



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Party, U.S.A.

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## Bob Avakian Speaks to Some Sharp Questions Focusing on May First

# STEPPING UP... STEPPING OUT



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

To answer this question is itself to liberate more forces to make the decisive leaps called for. To answer it requires arming people, especially the advanced, with a

scientific and living understanding of society and the world and the process of changing them. A basic part of this is to go deeply and from all sides into our party's analysis of the objective situation in the world, its trend of development and the prospects this holds: the heightening and "gathering together" of the contradictions of the imperialist system on a world scale, the growing tendency toward world war between the rival imperialist blocs, the upsurge of revolutionary struggles in the world and the heightened possibilities for revolutionary advance, including perhaps even the chance for the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat in the U.S., turning it into a base area for world revolution. Together

with this, an important aspect of arming people politically is to give them a clear understanding of the situation in the revolutionary movement — in the U.S. and internationally — and the struggle to strengthen the revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist pole within this.

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

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Special to the RW:

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## On the Winds of Revolution from Istanbul to Berlin



# Damián García Day, April 22

Two years ago this week, Comrade Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was cut down — murdered by police agents in Los Angeles. This assassination, hatched in the den of the enemy, struck a biting anger into the hearts of revolutionaries and others in this country and around the world; it summoned from the proletariat an even deeper determination to carry forward with a powerful revolutionary internationalist statement on May Day, 1980.

On March 20, 1980, Comrade García and two others scaled the ramparts of the Alamo, that despised symbol of U.S. conquest and oppression. The sanctity of this chauvinist shrine was pierced as the flags of the USA and the State of Texas were lowered from their comfortable nest into the Texan dirt. In their place, the red flag was triumphantly raised, and for one hour the Alamo became politically liberated territory. From atop the crumbling fortress, a call shot out for the masses of people to make history on May 1st.

Political retaliation came four weeks later, on April 22 at the Pico-Aliso Housing project in East L.A. Damián and 11 other members of the May Day Brigade were greeted this day with an enthusiastic reception of the Latino residents as the Brigade marched through the project under red flags. Police cars and uniformed pigs, swarming around all day, suddenly disappeared from sight as the demonstration approached the last housing unit. As if on cue, a man jumped out to confront the Brigaders: "You hate the government. I am the government. Your flag is red. Mine is red, white and blue." This agent began grabbing at the red flag and throwing beer bottles. He was quickly joined by several others who, on his signal, jumped the marchers.

Damián García fell to the ground. As his comrades ran over to help him, they found blood gushing. During what had first appeared to be only a fist fight, Damián was viciously slashed. His throat and abdomen had been slit. As residents gathered around and attempted to save his life, one of the assassins was heard saying, "We've got plenty of time, the cops won't get here for a while." And true enough, the police, who had been everywhere before, did not arrive until the killers had escaped. When they did arrive, they arrested all the revolutionaries, and then attempted to disperse what the police report later called "the hostile crowd" of Pico-Aliso residents.

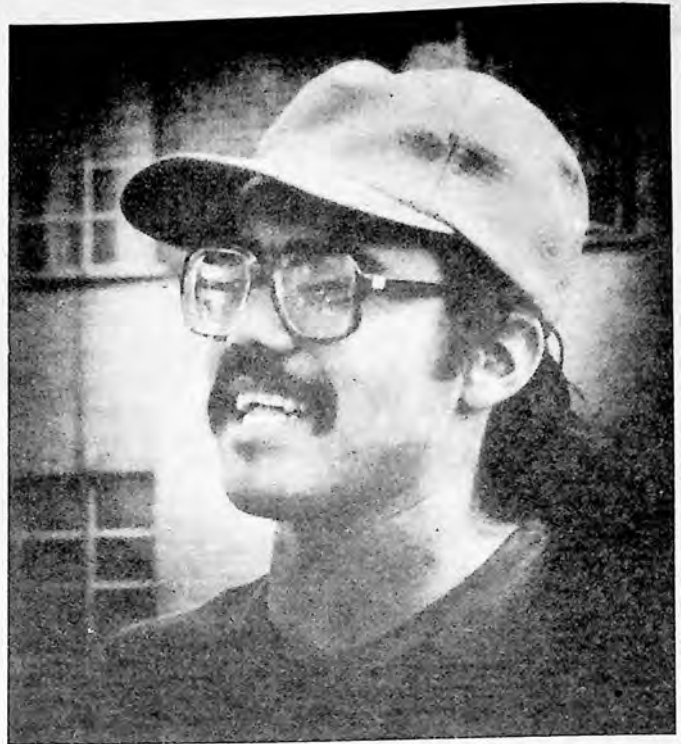
The knifing of Damián García was highly professional, and the attackers consciously singled out their victims. Of the 12 revolutionaries on the scene, the two targeted for assault, Damián and Hayden Fisher, were both involved in the Alamo takeover. Fisher was seriously injured with a stab wound. Damián himself was well known to the LAPD. They had snatched him up several times and then deposited him in a distant spot. Two weeks before his murder, they openly threatened him with death for his role in the Alamo takeover.

The coverup began immediately. The *Los Angeles Times* wrote the story —

straight from the police report — that Damián was a victim of "gang violence." Deep ripples of outrage spread throughout the country. Poems and messages of tribute submitted to the *RW* displayed the masses' deep anger over Damián's death and heartfelt inspiration over his life as a revolutionary. As the trial of the remaining defendants involved in the Alamo seizure opened in mid-June, a "Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damián García," signed by 6,800 people, appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Antonio Light*, and *La Opinión*, a Spanish-language newspaper.

Feeling the heat, one week after the Statement of Outrage appeared, the LAPD took the virtually unprecedented step of holding a press conference to announce that Damián's killers had been found. In an attempt to close the book on his murder once and for all, they announced that the killer, George Arellano, had himself been murdered three weeks earlier. The man accused of killing Arellano

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## Damián García is Dead But in His Death I Came Alive

*This poem was written by a 40-year-old Black man in the Atlanta city jail in April 1980. It was written on a brown paper bag, just after he received the special supplement of the Revolutionary Worker on the murder of Damián García. The poem was the first he had written in 5 years. It was read at May 1st rallies in cities across the country that year.*

Damián García is dead  
But in his death I came alive

Every day we are murdered bit by bit  
I am 40 years old  
A veteran, and a Black man  
My brother has been murdered  
Cold-blooded, gangster scum death  
I'm running out of patience

Damián García is dead  
But in his death I came alive

He held the blood-red flag as his own blood flowed  
I never knew I had a flag  
Until Damián García died  
Rage is nothing new to me  
And I've seen death before  
But I'm 40 years old and running out of patience

Damián García is dead  
What you gonna do?

I'm gonna take his place, motherfuckers  
And if you slit my throat and open my belly  
I was dying anyway bit by bit  
I lost an eye in the army, got shot in the back by a pig  
I'm 40 years old, run out of patience  
Ready for Revolution

Damián García is dead  
But in his death I came alive

Pass me a red flag  
Hand me a gun  
And when the time comes and we all ready  
I'll be one with the millions  
And I'll whisper to myself  
This one's for you, Damián  
'Cause in your death I came alive

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# THE PROLETARIANS OF THE GARMENT CENTER

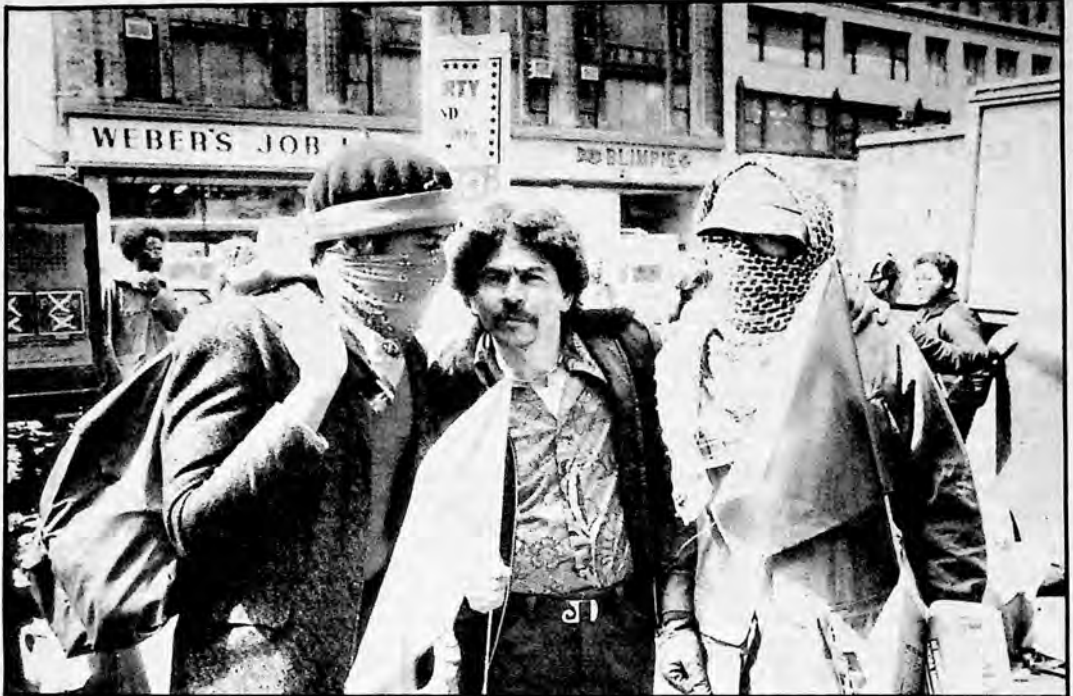
Garment Center, New York City. A bright red flag waves steadily as the wind snaps down Eighth Avenue. A brother from Puerto Rico eyes the flag and comes over right away. As he talks on the street corner in the garment district he's hip on this point — "I'm one of those people who has nothing to lose because I have nothing. And there are a lot of people like me here." He remembers May Day '81; he was there. May Day is "a day of remembrance, a day of preparation, a day of the future."

A couple of days later we meet up with a guy from El Salvador. "May Day is what the world is counting on. It will be like putting more fire to the fire. The impact? Make the revolutionary movement stronger? May First is going to demonstrate the working class' forces for revolution and our level of consciousness . . . there are a lot of workers out there who are thirsting to know how to find the revolution. They are really thirsting, sick and tired of the order of imperialism." With a kind of anguish in his voice he speaks of "a lot of (other) workers drowning in ignorance . . . it seems the one who knows a little dies knowing a little . . . we know what our goal is. We have our goal set. But, how to get the people to see, how to try and raise their consciousness . . ."

On the street corners of the garment center and tucked inside the restaurants beneath the garment shops, workers driven here from many countries are plotting and wrangling over how to overthrow imperialism. They are beginning to link up with each other and to forge stronger ties with the Party, to struggle and to seek answers to many questions: what political role must they play, is revolution possible, how to bring the future alive on May First?

The garment district is in many respects enemy turf for the bourgeoisie. Beneath the congestion and press of people with diverse views and experiences, amidst the daily grind of sheer physical toil, where prostitution and drugs flow easily and where, for now, the INS (Immigration & Naturalization Service) and the political police lurk in the background, May Day is struggling to break out.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels described the proletariat as "... a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, are



consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market . . ."

Such a proletariat indeed exists within the U.S., workers who have nothing to lose but their chains. An important section of these workers is concentrated here in the garment district. They are wage slaves in dead-end, shit-paying, insecure jobs. The women sew, the men work as beasts of burden, loading and unloading trucks, pushing racks of clothing in snow and ice and the hot, muggy New York summer.

Primarily these proletarians in mid-town garment come from South and Central America and the Caribbean. For example, in 1969 estimates of 35,000 Dominicans living illegally in the U.S. were considered grossly underestimated. The knowledge of the nature of U.S. imperialism among these foreign-born is vast, their experiences in fighting U.S. imperialism proudly spoken of. A Dominican factory worker in the South Bronx speaks with delight of the '65 insurrection, when the U.S. invaded: "We killed 260 yankees in 2 days . . . in four days it was all over but nobody will forget the day we put it to the yankees." These are a dangerous breed of proletarians the U.S. has driven here.

Of the half million manufacturing workers in the New York area today, roughly 140,000 are employed in the garment industry. The number of garment workers compared to many years ago has been greatly reduced owing to the overall effects of the crisis, with many shops closing down and/or going overseas for cheap labor. The results are high unemployment, a high job turnover and worsening conditions of work. Operating along with the routine sweatshops are a staggering number of fly-by-night operations. Ten years ago there were 200 known super sweatshops. Today they number 3,000, scattered all over the New York area, opening up, closing down and reopening under another name. The pay in one of these super sweatshops can be \$1.50 an hour for a 50-hour week. Within the industry overall, the practice of homework, of actually taking garments home to be sewn, is on the increase.

The ILGWU, one of the largest unions, puts its membership at 110,000. Thirty to 50% of these workers are considered "illegal." The garment industry thrives on immigrant labor. It feeds on those who have been marked by the system for the bottom. Garment has always been an immigrant industry consuming waves of people. Among them the Bolshevik Russian Jews, rebellious Irish and Italian workers of the Molly Maguires and Sacco & Vanzetti fame played a radicalizing role then, too. But there is an important political distinction worth noting today. These foreign-born workers in garment now are not coming out of one European capitalist country into the up and coming American imperialist power. They are being driven here largely out of the U.S.'s own colonies and neo-colonies and at a time of decline, of growing crisis of U.S. imperialism. It is a time when the U.S. is calling for patriotism and national unity even as it steps up oppression and open aggression — all in preparation for world war.

The garment district in mid-town Manhattan is but one concentration of the industry. While the shops are small, employing on the average 12 people, the owners are not your struggling Joe Blow capitalist. Bonjour and Givenchy operate here. There are many partners in on the action. Unions routinely agree with each other and the companies to not organize workers. While the Mafia has in the past mainly dominated the trucking end of the industry, they have recently moved into the shops. With capital from their "illegal" banking enterprises of loan-shark-

ing, etc., they seem to have the much needed cash to keep the shops operating in an industry where the price of a dress has fallen from \$6 a few years ago to \$3.50 today. The existence of the Mafia here is an open secret. Last November Mr. Gambino, a well-known Mafia kingpin, was honored at the Plaza Hotel as the garment industry's man of the year. Manufacturers and unions alike took out ads congratulating him in the trade newspapers. This open secret of Mafia infiltration serves a political function to keep workers from bucking the status quo for fear of brutal and swift retaliation.

Many of these foreign-born came to the U.S. with expectations of a better life, of being able to make enough money and go back home, too. But reality asserts itself. A guy from Honduras has been in this country for 10 years. His situation has never changed. He explained, "We get the minimum pay. It doesn't matter where you go to work if you are Spanish-speaking. When you are hungry you've got to take the conditions that they give you. You've got no other choice." Another Central American brother: "I came to this country to work. And I work. But what they take out here, they squeeze my guts out."

Pushing a rack of boxed material is a young man from Puerto Rico with a co-worker from Ecuador. "I've been working in garment for four years, working for different people. What made me come here? Because I need the money . . . I've got three kids and the important thing is that my wife gets welfare. If she didn't I wouldn't be able to exist, forget it." On his cart is fastened a red flag and written in black magic marker are two huge letters "PR."

There are also significant numbers of Black workers in the garment district. Some were active in the '60s; some are veterans of the Vietnam war. James was sent to Nam, came back and wound up in garment. He almost made it out last year when his company moved to Jersey. But the cost of transportation was too much and back he is. James works through an agency and he hips us to this widespread practice in the garment district. Some companies will only hire through an agency like his. The pay is minimum wage and it does not matter how many hours a week you work, overtime pay does not exist. You can work for a company for three years and still you are a hired-out temporary from the agency. "Take home

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## Translate May 1st Call Into Russian!

Last week volunteers for May First visited sailors aboard a Russian ship in Long Beach Harbor near Los Angeles, spreading the call for May First action to proletarians in the belly of the Soviet-led imperialist bloc. The night volunteers first went aboard the ship to fraternize they met a sailor and handed him a copy of the May First call. The sailor looked at it and, not understanding what it said, handed it back. "Marx — da. Lenin — da," the volunteer began to explain. The sailor shook his head in agreement. "Reagan — nyet. Brezhnev — nyet." With that the sailor grabbed the call out of the volunteer's hand, got out a Russian-English dictionary and began to translate the call. Unfortunately, the Russian ship quickly left in the middle of the next night, before this work was complete.

As this story illustrates, there is a great need and also opportunities to spread the May First call to these proletarians from the Soviet Union. "Our" respective ruling classes — U.S. and Soviet — would have us meet on opposing sides of a battlefield; we should have other dreams — and plans.

To be able to publish and distribute this call in Russian will be a powerful blow for proletarian internationalism and will greatly heighten the worldwide impact of this year's May First action. For these reasons we are asking for help in translating the May First call into Russian before May First — and in this way, as the call itself puts it, "help to 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." □

# Jingo Bells! Jingo Bells!

## ... or, Her Majesty's South Atlantic Expedition

As of this writing the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) crisis continues to develop and it has become clearer day by day that far more is going on here than an overblown melodramatic dispute over control of 1,800 Falklanders and herds of sheep. This is serious business with important worldwide geopolitical concerns at stake that are obviously linked directly to the fighting of world war.

The nightly news pictures Royal Marines exercising on the decks of luxury liners commandeered for troop transport. While standing in an emergency session of Parliament last Wednesday, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared that Britain would not shirk from "using force in the face of aggression." "We shall take the necessary actions, have no doubt of that." "Hear, hear," replied the assembled Tories and her majesty's socialists with one voice. The royal fleet steamed on and was beefed up as various possible war strategies were floated in the press. The U.S., which looked the other way and even gave a certain encouragement to Argentina in making its move to seize back the islands, has used its "good offices" to both help encourage a strong British show of force and prevent the conflict from getting too far out of hand and thus jeopardizing relations with Argentina. They were quick to tell the Soviets to "butt out" of the affair and not try to take advantage of any contradictions that may develop between Argentina and the U.S.

But in spite of real worries in Washington and real potential for new difficulties to arise in this conflict, the U.S. and its staunchest allies in Western Europe are obviously pleased by what has transpired in recent weeks. The British journal *The Economist* says it straight out. In its April 10 editorial, the magazine can barely disguise its glee counseling the vacillators and doubters in the U.S. bloc to get in step. After bluntly and frankly dismissing all notions that the dispute is over the rights of the Falklanders or a silly "puff of post-colonial pride," *The Economist* counsels: "All those causes for British belligerence should now be put in the past. The better reasons for challenging Argentina's act of conquest are calculated and colder ones. In the British, European and American mind there should be stronger causes now for confrontation than the little island at stake; stronger causes—be heartless about it—than the 1,800 British lives on the Islands. If British people and politicians are not ready to lose them, the ships would better have remained in Ports-

mouth... To shrink will be to shrink; to show that today democracies really are less able to defend their interests—even the tiny ones, never mind the bigger ones that matter more—than are authoritarian regimes. And thereby to encourage bigger losses in the future than the Falklands today. That is the issue."

In the same vein they continue: "...the assertion of interest and right costs time, pain, and gore to maintain. Any given national interest can be argued to be a marginal one—in the Falklands, an irrelevant one—next to the effort required to maintain it. That a nation's interest is indivisible is lost sight of very easily in a working modern democracy." Cheerio boys, let's get on with it!

The role of U.S. "good offices" has, of course, continues to dominate the political maneuvering. Flying first to London to huddle with fellow imperialist chieftain Thatcher, Alexander Haig emerged solemn-faced to announce how impressed he was with Britain's "resolve" in this crisis. Then it was off to Buenos Aires and back to London again—in the process holding off any actual clash and advancing a new U.S. plan under which Argentina would have to withdraw, and the islands would pass to some kind of joint British-U.S.-Argentinian administration while their "sovereignty" is negotiated—a process which could easily take another 150 years. In the meantime all could save face and surprise, surprise, the U.S. might just have another military outpost in the South Atlantic like its "peace-keeping" strike force currently deployed in the Sinai. At the same time, the U.S. is making its support for its staunchest European ally unmistakably clear through an orchestrated leaking of details of the U.S. supply of satellite communication and surveillance facilities for the British fleet, as well as ample providing of fuel supplies from the U.S. base on Ascension Island. "Failure to live up to existing obligations," said Haig, "would only jeopardize the U.S.' ability to play the mediating role." And for those in Britain who were upset over the initial appearance of "even-handedness" on the part of the U.S., which does have a real stake in cultivating Argentina as a regional gendarme in Latin America, the same *Economist* editorial cited above was quick to assure its readers that they need not worry about where the U.S. would come down in the crunch. After all, "Alliance à la carte is no alliance: that is the argument that America itself has been trying to deploy against European way-



Prestel, the home computer service, presents "Obliterate," a computer game that allows users to pit the British Royal Navy against the Argentine fleet in the Falkland Islands. The game develops day by day as the situation changes.

wardness in the Middle East, over Poland, over Afghanistan, over nuclear deployment and over spending on defense." In other words, while there are and will continue to be real contradictions when any gang of thieves band together to defend and expand their turf, at moments of historic conjuncture there can be no backing out. From here on in, fellows, it's got to be one bloc and one leader. And our object is to redivide the world, gentlemen.

Scarcely hours after the announcement of the Falklands' invasion, the Council of Europe, composed of 21 member countries of Western Europe, declared its support for Britain. Socialist President Mitterand of France made a personal call to Tory Prime Minister Thatcher to declare his support for the British armada against Argentina. West Germany and Holland declared embargos on military supplies slated for shipment to Argentina. And then on April 10 the ten countries of the European Economic Community (the Common Market), in an unprecedented move, declared a unanimous embargo on all imports from Argentina. This being the same body which only two years ago refused to heed Jimmy Carter's call for an embargo on Iran during the hostage crisis.

While this is a sign of real results in for-

cing more unity in its bloc, this does not mean that U.S. policy in the crisis is without great risk. It is a real gamble that the U.S. strategy is precisely aimed at allowing things to develop to a certain degree before a settlement is reached. Besides the threat of fighting between its own allies, the U.S. strategy also courts the risk of strengthening the Soviet influence in Argentina. If hurt badly enough militarily or economically, Argentina would turn to the Soviet bloc which not only is graciously offering its military services and has real political influence among sections of the Argentinian ruling class to boot. Already both the U.S. and Britain have noticeably stepped up their warnings to the Soviets to "butt out" of the Falklands affair. The fact that the U.S. is willing to take such risks in order to force greater unity within its bloc in preparation for a showdown with the Soviet bloc is both a reflection of the extent of the contradictions within the U.S. alliance and the supreme importance of overcoming this, even by extraordinary means.

And the jingoistic warmongering on the part of the British imperialists in particular is music to the ears of the U.S. ruling class. The idea is that some others pick up the tune as readily. □

## FUNDS ARE NEEDED NOW FOR MAY 1st:

- To support volunteers in the focal cities
- To expand distribution of the RW into new areas, including internationally
- To counter the inevitable attempts to silence May Day
- To build for a great leap in revolutionary preparation on the First of May

Contributions can be sent to: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654 or to the RCP in your area.



# Joint Communiqué

by

## The Ceylon Communist Party, The Nepal Communist Party and the Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

Representatives of the Ceylon Communist Party, the Nepal Communist Party and Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) met and discussed various ideological and political issues facing the International Communist Movement at the present juncture and arrived at unanimous opinions regarding the following:

1. The international communist movement is facing a very serious situation because of the emergence of the new variants of revisionism represented by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania especially since the death of Mao Tsetung. Only by exposing and defeating these new revisionist trends along with the Soviet type of revisionism can the international communist movement continue its onward march towards the cherished goals of socialism and communism. Therefore the signatories call upon the Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world to take up the task of relentlessly waging an ideological struggle against these variants of revisionism at the international level, as of immediate importance.

2. At the present historical juncture the international communist movement is represented by the Marxist-Leninist forces who uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and who are waging a relentless struggle against the various trends of revisionism propagated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania and against the counter revolutionary concepts like the Theory of the Three Worlds. Though this is a small force at present, they represent the emerging and growing force as the vanguard of the revolutionary forces all over the world who are in the thick of the struggle against the world wide oppressors grouped in the two imperialist blocs headed by the two superpowers, U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism.

3. The signatories consider that in this circumstance it is of prime importance for all Marxist-Leninist forces the world over to come together and exchange their ideas and experiences in order to strengthen their unity at all levels in the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and revisionism. They consider the Joint Communiqué signed by 13 organisations in the Autumn 1980 as an encouraging step of historical importance in this direction. Upholding the spirit of the above communiqué the signatories call upon the Marxist-Leninist forces in this region of the world to come together convening regional meetings for exchange of ideas and experiences with the aim of building up and strengthening a powerful internationalist platform of the international communist movement.

Signed by:  
The Ceylon Communist Party  
The Nepal Communist Party  
The Central Reorganisation Committee  
of the Communist Party of India  
(Marxist-Leninist).

## Calls to May 1st from India, Workers from Turkey

1 April 1982  
Vol 8 No 11  
Pages 8  
Price Rs 10

# massline

Published 1st and 15th of Every Month

This May Day call comes from the April 1 issue of the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper Mass Line.

### May Day Means Flaming Torch for the Proletariat — Fear for the Exploiters and Oppressors

May 1st, the international workers day symbolising death defying struggles of the proletariat against all forms of oppression, is coming. This day proclaims the internationalism of the proletariat and the vision of a society cleaned of demons, a society born out of immense sacrifices and courage of the working class and all other oppressed people. This day brings surging hatred towards the perpetrators of exploitation in the eyes of the class conscious proletarians and forcefully reminds them of their historic task of revolutionising the world, a great task that remains to be performed. This great historical task confronting the international proletariat will remain unfinished until imperialism and exploitation of every shade is wiped out from the face of the globe in a thorough-going way and a new system built up in place of the existing class society.

The contemporary world is a world in turmoil. Faced with the task of "expropriating the expropriators" the proletariat has to deal with newer and additional stumbling blocks on its march to freedom and socialism. The working class in erstwhile socialist countries have lost their political power and those countries have degenerated into capitalist and imperialist ones, mortal enemies of the proletariat and of the world revolution. The restoration of capitalism in socialist countries have put on the shoulders of the proletariat the urgent problem of grappling with the theory and practice of consolidating and developing their revolution and thwart any attempts of the bourgeoisie to recapture political and economic power. The fast increasing paranoia among the forces of reaction and darkness in not being able to overcome the vicious crisis in which they are getting drowned is driving them to outrightly fascist and aggressive postures and this coupled with the terrible loss of reliable revolutionary bases has made the historic task facing the interna-

tional proletariat a more difficult and tortuous one.

But the international proletariat and the oppressed are definitely not disheartened or cowed down. The whole globe is littered with blood-red spots and their number is multiplying. The fact that in spite of the intensification of counter-revolution and the losses in socialist countries the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and other oppressed the world over are threatening the very foundations of this exploitative world order clearly show, that Mao's assertion that revolution is the main trend in the world stands stronger than ever. Both brands of imperialism are faced with rising challenges on two fronts — intensifying economic crisis and rising waves of revolutionary struggles aimed at the roots of their imperialist order. They are in a frenzy and are actively involved in preparing for greater calamities which will ultimately sweep them over into graveyards.

All imperialists are spending sleepless nights. The Soviet social imperialists are finding it hard to maintain their mask of socialism and stands naked in front of the world peoples. Eritrea, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Poland have become hot bricks for them and the specific possibility of Poland becoming a trend in other satellites is giving them nightmares. On the other side the neo-colonial area of influence of the U.S. imperialists is in upheaval. Whether it is El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Philippines or Turkey the masses are waging violent battles against reaction and imperialism. Moreover, everything is not fine at home also. The youth in the capitalist and imperialist countries are not going to be passive spectators to imperialist crimes and mismanagement. Brixton and anti-war rallies all over Europe and America are living testimony to this.

Present day world is not only marked by numerous revolutionary upsurges but also by intense struggles in the ideological realm. The international proletariat and

(Continued on page 17)



Emperyalizme Sosyal Emperyalizme ve Her Türklü Gericiğe Karşı

# MÜCADELE

ATIF (Almanya Türkiyelili İşçiler Federasyonu) yayın organı

This is a translation of a draft May First call which appeared in *Mücadele (Struggle)*, a newspaper of the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF). ATIF is a mass democratic organization which opposes imperialism, social-imperialism and all forms of reaction and supports the people's democratic revolution in Turkey and the revolutionary organizations fighting for that new-democratic revolution.

### Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany:

#### Forward in the Spirit of Internationalism to the International Working Class' Day of Unity, Solidarity and Struggle

Those who have nothing to lose but their chains — this call is to you!

The oppressed of the old world, the creators of the new, all those who dare to overthrow all that is old and reactionary, this call is to you!

Wage slaves, toiling brothers and sisters, revolutionary youth —

May 1 is the revolutionary holiday of the international proletariat. This is the day when the workers of the world, paying no heed to the differences between nations, tongues, skin colors, men and women, rejecting the national borders drawn by capital, stand up all together as one undivided class against the exploiters and oppressors and all their ilk and declare to their face, we've come to dig your graves! May 1 is a proud symbol of proletarian internationalism which scatters the dust of nationalism to the winds. This is the day when it is once again declared to friend and foe that the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples for revolution, irregardless of their different stages and processes, are directed towards a single common goal. May 1 is a day of unity and common struggle of all those who wage battle to break and bury the shackles of the reign of capital, of class exploitation, modern slavery and

all that goes with it. May 1 is a revolutionary festival of the oppressed and a nightmare for the bloodsuckers. This holiday cannot be celebrated without waging revolutionary struggle; this festival cannot be celebrated except with hearts beating faster and with new vigor for an emancipated world without exploitation and war between peoples pitted against one another for mutual slaughter.

Especially today, more than ever, we must correctly grasp the significance of May 1.

On a world scale, storms of colossal proportions are gathering on the horizon. In all the corners of the world, far and near, oppressed peoples are rising up to shake off the yoke of imperialism and setting the oppressor's throne on fire. From Tehran to Managua, crowns are rolling down the streets one after another; the fear and shaking hands of those who dare not pick them up bear testimony to the rapidly rising tide of revolutionary storms in the colonies and semi-colonies dominated by imperialism.

On the other hand, in the imperialist countries, deepening economic crisis is eating away the very foundations of the regimes of exploitation. The imperialists and social-imperialists seek salvation basically through another war and redivision of the world among the slave-holders. The western imperialists who never tire of regurgitating worn-out demagoguery about "human rights" and "the free world," and the social-imperialists who attack and sabotage the national liberation movements under the guise of "friendship and support," have formed two military blocs led by the U.S. and the Russian social-imperialists respectively. While their hypocritical barking about "disarmament" and "preservation of world peace" is filling the skies, they prepare for a third world war and compete with each other in grabbing up stra-

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Proletarians from Turkey to Germany

# On the Winds of Revolution from Istanbul to Berlin

The following article was written for the Revolutionary Worker by a correspondent who recently visited West Germany.

Stepping off the train inside Frankfurt's cavernous main station, which is Europe's busiest and the hub of Germany's famed rail network, a first-time traveler can easily become a bit confused. As you recover from being somewhat overawed by the huge building — with its seemingly endless rows of train platforms, dozens of shops and restaurants and what must be thousands of people talking, walking, yelling and rushing about, with an accompanying Calliope of sound that is echoing off the tremendous expanse of glass-paned roofs — and begin to really see things, you are immediately struck with the question: where are all the blue-eyed, fair-haired people

you saw in those late-night war movies? They are clearly outnumbered in this crowd by people hailing from places quite a distance from the fabled Rhine Valley.

As you venture out onto the "Bahnhof Vorplatz" (the large plaza in front of the station) the same thing is repeated. The place is jammed with people sitting on benches, standing around talking in groups of five and six — people from Turkey, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia and India. Some off-duty GIs with ghetto blasters walk through the crowd followed a few minutes later by some German youth with ghetto blasters, wearing denim jackets with the sleeves cut off. We go across the street to grab a burger at the Wendy's, which is next to the McDonald's, which is next to the Burger King, which is next to West Germany's own Hamburger Farm, and a quick conversation with the guy who takes our order confirms appearances: yes, 95% of the people working there (and in the McDonald's and Burger King) are from Ceylon, India and Pakistan. And, yes, they are busting butt for the same fast

food wages as in the States (about \$3 an hour) — which does not include the unpaid overtime they are sometimes forced to work under the threat of being fired and losing their living and working papers.

Later, after returning to the station and standing on the platform to wait for the train that would take us further north, I began to notice another phenomenon that reminded me of a familiar sight in the U.S. Here you can watch dozens and dozens of railroad workers doing all kinds of things: up on the platforms they're selling tickets, giving out information, dispatching trains, conductors waiting in groups for other trains to arrive and make crew changes; and down on the tracks, people coupling and uncoupling cars, hauling baggage, mail and freight, loading and unloading all this into train cars headed for all directions of the compass — a giant pulsating heart whose veins and arteries stretch out to Paris, Stockholm, Budapest, Warsaw, Rome, Vienna and Moscow. As you look a little closer at this mosaic of motion with its constantly changing rhythms and patterns you notice that all the workers up on the platform — and dressed in blue blazers with shiny brass buttons — all of them are German. And when you check

out the workers down on the tracks — dressed in the blue coveralls and waist-jackets that are Europe's standard work uniform — doing all the dirty, heavy manual labor, you see that the majority of them are clearly immigrants. That's when you realize that you're looking at the same division of labor that you can see any day in almost any city in the U.S., walking downtown past the crew from the gas and electric company. There's more likely than not a white foreman and a white guy running the back-hoe and a Black guy on the jackhammer and two more Black guys down in the hole shoveling mud.

Back on the train heading north along the mighty Rhine jammed with freight barges and lined with storybook castles that overlook the river from the steep bluffs that line its banks (a study in contrast between two stages of society's development), these initial impressions were running back through my mind. They were not some superficial gleanings or forced parallels based on preconceived notions, but rather what we had seen was a reflection of a profound change in the character of West German society (as well as most other European countries). No longer is this a homogenous Nordic society. Today 4.65 million immigrants, mostly workers, make up 7.5% of the total population. Further they are concentrated in the big cities — 22% of Frankfurt's population, for example, are immigrants. This is not an isolated phenomenon but rather one that repeats





itself in a number of imperialist countries though with different particularities.

As the scenery rolled by, my thoughts turned to our destination — the Ruhregbiet of northern Germany. Here where the Ruhr and Rhine rivers merge, and the cities of Dusseldorf, Duisberg, Dortmund and Essen are clustered in a 25-mile radius, is the heart of West Germany's heavy industry. And in these regions an estimated 400,000 of the 1.5 to 2 million "guest workers" (as the bourgeoisie calls them) from Turkey live and work in the steel mills, auto plants, machine tool shops and coal mines.

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"Tell your friend that I don't want to take up his time but I have a burning in my heart that I want people to know about," the older worker at the other table said. Though talking to our translator, he looked directly at me. He had the kind of eyes you knew had seen things that words can only begin to tell. We had come to this Center for workers from Turkey in the north of West Germany seeking an opportunity to speak with revolutionary proletarians from that country with the hope of gaining a better understanding of the revolution in Turkey and the role these forces were playing in that struggle and in the world revolutionary process generally.

The room, crowded with 60 or 70 people, mostly men from their late teens to their 50s, was alive with the sound of a dozen voices when we first arrived. Most had just returned from taking part in a demonstration protesting the recent hanging of four revolutionaries in Turkey. Particularly since the U.S.-backed military coup in Turkey, September 1980, ATIF has been waging an on-going campaign of exposure protesting the torture and execution of revolutionary political prisoners in Turkey, especially Suleyman Cihan, a leading member of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist who was murdered in prison by the junta last October. And now clustered in groups around the tables that filled most of the room — or standing along the wall — they talked politics in animated tones.

We took seats at one of the tables and our translator rapped on its top with his knuckles and called for people's attention. Despite being only half successful, he began to explain that some revolutionaries from the U.S. were here and wanted to talk to people and gather material for an article for the *Revolutionary Worker*. As he talked, he pointed to the bulletin board across the room

where the May Day Call of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was posted in Turkish along with the front page issue of that week's *Revolutionary Worker*. With this a perceptible buzz of initial recognition, accompanied by nodding heads and exchanged comments, started throughout the room. Heads turned and people drew around our table which had now become the center of the room's attention.

As I looked around I could almost see in the expressions on people's faces what they were thinking: "Revolutionaries from the U.S. — what were they all about, where were they coming from politically? Were they serious?" We were definitely being carefully checked out. By the same token, questions were raised in my mind as well. What brought these people to Germany, how did they see the revolution they were part of, what role did they play in it? What impact were they having on the political landscape in this particular imperialist mother country...?

#### The Year the Hail Was Red

"They tell me I was born in the year the hail was red — that's how they fix my birthday — the year the dust from the soil turned the hail red. It was in 1938 and I was working as a peasant kid taking care of land and animals when I began to notice the difference in the way we were treated and the way the animals were treated. For instance the flock of sheep I tended had a certain regular cating time and we didn't. We used to get a handful of grain and so forth each day to eat. They watched us very carefully to see that we didn't take more — and my mother would grind it up by hand in the village square and she would add water to it and this is what kept us alive. I noticed that this was the same thing the landlord fed his dogs."

He had come to West Germany 11 years ago from the Kurdish region of Turkey and as he spoke we began to get a living understanding of what lopsided imperialist relations are all about.

His words fell in deliberate and measured tones — and while we had to wait for the translation to find out the exact meaning — the emotion in his voice made it clear that these were not some vague and distant images he was recalling. Growing up under the heel of feudal exploitation in the Kurdish region of Turkey had seared indelible impressions in his memory. The recollection was no academic exercise but brought with it some of the original pain — not forgotten but burning in his mind like glowing coals

ready to burst into flame any time more fuel was added.

His voice slowed now and at first I thought he had momentarily lost his place in the narrative or was just searching for just the right word. He began again and stopped, and then he took off his glasses and wiped the tears from his eyes. The whole room grew very quiet — he forced the words out in halting phrases.

"As for our clothing the landlord sometimes stooped low enough to give us the old dirty diapers from their children so we could put something on our backs." He stopped for a moment and then continued. "There was a school established in another village some distance away, but our landlord would not let the kids in our village go. This was because we were working on his land and taking care of his animals. But I went anyway and one day I came back with an alphabet book and the Turkish landlord started making fun of me and said I'm going to give you a new name, 'Efendi.' (In English this means 'Asleep,' and the brother jokingly used this name throughout the meeting — *RW*.) You have to understand that the Kurdish people have their own names. I didn't fully understand it then but the landlord's ridiculing me by giving me a Turkish name with the connotation it had was part of the whole effort to keep the masses ignorant. This is the process of *Kemalism*." (Mustafa Kemal, also known as Ataturk, was the first president of the Republic of Turkey founded in 1923. Among other things he banned the Kurds and other minorities from speaking their own languages — *RW*.)

"When I was 24 they reduced my age to 19 and sent me to the army. We came from a Kurdish village and didn't speak Turkish — so the army's remedy for this was 'falaka' — making us lie down and then beating the bare bottoms of our feet. They did this as often as they could. The official position of the government and their *Kemalist* ideology is that there is no Kurdish people or language and I've described how they taught us Turkish.

"Once because I could not understand what an officer was saying to me in Turkish he had me beaten for 24 hours continuously. Afterwards when I was taken to the doctor he only cursed at me and threw me out and I was taken back to the barracks with my injuries untreated. One thing I could never tolerate was how they told us we were protecting the 'manly honor' of the state, while at the same time they treated us like dogs.

"Another time they were showing us

how to use the latest American weapons they had bought and we were having a hard time understanding because we couldn't read or write, and again we were publicly humiliated and beaten. Because of these beatings I lost many teeth from my mouth.

"In 1965 a traveling salesman came to our village and told us that conditions were much better if we went to work in Germany. So we went to the employment office where they signed up workers for Germany and applied. But the decision on that didn't come until six years later in 1971. At that time we had no money to make the trip to Istanbul to register to go to Germany. My father had only one mule and one cow. There was a long discussion over which one to sell to get the money. Finally he decided to sell both, thinking that if I went to Germany I could earn enough money to buy others.

"So we went to Istanbul to apply for this work, but they looked at my mouth and saw all the teeth I had lost in the military and told me I wasn't fit to go. This forced me to borrow money from some friends and buy a pair of ready-made false teeth. When I returned with these false teeth, I passed their test, and for 15 days we slept outside under the trees without money or food waiting to leave. Just to show you the contrast, on the 15th day, when the capitalists needed our labor, we were loaded on a jet airplane and within hours found ourselves in the middle of a foundry in West Germany.

"The conditions were horrible, there was so much dust in the air you couldn't see people 10 feet away. People were losing hands and arms in accidents and dying from lung sickness caused by this dust and they had diseases of the eye. Despite these horrible conditions we could not forget the situation in Turkey and that we needed to earn money to send back to keep the young ones alive. About a year later some people left for other jobs and I did the same. But it was like running from the hail and getting caught in the rain.

"My new job was in a textile factory, and the air was again filled with dust and we always got the worst jobs. I worked here for two years but the pay was so low I could hardly send any money back and it was three years before I could go back to Turkey for a visit. This factory was about 80% foreign workers and our pay was one-half that of the Germans who worked there.

"Then I got my present job where the conditions are somewhat better but again I was getting the lowest pay. They told me this was because they had taught me how to drive a forklift.

"In 1976 I began to be active in the Worker's Center that some people set up to help us with our problems. Eventually this center was registered with the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF) and one day some friends from ATIF told me that they were going to a People's Festival. I was kind of suspicious of what it was about, but I went with them. Right away I noticed this had a different flavor. People were shouting slogans and talking about overthrowing the comprador bourgeoisie and establishing new democracy. These things were new to me but by then I'd begun to read and write and I was looking around on the bookshelves. There I saw a book with a picture of a man who looked like me — and I thought here is someone like me, from the same stock. I bought the book and found out he was really a peasant kid and his name was Ibrahim Kaypakaya" (The founder of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML). The TKP/ML is of course illegal in Turkey and unable to operate legally in West Germany as well — *RW*.)

"I found out this was a person who had established an orientation and leadership for the working class and oppressed people in Turkey. I found that he'd never given up even though he had been tortured for three months in Diyarbakir Prison and was murdered there. I almost cried when I was reading the pages of his book. And this was when I took my place in the ranks of the revolution.

"Since I've been a revolutionary, they have tried to fire me from my job three times for speaking out about the condi-

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# “We Shall Burn the Heavens if Necessary to Make Revolution in this Country and in Every Corner of the World”

March 24, 1982  
Los Angeles, California  
Students in Struggle

On that day, Los Angeles High rocked as a group of rebel Salvadoran and Nicaraguan youths stormed their so-called “Career Day” program with its “future of opportunities” represented by military recruiters, and unleashed revolutionary agitation, revolutionary literature, red flags, and calls to prepare for May Day and worldwide revolution (see the students’ letter to *RW* No. 148).

Major aftershocks of this action continued to jolt L.A. High and far beyond as a real earthshaker building for April 30/May First. On March 24 itself, after the revolutionary actions and the school administration’s desperate reaction of running around grabbing newspapers out of students’ hands, arresting the rebel youth, suspending two and demanding they remove their “inflammatory” Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade T-shirts, dozens of students gathered across from the school to take up the call

to put the stamp of the international proletariat on L.A., Atlanta and New York on May Day.

Resolving to unite with students from all nationalities and spread May Day throughout the L.A. school district, the “Career Day” actions and the meeting galvanized a core of rebel youth who are actively preparing for May Day and revolution. Large numbers of *Revolutionary Communist Youth* newspapers, *RW*s, and May Day literature have repeatedly found their way into the hands of L.A. High students while school officials thrash around trying to “prohibit” this “inflammatory” material. The rebel youth are generally two steps ahead of the administrators, with “clandestine” networks developing and May Day posters appearing inside and around the school along with a creative use of stencils from the *RW*. The rebels have also begun distributing the *RW* on street corners and building for May Day in the heavily Central American concentration around L.A. High.

One rebel has become a volunteer for May Day and another rebel Nicaraguan youth wrote a letter challenging other youth to step forward, concluding, “The First, the day of all oppressed men and women of the world, approaches. From south to north, from east to west will radiate the Red Flag of the international proletariat . . . . We march toward the sun — that our ‘country’ will be the world . . . . Now is the time for all people to unite. Now is the time for we, the youth, to unite, saying that we are internationalist. Today on May Day, our ‘homeland’ is the world!”

The L.A. High administration, understandably concerned, has used every means it can to get control of things. Two days after its “Career Day” fiasco, it announced over the intercom to all students that two of the rebels were being expelled from L.A. High for “distributing Communist literature” and “disruptive activities.” Then a counselor promised one of the two that he could still graduate with his class in June . . . if only . . . .

But as he continues to return to the school along with the RCYB at break time, and is greeted each time by a dozen enthusiastic rebels, the counselor’s “friendly advice” to cool it has become more like bared fangs. These threats and attacks have generated some sharp struggle over how to advance among the rebel youth — and among their families. In one family, the sharp struggle over what is at stake and “can you do anything?” has

led to the whole family working together to make a May Day banner with a graphic of a white hand and a black hand joined.

Even the vicious expulsion of the two rebels has backfired on the authorities as they transfer the youth to Fremont High in Watts, an overwhelmingly Black school. One of the rebels reported that he and some other students there are already actively planning for May Day. When they spoke out in one class and thoroughly trashed U.S. imperialism, “No one, not one person defended the U.S.,” he said. Another rebel was approached by students from Belmont High, a school that has a large number of Central American youth and is several miles from L.A. High. They had heard that “something heavy” had gone down at L.A. High and wanted to know about it. Excited to find out that they were talking to one of the “disrupters,” they began to discuss how to spread May Day further.

As everyone is aware, the school authorities (and others behind them) will increase their efforts to stop all this before May Day. This is an important political question facing the core of youth actively building the struggle at the high school, and facing people more broadly in L.A. as well. There is the need to step up the efforts both to develop the concrete methods to frustrate the authorities’ attempts, and also to make every suppressive move they make into a rock they’ve dropped on their own feet — another exposure of how seriously they view May First and a way to draw forward still more people.

While school administrators throughout L.A. are certainly breaking out in a cold sweat as they envision the possibilities (who? how many? which school?), students at L.A. High and elsewhere have shown they are also “breaking out” — with a revolutionary vision of the international proletariat. □

## Los Angeles

# “I Wish They’d Define the Proletariat”

On Wednesday, April 14, Los Angeles police headquarters witnessed the clash of opposing forces building towards the First of May. Formally, the item on the agenda at the L.A. Police Commission was whether to waive the requirements that the application for a parade permit be made 40 days in advance. But a contingent of May First volunteers were at the meeting to make broadly known that on May 1st the stamp of the international proletariat would indeed be impressed upon L.A., and that the internationalist actions of that day would converge on the intersection of 7th and Broadway in the heart of downtown L.A. And, while demanding a permit be issued, the volunteers made it clear from the start that this was *not* what would determine the terms of the battle over May 1st. At one point the president of the commission complained, “I’m a little unclear whether you’re here applying for a permit.” To which a volunteer shot back: “It’s your best bet to give us a permit” — indicating that May 1st would occur whether the permit was issued or not. Much to the commissioner’s dismay, the Wednesday police commission meeting became an occasion for pushing the political stakes of May 1st to the fore.

The location of the convergence point, too, had much significance, as it is on the corners of 7th and Broadway where everyday thousands of Latinos, many immigrants from El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua and other Latin American countries, as well as oppressed people of all nationalities, congregate. It was this downtown area which police attempted to prevent the May 1st, 1980 march from reaching with an attack on the demonstration — a futile effort, since the demonstration regrouped after being violently dispersed and was successfully completed. And in the period leading up to both May 1st in 1980 and 1981 the police carried out

dozens of arrests, threats and beatings — often in the presence of hundreds of enraged onlookers — in a miserably failed attempt to ban the *RW* from the area.

The commission was clearly interested in avoiding the political terms of the battle. The meeting had originally been scheduled for Tuesday, only to be abruptly canceled and rescheduled for Wednesday, supposedly because there was “not enough on the agenda” to justify the meeting on Tuesday — or, more likely, because there was one too many items on the agenda. In any case, the commission members immediately attempted to turn the subject to traffic congestion, march routes, and the like — fishing for a pretext to immediately deny the permit. With this, the commissioners were flatly told that if they were interested in such things, they should refer to the application for a permit which had already been submitted and that no one was going to get drawn into a ridiculous debate over these matters; again the point was reiterated that with or without a permit, the forces of May 1st would converge at 7th and Broadway. At that, the commission quickly decided to call on the LAPD brass for their opinion.

No less than four cops — a commander, two captains and a sergeant who had been quietly waiting in the wings — strode forward to present their case. Oh no, they explained, there just isn’t enough time to “plan” and “facilitate” for the May 1st demonstration. Problems, problems. There are only 11 working days left, there are other events scheduled that day, their manpower schedule was already laid out and they would have to “alter deployment” of the police throughout the city.

But, obviously, the LAPD was already busy working day and night to deal with May 1st and their deployment on the day itself would hardly be determined by the

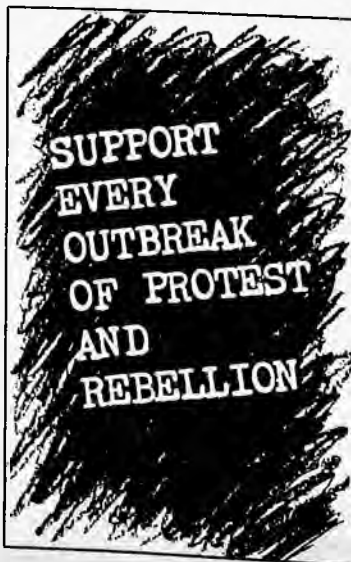
existence or non-existence of a permit (in fact, there have already been arrests and threats). And just as obviously, the cops’ report was an attempt to create the pretext for future attacks on May 1st. This was sharply denounced and exposed at the meeting by Carol Garcia, who was married to Damián Garcia, an RCP comrade murdered by police agents one week before May Day 1980. Carol told the commission that police had “denied the parade permit then, and the march did go on despite your attempts to stop it — tremendous forces came forward. You actually tried to stop it when you murdered my husband. The LAPD actively participated in that murder . . . . But there’s one very important thing to remember: when Damián raised the red flag over the Alamo, that was sounded around the world — from Iran to El Salvador. It was a manifesto of proletarian internationalism and that is what is going to stamp this city on May 1st 1982.”

The authorities found themselves on the defensive from the very start of this meeting. As soon as red flags were raised in the audience, one commission member, police commander Jack White, hurriedly scribbled a note to an underling which began, “The communists are

here.” This set off a flurry of notes being passed around the room accompanied by whispered conversation.

The vice president of the police commission then proceeded to quickly brush aside the cops’ own report and move that the 40-day filing period for a permit be waived. This, he was quick to point out, did not at all mean the permit would be granted, only that an application for a permit would be allowed to be filed. They would have more time, he said, to “consider what might be done.” The suggestion was then quickly taken up by other commission members who obviously felt that at that point some maneuvering was preferable to directly refusing to allow the permit to be filed. But before the motion passed, one commission member — apparently unable to bear in silence being called an “insect” by one volunteer — felt compelled to announce, “I want it clearly understood that I am not intimidated by your threats or by your expressed intentions of doing away with us insects.”

In any case, new maneuvers are certain to come down when the commission at a future meeting deals with the question of whether or not to actually approve a permit. Meanwhile, as the commission meeting broke up one cop was repeatedly heard muttering to his friends, “I’d just like to hear them define proletariat.” But what is clearly bugging this fellow and many others, however, are their own premonitions about how “proletariat” will be defined in revolutionary internationalist action on the 1st of May. □



Two articles from the *Revolutionary Worker* — “Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion” and “It’s In Your Hands — 100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW” — which address major questions of orientation for the revolutionary movement in breaking with the influence of reformism and in beginning serious and all around preparation for proletarian revolution.

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Internationalist Messages, Banners

May Day Makes the Rounds

Handwritten Amharic text, dated April 2, 1982, containing revolutionary messages and signatures.

from Iranian Youth/Miami Haitians

Inspired by the call for internationalist action on May First, some Iranian youth in Orlando, Florida decided to write a response. They also liked the idea of helping spread the living force of proletarian internationalism...

Brothers and Sisters:

About one hundred years ago the brave workers of Chicago proved to the capitalists that the only way workers can get their rights is through mass struggle not meetings in closed doors.

We come to the streets in sympathy with oppressed people of Latin America, Africa... It is time to break the old capitalistic system and build the true people's government.

Oppressed People of the World Unite! Long Live Internationalism! Unity Toward Workers' Revolution All Over the World!

Below is the Creole translation:

MIN DEKLARASYON LA JENES AN-N IRAN POU FET PREMERE ME-A, JOU TOUT TRAVAYE NAN LE MON.

GIN SANTAN PASE, TRAVAYE NAN CHIKAGO TE MONTRE SA YO PEZE. E SA TE PROUVE TOU KE KAPITALIS PA KAP BAY TRAVAYE SATISFAKSYON, SELMAN NAN LIT, NAN GOUVIN TRAVAYE KAP RIVE RACHE DOUA YO NAN MIN MOUN SA YO.

from Ethiopians in the U.S.

The following is a translation of this internationalist May Day greeting written in Amharic—a language spoken in Ethiopia—by comrades in the San Francisco Bay Area.

April 10, 1982

Even though we're thousands of miles away from our native land, domestic struggle, we're among the millions of proletarians in the imperialist countries.

The tide will come — the tide of revolutionary struggle — and uproot the weeds (imperialists) who are obstacles to our growth and peace.

The struggle being waged by the workers in different parts of the world is a vivid clue that the Proletarian Internationalism is living — lively.

The solidarity of the revolutionary workers all over the world, and their bitterness to their enemies, is manifested in

May Day, which backs the struggle taking place in the Horn of Africa and many other places.

As stated in the weekly newspaper Revolutionary Worker published on April 2, 1982, the Ethiopian troops who were advancing in three columns had been annihilated by the E.P.L.F. (Eritrean People's Liberation Front).

This news of revolutionary congratulations became audible to all parts of the world.

May Day is living! Up with the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Movement

from Fulton County Jail to Eritrea

The following internationalist May Day message was signed by twelve prisoners in the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta, Georgia. It was written and circulated there by a youth and a Vietnam-era veteran arrested after they seized a command office at Fort McPherson...

For people to make the most gains in the coming time we need to build international unity of the oppressed people. This unity is worth great risks. The following statement is aimed at creating that unity particularly aimed toward actions on May 1st — International Workers Day.

For years and years you have been struggling against imperialism. First you had to struggle against the attempts of the British to dominate you. Then during WWII you had to struggle against Italian imperialism.

In these times when the people of the world will soon have a chance to strike at imperialism when it is weakest (during a World War) we want to send this message of unity. In Atlanta, a city which has become a symbol of what the U.S. really is like because of the murder of the Black children, we also see a need to struggle against those who rule the world.

Long Live the Unity of the Oppressed People of the World! On to May Day!

from San Diego to West Germany

Several youth and others in the San Diego area have put together a banner especially directed to the squatters and other youth in West Germany. Those who initiated the idea discussed among themselves what would be an appropriate message to send from those inside one imperialist nation to those inside another.

The banner has been taken around and signed by dozens of people with some adding their own messages in English, Spanish, Farsi, German and even in Esperanto. Both the banner itself and the added comments express a broad range of forces: One person wrote, "Es la hora del internacionalismo y unirse con los obreros del mundo" (It's the hour of internationalism and unity with the workers of the world); another included a message, "I have seen slides of the squatters and activists... Thanks for your conscious-raising. We need it. A comrade in arms."

you feel the need to die for God and country, then jump off the Empire State Building with a Bible in your mouth... Some of the messages were more pacifist-oriented like "Melt the Guns."

The overall preponderance of internationalist messages like "The fatherland is no place to die for" was especially sharp since San Diego is a major center of military installations. To stress the internationalism some people even signed it including the country they're from— Iran, Canada, West Germany, etc.

At a concert some 30 people signed the banner amidst a lot of struggle and discussion over May Day itself as posters and RW's were distributed. As the banner passed around to different people it was taken out to two college campuses—it was set up right across from military recruiters at one—and it was taken to people's work places and to parties to be signed. At one campus, a number of foreign students took packets of the different translations of the internationalist call to May 1st to distribute.

from Atlanta to El Salvador, Brixton

In Atlanta, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is having 2 banners signed — one to send to Brixton, England and one to El Salvador.

The banner to Brixton was first signed by 32 students at Atlanta University in a couple of hours on April 15. Now it is being taken all over the place. The following words are super-imposed on scenes painted from the street fighting in Brixton last year: "To the Rebel Youth of England from the Youth of Atlanta."

"On May Day, the revolutionary holiday when the international proletariat rises in struggle against the oppressors and exploiters of imperialism worldwide — we, the revolutionary youth of Atlanta, unite with you in your struggle against the slavemasters of Britain and all other oppressors.

"From the New Cross massacre of 13 Black youth to the Atlanta Black youth murders, the ruling class has tried to terminate... Continued on page 22

# THE PROLETARIANS OF THE GARMENT CENTER

Continued from page 7

pay is about \$125 a week. But you're not guaranteed any amount. The only thing you are guaranteed is four hours a day . . . . You *must* have another source of income because you can't make it on what you get paid. People do just about everything. Some guys draw unemployment, welfare and some guys like me, I get a check every month from the government 'cause I was wounded in Nam . . . . It's like a trap. Once you're in it you're financially caught because you can't make enough money to get out of it unless you get lucky . . . ." How does he see the possibilities of overthrowing imperialism? "From within? That's the only way you can do it is from within . . . . The possibility, if the people would band together, is very, very great . . . . I know from within the military, I know when I was in during the Vietnam war, a lot of guys were on the verge of revolt. In fact, when I was in, the officers had to break up our unit because they were more afraid of us than they were of the enemy." He smiled and then laughed remembering.

These conditions of life and the broad political experience of many of these workers makes for a section of the proletariat who seek radical change. But another pull exerts itself, one which the advanced are grappling with and are far too much suffocated by. This is not the pull of holding onto gains of the past as other better paid sections of workers confront, but of just holding on. James speaks of it, "Most people at the bottom, they say they have children, they have to pay the rent. They have a lot of things on their mind. They really don't stop to think about anything else except survival. That's what you're actually into, survival — people keep saying, as soon as I get a break . . . ."

A Nicaraguan worker lays out the difficulties he sees with the bourgeoisification of the working class in the U.S. and its effects upon immigrant workers as well. "When you come over here to this country and try to create consciousness, instead of paying attention to what you are saying, people laugh and make jokes about you . . . . As people are living over here in this life of contentment with what they've got and with what they can get out of the system, it's hard for them to realize how things really are and how things are done in other countries. This includes the majority of the people who come in from the outside too."

Another foreign-born worker tells us, "Deportation is a big thing. I signed and I swore on paper that I was never going to get mixed up in any kind of politics. If not, I will lose my residency in this country and they will send me right back to my country . . . . We come here to this country to work and that's the first thing. We come here to work so we can feed our families and raise our children who are back home . . . . Our knowledge is tied up. We are like sentenced."

Imperialism's squeeze on their home countries forces these workers here and forces them to scrape to send their earnings back. This in itself exerts a strong material pull toward being orientated only to their home countries. The political pull of nationalism also reinforces this tendency. In fact, many of these proletarians — even many politically advanced ones — tend not to see themselves as a potential proletarian force — even where they are concentrated in thousands as here in garment — but rather as individuals (or groups of workers) from separate countries whose real struggle is at home. But other material facts here in garment (and the U.S. as a whole), together with other elements of their political consciousness, push toward another political conclusion — that wherever they are, workers are part of an international proletariat and an international struggle.

Around all this there is much struggle. Sitting in a coffee shop we are meeting with Manuel from El Salvador and Guillermo from Guatemala discussing world war, the possibilities of revolution, of the

forces of war and revolution clashing in struggle and rebellion on April 30/May First. Guillermo: "I don't know. I don't think so in this place. You can't do nothing in this place." Manuel leans forward and looks him in the eye, "We can do nothing? Explain that to me. Why?" Guillermo: "You make a demonstration here and the government comes with billy clubs and breaks up the demonstration. But in my country the people actually pick up guns and make revolution." Manuel struggles with him to bring his experiences, his understanding, to bear on the developments here. "Have you forgotten everything you have suffered?" Guillermo gets angry: "I told you in the beginning I don't know." He's late getting back to work but he leaves with a subscription to the *RW*.

The Puerto Rican brother recognizes one of the agitators who has been translating and saunters over to us, singing in Spanish, making up the lyrics as he sings, the lyrics that go (roughly translated) "I know the world revolution is coming/ when you raise your spirit your heart raises with it/ because, brother, defend what is yours/ I'll tell you with devotion/ look upward and do not let the revolution go by/ I'm Puerto Rican and I have it in my heart/ my country, lovely woman who fights the oppression/ for her I will fight/ I will fight for anybody who has been wrongly instructed all their lives by people who have nothing to do with our lives anyway/ imperialism is anybody who is there to play the role for war/ that is coming around the corner/ and we are going to win because we will push them out by force."

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It is ironic that while these revolutionary proletarians see difficulties they do not necessarily or automatically recognize their own potential role in accelerating the revolutionary developments. They are thirsting for revolution but they do not at the same time look to themselves and see the critical role that they can play.

Not being armed with or deeply understanding the Party's analysis of the objective situation, of the conjuncture shaping up and the opportunities within it, of the leaps and preparations for the seizure of political power in this imperialist citadel on May First is what is at the bottom of questions like deportation that many of these foreign-born workers confront. The deportations are a political question and not simply one of just being afraid. This Nicaraguan brother is quick to point out that they cannot let deportations prevent workers from being active. "What difference does it make whether you are here or you are there. It's the same imperialism." A number of these workers will step out ahead as long as they feel they are stepping out into something that will make a difference.

Among the Dominican workers the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung has had great influence. Mao's writings are not only well known but widely read and studied. In Washington Heights, a neighborhood where Dominicans are concentrated some 100 streets north of the garment center, the walls are plastered with posters and slogans of the various trends within the Dominican movement. These Maoist workers from within this movement have had much revolutionary practice and some have been introduced seriously to revolutionary theory as well. The '65 insurrection coincided with the General Line polemic in the international communist movement, with a break with Soviet revisionism, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

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Tuesday, April 13, May Day volunteers and local activists began to converge in the garment district. 35th St. and 8th Avenue is a sea of red flags and red banners. May Day volunteers donned bandanas across their faces, someone is wearing

# Who Says We Can't Win?

The accompanying xerox copy is for real! It's from the 1982 Southern California State Basketball Championships for high schools. The title "Sportsmanship: A Lesson For All" could be subtitled: "A Place for Everybody and Everybody in Their Place." In my opinion, the civil war in the U.S. will be fought between those who think that this is a bunch of 4-H, Boy Scout, Howdy Doody Honky Horseshit and those who think "it is a fine code of conduct, excellent preparation for future participation as productive members of society and about time we got back to the basic principles that have made this the best country in the world . . . ." — with those who think these rules are perhaps a bit silly but we do need something to establish standards, etc., etc. in between and vacillating from one side to the other. Especially when you keep in mind that the youth will do a big part of the actual fighting — who says we can't win?!

A reader

## SPORTSMANSHIP: A LESSON FOR ALL

- You, as a SPECTATOR, are expected to:
- Remember that the game is for the players. They are here because they want to play and enjoy the experience. Your good sportsmanship will enhance this educational experience.
  - Refrain from distracting the players during play.
  - Recognize and appreciate skill in performance regardless of affiliation. Applause for an opponent's good performance is a demonstration of generosity and good will.
  - Treat the officials with respect before, during, and after the contest. We cannot play the game without officials as they are an integral part of the game, and they should be considered impartial arbitrators.
  - Display good conduct. Even though you paid for your admittance, the management has the authority to remove any spectator who does not conduct himself respectfully. Abusive language is to be avoided.
  - Remember that your view of the game could be quite different from that of the official.
  - Recognize the fact that as a student spectator you represent the school as do the athletes.
- You, as a COACH, are expected to:
- Demonstrate good sportsmanship at all times. You are the leader—on and off the court.
  - Have and show respect for your opponent; treat them as guests.
  - Accept the officials' decision. Good sportsmanship implies the willingness to accept and abide by the decisions of the officials. Public protests can only lead to similar behavior by the players and spectators.
  - Set a good example for others to follow.
  - Refrain from any profanity as it is not an acceptable part of the game for either you or your players.
  - Maintain self-control at all times.
  - Teach the values of honest effort in conforming to the spirit as well as the letter of the rules.
  - Provide opportunities for social interaction among coaches and players of both teams before and after the contest.
  - Let the players play; it's their game.
  - Be mindful of comments made to the news media, especially following a hard-fought contest.
- You, as a PLAYER, are expected to:
- Play, have fun, and enjoy the game. The game is for you!
  - Demonstrate good sportsmanship toward your opponents, and treat them with respect.
  - Exercise self-control at all times, accepting decisions and abiding by them.
  - Respect the officials' judgment and interpretations of the rules.
  - Regarding clarification of a ruling, communicate with the officials through your captain only.
  - Accept victory with humility and defeat with grace. Be neither boastful nor bitter.
- You, as an OFFICIAL, are expected to:
- Arrive at the site an hour before the contest.
  - Be professional in your manner and dress.
  - Call contests as you see them and in an unbiased manner.
  - Keep calm and rational at all times.

a kafia, another person holds a lid of a trash can, all symbolizing the international struggle against imperialism waged from Central America to Palestine to the youth in northern Ireland and Brixton.

Agitators are speaking in English, Spanish and Creole. Bundles of the *RW* get out. The normal routine of garment is being quickly undermined as pushcarts come to a halt. In dozens of clusters workers are gathered, engaged in struggle with the volunteers and with each other. The convergence flows over into the street and across to other corners.

Two foot patrolmen arrive and in an attempt to deal with the situation the first thing they do is to try to silence an agitator. They go for the sound system. The volunteers immediately form a human barrier around the agitator. The cop is forced to try and grab the sound system over the heads of this human wall. But the sound system is spirited away by the volunteers. And the agitation continues in clear and loud voices.

The clusters of workers continue to multiply and the whole intersection is now dotted with red flags. The atmosphere is defined by politics. It is uplifting

and charged and trained on May 1st. It is but one indication of how May Day has taken root among these workers, how it is edging toward the point of breaking out.

It was during this scene that we met up with a brother from Nicaragua. He agreed to talk to the *RW* after work along with another worker from Central America. It was the first time since this Nicaraguan guy has come to this country that he has hooked up with revolutionaries. And as the interview gets underway the situation switches and he is interviewing us: what is our analysis of the prospects of revolution in a country like this, how do you struggle with workers from Latin America over Catholicism, how do you overthrow imperialism in one country and escape the clutches of the Soviet Union? The tape recorder has stopped and run out of tape, but the conversation continues. There is struggle back and forth. The significance and impact of the revolutionary internationalist action these workers must take on April 30 and May First is keenly felt. The Nicaraguan brother initiates another turn in the conversation. "OK. What are our plans for May Day?"



1916. The second year of the first world war. In trenches separated by a few hundred feet of mud, barbed wire, and bones, the troops were repeatedly ordered to go over to the attack, to kill the enemy soldiers for the defense of "their own" country. Some of the soldiers began to get other ideas and from the trenches of the Eastern front (the German-Russian front), letters filtered back to the rear, stamped with the spectre of fraternization which began to haunt the imperialist armies. Some excerpts follow:

*Over Christmas some interesting things have gone on in our area. For example several of the guys got to saying that we should celebrate the holidays with the Germans. So to get ready they went out and bought a couple of loaves of white bread and got a sympathetic officer to write in German, "Happy Holidays," then they put the note between the loaves, and then right in front of the Germans they got out of the trenches and signaled that they shouldn't shoot. The Germans of course saw the guys going out with white bread and so... they didn't shoot. They all watched to see how this would end up. Our guys put down the bread and came back to the trenches and then everybody looked to see what the Germans would do. They climbed out, took the bread, said thanks, and bowed to our guys. One of our corporals began to play the mandolin, and the Germans began to do a little jig as they went back to their trenches. In order to repay us for the hospitality, they also brought out some apples, cigarettes and eggplant wine. All this went on right at our sector of the front!*

S.G. Lavrentyev

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To A.N. Srelnikova,

*The Germans had their Christmas, (the pre-revolutionary Russian calendar was two weeks behind the European one — RW) and they came over to drink tea. They were lively, and apparently friendly. From the trenches you can see them, they seem old and gloomy, but every day you can hear the music either from a gramophone or something else. I think I'm going to spend our Christmas over there.*

XXX,  
39th Sapper's Battalion

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To E. Kh. Kotranova,

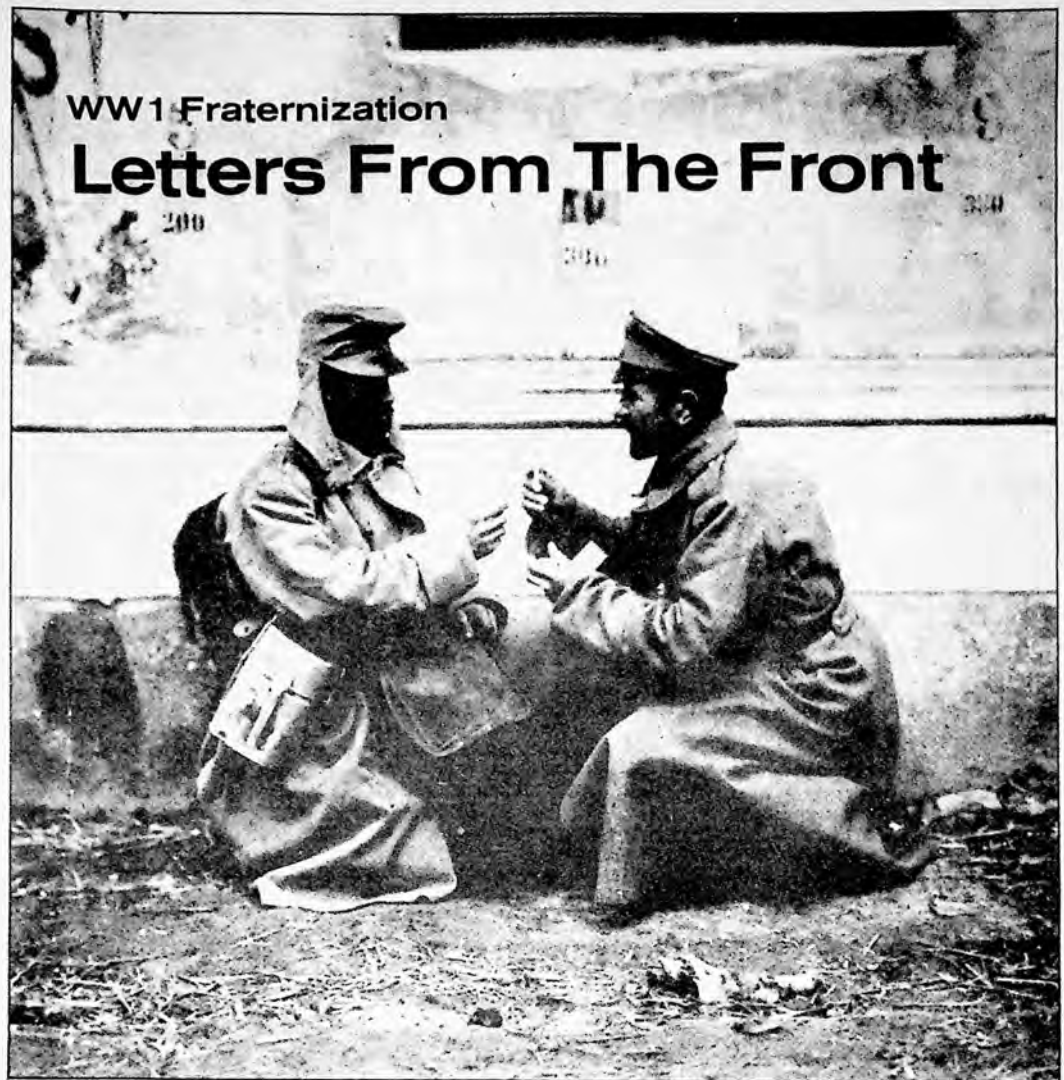
*You probably have read in the magazines about the joint holidays between us and the Germans (he probably means from the revolutionary press since the bourgeoisie generally suppressed such news — RW). I, for my part, never used to believe this, but now even I would love to go celebrate with them... God Almighty, it's interesting! They come over, greet everybody, whoever wants makes a party, and so on. In one place they formed a Russian-German club. On the 21st they got together, only it's a pity, the officers broke it up, and the Germans had to run for it. At any rate I know one group of guys from one army, the Germans, and another group from the other, the Romanians. Everyone stands around and hugs each other. Tell the truth, isn't this incredible? I'll bet you'll never see anything like it in Moscow.*

XXX,  
81st Artillery Brigade

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Such were the initial attempts at fraternization, and the wondering, almost amused tone of the letters rings with great defiance when you consider that the official penalty for fraternization was death by firing squad. While fraternization did not become widespread until 1916, the warring governments issued proclamations as early as January, 1915, only months after the opening of the war, banning any fraternization and any kind of intercourse with the enemy in the trenches. Disregard of such orders was considered high treason.

Indeed, it was. As Lenin pointed out in *The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War*: "... it is true that fraternization in the trenches is high treason. Those who write against 'high treason,' as Bukvoyed does, or against the 'disintegration of Russia,' as Semov-



Austrian and Russian soldiers sharing cigarettes at the front lines during WW1.

sky does, are adopting the bourgeois, not the proletarian point of view. A proletarian cannot deal a class blow at his government or hold out (in fact) a hand to his brother, the proletarian of the 'foreign' country which is at war with 'our side,' without committing 'high treason,' without contributing to the defeat, to the disintegration of his 'own,' imperialist 'Great' Power."

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*The first day of Easter holidays the fighting stopped. The Germans came over to us and we went over to them. They treated us with vodka and we them with bread, but on the second day an exchange of fire began. How incredible all this was: in an instant the thunder of the artillery and the crackle of rifles and machine-guns began to calm down; men, hardened enemies, emerged from their holes and proudly walked up to each other and shook hands in a brotherly way... How I don't want to believe that tomorrow will begin again the search for the best way of stripping away each other's lives...*

Alexander Parabaluk,  
44th Battery,  
26th Artillery Brigade

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*To E. Novachukova, Odessa,  
We are now working at the front lines, in a gas-filled swamp, and it's very hard for us. If only I could tell you... what it takes to live through the day. I'll tell you some news. In October the Germans came into our area, into our trenches and said that they didn't want to fight any more. They brought vodka and wine to our soldiers, and we gave them some bread and again they asked our soldiers whether they wanted to keep on shooting and going over to the attack. So our soldiers said they wouldn't attack — some wanted to just get rid of their guns, but they agreed to strike. And now they just sit in the trenches and don't shoot, and the Germans also don't shoot...*

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As these celebrations of Russian and German soldiers — where white bread and eggplant wine reigned king of the banquet table, where music and sign language and a parting hug did most of the talking — blossomed amidst the blood and smoke of war, the respective army headquarters moved to crush them. Punitive squads, made up of the most loyal soldiers, were formed. There were cases now where Russian or German soldiers fraternizing in the "enemies'" trenches were surprised by these hit-squads. They turned and fled towards "their own" trenches, only to be met again by a hail of lead fired this time by similar hit-squads from "their own" armies. Soon some of the fraternizers began to shoot back.

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To V.I. Petrov,

*... Following the newspapers written for us here, the question just has to come up: just where and who are our dangerous enemies, those here with whom we are fighting in the trenches, or those there with you who sit on the thrones and direct the fate of the people?*

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To Masatov,

*I can't tell you what joy I felt when I found out that our brothers had celebrated so festively the 9th of January (anniversary of Bloody Sunday, 1905 — RW). I am very satisfied that they are not losing spirit. In what shape is the government? What's the general mood of the people? Do they have ties with the army? What are the plans of action of the socialists and of the workers of the whole world? I think you might know about all this and can write me details.*

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Those socialists who had dropped the internationalist red flag for the standard of their imperialist fatherland labeled the fraternization efforts as misguided and futile. Alexander Kerensky, a leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of

Russia and Prime Minister of the government there in 1917, vehemently objected to a speech made by Lenin upholding the politics of fraternization. A journalist from the *Manchester Guardian* reported: "Turning to the point about fraternizing on the front, (Kerensky) evoked a storm of laughter by referring to the naive people who imagined that by friendly meetings between a few parties of German and Russian soldiers it is possible to usher in the dawn of Socialism throughout the world. 'They will have to be careful,' he added, 'or else they will find out one day that they are fraternizing with the mailed fist of William Hohenzollern (the German Kaiser — RW).'"

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

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

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

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*... I impatiently await the moment, when the front turns around to face the other direction and demands a settlement of accounts. I do everything I can to accomplish this — the mood here among everyone is bad, embittered. They say*

Continued on page 18

# The Internationale

**Die Internationale**

Wacht auf, Verdammte dieser Erde,  
die stets man noch zum Hungern zwingt!  
Das Recht wie Blut im Kraterherde  
nun mit Macht zum Durchbruch dringt.  
Reinen Tisch macht mit dem Bedränger!  
Heer der Sklaven, wache auf!  
Ein Nichts zu sein, tragt es nicht länger,  
alles zu werden, strömt zuhauf!  
1: Völker, hört die Signale!  
Auf, zum letzten Gefecht!  
Die Internationale  
erkämpft das Menschenrecht! :)

Es rettet uns kein höh'res Wesen,  
kein Gott, kein Kaiser, noch Tribun.  
Uns aus dem Elend zu erlösen,  
können wir nur selber tun!  
Leeres Wort: des Armen Rechte!  
Leeres Wort: des Reichen Pflicht!  
Unmündig nennt man uns und Knechte,  
duldet die Schmach nun länger nicht!  
German

**Internacionala**

Vi suznji koje mori glad,  
Ustajte vi zemaljsko roblje,  
Za pravdu ljubav i slobodu.  
Za bolji svet za sve nas,  
Nece nas vezat teski lanci.

Ustajte roblje, ne više u hedi.  
Svet ce se dicit na novim osnovame.  
Bili smo nista, a bicemo sve.

To će biti poslenji i odlučni teski boj,  
Nek svako stoji na svom mestu,  
Sa internacionalom  
Za bolji ljudski rod.

Serbian

**Η ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ.**

Ἐμπρός τῆς γῆς οἱ κορμαμένοι  
τῆς πείνας ἐκθάβοι ἔμπρός-ἔμπρός.  
Τό δίχνο δὴ τὸ κρατῆρα βγαίνει  
εἰς βροχῆ, εἰς κεραυνός.

Φτάνουν πιά τῆς ἐκθραβῆς τὰ χρόνια  
τώρα εἶπες οἱ ταπεινοὶ τῆς γῆς  
ποῦ ζούσαμε ἐπὶ καταρρόγια  
θα χίρουμε τὸ πᾶν εἶπες!

Στόν ἀγῶνα ἐνωμένοι  
κι ἄς γῆ γίγῃ κερῆς!  
Ἴσὲ μάχη γὰς προσμένει  
ἐπὶ κόσμῳ ἡ Διεθνῆς.

Greek

**ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛ**

Вставай, проклятым заключённый,  
Весь мир голодных и рабов!  
Кинит наш разум во мучительный  
И в смертный бой вести готов  
Весь мир насилья мы разрушим  
До основания, а затем  
Мы наш, мы новый мир построим,  
Кто был ничем, тот станет всем.

Привет! Это есть наш последний  
И решительный бой,  
С Интернационалом  
Воспринмет род людской!

Никто не даст нам избавленья  
Ни бог, ни царь и не герой,  
Добьемся мы освобожденья  
Своею советвенной рукой.  
Чтоб свергнуть ширт рукой умелой,  
Отвоевать свое добро.

Russian

**L'INTERNAZIONALE**

L'INTERNAZIONALE  
COMPAGNI, AVANTI! IL GRAN PARTITO  
NOI SIAMO DEI LAVORATORI.  
ROSSO UN FIOR C'E' IN PEITO FIORITO  
UNA FEDE C'E' NATA IN COR.  
'NOI NON SIAMO PIU NELL' OFFICINA,  
ENTRO TERRA, PEI CAMPI, IN MAR  
LA PLEBE SEMPRE ALL'OPRA CHINA  
SENZA IDEALE IN CUI SPERAR

SU LOTTIAMO L'IDEALE  
NOSTRO ALFINE SARA,  
L'INTERNAZIONALE  
FUTURA UMANITA

UN GRAN STENDARDO AL SOL FIAMMANTE  
INNANZI A NOI GLORIOSO VA,  
NOI VOGLIAMO PER ESSO GIU INFRANTE  
LE CATENE ALLA LIBERTA,  
CHE GIUSTIZIA VENGA CHIEDIAMO  
NON PIU SERVI, NON PIU SIGNOR,  
FRATELLI TUTI ESSER VOGLIAMO  
NELLA FAMIGLIA DEL LAVOR.

Italian

**全世界受苦的人!**  
國際歌

起來，飢寒交迫的奴隸！  
起來，  
滿腔的熱血已經沸騰，  
要為真理而鬥爭！  
舊世界打個落花流水，  
奴隸們，起來，起來！  
不要說我們一無所有，  
我們要做天下的主人

副歌：  
這是最後的鬥爭，  
團結起來，到明天，  
英特納雄耐爾  
就一定要實現。

從來就沒有什麼救世主，  
也不靠神仙皇帝，  
要創造人類的幸福，  
全靠我們自己。  
我們要奪回勞動果實，  
讓思想衝破牢籠，  
快把那火燒得通紅，  
趁熱打鐵才能成功

Chinese

**L'Internationale**

Debout les damnés de la terre,  
Debout les forcés de la faim,  
La raison tonne en son cratère  
C'est l'éruption de la fin,  
Du passé faisons table rase,  
Debout l'esclave, debout, debout,  
Le monde va changer de base,  
Nous ne sommes rien  
Soyons tout!

C'est la lutte finale,  
Groupons nous et demain,  
L'Internationale  
Sera le genre humain (bis)

Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes:  
Ni Dieu, ni César, ni Tribun;  
Producteurs sauvons nous nous mêmes!  
Décrétons le salut commun—  
Pour que le voleur rende gorge  
Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot,  
Soufflons nous—mêmes notre forge,  
Battons le fer quand il est chaud!

French

**The Internationale**

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation  
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,  
For justice thunders condemnation,  
A better world's in birth.  
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,  
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall  
The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place,  
The international  
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviours,  
To rule us from a judgment hall,  
We workers ask not for their favors:  
Let us consult for all.  
To make the thief disgorge his booty,  
To free the spirit from its cell,  
We must ourselves decide our duty,  
We must decide and do it well.

**La Internacional**

¡Arriba, parias de la tierra!  
¡En pie, famélica legión!  
Atruen la razón en marcha,  
Es el fin de la opresión  
El pasado hay que hacer añicos,  
¡Legión esclava, en pie, a vencer!  
El mundo va a cambiar de base,  
Los nada de hoy han de ser.

Agrupémonos todos  
En la lucha final,  
El género Humano  
Es la Internacional.

Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos  
Está el supremo salvador.  
Nosotros mismos realicemos  
El esfuerzo redentor.  
Para hacer que el tirano caiga  
Y el mundo siervo liberar,  
Soplemos la potente fragua  
Que al hombre libre ha de forjar.

Spanish

**Ang Internasional**

Bangon sa pagkakabusabos  
Bangon alipin ng gutom  
Katarunga'y bulkang sasabog  
Sa huling paghuhukom.  
Gapos ng kahapo'y lagutin  
Tayong api ay magbalikwas  
Tayo ngayo'y inaalipin  
Subalit atin ang bukas

Ito'y huling paglalaban  
Magkaisa't nang masaklaw  
Ng Internasyonal  
Ang sangkatauhan.

Wala tayong maasahang  
Bathala o manunubos,  
Kaya ang ating kaligtasa'y  
Nasa ating pagkilos.  
Manggagawa bawiin ang yaman,  
Kaisipa'y palayain.  
Ang maso ay ating hawakan,  
Kinabukasa'y pandayin.

Tagalog

**الانترناسیونال**

بر خیزای داغ لمنت خورده د نهای فقر و بندگی  
جوشیده خاطر ما را برده به جنگمک و زسندگی  
باید از ریشه براندازم کینه جهان جو روئند  
وا نکه نوین جهانی ما را هم هیچ بودگان هر چیز کردند  
(روز قطعی جدال است آخرین رزم ما)

انترناسیونالست نجات انسانها ( )

بر ما نبخشند فتح و شادی خدا نه شه نه قهرمان  
با دست خود گیریم آزاد و در بیکارهای انسان  
تا ظلم را او عالم برویم نممختو داریم به دست  
دیم آتروا و بکوییم تا وقتی که آهن گرم است  
(روز قطعی ..... انسانها )

تنها ما توده جهانی اردو و پیشمار کسار  
داریم حقوق جهانیانی نه که خونخواران کسار  
گرد و قی سرق مرک آسا پرور هژتان و دژگان  
در این عالم بر ما سراسر تابد خورشید نور انسان  
(روز قطعی ..... انسانها )

Farsi



Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

— Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



-RAISING THE RED FLAG OVER THE ALAMO, THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1980

# DAMIAN GARCIA

Member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA—Murdered Tuesday, April 22, 1980 By Police Agents in Los Angeles





EUGENE POTTIER in a drawing from a revolutionary Chinese poster.

The Internationale — international anthem of proletarian revolution. The article by Lenin below sketches the life and work of its author. How did it come about that "Eugene Pottier's historic song," as Lenin says, "is now known to tens of millions of proletarians"?

It was only six months after the publication of Pottier's Revolutionary Songs that this book of poetry fell into the hands of a forty-year-old worker from Lille, in northern France. Pierre Degeyter had started a singing group, and a friend gave him Pottier's book as a source of material for songs. Degeyter immediately set to work on the Internationale, and by the end of that same night, as the sun rose in the east, he had composed the famous tune for this song on the old harmonium in his rented room.

Five days later his group performed the new song. Soon it spread through northern France. In 1896 a French Workers' Party congress took place in Lille, and the song was sung. When chauvinists and reactionaries attempted to disrupt a demonstration called by the congress, the Internationale was trumpeted forth and the reactionaries backed down. Foreign delegates to the congress took the new anthem with them, translated it into other languages, and began its worldwide spread.

Within a year after it had been composed, the song had become known in Russia, according to Lenin's brother, D.I. Ulyanov: "In the summer of 1889 I heard the Internationale for the first time . . . It was on the Alaskayevka estate in the Samara region. Ola Ilyinitchna had just finished playing The Marseilles on the piano. . . . To our surprise Vladimir Ilyitch (Lenin) came into the room . . . it was in the morning when he seldom allowed anything to interrupt his studies . . . and said we should sing the Internationale. They picked out the tune of the new song on the piano together and then sang it softly in French."

Translated, it became popular among revolutionary workers in Russia. In 1905 the sailors who rebelled and took over the battleship Potemkin sang the Internationale. In May of 1917, as the Bolsheviks led by Lenin were fighting to lead a proletarian revolution in the midst of World War I, the Bolshevik newspaper Pravda recommended to the troops: "In the trenches the enemy is so close that one can hear the other side singing. Sing the Internationale loud and clear and the German or Austrian proletarians will join in. . . . The German proletarians . . . will recognize the Russian soldiers as their

comrades."

Twenty-five years after Pottier's death Lenin wrote the following article:

In November of last year — 1912 — it was twenty-five years since the death of the French worker-poet, Eugene Pottier, author of the famous proletarian song, the Internationale ("Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers," etc.).

This song has been translated into all European and other languages. In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country — he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the Internationale.

The workers of all countries have adopted the song of their foremost fighter, the proletarian poet, and have made it the worldwide song of the proletariat.

And so the workers of all countries now honour the memory of Eugene Pottier. His wife and daughter are still alive and living in poverty, as the author of the Internationale lived all his life. He was born in Paris on October 4, 1816. He was 14 when he composed his first song, and it was called: *Long Live Liberty!* In 1848 he was a fighter on the barricades in the workers' great battle against the bourgeoisie.

Pottier was born into a poor family, and all his life remained a poor man, a proletarian, earning his bread as a packer and later by tracing patterns on fabrics.

From 1840 onwards, he responded to all great events in the life of France with militant songs, awakening the consciousness of the backward, calling on the workers to unite, castigating the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments of France.

In the days of the great Paris Commune (1871), Pottier was elected a member. Of the 3,600 votes cast, he received 3,352. He took part in all the activities of the Commune, that first proletarian government.

The fall of the Commune forced Pottier to flee to England, and then to America. His famous song, the Internationale, was written in June 1871 — you might say, the day after the bloody defeat in May.

The Commune was crushed — but Pottier's Internationale spread its ideas throughout the world, and it is now more alive than ever before.

In 1876, in exile, Pottier wrote a poem, *The Workingmen of America to the*

*Workingmen of France*. In it he described the life of workers under the yoke of capitalism, their poverty, their back-breaking toil, their exploitation, and their firm confidence in the coming victory of their cause.

It was only nine years after the Commune that Pottier returned to France, where he at once joined the Workers Party. The first volume of his verse was published in 1884, the second volume, entitled *Revolutionary Songs*, came out in 1887.

A number of other songs by the worker-poet were published after his death.

On November 8, 1887, the workers of Paris carried the remains of Eugene Pot-

tier to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where the executed Communards are buried. The police savagely attacked the crowd in an effort to snatch the red banner. A vast crowd took part in the civic funeral. On all sides there were shouts of "Long live Pottier!"

Pottier died in poverty. But he left a memorial which is truly more enduring than the handiwork of man. He was one of the greatest *propagandists by song*. When he was composing his first song, the number of worker socialists ran to tens, at most. Eugene Pottier's historic song is now known to tens of millions of proletarians. □

Below are two verses of the Internationale—the last two in the original French and an English translation by the RW. They are rarely printed; in the case of one, it might be more accurately said to be a repressed verse. At least it is notable that one of the few songbooks which takes the trouble to print the whole song, also takes the trouble to omit the verse concerning the soldiers' turning their guns around!

Les rois nous soulaient de fumées;  
Paix entre nous, guerre aux tyrans!  
Appliquons la grève aux armées,  
Crosse en l'air et rompons les rangs!  
S'ils s'obstinent, ces cannibales,  
A faire de nous des héros,  
Ils sauront bientôt que nos balles  
Sont pour nos propres généraux.

Kings make us drunken with illusions.  
But we must seize the hour now.  
Break ranks! The soldiers do the choosing.  
Between us peace, on tyrants—war!  
Making soldiers into martyrs  
If they persist, these cannibals,  
They'll soon discover that our bullets  
Are for our generals!

Ouvriers, paysans, nous sommes  
Le grand parti des travailleurs.  
La terre n'appartient qu'aux hommes,  
L'oisif ira loger ailleurs.  
Combien de nos chairs se repaissent!  
Mais si les corbeaux, les vautours,  
Un de ces matins, disparaissent,  
Le soleil brillera toujours!

The workers and the peasants are we.  
Up with the new in every sphere!  
The earth belongs to all humanity.  
All vampires must disappear.  
How many on our flesh have fattened!  
But if on one fine morn,  
The crows and vultures have all vanished  
The sun will still go shining on!



## Report from Atlanta

# "It's About That Time Of Year, Ain't It?"

A wave of excitement swept through many areas of Atlanta after the seizure of Fort McPherson last week. "It's about that time of year, ain't it!" proclaimed one joyous youth who lives in Techwood Homes, site of the powerful May 1st actions in Atlanta last year. "I was waiting for May Day so we can go out and sprayspout the town!" declared another, who searched out the May Day volunteers at a punk club.

The opening call for the battle for May Day 1982 came from within the very chambers of one of the strategic command centers of the U.S. Army. The proletarian internationalist message was loud and clear—a message that is being picked up and acted on throughout Atlanta, especially by sections of the youth.

In the days following this challenge, a couple of high schools have been the scene of intense struggle. The battle has been particularly sharp at Northside High School, located in the middle of a ritzy white neighborhood, but whose classrooms are filled with large numbers of Black youth bused in from the central city. A squad of revolutionary youth fanned out in the open courtyard there at noon one day last week. The mood was electric. A crowd of Black and white youth began gathering as quickly as the questions began flying. One white student stepped up to speak, "That's exactly what they're planning for the youth of this country. World war. I would never fight for this country. This ain't nothin' but the rich against the poor."

Almost before she could finish, a ROTC snitch demanded that the revolutionaries leave "my campus." When he was met by only deeper debate from the other students he ran off to the principal. Another one, egged on by the ROTC guy, whined, "Why don't you go to Russia." Back to Russia? Another student wryly noted: "If we're drafted, we'll probably go over there before they

do."

What is America? Is it a dictatorship? Is it imperialist? Do we need revolution? Is it possible? These were the terms of the struggle when the principal came running out with threats of arrest. Then things got sharper. Revolutionaries began calling for a breakout on April 30th, to converge on Fort McPherson on the 1st. Several students jumped up to agitate for themselves. As the scene broke loose, youth hung out of the classroom windows shouting Right On and waving fists.

One of the revolutionary volunteers threw a stack of 70 posters in the middle of the crowd of over 60 students, calling on the students to take them and put them up. The principal started screaming that no one better touch those posters. Some backward fool reached down with a cigarette lighter to try to burn the posters, but was knocked out of the way. The youth who got the first posters was chased by the principal, who turned around empty handed only to see many others diving down for their own posters and splitting the courtyard in all directions. A few students handed the posters to safety through the windows to waiting students inside. One youth raced over to the ROTC snitch spitting out, "Hey, Sarge, I'm a communist, what'ya think about that!", and then dogged the principal to keep him from getting the license plate of the revolutionaries' car. With a little help from their new friends the revolutionaries were able to get away before the cops arrived.

Across town a similar battle was waged at Price High School, located in the center of a large Black neighborhood. A number of revolutionary-minded students there pooled money to be able to get stacks of papers, leaflets and posters to distribute around the school. Their principal freaked out too, but was unable to keep these students from joining the battle for May 1st. These high schools

and others are sure to heat up as the call for breakout begins to be taken up by more of the youth.

In other areas of the city, youths have also stepped to the forefront. At a rally in one of the projects, a 10-year-old asked to speak. He'd spent the entire day selling red flags, posters and RWs, gathering groups of 7-11 year olds everywhere he went. The night before, he read his mother's RW and especially liked the article on the youth at the Paris Commune. Then he decided he had to take up May 1st as his own holiday.

A crowd of teenagers and "old" people gathered as the youth picked up the bullhorn. He called on the crowd to pick up the red flag in a bigger way than the kids who just sold them could. "And if the president starts a war, and if them other presidents start a war, they don't be fighting against each other. You get hurt. Now, if you do something about it, like join the revolution, it ain't gonna start!"

The whole yard was silent and people came out of their apartments, straining to hear what the young man had to say. Deep discussion about May 1st and the action at Fort McPherson followed his short rap, and all the while the youth continued to call on people to donate bail money and pick up the red flag, and take action on May 1st.

Meanwhile, the forces of the state, after threatening to bring down serious political felony charges against the two Fort McPherson revolutionaries, finally levelled felony charges against each: 1) destruction of government property (though the FBI testified that most of the damage to the door resulted from their kicking it in) and 2) entering an army base with the intention of violating a law. The formal arraignment in these charges is scheduled for Friday, April 16th, with both men possibly facing more than 10 years in jail.

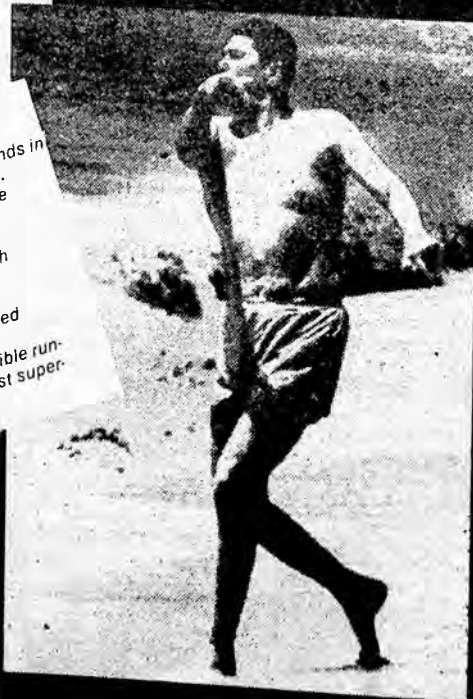
As for May 1st and the convergence march on Fort McPherson, the authori-

ties have taken the position that it will not happen. So far this has been reflected sharply by their maneuverings around application for parade and rally permits. From the get, the cops have said a flat out no to any rally. A short walk around the block is what they envision for the foot—with a strict time limitation to boot. Fat chance.

On top of this, the cops who regularly handle such matters insisted that one Major Holley (of the Atlanta Police Dept.'s Red Squad, although he disclaims any connection to it) should handle this one. Holley appeared not the least bit interested in the permit, instead attempting to grill the May Day Committee representative about the Fort McPherson Two and the upcoming May Day trials (stemming from arrests around May Day '80 and '81) since he just "coincidentally" had a folder on those 13 revolutionaries on his desk. Clearly the Atlanta police have decided to lump everything about May 1st together this year.

In typical Catch 22 fashion, the "permit" reads, "Begin at 2 p.m. at the corner of Murphy Avenue and Evans Street... (march to) the nearest gate at Fort McPherson for the rally point and disperse upon the arrival at same... This permit does not authorize the closing of the street for the purpose of rallying and/or demonstrations." All of which was backed up by the verbal threat that "if you would stop anywhere along the line, the permit would be revoked."

May 1st 1982 in Atlanta is shaping up as a very sharp battle. Already the lines of demarcation are centered around the call for proletarian internationalism that was issued from the halls of Fort McPherson's command center. The forces for revolution are beginning to line up squarely in opposition to the forces for reaction. And already the "May 1st sun" is beginning to shine brightest in the eyes and the actions of the youth. [ ]



Left: In the midst of the Falkland Islands crisis and U.S. attempts to make clear that it considers Latin America and the Caribbean to be its turf, President Ronald Reagan entered the ocean off Bridgetown in the Barbados islands in an effort to put to rest persistent rumors that U.S. imperialism is no longer as healthy and robust as it once was. It should be pointed out that outside of view were a flotilla of Secret Service men in rubber rafts and circling the area was a U.S. Navy hospital ship in case the President should need its services. (Note: Some readers may recognize that the photo here bears a striking resemblance to a well-known photograph of Mao Tsetung's famous swim in the Yangtze River back in the 1960s—a swim that was slandered by the Western press which contended that he was supported by unseen swimmers and that the photo had been faked. Asked to verify reports that Reagan was buoyed up by U.S. frogmen from the crack "Seals" division, an annoyed Pentagon spokesman shot back, "No comment!" White House officials denied that photos of Reagan's well-publicized "day off" had been retouched for publication.) Right: Reagan's knees buckle slightly as he poses for official 1982 Presidential portrait. A long scar is visible running down Reagan's chest, a result of last year's assassination attempt. Now there's a healthy and robust super-power!!

# Stepping Out

Continued from page 1

right before us, is what I am going to try to do in the rest of this article.

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

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

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

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

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

If we want to win, we have to maximize our strength and conquer new political positions at every opportunity and especially at key points. To not make preparation in this way has the same meaning and the same effect as to not fight when the real deal goes down. It is no different than throwing away the chance when it finally does come. And it will lead to doing just that.

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

What is being called for is a continuation in the same direction, but it is not "the same thing over and over." It is not the same thing as last year, or the year before. Just as those had to be and were real leaps forward, there is

again a pressing need for yet another leap. This is an important part of what we call "coming from behind to make revolution" and doing everything for the world proletarian revolution. Political preparation must be active preparation, and especially in periods like the one we are entering, this means racing — and leaping at key points — to catch up with the acceleration of world events.

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

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

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

Imagine: there are actually many, many people in the world who still do not know that there are angry slaves in the U.S.A., oppressed masses who are sick and tired of oppression and are determined to put an end to it — not just their own but all oppression, in fact the whole system of imperialism and the very division of society into classes! This gives an even sharper picture of the shock waves truly sent throughout the world by an internationalist May First powerful enough to put its political stamp on key focal points in the U.S. and the country as a whole. A May First carried out in conscious and openly expressed unity with others in many different countries taking the same stand and reaching across seas and continents to realize that revolutionary unity. Think of the effect of such internationalist May First struggle on people and events in El Salvador, in Iran — or in Poland, in Afghanistan — and multiply that many times over. It's not just that it will give encouragement and support to the people rising up; it will also give inspiration and strength to those among the struggling people who are fighting for a really all-the-way revolutionary orientation, a revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line, against the line of compromise with imperialism — or at most the switching from one imperialist camp to another — that is peddled as the only "realistic" course by pro-Soviet revisionists or pro-Western reformists.

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

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

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

It is definitely true that, in El Salvador for example, it is not easy to wage a revolutionary struggle against U.S.

imperialism and its local gorillas without relying on the Soviet Union and its imperialist "socialist camp." In the more short-term and narrow sense, it is no doubt harder to carry out a revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line than it is to compromise fundamental revolutionary principles and depend on one imperialist power to fight another under the guise of "socialism" — or "democracy" or some other mask. But this takes us back to the basic question: what are you trying to do, what is the vision we are guided by and the goal we are fighting for?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is necessary to unite all who can be united. A revolution can only be made like that, and key focal points



# Stepping Out

Continued from page 15

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

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

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

There are many honest people and forces who oppose, who hate, many of the evils that U.S. imperialism

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

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

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

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

The 1980s will not be a replay of the '60s. El Salvador,

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

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

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

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

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

The ongoing weekly series of excerpts from a tape by Chairman Bob Avakian have been replaced this week by the above article by him because of its importance in relation to May First. The excerpts will continue after May 1st.

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

4-13-82

Dear RW:

I'm incarcerated at the XX prison and have been receiving your paper for approximately 3 weeks now. The alternative source of news obtained from it is refreshing. Thru the truth of your reporting I've become aware of the oppression & imperialist plague that's spread by this capitalistic society. In accordance with the upcoming revolutionary struggle and celebration of May Day, I would like to show my support by displaying & giving to 4 other comrades a May Day poster. Therefore I would highly appreciate this request for 5, May Day posters. As always with me I remain,

Yours in Struggle

Dear RW:

Send me the "Revolutionary Worker." I am determined to get it! If it is denied me, I'll tie these clowns up in court so tough they'll be glad to allow me the paper. Reinstatement for the paper please.

Power to People!  
Prisoners like myself!

Greetings Comrades:

I hope that this scribe will reach you and finds all physically strong and struggling onward against these oppressive conditions, as I am doing at my highest and most inspired levels of consciousness. This writing is being scribed to you from the very depths of 'hell'. Brushy Mountain Maximum Security KKK concentration KKKamp. It comes with hopes that the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund will supplement my name to its mailing list. I would like to receive the "Revolutionary Worker", and any progressive literature that's available. My life and work henceforth has been consciously dedicated to drawing up a strategy for unitary struggle against amerikkkan colonialism/imperialism/fascism/sexism and racism. All progressive literature and papers are welcome and appreciated while I am here in this cage educating myself. Your prompt attention in this matter is greatly appreciated in advance.

Freedom is not a Mission Impossible,

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3488, Merchandise Mart  
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## Mass Line

Continued from page 5

its vanguard are seriously engaged in studying and drawing correct conclusions from the setbacks suffered in the last few decades. From the experience of the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries they have learned the valuable lesson that there are no simple solutions to the serious problems confronting world revolution and that they themselves have to mercilessly dissect the past and go into the heart of the problem, which alone can enable them to achieve real victories in the life and death battle against imperialism and reaction of all colours. The international proletariat have to make breakthroughs on the philosophical and ideological front and it is a highly positive sign that the struggle for achieving this leap in the world view of the proletariat and revolution is gaining momentum.

Great opportunities are being unfolded to the world proletariat and oppressed promising a high tide in revolutionary activity. The enemies of the people are caught up in deepening whirlpools while the liberation struggles are going ahead

with increasing courage and determination. The workers of all countries, to successfully seize the great opportunities before them, should necessarily break out of the narrow national straitjackets and globally unite on class lines. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." The workers have no country and whichever country they work they are all comrades in arms and blood brothers. It is this glorious internationalism that is declared by May Day, the red flag is internationalism and revolution and it does not recognise chauvinism, sectarianism, reformism and revisionism as its ideal. Capitalism and imperialism is a world phenomenon and only a united working class can decisively smash it. May Day poignantly conveys this precise message to the working men and other oppressed people of the world.

Here, in India, 1982 May Day is approaching amid heightened uneasiness for the ruling classes. The situation in our country has reached a point where the reactionaries are left with no other means to cling on to power but abandon all semblance to political and economic independence allowing greater plunder and penetration by the imperialists and social imperialists. Recent developments in the In-

dian economy reveals the sell out in very clear light. Working class is experiencing rapid erosion of real income and from all indices this downward trend in their conditions of living is bound to become steeper only. In the face of rapidly increasing material misery and intensified repression the working class is responding by showing greater solidarity and militancy. The January 19 all-India strike and the massive rally that preceded it are obvious symptoms of positive developments on the working class front in India.

It is not only black laws and brutal repression that are up the sleeves of the ruling classes. The social fascists who have emerged as the loyal touts of the repressive system are rendering great help to them. Very often the treacherous role of the social fascists come in as more useful and handy for the decadent ruling classes to stick on to. In their rapacious greed for the crumbs of power thrown by the ruling classes, they have exposed themselves time and again as betrayers of the working class whose name and support is used in the most shameless manner to grab the very same crumbs. A conspicuous example of this shameless double dealing was provided by the Railway strike of 1973 when the trade union capi-

talists of AITUC (led by the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India—R/W) stabbed the strike struggle from behind, leaving the workers at the mercy of the brutal state. Moreover, through their hypocritical slogans they are trying their best to chain a large number of the Indian working class to international reaction of the social imperialist brand, one of the main plunderers of the country. The social fascists and neo-revisionists are incessantly trying to chain the working class to economism and narrow national chauvinism which is nothing but perpetuating reaction. May Day means the exact opposite, it is the living spirit of uncompromising revolt against all forms of reaction and deception. It epitomises the revolutionary will of the oppressed to break free from all shackles and take history into their own hands. May Day is a gleeful occasion for the revisionists/social fascists to celebrate their success as effective betrayers of the revolutionary class while the politically conscious sections of the revolutionary class sharpen their hatred towards opportunism and reaction of all shades and steel their determination to create a just world not only for themselves but for the whole mankind. □

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Mao on Lushan Mountain.



# White House Smashed

*We received this news item from a reader, clipped from an Atlanta newspaper.*

THE HAGUE, Netherlands — Vandals with sledgehammers and red spray paint severely damaged a White House replica at an exhibit here celebrating 200 years of U.S.-Dutch friendship, police said.

Officials at the Madurodam miniature park, a famous tourist attraction where the 60-by-20-foot structure was being shown, said the replica was insured for \$400,000 and took more than 20 years to build . . . □

# Letters From The Front

Continued from page 11

*that Moscow has begun to stir, but the rulers prevent us from knowing anything.*

*Aleksei Brandlovsky,  
78th Infantry Reserve Troop*

\*\*\*\*\*

*To A.N. Konkova,*

*They say that the troops don't want to go over to the attack. You know, it is time to end this brother-killing-brother war. The enemy is behind, not ahead.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Lenin made a call to the soldiers: "Clearly, fraternisation is the revolutionary initiative of the masses, it is the awakening of the conscience, the mind, the courage of the oppressed classes; in other words, it is a rung in the ladder leading up to the socialist proletarian revolution . . .

"It is a good thing that the soldiers are cursing the war. It is a good thing that they are demanding peace. It is a good thing that they are beginning to realise that the war is advantageous to the capi-

talists. It is a good thing that they are wrecking the harsh discipline and beginning to fraternise on all the fronts. All this is good.

"But it is not enough.

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

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

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

*(Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 318-20)*

Dear RW,

Fuckin' A! Rush me 10 more informative copies of our newspaper. Love the RW. Workers everywhere unite to overthrow U.S./Soviet Imperialism!

K.B.

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# Mücadele

Continued from page 5

tegic positions, in arms production and sales, and in efforts to stamp out revolution. The shoring up of the fascist regime in Turkey, the attempts by the social-fascist military dictatorship to suppress the workers' rebellion in Poland, and the developments that jolt the world from one end to the other reveal how rapidly the contradictions — simultaneously interpenetrating in a complex fashion — are intensifying and rushing into a knot.

Today's local thunders are the harbingers of the great storms ahead, perhaps the most extensive and profound conflict of destruction/construction the world has ever witnessed. Those who hope to continue with business as usual, as well as those who lose their way and their courage in the almost unrelenting storms, and even more importantly all those who fail to recognize the opportunities for great advances towards the lofty goal of the international working class being forged and harbored within these storms, are indeed much too mistaken!

On one hand the trend of revolution which still weighs heavier, on the other the rapidly developing factors of another imperialist war; these two locked into one and hurled onto the scales of history call on us for resolution.

Today those who are preparing and instigating another imperialist war can't be altogether sure who will finish such a war once they start it — imperialists, or in at least certain significant places, the international proletariat. They have not forgotten the possibility that the guns they will be handing to the very workers and oppressed who've been exploited by them all their lives will be turned against them. Nor have they forgotten the sting

of the slap they received in the last two wars.

This year, on May 1, let us storm the May Day battle grounds by correctly grasping the significance of the challenges and opportunities facing us and of the tasks that history has placed on our shoulders. Let us be ever more vigorous and resolute! Let May 1 be a honing stone to sharpen to a finer edge our class hatred of oppression and exploitation and our scientific conviction for a new world! From the fascist dungeons of the junta to the streets of Bilbao, from Tehran to the squares of San Salvador, from India to Germany, let the roaring voice of the international proletariat strike terror into the hearts of the enemy. They must and will be soaked in doomsday sweat!

Let the yellow ceremonies of capital's lieutenants and their phony rallies drown in red. Let every spokesman for capital choke on his pious words.

Those who haven't received their share of the revolutionary internationalist spirit of the proletariat, those who sell our final goal for temporary gains, those who don't know how to raise their sights, those who seek deliverance by compromising, those who suffer without revolutionary convictions — let them learn a lesson from our steps shaking the four quarters of the globe and from our voices shattering the sacred bells of the imperialist shrines.

Let our allies see the flag of the future and children learn correctly about life. Let those who gave up their lives but not their secrets and their lofty ideal be able to see from where they rest that the flag they handed over to us is being hoisted ever higher toward the heavens. Let us march forward, to send those fossils long ago condemned to museums but still lingering among us to their place next to the dinosaurs; let us march forward to dig the grave of exploitation and oppression.

**TAPE:**  
**Bob Avakian Speaks  
on May First, 1981**

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

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# Winds of Revolution

Continued from page 7

tions here. After the second time I told them that the worst thing that they could do was to send me away to Turkey (deportation often accompanies a job firing for "guest workers," especially those known to be politically active — RW) as part of the millions in the army of unemployed there. One way to get at you guys, I told them, is to change the system in Turkey so you won't be able to put a drop of honey in people's mouths here and turn them into lackeys. Your system won't stay on its feet too long if you lose your colonies. That's what I told them."

It was quite a journey he had described — from a peasant youth in the semi-feudal countryside of Turkey to a revolutionary proletarian in the heart of a European metropolis. But had his journey led him to the point of struggling to master the laws of science and revolution? Did he now consider himself a Marxist-Leninist we asked?

"I don't know about calling myself a Marxist-Leninist. Because I have a low cultural and educational level, this results in a low theoretical level. I try to read as much as I can but I have a lot of shortcomings in theory. I think Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and Comrade Dimitroff have charted out a road for the working people and I swore to the last drop of my blood to overthrow the comprador capitalists and landlord state of Turkey." (Several people in the room strongly objected to this comrade's assessment of Dimitroff.)

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The picture that began to emerge was a far cry from the one the imperialist press tries to paint of the situation in Turkey. In fact the truth is that the semi-feudal oppression and exploitation there has given rise to a long history of revolutionary struggle on the part of the masses against the imperialists and their comprador ruling classes. This is especially true of the Kurdish region of eastern Turkey where the people (making up about one-fifth of the total population of Turkey) suffer national oppression along with the feudal bonds that characterize the Turkish countryside as a whole. In those areas Mustafa Kemal — who is held up by the present rulers as sort of a George Washington of Turkey and is presented by the Western press as the founder of modern Turkey, beloved by the masses and responsible for its "Western orientation" — carried out genocidal mass murders of tens of thousands of the Kurdish minority to suppress mass rebellions in the 1920s and '30s and carry through his attempt to forcibly assimilate the Kurdish minority. From that time to the present this region has been a stronghold of revolutionary struggle and many of the workers from Turkey in West Germany are from this region. Just how isolated the ruling class and their various regimes are in this region became even more clear when the next brother, Umut, spoke:

"I come from the Kurdistan region of Turkey and in the area I come from 90% of the population are extremely impoverished. They have some land but it is of poor quality and there is no water on it. My family has seven members and my father is a very poor peasant. When he is not working on the land he also tries to make money as a seasonal worker.

"Out of the five brothers only two have any education. I finished junior high school and my brother finished high school. This has to do with the economic situation in our family. To be able to go to junior high and high school you have to go to another town which is a five-hour walk. And you must be able to rent a place to live there which we were not able to do.

"After I finished my army service I was about 22 or 23 and I tried to get a profession. So I became a policeman and from 1964 to 1970 I did this job. In Turkey the police are the enforcers of the interests of

the rich and the landlords.

"Just to give an example of how this works I want to tell this experience: I was working in this little town as a policeman and one day a man who I didn't know walked into the precinct office and sat down in the chief's chair. When I asked him who he was he said that if I didn't know I'd better watch out or I'd find myself in some distant village. Later he told me he was the local representative of the Justice Party, a pro-American party in Turkey. (This party whose leader is former premier Süleyman Demirel has alternated control of the government with the Republican People's Party headed by Bülent Ecevit, who was premier at the time of the military coup in September, 1980 — RW.) Later the police chief told me I'd better watch out because these guys own the police force.

"In the 1960s the revolutionary struggle was developing rapidly and they were training us for strike-breaking and generally repressing the mass struggle. They would always tell us that socialism and communism was the enemy of our people and the people who were making propaganda for this were on the payroll of the Chinese and Russians.

"Around this time I began to realize that the state was for the purpose of keeping the regime of the rich and the landlords intact and keeping them in luxury while oppressing the masses of poor people. I had some contact with some workers who had come back to Turkey on their vacation and they told me that there was democracy in Germany and people could write and say what they wanted to. So in 1970 I came to Germany.

"In 1972 I began to establish contact with the revolutionary-minded people and workers in Germany. It was becoming clear that the revolutionary struggle in Turkey against the fascist regime and oppression was becoming everyone's business. So I felt the need to be part of this struggle, especially after the murder of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya and other revolutionaries. This made us much more conscious of the seriousness of the situation and the need to take up the struggle.

"Another thing I realized when I came to Germany was that it is an illusion and a distortion to think that life here is any better. We learned that the imperialists and capitalists had the same needs and ends — exploitation and profits. And we learned that they were only differing in their methods and the style of regime they were applying against the working people."

One thing that stood out starkly in what both these brothers had said was the fact that they had not joined the revolutionary struggle until they had come to Germany and made contact with revolutionaries here. And further it was their life experience in Turkey and particularly the revolutionary upsurges going on there at the time that was the basis for them doing so.

This highlighted the very contradictory and two-edged character of the imperialist policy of keeping the foreign-born workers isolated and separated as much as possible from the German population. On the one hand it's clear how the imperialists benefited from this national oppression directed against the people from Turkey in terms of being able to force them into rotten housing, low-paying, backbreaking jobs, etc. During the 15-year period of almost uninterrupted economic expansion that won West Germany its label of "economic miracle", the bourgeoisie was forced to recruit large numbers of workers to man the assembly lines, work the coke ovens, dig the coal, clean the streets and build the buildings of the post-war Reich. With labor in short supply the native Germans were able to refuse this work and move into technical and skilled jobs in industry and out of the factories and into the white collar jobs in the rapidly expanding financial and insurance sectors and state bureaucracy. Resulting from this is the fact that today in the metal (steel, auto, etc.) and building industries, for instance, the accident rate for immigrant workers is twice that of native German workers. 25% of West Germany's coal miners are from Turkey. And not surprisingly, with the boom years rapidly a fading memory, while the overall

**Among the many banners in Turkish decorating the hall were three huge red and white ones for May First — one each destined for New York, L.A. and Atlanta. As we watched hundreds of revolutionaries from Turkey take turns signing their names to these powerful symbols of the international character of the proletariat's struggle — I couldn't help but think that we had just spent the last week on a trip into the future.**

unemployment rate stands at 8.2% — the rate for "guest workers" is 12%. At the same time this enforced separation only helps to preserve and reinforce their ties to Turkey and the struggle there. While the German workers alongside of whom they labor every day were suffering under the debilitating effects of bourgeoisification and imperialist economism and chauvinism — these people on the basis of the developing revolutionary situation and struggle in Turkey were moving to a revolutionary outlook and taking up the revolutionary struggle.

The bourgeoisie faces a similar dilemma in a broader sense regarding this situation. The very fact that almost one-half of the immigrant workers in West Germany are from Turkey reflects the economic and political role that the West German imperialists play there and undoubtedly bloc-wide military and strategic considerations. Large numbers of workers from Turkey have been brought to Germany in hopes of getting a kind of "safety valve effect." (Remittances by overseas workers from Turkey in West Germany and in a number of other countries play an important role in Turkey's balance of payments picture.) Maintaining some kind of social and political stability in Turkey raises an important question for the U.S. bloc given Turkey's strategic geo-political placement on the southern flank of the NATO countries and bordering directly on the Soviet Union.

Of course, at the same time, they have created a base of financial and political support for the revolution in Turkey and a dangerous political force right in the heart of this imperialist power for revolution world-wide. In West Berlin, there are between 100,000 and 150,000 people from Turkey in a city of 3 million. Overwhelmingly proletarians, they are jammed into an area about three blocks square called Kreuzberg — the heart of the squatters warfare of the West German youth. When these youth hit the streets, there are many proletarian youth from Turkey in the ranks, and the residents and the foreign-born residents and shopkeepers are quick to provide shelter for the rebels from the police. A popular new wave band from Berlin has now got a song out, which roughly translated is called, "We're Turks, Too."

## Transforming the Political Landscape

Not all those in the room had come into revolutionary activity upon coming to Germany. Some had taken up the struggle in Turkey, but found themselves swept up by the powerful economic and political forces that had propelled the others to this imperialist metropolis.

Ibo was one such person: "I come from a family which has 11 members. When I was a small child, we had no way of earning a living so we survived by collecting wheat and barley from here and there. Up until 1949 there was no school but after '49 I managed to go to school and I finished grade school in 1954. At this time I was 11 years old and began earning a living working for small time contractors. Mainly I carried water for various purposes. I did this until 1963. From 1963 on, the propaganda of the Workers' Party of Turkey reached our region. We didn't really understand then that they were representatives of the Soviet social-imperialists so until 1971 we distributed their propaganda to the people.

"In 1971, a dam was built in our region and all the land there was put under water.

So the authorities said all those from this region who had been in the army like myself could go and work in Germany. It was at this time that I came here. As for the land, they had paid just a little money for the land that was covered by the water and to this date there is no electricity in the area despite all their promises.

"After we came to Germany at the beginning of the '70s we were not getting all that much information about what was going on in Turkey. But one of the things that gave impetus to our revolutionary thinking was the struggle and the hanging of three revolutionaries in 1972 which sparked a big anger in our hearts. After that they slaughtered a number of revolutionaries in armed clashes and then murdered, under torture, the exemplary revolutionary Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

"We heard about his death from other workers who had gone back to Turkey on their vacations and brought this news with them on their return. From 1973 on with the teachings of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya we learned more about our class and our class interests and our revolutionary consciousness developed a lot more.

"Around 1975-76 I came into contact with the supporters of the TKP/ML and we started to distribute their literature and organize other forces around the same line. The political development of a revolutionary situation in Turkey, the wholesale massacre and genocide against the Kurdish population and terror that is perpetrated against the Kurdish people and the revolutionary struggle of the people in these areas, coupled with the fascist attacks and massacres in Corum and Maras, pushed us much more seriously into the revolutionary work. Since that time we are trying to shoulder our share of the revolutionary duties."

I had been wondering about the role of the pro-Soviet revisionists in Turkey and how the masses viewed the Soviet Union, particularly since the two countries border on one another. Since the time when Khrushchev and other revisionists came to power in the Soviet Union this has been a key dividing line between revolution and opportunism. And now as things head more and more toward an all-out clash between the two imperialist blocs the question of a correct orientation on this becomes even more crucial. I asked him how he came to understand that the Soviet Union was today a social-imperialist power:

"First of all it is obvious that a socialist country doesn't take the political stand that the Soviet Union is taking around the world today. A socialist country would not take the same attitude towards the liberation struggles. A socialist country would not invade another country, like they did in Afghanistan. On top of that in the class struggle in Turkey we've observed the stand of the Soviet Union — what side they are on. They have never sided with the revolutionary working class movement. Their reaction to the coup, the hangings and the fascist regime have given us all the indications that they were not a socialist country. When we were defending them in the '60s because of this Workers' Party, this was because of our low level of understanding and also the fact that this party consciously did not raise this level of question in their propaganda.

"I have not really studied in depth the question of capitalist restoration. But I have studied the various Party congress documents and have seen the differences there. I know that they export capital like

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# Winds of Revolution

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the other capitalist countries and that the entire party and state apparatus is in the hands of the new bourgeoisie who is using it for their own interests."

The political stand of ATIF and the TKP/ML on this question has not only played an important role in Turkey but in West Germany as well. A closer look at this helps to get a better picture of their current impact on the political landscape here and the potential role of this class-conscious force with a revolutionary political line as contradictions sharpen up on a world-scale. This was highlighted in an incident a year and a half ago that people told us about.

In 1980 ATIF had taken part in building for a demonstration against the NATO Autumn Forge maneuvers that year. The idea was to expose these maneuvers, which at that time were the largest since World War 2 by either bloc, as preparations for a third imperialist world war and to organize a demonstration and march to maneuver headquarters just as the exercises were at their height. A month prior to this, a nationwide conference was called to attempt to unite a broad range of forces around this campaign. A key point of debate of the conference was the character of the Soviet Union today and whether or not in fact it is a world war that is brewing and correspondingly what are the class interests involved in such a war. In attendance were a number of people who support the political line that revolution today is a question of liberation struggles in every country — including the European imperialist countries — against U.S. domination. From this perspective they have been totally fooled by the fact that since the early '70s the Soviet Union has adopted a much more aggressive stance vis-à-vis the U.S. bloc and as part of its strategy to make an all-out challenge for the slot of imperialist world kingpin, it extends "support" to certain liberation struggles in places where the U.S. and its bloc are dominant in an effort to gain control of these areas. These forces take this more aggressive stand to be proof that the Soviet Union is indeed still socialist and a "natural ally" of the liberation struggles. So not only were they opposed to any slogan targeting both imperialist blocs but they actually were against the demonstration itself because it sharply raised the question of moves toward world war. Their position being that there is no world war developing and that all these maneuvers were *only* preparation for "intervention in the third world." They feared even addressing the possibility of world war because it automatically raises in people's sights for consideration what the Soviet Union is all about.

Anyway, when their position was clearly being isolated and defeated among the 200 or so present, they attempted to derail the meeting and disrupt things totally by launching the charge that the revolutionary GI newspaper *Fight Back* which had initiated the call for the meeting was a CIA organization. This was really an attempt to brand the political line that calls both blocs imperialist as one held only by U.S. bloc agents (a charge long used by the Soviets themselves who even called Mao a CIA operative). This tactic succeeded in temporarily throwing the meeting into confusion and here's where the stand of ATIF around this question played a key role. The ATIF representatives at the meeting not only took a firm stand in denouncing these slanderous charges, but they politically defended the view of the Soviet Union as an imperialist country as not only being correct but as being *crucial* to understanding events in today's world. Further they compared the CIA agent "charge" with similar actions by the pro-Soviet revisionist party in Turkey who say the same thing to explain why they turn over revolutionaries to the police in that country (like the Tudeh Party in Iran). The stand by the ATIF representatives

played a key role in turning back this attack and attempt at sabotage, especially since these revisionist dogs could hardly call them CIA agents without totally exposing themselves.

At the end when it looked like the same forces might be attempting to regroup and physically prevent the *Fight Back* representatives from speaking on the last day of the conference — the attendance of 15 members from the local ATIF chapter put an end to any such thoughts as these revisionists got to talking about "the Turkish comrades this and the Turkish comrades that." Not only was the active participation of ATIF instrumental in waging the political struggle leading up to the demo, which was attended by some 2,000 people, but the impact of the contingent of 400-500 revolutionary proletarians from Turkey profoundly influenced the militant and internationalist character of the march.

## The Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

As Ibo concluded his story another rapid discussion broke out over who would speak next. A young woman in her mid-twenties sitting against the far wall said something to our interpreter. When he looked at her she straightened up in her chair and spoke again, her voice cutting through the general din. "She wants to speak," he said to me. As I looked in her direction she got up and walked over to our table and took a seat.

"My name is Latife," she began. "I was born in 1956 in a small town in eastern Turkey. Because of his political activities in 1966 my father was framed up on a murder charge and thrown in jail for 24 years. I was in the fourth grade at the time. When he went to jail my mother was in no position to manage the family. I was the oldest so I had to take the responsibility. I tried to go to school and earn a living at the same time.

"Whenever we could we were working in the small fields of others, plowing and hoeing. In the summer time we worked as vegetable vendors in the street. In 1971 I applied to go to Germany. But my age was too low so I went to the court to have my age raised. They asked me if I was doing this to get married and I told them that this was out of economic necessity that I wanted to go so they granted my request.

"I applied to the employment agency and they gave some priority to people who had some education and in 1972 I came to Germany. When I first got here I began working in the Grundig (a German electronics company) factory in Nuremberg.

"The conditions were really bad in terms of what you might say were certain people in the Turkish community who were trying to take advantage of young women, making false promises and with these lies turn them into prostitutes. As a result I moved away from there and came to northern Germany to live with some relatives.

"While I was living with my relatives I was unmarried and had to deal with my own situation. This was causing a lot of gossip and speculation. I couldn't talk to people or take part in social activities by myself and what people were saying about me was creating a lot of tension in me. Even though my purpose for living in Germany was to aid my family and a large percentage of what I earned was sent back to Turkey, the influence of feudal culture caused my relatives to act in a repressive manner toward me.

"Even my closest friends and relatives were looking down on me. They were treating me as a 'bad woman.' When I first came a lot of people asked me why I was alone. Their thinking was that a good family would not send their daughter to Germany alone unless they had some other things in mind. With this outlook they were unable to understand that what I was doing was out of economic necessity.

"All the tensions and internal turmoil that this brought on caused me to become sick with tuberculosis and I was in the hospital for one year. Just before I got out of the hospital my father was released from prison. When I was well again, I

returned to Turkey. He was very upset about what had happened to me and did not want me to return to Germany. I was also hoping to be able to stay and go to school in Turkey. But the economic conditions of my family would not allow it and I was forced to come back to Germany to earn a living.

"In 1976 I met somebody and as a result of the feudal pressure around me and also the economic necessity I was forced into a marriage with this person. Between 1976 and 1978 there was a lot of problems and contradictions in this marriage. One of the things that brought me into the revolution were the problems of the marriage. My husband was not concerned with the marriage and he was spending most of his time in the beerhalls drinking and gambling. Maybe I didn't have enough consciousness to deal with the contradictions correctly but I fought his chauvinist attitudes as strongly as he manifested them. I was forced to try to figure out why this was happening and what the underlying causes of these problems were. In addition to that, the situation with my family and the problems they faced in the overall increased political repression against the workers and peasants of Turkey forced me to confront all these questions.

"In 1979 I went back to Turkey on my vacation with the hopes of helping them get on a better footing economically and maybe help them open up a small coffee house. But during this time I was strongly influenced by the growing political clashes. For instance in one town where they lived the small businesses of the democratic and revolutionary-minded people were attacked and destroyed. This showed me all the more clearly the fascist nature of the state of Turkey. When we got back here my husband and I established contact with the ATIF and we have been active since then."

Why, I asked her, were there so few women as compared to men in the room today?

"One of the primary reasons," she responded, "why there are not an equal number of revolutionary sisters in this meeting today is because of the remnants and strong influence of the feudal culture. A lot of our sisters want to come to these meetings and take part in the political life of the center. But because of the feudal habits and inclinations of even the revolutionary brothers and comrades, in a sense, they've been kept away from the revolutionary struggle. I've been struggling against this tendency because if these male comrades could shed these ideas then the role of women in the revolution will grow tremendously."

At this point one of the brothers in the room broke in: "A lot of people who were at the demonstration today aren't here. There are regularly 30 revolutionary sisters here. It is true there are some feudal tendencies among the male comrades but I think personally that this kind of outlook is not in the majority among the male comrades."

Latife looked at him and began again. "One of the concrete reasons for this lack of participation on the part of the women is because most of the women from Turkey have been working to earn a living. You might say that they've also become more proletarianized but along with that they still have the household obligations after they get home from eight hours of work. They have to take care of the kids, the cooking and cleaning. The male comrades don't recognize these obstacles confronting the women. And not paying attention to this results in the lack of participation of women in these political activities."

As she was speaking three other sisters had come over and were now standing behind her. Another woman comrade began, "I think that what the previous sister pointed out is one aspect of the problem. The other is that this problem is fundamentally rooted in the social structure of the society in Turkey. The socio-economic character of the society and culture use women as a second-class citizen. This mentality has not provided the opportunity for women to develop themselves in various branches of the struggle. So I think the problem is really

rooted in the socio-economic character of the society."

Latife started once more. "One of the reasons for these shortcomings on the part of the male comrades is that the woman question has not been treated as an important contradiction and there has not been enough struggle and investigation as to the nature of this contradiction. As a result they have not been able to shed most of their backward habits and attitudes.

"The revolution will bring about some important changes in the status of women. First is that equality between men and women will be established — at least major steps will be taken to establish this equality. It will become clear that the only difference between men and women is a physical one. By this we don't mean that the revolution will be the complete solution to this contradiction. It will continue to exist after the revolution and the total elimination of this problem is only possible when we reach communism.

"A lot of the feudal mentality is losing ground because of the clear accomplishments of women and the success of women in the sciences and production. The saying in Turkey 'long hair and short brain' no longer has the same force that it once had in the thinking of the people. We women realize this is a small step, but to be able to make qualitative changes we have to mobilize all our strength to deal with this question."

What did she think of the objective situation and political consciousness of German women, I asked. "In the essence of the question I don't think there is very much difference between the situation of women in Turkey and in Germany. There are certain socio-economic gains being made by women in Germany because of being able to work or gain a certain amount of education — this constitutes a difference. There is no more feudalism here which obviously has an effect on the status of women but in the very essence there is not much difference."

## Sharp Struggle Over Revolutionary Theory

Throughout the entire afternoon one thing that kept making itself felt again and again was the sense of revolutionary urgency among these proletarians. For them revolution was not some abstract question or distant hope but a concrete reality unfolding daily. In this setting, the questions of revolutionary theory — the path forward for the revolution — are taken up as the life and death questions they are.

I got more of a feeling for this when people described for me the split that had taken place about a year and a half ago within the TKP/ML and the ATIF. Almost all the top leadership of the TKP/ML in West Germany and ATIF had formed a faction based on what is essentially a dogmatic-revisionist type line. Calling themselves "the Bolsheviks," they had attempted to engineer a split within the Party in Turkey in opposition to the line of the Party's Second Congress. Thinking themselves in control of the situation they went into a state of shock when the revolutionary Party cadre and the revolutionary masses rose up in rebellion against their counter-revolutionary line. These "Bolsheviks" quickly found themselves in the position of being very "Menshevik" indeed. The decisive thing that really put the nail in their coffin was a series of debates with them held in cities all around West Germany to publicly battle it out. Thousands of workers attended and took part in this struggle, and the "Bolsheviks" wound up isolated and soundly defeated.

The whole struggle had been a resounding blow at the old, tired-ass, revisionist refrain (as well as capitalist hope) that the masses are unable to take up and grapple with questions of revolutionary theory and the cardinal political questions of affairs of state.

As we talked some about this experience the spirit and flavor began to come through:

Efendi began: "At this point I cannot say one way or another about this thing — I need to study both sides. I want to understand the arguments better before I

can say more."

"One year has passed," a voice from across the room sternly interjected, "and you still haven't made up your mind."

"The 'Bolsheviks' took some people with them," replied Efendi, "and we have to figure out how to get them back."

"Well, then, why don't you tell us what you did to fight against the 'Bolsheviks,'" the critic shot back again. It was Ibo and these last remarks by Efendi had clearly rubbed him the wrong way. He continued: "This comrade's views are not the views of the masses in this room. He has been talking about the revolutionary process all this time, but for one year he has not taken a position on the 'Bolsheviks' line and practice. This kind of view is incorrect and this kind of approach to the international communist movement is not our approach and we must condemn it."

Latife then picked up the debate: "These people who split from ATIF and the TKP/ML basically played a role of propagating the line of Ibrahim Kaypak-kaya and the Party's line prior to the split. But when they made this 180-degree turn, there was no way to explain it. First of all they started denouncing all the basic views that the Party had up to that point, and then they lost all their credibility. This kind of a turn will only take them to counter-revolution. They keep saying without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution but what they really mean is to divorce theory from practice."

"They attacked Mao at all the open meetings — distorting what he had said and taking it out of the historical conditions under which he said them. We see their bankrupt theory and practice. Today we had a demonstration against the hangings in Turkey and they were not there but they call themselves 'Bolsheviks.'"

"They say there was no revolutionary situation in Turkey, but for this to be true there had to be at least some stabilization of the economy but it is clear this hasn't happened, at least not yet."

"Their stand on the people's war in Turkey is another theoretical issue. They started denouncing the people's war in Turkey, but to do that you have to show that the socio-economic structure does not call for people's war. And there is an organic relationship between the people's war and the level of socio-economic development. They themselves admitted they had not made any new study of the socio-economic structure except to say that they think the capitalist elements are dominant, but they said they haven't done this study — but would in the future. In the meantime they are denouncing the people's war and this doesn't hold water."

"On the Mao question they are attacking the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. They want to use the fact that Mao was in a difficult position and had to make certain concessions and they are trying to cail the declarations revisionist while completely ignoring the struggle being waged against Khrushchevite revisionism. They don't value this struggle or recognize the tactical questions involved. Even though Mao signed these documents, he himself explained there were some revisionist ideas in them."

There was no doubt about it, we were definitely talking with a very dangerous group of people. Other people explained that it was in fact exactly on those two questions of upholding Mao and the people's war in Turkey (along with the general prestige of the Party) that the "Bolsheviks" had been soundly routed. Their stand on these two questions caused them to be widely perceived by the masses as opportunists and deserters from the revolutionary ranks. Putting it mildly, these are not the sort of ideas that the imperialists like to see the masses debating, let alone defending — talk about the "virus of Marxism" in their own front yard! (And it is a great joy to the international proletariat that such concentrations of revolutionary proletarians from Turkey together with other international gravediggers are to be found in many countries of Europe, the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia and Libya, and as far away as Australia.)



May Day 1981—Frankfurt, W. Germany

Furthermore they have applied this same stand around the importance of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory in relating to the ranks of the West German revolutionaries as well. This has taken the form of both distributing the Joint Communique broadly throughout the country — including at important political events such as the October 10th anti-war demonstration in Bonn where they were out in force — and also carrying out extensive struggle with revolutionaries in West Germany who consider themselves to be Marxist-Leninists to unite around the dividing lines delineated in the Joint Communique and join in endorsing it. This is in addition to broadly carrying out other Marxist agitation and propaganda — in German — around the revolution in Turkey and the world generally.

#### One Class Worldwide

At a recent congress of ATIF, some of the workers circulated a letter demanding the release of a Black ex-GI from the U.S. who is currently facing extradition by the West German government in connection with political charges stemming from his activity in the 1960s, and it was signed by many at the congress. Later these revolutionary workers from Turkey took the letter to a concert after an anti-nuke conference in the town where the Black brother lived, and people at the concert, profoundly moved by this internationalist act, took up the letter and made a similar letter of protest which circulated in their ranks.

Many of these revolutionary proletarians I talked with told me about the massive disruptions of last year's "official" May Day rallies in many West German cities. These quiet, boring and mind-numbing chauvinist events — sponsored by the ruling Social-Democratic Party of Helmut Schmidt and the trade-union federations it runs — became the occasion for militant outbursts led by thousands of revolutionary immigrant workers from Turkey and other countries, together with many radical German youth.

At Stuttgart, a big section of the overwhelmingly foreign-born crowd hooted down a local trade-union hack, who could hardly be heard through chants of "Down With West German Imperialism, Stop All Aid To Turkey!" In Frankfurt, where the contingents of revolutionary immigrants and others were physically cordoned off from the speakers' platform by riot police and union guards, a group of workers from Turkey burned an American flag in the middle of the rally, denouncing the recently installed U.S.-backed military junta in Turkey and

chanting "Death to West German Imperialism." This planned celebration of the "good life" in West Germany and demanding the workers' "fair share" in the droppings from imperialist plunder, soon became more like an internationalist festival than the pro-imperialist one it was supposed to be, as nearly 1,000 people marched out of the official "May Day rally" to a nearby square to sing the *Internationale* in different languages and hear revolutionary speeches.

Across the border in Switzerland, the scene on May First was similar but even more tumultuous. After 6,000 marched through the main streets of the industrial city of Basel — including large groups of immigrant workers from Turkey, Italy and Spain — these "ungrateful foreigners" together with "troublemaking" Swiss and German youth turned the traditional reformist May Day rally at city hall upside down. After union officials and their goons tried to stop a revolutionary from Turkey and a Swiss youth from speaking, and announced that "May Day is over," youth and immigrant workers stormed the stage, ripping down the union banners and making a bonfire out of the wooden stage. Needless to say, all this militant and enthusiastically internationalist activity was looked down upon with horror by the imperialists and their respectable social-democratic politicians. In more than a few cases they were overheard muttering, "These people are not part of our First of May." And right they were.

All of this is not so easily done; not only are there the risks involved in the fact that such activity by immigrants is formally outlawed with the ever-present threat of expulsion — but there are other political difficulties as well. In the political sense, even with the upsurge of the last couple of years, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line is still very much swimming against the tide. Due to the collapse of the Marxist-Leninist movement here in West Germany, various forms of revisionists, dogmatorevisionists and economists have become synonymous with the words of Marxism-Leninism and communism in the minds of the revolutionary youth. This coupled with extensive bourgeoisification of the working class and the chauvinistic, or at least extremely narrow, view on the part of a surprising number of people in various movements about the role of immigrant workers in a revolution in Germany make the going a bit tough. But with great optimism, the comrades from Turkey persevere.

As a result of their efforts, they have sometimes found themselves in peculiar

situations. On one occasion some ATIF members went out to a "Rock gegen Rechts" ("Rock Against the Right") concert in Frankfurt to leaflet about some of their members who had been imprisoned after defending themselves against an attack by some "grey wolves" (Turkish fascists who work hand in hand with the West German authorities). There were about 30,000 people at this concert and within the crowds a group of people (both men and women) decided they would "liberate" themselves by taking off their clothes. Now, in Turkey — for a woman to do such a thing in public could easily cost her her life and no man would want to be seen looking at her. So here were the comrades from Turkey, trying to continue leafleting while looking away or in some cases closing their eyes altogether, while some of the streakers were going up to them and asking them why they were so "hung up."

This led the discussion back to the question of the influence of the material conditions in West Germany on the people coming from Turkey — particularly in relation to maintaining a revolutionary stand.

A brother at the end of the table who hadn't spoken before started in: "There are some people who are in the revolutionary struggle in Turkey but when they come over here and see some bit of economic ease and are able to stay in Germany by marrying the German workers' daughters, etc., they have the objective condition to remove themselves from the struggle. We have seen this happen. But I don't think this represents the main state of things."

"The bourgeoisie has left open some doors for the youth, with a few opportunities. And some people who come over here do think that this is a kind of liberation or emancipation from their hardship. But they miss the point, that this is not really liberation — liberation has to be won by the revolutionary struggle in Turkey."

I asked him what he thought the relationship was between the revolutionary struggle in Turkey and in the rest of the world particularly Germany.

He replied, "There are some people here who think along the same lines we do and we try to mobilize them in accordance with our ability to do so. But there is a difference between Germany and Turkey. Germany had a revolutionary period but now has become an imperialist country and the bourgeoisie has bought off a large section of the working class and has managed to keep them passive. Turkey is a colony of the imperialist

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## Winds of Revolution

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countries and in a different situation. Despite some bought-off workers there's still a revolutionary struggle. There are two different processes going on because of the structure of the two different societies."

As he finished, yet another brother who had not spoken jumped in: "Proletarian internationalism means that the revolution cannot be viewed as a separate process in different countries but as a whole world process. Because of the development of capitalism and imperialism there is a question of oppressor and oppressed nations. This has resulted in national liberation struggles coming forward and revolutions occurring under different conditions and with uneven development and in an uneven way. So the question of revolutions occurring in separate countries is on the agenda. But the essential thing not to forget is that the international working class is one class altogether worldwide."

The importance of a world view such as this and the ability of revolutionary proletarians to influence other political forces and events here more broadly was once again pointed out in another incident people talked about. This one took place just a few days after the U.S. military tripped over its own feet in the Iranian desert. In the wake of this failed raid and with the prospects of a U.S. invasion very real, a loose coalition in Heidelberg called for a demonstration to march to the U.S. Army's European Headquarters which is located there to denounce the raid and oppose further U.S. attempts to smash the Iranian revolution. ATIF took part in calling for the demo.

As demonstrators gathered in Heidelberg's central square, a struggle broke out between forces who wanted to march out to the Army headquarters and make a militant statement, and others,

mainly reformist elements associated with the local Green Party who wanted the demo to go in the opposite direction in order to avoid any possibility of a confrontation. Both sides of the debate were going through the crowd with bullhorns agitating for their position and it looked like the Greens were getting the upper hand when the ATIF contingent showed up 150 strong and joined into the debate. As they formed up in rows of four pointed right at the headquarters and making very clear where they intended to go, one of the Greens started yelling, "Now you're trucking in Turkish workers to take over the demo. This is a local action and we don't need these outsiders. The residents of Heidelberg won't understand why they're here." They got even more excited as two-thirds of the rest of the crowd headed out to the headquarters.

Transposing this experience into a situation in which on a qualitatively greater scale than today, political forces and movements are propelled into motion — the mind's eye can leap to seeing the potential that exists right in the belly of one of imperialism's biggest beasts.

The bourgeoisie has taken very clear notice of this fact and has recently been acting to try to counteract it. In particular this has taken the form of trying to whip up and make respectable the anti-immigrant wind that has always existed. The worldwide recession of '74-75 saw the closing of the employment offices for West Germany in Turkey. Following that period, as unemployment of some size returned to the scene, the policy was adopted of drastically reducing all immigration — including things like making it much harder for people to bring over their family members and stepping up the revoking of working and living permits. However it would be a mistake to see this as primarily an effort to kick people out to solve the unemployment problem. There is no real prospect of that. Rather it is much more a question of whipping up chauvinism and antagonisms to counteract the political influence of the immigrant workers.

This has featured repeated publica-

tions of so-called opinion polls saying that up to 79% of the population think there are too many foreigners in West Germany. Further these polls are quick to point out that even a majority of those identifying themselves as members of the "leftist" Green Party feel the same way. While these polls no doubt reflect the imperialist chauvinism that does exist here, these "opinion polls" like those in the U.S. are more designed to mold opinion than sample it. In this case the message being that it is perfectly okay and in the majority to be a chauvinist asshole even if you are a leftist.

The latest highlight of the campaign came about a month ago with the publication in the leading newspapers of a letter signed by 15 professors of law, medicine and philosophy at Heidelberg University (that is to say 15 of the highest representatives of European civilization and culture) which said among other things, "It is with great concern that we observe the undermining of the German people through the presence of several million foreigners and their families, the de-Germanization of our language, our culture and our national character." After carrying on about the dangers to the "biological and genetic character" of the German people they concluded by saying that kicking out some foreigners would bring West Germany "not only societal but ecological relief."

In an earlier period when the imperialists were encouraging the immigration of workers in large numbers, such views were instantly labeled as "reminiscent of our dark past" and would not have been given such wide play. But the fact that they have found it necessary to return to this tack reveals their political dilemma. I found a copy of a speech by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt from 1980 in which he starts out saying that they can't really get down on the "guest workers" who have "contributed to the economic development of the country," blah, blah, blah, and then he says, "But, 4 million is enough... And I can sympathize with the German people who have to put up with the slaughtering of lambs in their hallways and the smell

of garlic in their apartment houses." I have made it a point to carry that article around and stick it in the face of people who say, well, after all it's better to have the Social-Democrats in power.

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We had been talking for four or five hours now and the number in the room had dwindled from the original 60 or 70 to 15 or so. It seemed that things were about to break up when one of those still remaining spoke up. "We've been talking to you about the struggle in Turkey for a long time but all we hear about the U.S. is that everyone there is comfortable and leading great lives and the imperialist propaganda never includes classes, hardship or economic difficulties — we want you to give us a sense of the real situation in the U.S."

As he said this, those who'd begun to put on their coats set back down and our interpreter, who had not slept the night before, got a very pained look on his face. The questions followed, one after another — "What about the national question in the U.S.? What about role of Black people and other minorities? What's the level of working class unity? What about work in the unions? What do you think about Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism*...?"

It would be two more hours till we finally left.

A few days after the interview we got a chance to spend a day at the National Congress of ATIF. A thousand delegates and observers spent a weekend packed into a large room discussing and debating the situation in Turkey, West Germany and internationally and the role of ATIF in all this.

Among the many banners in Turkish decorating the hall were three huge red and white ones for May First — one each destined for New York, L.A. and Atlanta. As we watched hundreds of revolutionaries from Turkey take turns signing their names to these powerful symbols of the international character of the proletariat's struggle — I couldn't help but think that we had just spent the last week on a trip into the future. □

## from Atlanta to El Salvador, Brixton

Continued from page 9

rorize Black people and other oppressed nations into submission... because they fear them. In England, however, these vain hopes exploded in these mummies' faces, as the nightmare of their 'weak and helpless slaves,' Black and white, rising in powerful rebellions became an all too real picture of what is in store for them in the near future! The uprisings in England, from the elementary school in Toxteth to the front lines of Brixton sent shockwaves throughout the world and inspired and advanced the call to revolution internationally. With the whole world wrapped in crisis and the crumbling empires of imperialism preparing to attempt to save their rotting corpse by plunging millions of slaves into world war, there is no better way to meet their pious call for patriotism and devotion to country, than with the red flag of proletarian internationalism. It is with great joy that we will join you in the streets on May First, showing the determination of all who are exploited and enslaved, of all these forces embodying the new and arising to carry out the revolution against this twisted order, the determination to leap forward crossing all 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, towards the extinction of wars and of nation-states themselves, and the shattering of all tradition's chains."

The banner to El Salvador, was signed by 32 people at the Five Points MARTA (rapid transit) station in three hours.

"To the revolution and to people of El Salvador from the people of Atlanta.

"Today as we prepare for May Day, the revolutionary holiday of our class worldwide, we want you to know that despite our rulers' call for us to support their efforts to crush your righteous struggle for liberation, we will not go for it. We will never be star-spangled patriots, but quite the opposite. At the very time the criminals on the earth are crumbling, we will spit on the American flag and stand with the people of the world. Forward to victory!" □

## Damián García

Continued from page 2

llano was conveniently never brought to trial, an action that might have resulted in some embarrassing disclosures.

Time and again over the past two years, evidence has come to light which exposes the hand of the police in the murder of Damián García. Much of this has been reported in the pages of the *RW*, and in the weeks to come more startling and dramatic evidence will be revealed, including the activities of a known and admitted police informant.

In commemoration of Comrade Damián García, and as an expression of the resolve of the class-conscious proletariat to scale the heights this year on May 1st, memorials will be held on April 22 in Los Angeles in the vicinity where Damián was murdered, and on the border between the U.S. and Mexico south of San Diego. Carol García, who was married to Damián, will speak at the memorial in L.A. Elsewhere around the country, creative displays of the poster featured in this issue of the *RW* are certainly in order!

The significance of the life and death

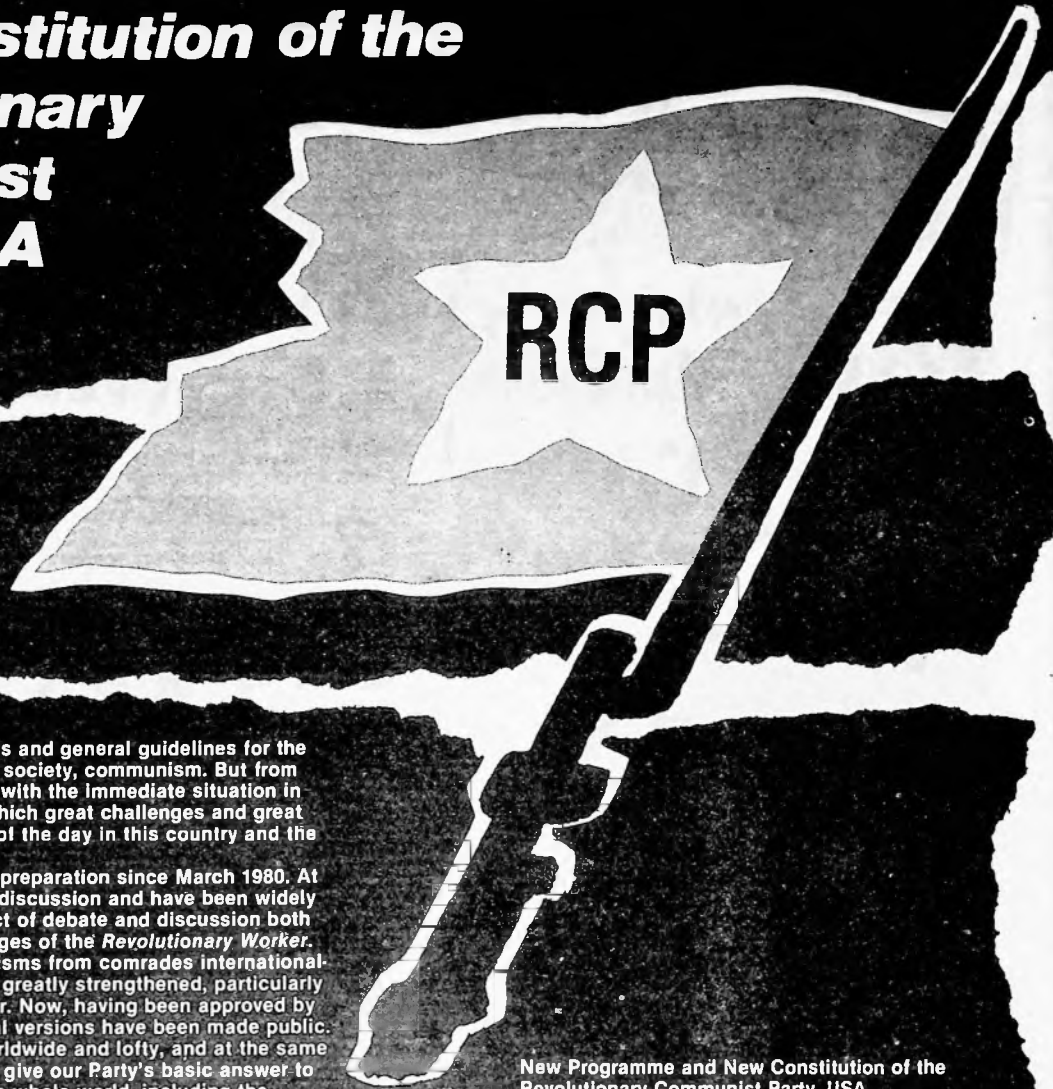
of Comrade García was spoken to by Bob Avakian in this April 25, 1980 statement:

"Death comes to every man or woman — this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people can not only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole. To die in the causes for which the imperialists and reactionaries have and will on an even more monstrous scale enlist the people — including the world war for which the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet counterparts are right now feverishly preparing — or to give up living and to die a little death on your knees passively

accepting the torment and humiliation and the crimes committed against yourself and others by this system; or to consume oneself in futile attempts at self-indulgent escape; all this is miserable and disgraceful. But to devote your life, and even be willing to lay it down, to put an end to the system that spews all of this forth and perpetuates it, to live and die for the cause of the international proletariat, to make revolution, transform society and advance mankind to the bright dawn of communism — this is truly a living, and a dying, that is full of meaning and inspiration for millions and hundreds of millions fighting for or awakening to the same goal all around the world. Such was the life and death of Comrade García, a fighter and martyr in the army of the international proletariat. . . ." □

**MAKE A LIVING FORCE  
OF PROLETARIAN  
INTERNATIONALISM!  
DOWN WITH THE OLD  
ORDER AND FIGHT TO  
BRING ALIVE THE NEW!**

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



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

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

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

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## New Constitution

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### Article 1

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

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

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APRIL 30th**

(and building throughout that week)

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

**NEW YORK: SAT. MAY 1st**

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

**LOS ANGELES: SAT. MAY 1st**

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

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

Phone: (213) 382-5428

**ATLANTA: SAT. MAY 1st**

1 pm: Gather at Evans & Lee Streets  
2 pm: Converge on Ft. McPherson, Main (Lee St.) Gate

("The Pentagon of the South")

Phone: (404) 659-5929

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

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