetoric, the nature of the "democracy" that the U.S. is bringing to El Salvador—all this and much more are vivid reminders of the nature of U.S. imperialism as it got exposed in all its bloody glory through its crushing defeat in Vietnam.

But while the nature of the U.S. has not changed, the world situation has—and it is for that reason that El Salvador in fact *not* another repetition of Vietnam. The stakes for the U.S.—and for its main imperialist rival,

the Soviet Union—are much higher today. The whole world is on the line—and the particular situation in any country must all the more be viewed in that light in order to be understood. Driven with increasingly intensified necessity toward a world war to determine which imperialist superpower will rule the roost, the U.S. is scrambling to get the situation in Central America and El Salvador under its control, and is in deep trouble. The interpenetration of sharply deteriorating economic and political factors has unleashed storms of struggle throughout the region that threatens to spread all the way north to Mexico and south to the strategic Panama Canal. This situation has helped intensify the turmoil within the Western bloc, driving the U.S. even harder to find a "solution" which will meet its global needs.

At the same time, the Soviet Union, equally driven by the same necessity, has been maneuvering in greater and greater measure to take advantage of the U.S.' difficulties in this part of the world (just like the U.S. does in the Soviet "spheres of influence") and has gained a significant amount of influence within the Salvadoran opposition. Pursuing the "historic compromise" strategy—for the moment—as the way to get a portion of political power in their own hands in preparation for making a grab for the whole thing at a time when the U.S. might be less capable of defending its possessions, pro-Soviet revisionist forces have been able to maintain an alliance with bourgeois forces in opposition to the junta that have historically been dependent upon the Western imperialists. The fact that this alliance has held up through continued U.S. pressure is further proof of the bad situation the U.S. is in in El Salvador.

Recently, pro-Soviet revisionist leaders have shown their willingness to bend over backwards in the direction of various Western imperialist forces in a concerted effort to both take advantage of and further exacerbate the contradictions within the U.S.-led bloc. A sharp example of this can be found in published excerpts from a recent interview given by Salvador Cayetano Carpio, the coordinator of the FMLN's Supreme Command and longtime revisionist leader. His comments appeared in the *New York Times* and in other newspapers around the country, pledging the FMLN's leadership's commitment to a program "broader than that of many of the democratic governments in Europe" where "there is room for everybody's contribution from large businessmen to

small farmers and merchants." Carpio specifically points to the "unity" between Christian Democrats and "Marxists," pledging in the name of being "realistic" that this broad program has nothing "to do with Socialism or a socialist government." This is quite true, from the standpoint of what genuine socialism is, but for Carpio, whose "socialist vision" is a dream of state-capitalist bureaucracy dependent on the Soviet Union, it is a shameless lie. For the revisionists in El Salvador, trying to negotiate their way into a portion of power over the masses' heads has everything to do with the future attainment of those dreams.

The point here is to appeal to a section of the Western imperialists to back this effort—and not just those in Western Europe either. Carpio and his mentors also see openings within the U.S. bourgeoisie for gathering support. Hence, he praises the "North American people who have such deep humanistic values," and moans that they are being "led along a militaristic and aggressive path... (and) do not deserve this image. This is perhaps one of the greatest crimes committed by the Reagan government in supporting this kind of war." The "image" spoken of is a worry for the U.S. bourgeoisie, which is exactly who Carpio is trying to pander to here. Not only is he referring to the political turmoil within the U.S. but he is also referring to similar "image" problems internationally, and the already-mentioned worries within the U.S. bourgeoisie over this. In other words, he is offering the U.S. bourgeoisie a temporary out—just get behind the Salvadoran negotiation efforts and it will solve some big problems for them—a particularly interesting part of the methodology behind the "historic compromise" strategy for revisionists wherever it is applied.

This is a major reason why the U.S. has refused to negotiate so far. It wants to prevent such a historic compromise from coming to power which would, in fact, further strengthen the Soviet Union in Central America in many ways. So the whole international situation is sharply focused around El Salvador. And this very fact magnifies the significance of the political developments in and around El Salvador. And the great difficulties for imperialism in Central America provide great opportunities to expose and oppose them as well as presently great opportunities for the advancement of the revolutionary interests of the Salvadoran people as part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle. □

Black Hills

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the compensation began among the Oglalas who realized that acceptance of the blood money would put the final legal stamp of approval on the theft of the Black Hills. They filed a law suit exposing the U.S.' unilateral abrogation of the 1868 treaty and demanding the return of the Black Hills on the grounds that it has been the principal place of worship for the Oglalas. All of these arguments were of course rejected by the Supreme Court in its January 18 decision which once again upheld the \$122 million bribe.

This ruling is not only an arrogant confirmation of the bourgeoisie's sacred right to rip off Indian land, it is also the green light for further exploitation of the Black Hills which has accelerated greatly over the last decade. Corporate vultures have been hungrily eyeing the area because of its rich uranium deposits. The people have already seen the bitter fruit of uranium mining carried out in the area from 1951 to 1974 — death, disease, deformed children and the poisoning and destruction of the environment — and are strongly opposed to the resumption of this deadly activity. While no mining has yet begun, all of western South Dakota is under intensive exploration for uranium by 27 companies including energy giants like Kerr McGee, Exxon, Mobil and Union Carbide. Uranium is an essential ingredient in the development of nuclear power and nuclear weapons and thus key to the imperialists' plans to gear up for world war and to attain a greater degree of American energy "self-sufficiency."

The powerful necessity to steamroll ahead with the exploration of uranium is what lies behind the government's adamant refusal to return even a square inch of the Black Hills. All kinds of threats and inducements have been brought to bear against the Lakota tribal councils to get them to accept the 122 million-dollar bribe and "close the book" on the return of the Black Hills. But years of struggle over this issue has forced even the conservative tribal councils to reconsider. At this point two tribal councils have rejected the money outright, two are divided over the issue and three have voted to accept, although no money has actually been dispensed yet.

The establishment of Yellow Thunder Camp in the Black Hills marked a leap in the struggle to reclaim this area through the occupation of the stolen land. Led by the American Indian Movement (AIM), 40-60 people set up a permanent camp and filed a claim for 800 acres of land.

While Federal Marshalls have been actively training for an assault on the camp, what has restrained the master from unleashing these dogs up to this point is the broad support that has been generated by the demand for the return of Indian land. As winter approached, the feds' tactic was to starve the camp out by announcing that all roads and supply routes into the area would be closed down. A big effort was waged on this front throughout the Southwest and the West Coast with Indians coming to the forefront to donate food, blankets and other supplies. In December of last year, supplies were trucked into the area by road and a successful air drop to Yellow Thunder Camp was pulled off despite threats by the Federal Aviation Administration to arrest the pilots.

While support for Yellow Thunder has restrained the government from moving

against it thus far, they have acted swiftly and viciously against a smaller encampment where they do not face the same constraints. Crazy Horse Camp, initiated by the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, was set up in the Wind Cave National Park in the Black Hills on June 25, 1981 in solidarity with the aims of Yellow Thunder Camp. After moving to a better winter campsite at Sheridan Lake, officials from the Department of Interior offered to negotiate the return of the Black Hills. About two-thirds of the people returned to the reservation at this point to take the government up on its offer, while the rest remained in the camp; but no negotiations have taken place to date.

In protest of the government's deceit, on November 9 a group of traditional Oglalas, the Tokala, rejoined the others in their spiritual winter camp at Flynn Creek. As a spiritual custom, an eternal fire was kept burning in the center of the camp.

Spontaneity

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in its infancy, and in order that it may grow up faster, it must become infected with intolerance against those who retard its growth by subservience to spontaneity." And while this applies to the revolutionary movement internationally, there are special dimensions in the countries of the Eastern bloc where the masses face the "new" question of making revolution against a variety of capitalist rulers who claim to preside over a "socialist state." This presents new theoretical tasks that must be taken up and met head on by the proletarian revolutionaries.

All this demonstrates once again that the movement in Poland has come up against the objective need for a vanguard

The very next morning three Tokala members were arrested for illegal open fires. But the sacred fire stayed lit until November 15 when the camp was overrun by a combined invasion force of 100 South Dakota State Troopers and the Custer County Sheriff's Department. Some cops were dressed in jungle fatigues and armed with semi-automatic weapons, and others in riot gear and carrying shotguns. The Indian men were ordered at gunpoint to stamp out the fire. 13 men and women were arrested and their seven children taken into custody. On December 14 four were convicted of charges of starting an illegal fire; nine were acquitted.

No doubt the authorities are awaiting the first opportunity to launch this kind of vengeful assault against Yellow Thunder Camp. The only constraint that has prevented this thus far is the specter of a Pandora's box of opposition that such an attack would unleash. □

party, armed with a scientific Marxist-Leninist, Maoist line, to guide the revolutionary struggle consciously toward the armed seizure of power by the proletariat. Subsequent chapters in the history of this struggle have, of course, yet to be written. In the meantime, the extent to which spontaneity is worshipped can only result in a commensurate sacrificing of the revolutionary initiative of the masses on the bloody altar of the bourgeoisie—East and West. To put it bluntly, as Lenin often did, "Any fool can participate in the spontaneous birth of a new social order." But as a means—let alone a strategy—for carrying out proletarian revolution... well, spontaneity is just no damn good. □

Atlanta Murders

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All we are on is circumstantial evidence and to me that is not good enough. Now I'm not saying Wayne Williams is innocent, I'm not, he could be very much guilty. But if he is guilty, if he is in any kind of way responsible, maybe not for the actual murder, but maybe for taking them or persuading them to go off or offering them some money to go off or whatever — then who else is involved? Who is supplying the money to pay for so many things that went down? Somebody is behind this that has money. We don't even know what part the government plays in this; they've been experimenting on Black kids for years. They used our babies to experiment for syphilis.

Dick (Gregory) and I sat down for hours and hours, days and days, last year and tried to figure out: what part is the federal playing in this? The only thing I had to say to him was, "Well, Dick, if they are using the kids or the bodies for this interferer or whatever you call it, then how are you going to send the federal government to arrest the federal government?" And I hate to say this about some mothers, but I couldn't even get some of the mothers to demand to see the skulls. Because how do we know these are these kids' skulls? How do we know that? No one could tell me that about my child, but her body was so that I could identify it. But still she had an ear missing; she had her bottom lip missing. Who's doing the horrible things? There was panties stuffed in her mouth.

I went to identify two of the other kids' bodies — I went to make funeral arrangements — and their sex organ on the head of it was cut off, and I'm sorry if it sounds a little gross — but that's the way it was, that's what I seen with my own two eyes and I don't care what the media tells you, I don't care what anybody else tells you. I went back there with the mothers. I went back there to the point that I'm even barred out of all funeral homes now. 'Cause I seen it, I pulled the sheet back and seen for myself. Now if there's someone getting their kicks off of killing the kids, then what are they doing with the head of the penis? What are hypodermic needle marks doing on it? So we need to examine what's being heard and what's being seen and find out who is killing our kids.

And why are these people going forth — they've actually seen something; then we should ask, "Why are you going forth now when you didn't go forth a year ago, if you've seen Wayne with these people, these kids?" And to top it off, now they are saying he hated Blacks, he hated low-class Blacks, first his motive was sex, now it's racist. He can't stand his own color now, he can't stand poverty-stricken kids now. So what are they going to come up with next?

And you know, Black people, we are so darned programmed to believe what we see and hear on TV and that's it. And we add to it and we pass it along and don't even worry about it. I had a psychic call me tonight. She was telling me, "Yeah, Wayne Williams did it all." I said, "Well, who else was with him?" Yeah, I wasted a lot of money going out to her house these last past 16-17 months, a lot of money. She had me digging up graves where dogs were at. She had people running me off of their property. She's a Black, supposed to be psychic. But you know I'm following anything because I'm looking for anything that can lead me to or show me who's killing these kids. And I think I would jump at anything somebody was telling me some months back.

But then she was telling me Wayne Williams did it. She said, "You know that man in my dreams I was telling you about — yeah that's him, yeah, Wayne Williams, and he killed every one of those kids." I said, "Yeah, OK, if you hear something else let me know, call me back and let me know." Now isn't that funny that none of these psychics could say the name at first and then all of a sudden it was Wayne Williams in their vision.

So we got to stop and listen and think before we say anything. We need to do that before we condemn that man. I'm just glad I'm not one of the jurors, be-

cause I'm sure they'd probably throw me off anyway. Because I would just burst out and say, well, I would just ask witnesses questions. I sat there and listened to a couple of witnesses testify and I didn't hear from the defense, "Why didn't you come forward before Wayne Williams got arrested, and why couldn't you identify him then, because they have a sketching person down there who can sketch a person out from a description." How come no one did that then?

And how come all of a sudden when all this pressure comes down from Washington they want an arrest, and they mean right away. Why is it, all of a sudden a couple days later, they got an arrest? And they're so expert, if they're setting up surveillance on the river and they hear some splash, where there had been at least 3 bodies already found in that river, why didn't they drag that river that day? Why didn't they drag the river that morning? Why did they have to wait 3 days for some fisherman to find a body? And that's still puzzling me — why? why?

I just want to know, and I hope the rest of you want to know, and everybody else in this country for that matter — who is all involved? And I hope we can find this out before the trial is over with. And I hope everybody don't, when the trial is over, say everything is at ease, everything is at peace now, because it's not that way. All this is centered around the investigation of Wayne Williams. What about the other kids — who killed them? I talked to Major Taylor (a local police official). I said you mean to say you put all your manpower of investigation on the Wayne Williams investigation? What about the other kids? OK, if he's tied in with 9 or 10, what about the other 15 or 16, 18 or 20 kids? Who killed them? I said, man, if you think I'm just going to sit back and cross my legs about who killed my daughter, you got to be crazy. I want to know who killed her. I want to know who killed the rest of these kids.

Martin Luther King's dream is so shattered. Our dreams are so shattered. We are not free. We are a long ways from being free. I know I'm not free. We all are living in a hell. The thing is to try and survive in it, have a little love in it, and we will make it. I think we're all up here to ask questions and communicate, that's something Black people don't do enough, and that's something we need to do now. Thank you so much, I love you. God bless you.

Walter Collins

Walter Collins is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika and long-time revolutionary activist who spent three years in prison in the 1960s for refusing the draft.

I would like to start off my presentation by talking a little bit about my involvement in this situation in Atlanta. I was in Atlanta in May and June of 1979. I think we were told that something like 4 or 5 Black children were missing at that time. And I met with some of the parents and I can remember two things struck me at that time. One was that all the kids that were missing at that time, the kids had come from fairly together families — together in the sense that they were struggling families, the parents were pretty much concerned for their kids.

The kids were also hustlers. I don't mean that in a negative sense; I mean that the kids were really trying to make a contribution towards the families' wellbeing. The other thing that struck me at that time was that there did not seem to be anything in place in the city of Atlanta, that people from the community could raise with their churches or their political leaders in the city problems that they have.

There was no means for Black parents to communicate to the city fathers and mothers that they were concerned about the fact that at that point I think it was 5 children had been missing and no one seemed concerned about what this was all about. And it struck me, what I said about Atlanta in 1961 (when I was living here for a period of time): Atlanta had to be the one city in this country where the Black community was so divided on the basis of class that anything, literally anything could happen to Black children or Black people coming from classes other than bourgeois Atlanta University Center Blacks, anything could happen ... and

not only would people be unconcerned about it, their contact with those people is so minimal they wouldn't even know anything had happened.

I know most of the Black people here were involved in electoral politics. I know the mayor, I know most of the mayor's staff. I know the current mayor. He's from New Orleans. I've worked with him very, very closely. I don't consider myself a friend of any of those people. Because I for one, I want to be very clear — I'm not hostile towards them, but where we differ is, I for one consider this country a white country. And what I mean by that: this is a country set up to serve the interest and meet the needs of white people first and foremost.

I think it's an obscenity and a crime for any Black person in this country to stand up publicly and say that it is possible for the majority of Black people, or for a significant number of Black people, to survive and make it under this system. That is an out and out lie and an obscenity and a crime for any Black person to make such a statement. The political leaders of Atlanta for the last 30 years have pushed that myth.

Of this wonderful city called Atlanta, where race is not an issue, I've never felt that there was a city that there was dynamics coming out of the Black community, that when things happened to Black people, or Black people felt things were about to happen to them, that there were agencies and structures in place that could deal with that. So for me the fact that 40 odd or 50 odd Black children that have been killed or are missing at this time, and that there is no concern from the Black political leadership, from the church leadership of this city — I am not at all surprised. Atlanta is a city, the one city in this country where the class divisions are very great, very pronounced, and very long enduring. But more importantly, Black people in this city of the middle class have the skills, the education to sort of slide into certain types of managerial positions. Those people are content for the most part to manage the system as it is.

So we have to understand why it was possible for 40 odd Black kids to be murdered in this city, and we have Black leaders, educated Black folk, saying that race is not an issue, and these children are missing, maybe because their parents didn't properly take good care of them. If everything they said about people's parents were true, that does not justify the fact that people can sit back and allow a thing to happen to children and not concern themselves.

Going back to 2 other things about that time period — 1979 — it was clear that we, the city, had an administration that was far more concerned about how they were going to look in the history books — when the history of Atlanta is written — how will it look in the history books, as opposed to what did they do as elected officials, as government leaders, to enhance the Black community, to advance and eradicate terrible conditions Black people face. They were far less concerned about that ...

Looking at that situation, you can clearly understand their official figures — 29, 36 kids depending on who you talk to could be found murdered or missing, and the concern of the city is minimal. Because for them Atlanta exists as a place where Black people who accept the criteria of what's considered decent, what's considered good American, where those Black people can make it.

I'd like to break that down in terms of what I mean. Atlanta is a city that says to its Black population: "Learn to speak properly," which means speak like white people; "get a degree if you can"; thirdly, "at least have a marketable skill." If you have those things then the system works for you. And those are the things that Black people should strive for. As opposed to looking at the situation where you're talking about a group of people that historically has been on the bottom ... And you have that situation right here in Atlanta, that things can happen in the Black community and no agency, no structure is in place that people can ask for redress. Now look at the current situation in terms of Wayne Williams. Everybody looks at that and thoughts pop up about what the press has said, what the media is saying, and what's come out at the trial.

Well, there's a couple of things about

that. First of all, trials in this country have nothing to do with what people are tried for. What is going on in Atlanta is that a team of lawyers — one called the prosecution, one called the defense — are arguing over phrases and what they define as evidence. I think it's important to look at the evidence, because one thing the evidence says is that Wayne Williams came from a family that is on the outs, a family that is sliding into poverty. We know all the murdered children come from essentially poor families, so that it would stand to reason that fibers — basic threads from clothes, that you find on 29 bodies or 25 bodies — are similar. Poor people generally are going to shop at the same places. The same clothes that I wear are the same clothes you wear because we are likely to have gone to the same stores. The only people in this country that are likely to have unique clothing and unique household goods are rich people, because they're going to have theirs designed one of a kind. So the only thing we can say about the evidence is the evidence proves what we already know ... The kids who have been found murdered and missing were poor. It doesn't take any smarts to figure that out. That's all the evidence proves — that poor people are forced to interact with each other.

On that basis, though, they're trying to hang a man. I don't know whether Wayne is guilty or innocent, I'm not even concerned about that. The fact is he is not even charged with murdering any of the children. And why is that true? Let's look at what they're pushing. Even the most governmental-oriented Black person in this city — and I take this to mean even the people in power — they would be pretty much outraged if the prosecution tried to berate 29, 30 or 40 missing children in terms of intimating that they were involved in bizarre sexual practices, that they were involved in some kind of prostitution rings. So they can't say that about 29 children.

But you can say that about 2 adult Black men — one who the community says is retarded, the other one the community says is kind of a hustler. So you can intimate that and while people might not buy it totally, they're not going to get too upset.

So you try Wayne Williams for the murder of two adults, but then imply that you think that the same kinds of things that happened to those two, are the same thing that happened to the children. So that what you want to create in people's minds is that Wayne Williams is a monster. You have a mad man here that hates Black people and has very strange sexual passions — the kinds of things that sell papers, the kinds of things that get people upset. But the question we all should ask ourselves is, that with all these investigations, and with all these attempts to tie him to these things — they have only charged him with the murder of the two adults that were missing during this period of time. That in and of itself ought to say to every person that is in this room that the state of Georgia, the city of Atlanta, and the prosecutors in this case have very strong feelings that Wayne Williams is not guilty of murdering these kids. There has never been a time in the history of this country when a white prosecutor thought twice about prosecuting a Black person because the evidence was shaky. We know of places where people have gone to prison, even been electrocuted, where they didn't have any evidence. The only reason the state is not prosecuting Wayne Williams for the murder of 28, 32, 39 children is the fact that they believe he is innocent of those murders. If they had any inkling at all that he was guilty, he'd be prosecuted.

When I was in Mississippi in 1963, and again in 1964, but particularly in 1963, when someone was kidnapped and they were looking for that person and couldn't find him, they dredged the Pearl River. They found 16 bodies, and it was like they didn't find anything. It was like they didn't even bother to look any more. So I'm not at all concerned about the fact that the FBI and the police in DeKalb County, and the police in Guinnet County did not worry about the fact that Black kids were missing. Why should they? When have they ever been concerned about the plight of Black people? I am concerned, though, that we aren't concerned. Here in Atlanta, it is the people as a whole that

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Atlanta Murders

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make decisions. It is the people as a whole who have to demand certain things. You cannot depend on a political structure, whether it's in the hands of Black people, or whether it's in the hands of white people — a political structure that has been set up to deny you access, that has been systematically set up to oppress you and keep you down. And what I would hope to come forward from this teach-in, and similar activities, is not to get concerned about Wayne Williams, but to get concerned about building a movement. Where that movement takes issue, and takes a stand on things that affect our people as a whole. That's what I would like to see come out of this.

Wayne Webb
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The banner behind me reflects the theme of this teach-in: "Only the people can close the case of the Atlanta Black youth murders." That's very important to grasp right now because it concentrates what is going on with the Wayne Williams trial. The ruling class is trying to close the case of the 28 murdered Black youth with a conviction of Williams. But whether set up or mixed up, Williams' guilt or innocence is only part of the picture. The bourgeoisie is frantically struggling to "close the book" on the murders and to win sections of the masses to their twisted and upside down summation of the Black youth murders here in Atlanta: that the murders were nothing more than the work of a "lone, derailed Black man who hates poor Blacks;" that the murders are just another case of "Black on Black crime;" and that Black people, and not the imperialist system, are their own worst enemy. That summation, not surprisingly, lets the system off the hook by obscuring the state's role in "aiding and abetting" the killers; it tries to obliterate the long history of oppression that Black people and other oppressed peoples have suffered, and continue to suffer, in this country; and it also further unleashes and encourages an openly stinking and rotten to the core section of the social base of the imperialists.

The oppression of Black people, Chicano people, Puerto Rican people and other oppressed nationalities is an integral part of imperialism. In fact, the oppression of whole nations and peoples is an integral part of the imperialist system worldwide and the imperialists derive extra fat profits from the domination and plunder of nations and peoples.

What arises from the oppression of Black people and other oppressed peoples is a superstructure of national oppression which not only justifies, reinforces and helps perpetuate that oppression but, also relies heavily on attacks and terrorism, particularly in times of crisis and imperialist war. It is during such times that the imperialists are forced to pull the noose tighter around the necks of Black people and other oppressed nationalities and when they fear most the revolutionary potential of these oppressed peoples, whom they attempt to cudgel and club into submission through official and unofficial terror. It has been during such times that the bourgeoisie has unleashed, in particular, scum and vermin like the KKK to do their bidding. Let's be clear on the relationship here: the Klan is nothing more than puppets on the string of the imperialists; they are not tied to backward right-wing elements who are out of the mainstream of the U.S. ruling circles; they are very much the attack dogs of the imperialists who are revived in times of political and economic crisis to foam in reaction and to smash the struggle of the masses against the ruling class.

So, despite the protests of the bourgeoisie, a person would have to be an ostrich or a damn fool not to make the assumption that the systematic killings of Black youth in this city over the past couple of years were not aimed at terrorizing the Black masses, given the history of lynch terror against Black people and oppressed people generally and the inten-

sification of that oppression now.

Other speakers have already begun to dig into the role that the state played during the period that these murders were going on and since, and I want to try to deepen that exposure. But first of all, what do we mean when we talk about the state? What is the state? The state, from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, is nothing more than an organ for the suppression of one class by another. In this country the state is the political and military arm of the capitalist class, even though it tries to appear as a "neutral umpire" which exists for the purpose of "reconciling" differences between classes. But in fact, the state, as Lenin points out in *State and Revolution*, is "a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms."

What was the role of the state in relation to the murders here? Well, prior to the explosion at the day care center at the Bowen Homes housing project, the authorities ignored the murders. But after that explosion, Maynard Jackson's administration scrambled to cover up the role that it had played previously. The Black power structure did not suddenly develop "concern" for the murdered youth; no, their real concern was to prevent an explosion of an entirely different type than the one that ripped apart the day care center at Bowen Homes, killing 4 children and one teacher. An *Atlanta Constitution* columnist expressed the desperation of the bourgeoisie at that time: "I'm not one of Maynard Jackson's fans. But he's the mayor, and the ball is in his court. And I'm also counting on him... go to those people, mayor. Soothe them. Stroke them. If you have to, stay with them 24 hours a day... so go, Mr. Mayor. Take Lee Brown and George Napper with you. Call in Hosea Williams and A. Reggie Eaves... forget politics. Go work your tails off to save this city from brewing hate." Jackson and some of the best Uncle Toms went to Bowen Homes right after the explosion but could not cool out the anger.

When the Black youth murders became a national and international issue, after the explosion at Bowen Homes, the system finally took action—*against the people!* The weekend searches for the bodies of missing and murdered youth began, a ploy designed to cool out the anger of the masses. Scores of police began flooding the Black neighborhoods. A curfew was ordered against the youth, and by March over 1500 youth had been cited for curfew violations. Road blocks were set up and 100 state troopers were brought in to bolster the police. And in one of his more disgusting moves, Maynard Jackson held a press conference as he sat behind stacks of money totalling \$100,000 which was raised as a reward fund. "Money talks," Jackson said at the press conference. And thousands of dollars were earmarked for police helicopters like the ones used in Miami and Chaitanooga.

Beyond all that, the bourgeoisie cranked up their propaganda machine to go after any "wild and crazy ideas that the youth murders were in any way racially motivated." Now, I have an example here, not to simply pinpoint this one Uncle Tom but to try and zero in on what was characteristic of what these Toms and the bourgeoisie generally were saying at the time. I have an article written by Carl T. Rowan, a nationally known Black columnist. What did he say in the article back in March, 1981? He said: "We have had other mass killings which entrance and/or horrify this country: the 'Boston Strangler,' New York's 'Son of Sam,' Illinois' John Wayne Gacy, Jr. and his killing of 33 men and boys, the killings by Richard Speck and the brutal first degree murder attributed to Charles Manson... we have those and too many other cases to remind us how vulnerable modern society is to sick people who hear the cry of 'demons' or 'God,' as in the Jonestown, Guyana massacre, or whose grievances against Mom, or Dad or society render them psychopathic killers... But the deaths in Atlanta raised destructive factors that have not been present in other mass killings. Because all the Atlanta victims had been Black children... there is a tendency wherever Blacks gather to leap to the poisonous, and yet unfounded, conclusion that the murders are the work of a white person or group... this is easy for Blacks to

believe in a time of resurgence by the Ku Klux Klan and far right religious zealots—and of a general official disregard, if not contempt, for minorities and the poor... So many Blacks seem unprepared to believe that it could be a Black man in a cop's uniform, or some other official dog, who is killing these children. That makes these Atlanta tragedies especially corrosive in terms of race relations... We Blacks must 'cool it' out of a realization that there are thousands of Blacks, unwanted at birth, abused as children, self-hating failures as adults, who can become as murderously sick as Manson and the rest." This Tom is performing a valuable service for the bourgeoisie, directing people away from the whole experience of Black people in this country, and attempting to deflect people's attention away from the role that the state has played in protecting and encouraging the killers, unlike in the killings Rowan refers to, and using the killings to unleash their reactionary social base.

I want to touch on a few more things and then wrap up. I want to say a few words about the bat patrols, which I think again concentrates a lot about the role of the state, the relation to the Black youth murders. When the masses took up baseball bats and guns in defense of themselves and the children, the bourgeoisie went crazy. The bat patrol in Techwood Homes was called "vigilantes." In fact, several so-called Black leaders called a press conference to denounce the masses at Techwood Homes as "vigilantes." But at the same time that the bat patrols were going on in Techwood Homes the bourgeoisie ran a series of articles in the local press on "survivalists." They ran a three-part series on the "survivalists"; those from among the social base of the imperialists who are arming themselves and setting up strongholds in rural areas in preparation for revolutionary onslaught from the masses. They are groups of reactionary whites who are preparing to do the bidding of the imperialists. But these reactionary masses are called "survivalists" but the masses who took to arms in Techwood Homes were "vigilantes." Dig it?! But after the killers snatched a resident of Techwood Homes, Eddie "Bubba" Duncan, and killed him, dumping his body in the Chattahoochee River, the attacks on the bat patrol took another twist; the bourgeoisie tried to lay blame for Bubba Duncan's murder at the feet of the bat patrols. "They attracted the killer."

The Black politicians and the Black power structure was used very effectively during the period of the murder of the Black youths here. They played an active role in containing the masses of Black people. Now, some people will actually argue that the murders were part of an effort to discredit the Black power structure. But it is not so simple as that. First of all we have to understand how and why people like Maynard Jackson got into public office. It was not a great advance for Black people when Blacks got voted into office in several cities back in the '60s and '70s, despite what some folks might say. The bourgeoisie promoted Black politicians and overall built up Black bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in that period as part of a concession to the struggle but more fundamentally as an attack on the Black liberation struggle, as a way to cool out the struggle.

There are contradictions within the bourgeoisie involving Black politicians but those contradictions center around the question of how to contain the Black masses. Let's be clear that Jackson and Andy Young are part of the bourgeois state, which, as I pointed out, is nothing more than an organ for the suppression of one class by another. They're in the enemy camp. I don't care how long their afros are or how much they call themselves brother, the Youngs and the Jacksons are not the brothers of the masses of Black people, but are instead the junior partners of the bourgeoisie. They're in the enemy camp.

Now, it is true that in political crises such as the one that the bourgeoisie has been faced with in Atlanta, contradictions break out even within the camp of the enemy. And that is no less true in the case of Atlanta, where in fact contradictions did break out within the bourgeoisie involving the Black power structure... I am not saying that the

bourgeoisie no longer has use for Black politicians, because they do. What I am saying is that there are differences within the ranks of the bourgeoisie concerning the best method to contain the masses. The imperialists are quite concerned about the ability of people like Jackson to hold the Black masses in check, as the crisis deepens and as things accelerate toward a showdown between the imperialist bloc headed up by the U.S. and the imperialist bloc headed up by the Soviet Union. It is in this context that the imperialists are forced to rely more on open repression and the unofficial terror of reactionary forces, which brings me to my last point.

While it is not clear who the killers were, or their motives, or their links to the bourgeoisie—though such links very likely exist—but there is *tremendous* evidence which points to the role of the state in protecting, and encouraging the killers, and basically "aiding and abetting" the murderers. They have never been concerned with finding the killers, and I think that farce down on Mitchell Street (the site of the courthouse where Wayne Williams is being tried) only serves to underscore that point. I don't give a damn how much they try to protest. They never tried to find the perpetrators of these heinous crimes! (And just a word for the respectable citizens who might not think that the bourgeoisie would stoop so low as to participate in the murder of children. I can only say that these atrocious and despicable crimes—the systematic killings of these Black youth—are far down on the list of atrocities that this imperialist system has committed and is committing throughout the world.) But beyond protecting and covering up for the murderers, the bourgeoisie used the killings to tighten up their state apparatus and to further unleash their reactionary social base—from sections of the people including even within the working class, who more or less benefit from the spoils that imperialism has ripped off from the masses of exploited and oppressed and degraded people throughout the world. They're unleashing these forces to prepare the fight to make America No. 1 again in the world.

While it is true that in the world today the contradiction between the rival imperialist blocs headed up by the U.S. and the Soviet Union is intensifying and propelling things toward another world war, it is also true that the imperialist system is literally full of contradictions and one of the sharpest contradictions is national oppression. That contradiction has given rise to intense and even all out revolutionary struggle in the recent period. From Iran to El Salvador to Afghanistan to Brixton and Miami. These developments are of grave concern to the U.S. imperialists who can only pull their system out of the ever deepening crisis that it is sinking into by waging and winning a war and preventing revolution from occurring in various places around the world. This is the context in which, in this country, the imperialists are openly resorting to more open terror and unleashing reactionary sections of the masses to carry out unofficial terror against volatile sections of the masses, particularly the oppressed peoples concentrated in large numbers in the lowest sections of the working class, who can play a powerful role in igniting and inspiring broader sections of the proletariat and the people as a whole. This underscores a point that Lenin made: "The future revolution will not be so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people. The enemies of our revolution from among the people are few in number. But as the struggle grows more acute, they become more and more organized and receive support from the reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie." What Lenin says here is real and important in terms of the situation in this country today. And I think the crisis here has underscored the fact that the bourgeoisie is not unaware of the revolutionary potential among Black people and oppressed peoples in this country as they sought to suppress that potential, while unleashing and giving aid to that reactionary social base that they will increasingly rely on as the crisis of the imperialist system deepens.

I'd like to close by reading a quote from the most recent issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*.
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Atlanta

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tionary Worker (No. 141), "The murders of the Black youth in Atlanta were not only testimony to the daily oppression of Blacks in this country, but to the tremendous intensification of that oppression that has already started and will greatly increase in the period ahead. They are a powerful indictment of this system, one that will surely come back to haunt the bourgeoisie no matter how much they try to bury the truth."

Thank you.

Chumurenga Jenga

Chumurenga Jenga is a community activist and one of the organizers of the Ron Carter Techwood Homes bat patrol.

Well, let me start off by saying my name is Chumurenga Coriga Seminole Jenga.

The problem here with killing the kids is actually nothing new, as has been brought out before. I'll try not to go over too many things that have been touched on already. They have been killing Black people in this country almost as long as they have had Black people over here. Though while the problem is nothing new, it seems like a lot of us, and when I say us I mean the larger community, have taken on the idea that there is something new that has taken place since the time the country started and the '50s, the '60s and the '70s and on up till today. Where people started to look for justice, from an unjust society. Failing to remember that all the time that we live in the United States of America, there is nothing just about this society, and there can be nothing just about this society. For poor people it's always going to be the same tragic, agonizing, horrifying hell that it has been since the day it was conceived. It has been, it can't be anything else; if it was anything else it wouldn't be the United States.

But the situation with Atlanta . . . Specifically and importantly if we see Hosea Williams works out of Atlanta, Joseph Lowry works out of Atlanta, the national headquarters of the SCLC is on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta, Julian Bond and Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young and all manner of other quote unquote Black Leaders live and operate out of the city of Atlanta. Black middle-class personnel who people know all across the world who don't live in Atlanta, operate in Atlanta, take orders out of Atlanta.

Dr. King's grave is in Atlanta. Mrs. King lives in Atlanta. You've got all manner of middle-class cooling-out type of people living in Atlanta who have some type of notoriety. When a Miami jumps off, these people can go and get on a plane at the direction of the president or the governor, or somebody else, Rockefeller or somebody, and go to Miami and say, "Please don't riot, this is not Dr. King's way." And say, "Let's not do this, let's march and sing 'We Shall Overcome' and go to the other side of town to have a weenee roast" — and people would go. What's the importance of this? If they can't lead the people in their own home because the people in their own home know them, know what rascals, crooks and scoundrels they are, when there is a crisis in their own home, if they can't cool it out they have no more use to the government or the ruling class, because other people in other parts of the country start to see that for some reason or another about 400,000 Black people who live in Atlanta and see these people every day, ain't got no faith in them.

So it becomes super important at that point to keep down any type of disturbance in Atlanta . . . They put these people up throughout this thing to say, "Here are your leaders, here is what your leadership wants you to do." Anybody else such as Mrs. Taylor who says anything or opens her mouth is not a Black leader, primarily because the Fords, the Rockefellers and Mellons didn't say she could be no Black leader today. But she's not a Black leader, she is a rabble rouser, someone acting on false information. She's someone who is just disturbed because her child has been killed — and really shouldn't be paid any attention to. After a while the whole thing's going to cool out and everything will be back to normal.

The problem is that back to normal in

Atlanta and in this country is lynching, and murder, and castration, and mutilation. There ain't no normal to go back to. And the situation over a period of months had gotten to the point where almost every morning, you'd wake up and be afraid to turn on the radio. Because you just didn't want to hear it no more. You know, and to myself and other people that I've talked to, not only didn't we want to hear it any more, we started to question ourselves as to why it was happening. Who's doing it? Why are they picking on us? What is going to be our response? Things that should have been obvious to us from the beginning. That the kids are being killed because they live in America. If there's anyone who is guilty of murdering the children — not only the children in these particular cases, but the children in the cases previous to this, the grown men in the cases previous to this, and the women in the cases previous to this — it was the American society. So now where do we find ourselves? We find ourselves with a government we can't trust, we find ourselves with police officials who are not only unable, but by all appearances uninterested in protecting the community. So the community at that point has to do something to protect itself. And that's what people saw happening in Techwood.

People started raising questions like, what can we do? And coming up with answers like, well shit, if we get a couple of people together and go up to Buckhead and kill some white kids, or some people were so crazy to say, if we went to Cabagetown and killed some white kids, then the tables would turn, and people would stop killing our kids. Now why in the world would one Black worker want to go to a white working community to kill the white workers' kids? Because the ruling class has a structure set up to kill both of their kids. They bring in a psychic and she runs around, and the mayor goes around and all these educated people with degrees go around with her, and she says it's somebody Black. Everybody says it's somebody Black. We said we didn't care who it was, if they came in Techwood Homes fucking with our kids, that was going to be their ass. And Maynard and them didn't like it. Not only did Maynard not like it, the President didn't like it. And the industrial power structure. So this type of thing had to be stopped. All of a sudden, organizations like the Guardian Angels, who the city didn't like at first — Lee Brown all over the place hollering about there are no subways in Atlanta — they began to look good to them. Now they really didn't mind us having patrols. Okay, you could have a patrol any place in the city of Atlanta in the Black community, armed with all the weapons in the world, as long as you didn't tell nobody. Okay. Because see, again, telling people destroys the nation's confidence in these Black leaders who are supposed to have a lid on everything.

And you start to see things come out in the paper like who are the leaders? . . . Not because they were concerned about us forming patrols. But they were concerned about the community organizing themselves in an armed manner. Now the police and the state came in and said first of all, there can't be no self-defense. They tried to take all the guns we had. There's 6,000 people that live in Techwood. There are probably about 20,000 guns out there. They said they had had a major victory. But not only that, they then came into the community . . . and attempted to counter-organize (people) into a grouping that they could juxtapose to the legitimate organization of the people in the community. They gave them station wagons; we couldn't even get walkie talkies from them. They gave them station wagons and loudspeakers, big Motorola communication sets, whistles, clothes, and all manner of stuff, because these people were saying, "Let's be non-violent, and wait for the police to protect our kids."

But the more startling thing is that in 1968, when Techwood Homes was all white, they had an armed patrol out there. Tenants wearing guns, without permits, walking around patrolling the community. But much further than that, making arrests, stopping people, checking people's identification, harassing people, hassling people. If you were Black and knew anything about the city of Atlanta, you wouldn't go to Techwood too much in '68 and '67, and '66

and '65. Because those armed community patrols were out there protecting the community from what they called Black vagrants and vandals, and rapists and robbers, and all other manner of nonsense. But they had patrols and nothing was said about it.

So there had to be, first, the whole idea of a blackout; they tried all the peaceful, passive, non-violent idiots and their three-piece suits to remind everybody to stay calm. Let's not get guns, let's get ourselves a green ribbon and symbolically wear it. Let's have a sit-in or a candle-lighting somewhere, and do anything — a sing-in, a picnic, a feast — anything except something that would positively stop the children from being killed. Now it's human nature that, if you know someone, if you have an inkpen like this, or if you got some money, and suddenly you find someone is stealing your money — certainly you want to stop them. But the first thing you do is you take your money and put it in your pocket, under lock and key . . . and that's what we attempted to do with our children. First of all, to create an environment where children could run the streets, play, do whatever they had to do and feel safe because there was the adults there protecting them. Secondly — of course, we never got that far thanks to the interference of the police — was to organize the community in such a way that self-defense not only became one of the major activities that people were engaging in, but that self-education and consciousness-raising became a part of the community and would be things that could work for a change. So the community came together. It started to work towards organizing, not believing in psychics, not believing in cultists, not bogging itself down with questions of whether or not the person who was actually killing the children were Black,

white, male, female. We didn't need to know those questions, the answers to those questions, right then. We knew that Black children were being killed. We knew we lived in America but more specifically in the south and that if Black children were being killed, it had to be racist if it was somebody from Mars killing the kids. Because we didn't leave our kids out, to be set up and to be killed. The country and the society did that. Kids up — and the way you have to look at it is up — in Buckhead, they have places to go and play, and nice, safe, secure communities. You don't have that down here.

I'm not going to go into actually what all happened in Techwood, I think that the history of what happened during that week has been repeated enough for people to be fairly familiar with it. I do want to say this, as it has been said before. There is a class structure existing in the country. The city of Atlanta perhaps serves as one of the most realistic microcosms of that class structure to be found anywhere in the country or for that matter in the world perhaps. It's fortunate, though, that the people who've lived in the poorer communities here are smart enough, wise enough, and intelligent enough that that class structure is the first thing they see. For the entire week, every city official from the mayor's office down to the lowest beat officer on the police force, came into Techwood to attempt to talk the community out of the idea as a whole, and two, that if they wouldn't oppose the idea, to at least oppose the people who were actively participating in the patrol. But this was to no effect. The community knows an awful lot. And the community did not just start fighting and protesting and struggling for survival yesterday. It has been a struggle that has lasted some 400, 500 years, and a lot of experience has come from it.

PIGS GO DOWN, COME DOWN, ON THE SOUTHSIDE

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search in the department's history."

As mentioned, it is the youth who have been the primary target of this crackdown. High school students in the vicinity of the shooting described how martial law type measures were imposed on them for two days. Cops set up sidewalk checkpoints outside the school to frisk the brothers as they got out of school, check all I.D.s and "fill the jails" in that district with youth. On February 11 cops surrounded Foster Park, a regular youth hangout, with scores of squad cars and paddy wagons and swooped down, frisking everyone and hauling some down to the police station. The cops made it clear that anyone who offered the least resistance to these tactics would be taken in, making no pretense of busting those who "look like the suspects."

One man who bailed his cousin out of jail told the *RW* of the ordeal the youth had been through. When he refused to respond to an intense interrogation, the youth was thrown into a dark room. There (ape was placed over his mouth to suppress any screams as the cops whipped his ankles with a heavy rubber hose. After shuffling the youth around to different lockups so his family couldn't find him, he was finally released. But this object lesson in bourgeois dictatorship has been dismissed as a problem of "wounded egos."

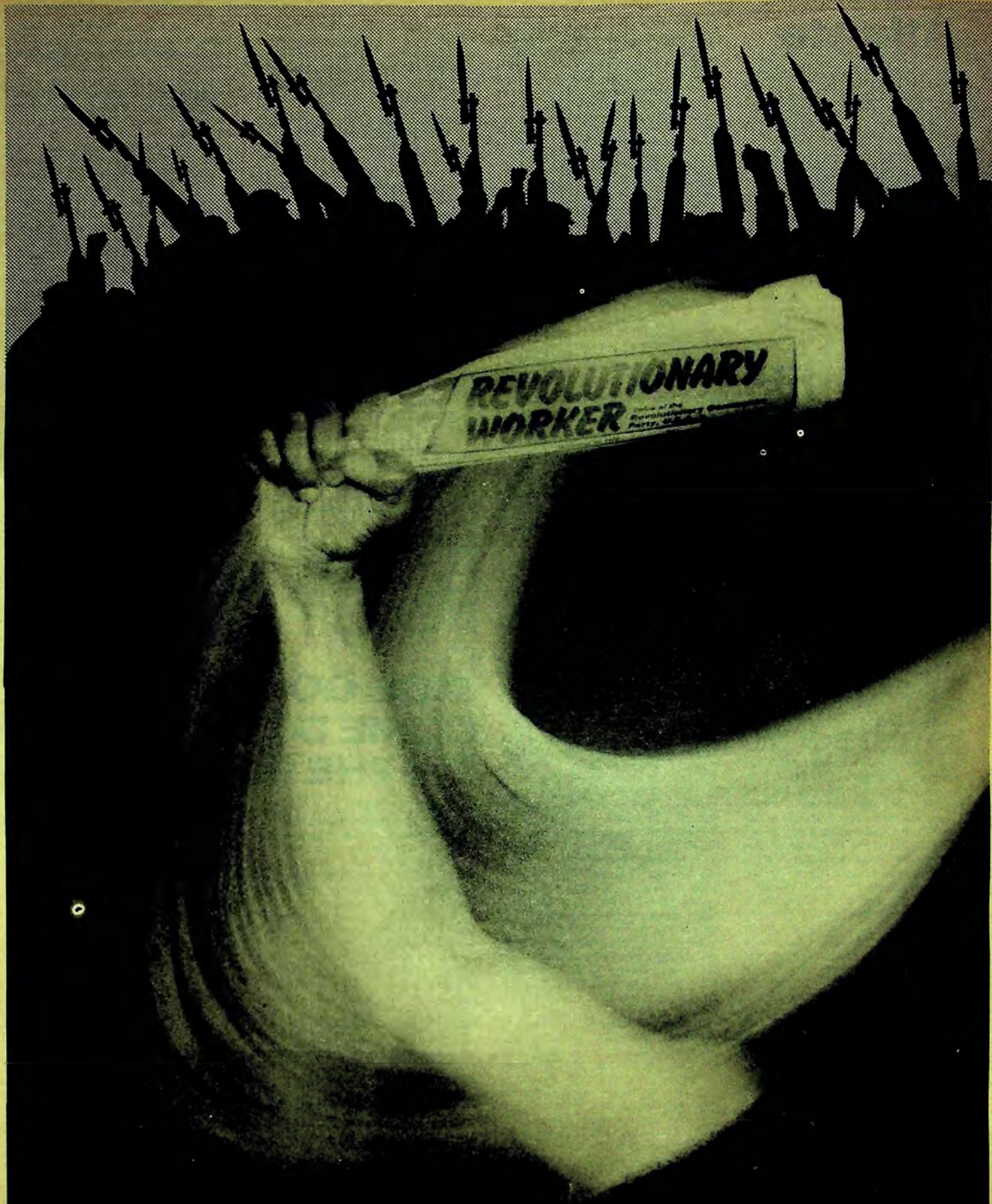
Media Campaign

The arrest of Andrew and Jackie Wilson, the two brothers charged in the shootings, was the signal for a new fever pitch of racist hysteria concerning gangs and the purported leniency of the criminal justice system. All of this is nothing new. For months the media has been selectively reporting certain "Black and white" crimes to evoke the image of roving bands of youth marauding through the city victimizing innocent citizens. Reams of newspaper coverage and hours of air time have been devoted to the story of a suburban teenager raped by nine youths, of two old women beaten in their home on the Southside and of

another gang rape during a concert at the International Amphitheatre. All of this has been broadcast far and wide, in lurid detail.

Needless to say, all the strident calls for "law and order" coming off these attacks have hardly been motivated by concern for the "victims" or for "human life." The same week that the alleged ringleader of the Amphitheatre rape was sentenced to 339 years in prison, the cops who murdered Richard Ramey, a Black man viciously beaten to death for the crime of smoking a cigarette on an elevated train, were sentenced to 2-1/2 years and 8 years respectively; they are still free pending appeal. How to account for the huge disparity in these sentences? No doubt the judge took into account the fact that Ramey's killers, being Chicago police officers, were "doing God's work."

The banner of "getting tough on criminals" and "cleaning up the gangs" being so righteously hoisted by every two-bit politician around these days is nothing but a cover for the violent suppression of a very politically volatile sector of society—Black youth in particular and the lower strata of the proletariat in general. To this end, starting with Cabrini-Green a year ago, police patrols in the public housing projects have been beefed up considerably. Even a routine incident where teenagers slashed seats on the Chicago Transit Authority was used by Mayor Jane Byrne as a pretext for posting 230 additional cops on bus routes serving the high schools. At the same time measures to disarm the masses through city gun control legislation have been pushed by the City Council. But as the experience of the recent gestapo-style raids on the Southside shows, all these measures ultimately make the situation all the more tense and explosive, illustrating a very deep problem indeed for the bourgeoisie. □



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