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"Let the youth be out there in the forefront... and let the old people not be far behind"

Bob Avakian on May First

Text of tape by Bob Avakian:

When we're talking about crisis and war, we're not just talking about it to hear ourselves talk; we're not just bullshitting; we're not just saying it because it sounds like something heavy. We have to deal with the situation the way it really is. We have to recognize clearly what these motherfuckers have in store for us: the imperialists that run this country and their kind throughout the world, including especially their rivals in the Soviet Union, and the way the two of them are in fact getting ready and making active preparations to drag the whole world into World War 3, with all the nukes and everything else that they're getting ready to unleash to see which one of them can come out on top and loot and plunder most of the world and make themselves the big boss throughout the whole scene. Now there's no way that we can run away and hide from this, but on the other hand if we think about it, if we get into it, if we analyze it more deeply, there's no

way that we should want to or no way we need to, because this doesn't show their strength. In the final analysis, it shows their weakness. It shows that, in fact, the crisis we're talking about is deep, that it is not just bringing more suffering for us and for people like us, the oppressed and exploited and degraded people throughout the world who suffer under this system every day; but it also is pushing them to the limit, it's also stretching them to the limit, it's also bringing them to a situation where they're a lot more vulnerable than they are many times, day in and day out, even year in and year out. In other words, it's heightening all the contradictions of their system, with all the madness we have to live under every day. And in this sense it is also preparing the stage for far greater opportunities to get rid of this whole system with all of its madness, once and for all, or at least to make tremendous strides toward doing that on a whole world scale, and including, very possibly, the chance to actually do

them in right in this country, to get rid of their system right in the U.S. itself.

So we've got to recognize what it is, not just out of their madness, not just out of the fact that they are bloodthirsty dogs, but out of the nature of their system and the things that it drives even them to do in order to try and stay on top and keep it going with themselves on top, we have to recognize what it is they've got in store for us. And the deepening crisis and the very real and growing threat of world war that looms right before us is most of all what we've got to recognize as the thing we've got to deal with. That's the situation before us; if we're going to deal with things we've got to recognize clearly what it is we're up against. But what should be our attitude, what must be our attitude, we the proletariat—the real proletarian people in this country and our class brothers and sisters like us

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Londonderry Youth Take to Barricades, Tackle British Troops

For over 12 straight days, thousands of youth in Northern Ireland have fought pitched battles with police and British Army troops, marking a new upsurge in the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland. In a number of cities, the streets have been turned into combat zones as youth stage hit-and-runs against the enemy, peppering the battered and beleaguered authorities with stones and petrol bombs (Molotov cocktails) and setting up burning barricades in the street. The spark for this

upsurge has been the struggle of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) hunger strikers in the H Block of Long Kesh prison to force the British to classify them as political prisoners. The British have steadfastly refused to do so, instead calling the prisoners simply "common criminals." In particular, things have been focused around Bobby Sands, a leader of the hunger strikers who has refused to stop his protest and is very near death.

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Take Up The Call To Distribute 50,000 Revolutionary Workers on May First and 100,000-Plus During the Week! (See pg. 7)

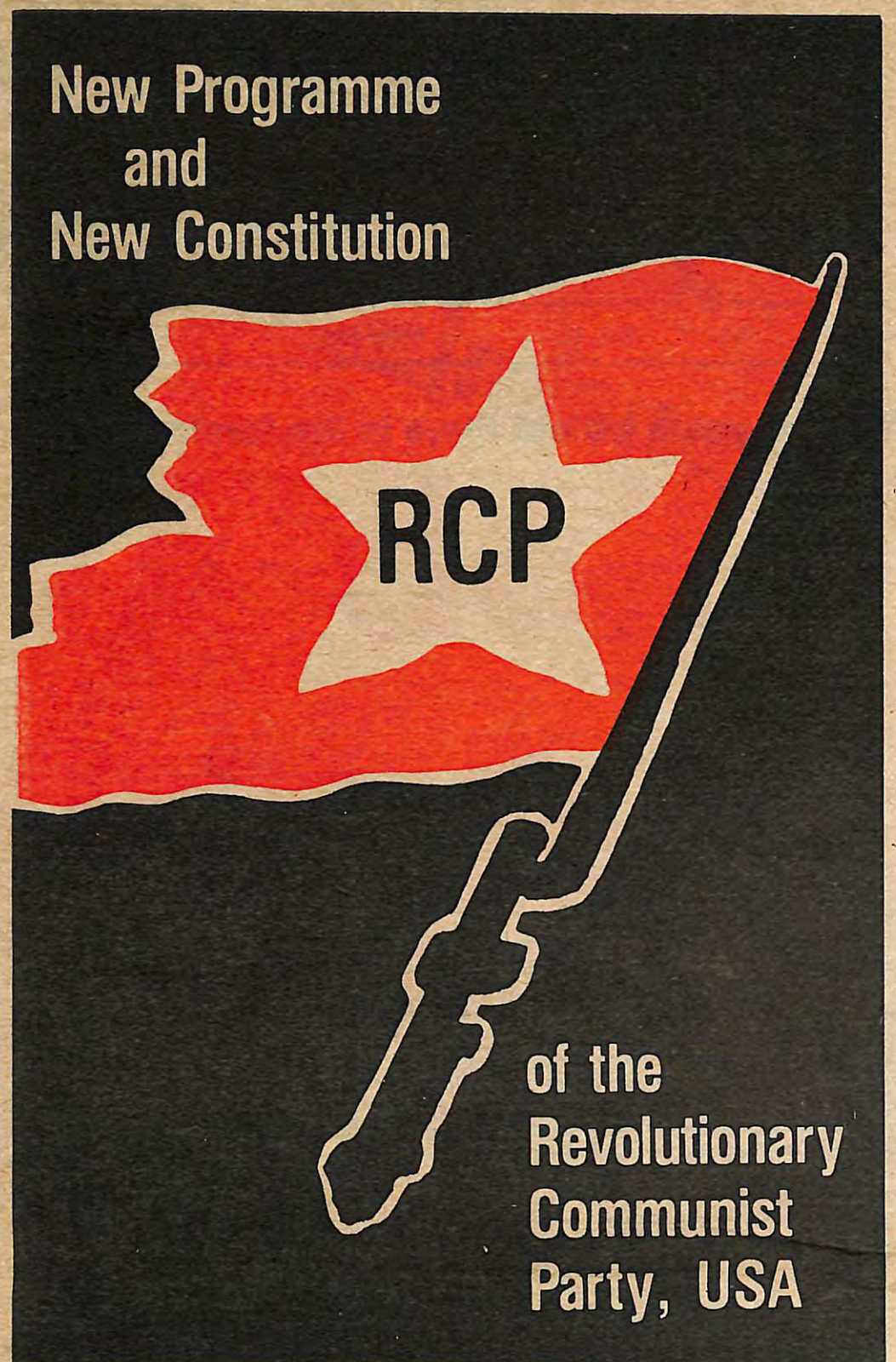
Today, May 1st, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA announces the publication of the New Programme and New Constitution of the Party.

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. Today, having been approved by the Central Committee, the final versions are public.

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

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



New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.
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Is El Salvador Another Vietnam?

El Salvador—The very name conjures up more heinous crimes by U.S. imperialism and more revolutionary struggles by the oppressed masses determined to be free of U.S. domination. And it seems like we've seen all this before. U.S. "advisors" lead puppet troops on search and destroy missions; helicopter gunships attack peasant villages; napalm covers huge sections of the countryside, burning every crop, tree and human in its path; pacification programs, strategic hamlets, infra-red electronic sensors—every U.S. counter-insurgency technique used in Vietnam. The U.S. is propping up yet another in a big line of fascist dictatorships run by a corps of U.S.-trained generals and a handful of decadent oligarchs. And once again, the lies and "justifications" for all this, emanating from the forked tongues of top-level U.S. spokesmen, are only increasing their own self-exposure. With every despicable act of aggression and hypocrisy, the memory is jogged, the massive exposure that U.S. imperialism suffered from its resounding defeat in Vietnam, now indelibly etched to one degree or another in the minds of millions around the world and in this country as well, is brought back up to the surface and is helping unleash a most significant and widespread opposition. No wonder Reagan and his fellow flag-waving mouthpieces rush to assure that, "This is not another Vietnam," while they

frantically search for ways to reverse the correct verdicts of the masses, finding new imperialist heroes to portray even that war as a "noble cause."

The "noble cause" of the U.S., then and now, remains, of course, the same—maintaining and expanding its imperialist empire. In the days of the Vietnam war, with national liberation struggles the main thing battering its rule, the U.S. tried—and failed—to make a stand in Southeast Asia. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Laotian people helped inspire millions around the world and in the U.S. to rise up against the U.S. citadel, objectively aiding those revolutionary struggles and in many cases, going over to the side of the "enemy." The fact that the U.S. is going to such great lengths to try to eradicate the "Vietnam Syndrome" as they call it is testament to the political damage they received in the '60s and early '70s.

The arguments that are spilling from the mouths of the assorted U.S. spokesmen and media hacks in their feeble attempts to make their case on the "another Vietnam" question do border on the absurd. Despite some halfhearted bragging that "this time we'll win"—while their every move shows just how uncertain of this they are—they have basically boiled the question down to "it's our hemisphere"—or, as they like to call it, "our own backyard"—unlike Vietnam which was way over in Southeast Asia. This is naked imperialist logic in any case or at any time and is somewhat akin to a thief "justifying" an assault

on someone because the victim happened to live in "his" neighborhood, but it is even more disgustingly hypocritical today. The whole world is imperialism's "backyard"—or more to the point, *front line*—and there is no part that any of them are content to leave to either the masses or their imperialist rivals.

But while the U.S. imperialists have their own reasons for publicly denying that El Salvador is "another Vietnam," it is nevertheless true that the situation in the world today is indeed a far different situation than just 10 short years ago. (Not that U.S. imperialism has changed its nature. This will never change until it is overthrown.) The main difference can only be grasped by looking at the total world scene, and most especially the rapidly intensifying face-off between the two rival imperialist blocs headed up by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, hurtling toward world war; for the Soviet challenge to the U.S. is far greater today than it was in the days of Vietnam, though even then it was a real factor as witnessed by the betrayal and capitulation of the rulers of Vietnam to the Soviet Union since the U.S. defeat there. Every crack within a rival's "sphere of influence" means an opportunity for one imperialist bloc to take advantage of the other's weakness to promote its own reactionary interests. But these very real and widening cracks not only accelerate imperialist rivalry but also provide great opportunities for the revolutionary struggles of the masses of people and there is much more of the same on the horizon. The trend is toward ever more frenzied imperialist assaults as the spiral spins closer to the time—in the near future—when it will all come to a head. Thus, El Salvador is not a Vietnam flashback—a revival of U.S. imperialism's criminal past. Rather, it is a product of the *forward* motion of imperialism—and a small glimpse of

the even more criminal future that imperialism, of all stripes, has in store for the masses of the world.

With all this as the setting, how could a revolutionary struggle anywhere be uneffected? Indeed, it can't. Crying "Soviet imperialism" in Afghanistan and Poland, the U.S. tries to deflect attention from its criminal role in El Salvador, Guatemala and other places while the Soviets cry "U.S. imperialism" in those very places as they try to hide their equally criminal role in areas where they are desperately trying to maintain domination. And they both point to each other's jockeying for advantage in their rival's weak spots and each other's overall military fortification worldwide as the "justification" for further and more vicious forays and all around preparations for the brewing showdown worldwide.

All this stands out so nakedly in El Salvador. The intensifying crisis faced by U.S. imperialism is hitting with a vengeance in Central America and has given rise to mass upsurges against the U.S. First Nicaragua, where long time U.S. puppet Anastacio Somoza was overthrown, and then El Salvador exploded. Guatemala and Honduras are showing similar developments as increasingly events in the region are spinning out of control. And it's certainly no secret that the Soviet Union mainly through its Cuban frontmen and the pro-Soviet revisionist parties, such as the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) have been doing their damndest to take maximum political advantage of the many and deep seated contradictions for the U.S. in the region; mainly by applying various versions of their "historic compromise" strategy, trying to grab as much influence in the governments in these countries and trying to use the struggle of the masses as a lever to put pressure on the U.S. puppet regimes and strike deals to put themselves in a position to grab the whole thing at the most opportune time. (The U.S., too, employs its own version of this strategy in areas of Soviet domination like Poland, for example.)

Exactly because of its rapidly deteriorating situation in Central America, U.S. imperialism has been forced to bare its teeth so viciously in El Salvador, dramatically stepping up its

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Opposed U.S. Imperialism

Chicago Priest Missing In El Salvador

On April 26, Father Roy Bourgeois, an activist in support of the struggle of the Salvadoran people, disappeared while working with a CBS-TV film crew in San Salvador. His disappearance immediately raised suspicions that Father Bourgeois was seized by the security forces of the fascist junta or by its paramilitary death squads. He is not the first American religious figure to disappear in El Salvador. Late last year two American nuns and two lay women from the Catholic Maryknoll Order of Missionaries were found raped and murdered—a terroristic warning delivered by the junta that no resistance to its fascist rule, including resistance from religious forces, will be tolerated. Father Bourgeois was also a member of the Maryknoll.

Father Bourgeois had been in El Salvador about a week before his disappearance. At the request of Chicago local CBS news he was acting as a translator and news source for the TV film crew doing a special series on El Salvador. After attending Sunday mass on the morning of April 26 with the crew, they returned back to the hotel and were to resume work at 10:30 a.m. But Father Bourgeois stepped out around 10:00, leaving a message with the hotel clerk that he would return by 10:30. When he was still missing the following morning his disappearance was reported to the U.S. Embassy.

Father Bourgeois was a likely target of the junta and its U.S. imperialist backers. He had first observed the ugly face of U.S. imperialism close up while serving as a naval officer in Vietnam. Since he was ordained as a priest in 1972 and assigned to missionary work

in Bolivia, Father Bourgeois has taken an uncompromising stand with the struggles of the masses. As a member of the Catholic Church's Human Rights Commission he worked directly with political prisoners in Bolivia and saw the government's torture and repression first hand. He spoke laughingly about how the "pueblo" (the people) had informed him as to the true meaning of his name; he was very much influenced by the Bolivian tin miners and others who educated him to the fact that it is the bourgeois class which is responsible for the oppression of the masses. Father Bourgeois soon became too outspoken for the Bolivian government's liking on the question of torture and political repression. He was expelled from the country in 1977 and returned to the U.S.

Recently he has been active in the struggle to oppose U.S. aid to El Salvador. When Chicago's Cardinal Cody refused to call for the cutoff of all U.S. aid to El Salvador after the murder of the Catholic sisters and lay workers, Father Bourgeois led the Religious Task Force on El Salvador on a hunger strike in protest. Last December Father Bourgeois described the situation in El Salvador to the *Revolutionary Worker* like this: "There is a struggle between the oligarchy who control the land, the wealth and the power and the majority of people condemned to poverty and oppression. Of course, the U.S. has taken the side of the rich to protect its own system. . . ." In a further demonstration of his opposition to imperialism, several weeks ago Father Bourgeois endorsed the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal.

In the wake of his disappearance, the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador is promising to do everything possible to find Father Bourgeois. No doubt these efforts will be as sincere as the efforts to find the killers responsible for the deaths of the Catholic sisters and lay workers. In this case the U.S. government has continued to cover up the whole affair, clinging to the fiction that their murders were the work of "right-wing" death squads supposedly unrelated to the junta. However, on the very day Father Bourgeois' disappearance was reported, in an obvious attempt to cool things out the Reagan administration suddenly announced that there is new evidence that El Salvadoran troops themselves might have been involved—a fact which has been clear right from the beginning. Napoleon Duarte, head of the El Salvadoran government, has promised that three detectives will be assigned to look for Father Bourgeois.

The U.S. imperialists have laid the groundwork for further terrorism against missionaries in general and Maryknoll in particular. Maryknoll priests and nuns have come under rabid attack by U.S. politicians and the press since the murders. With almost gleeful delight the media has been drumming home the basic message that "They had it coming to them." After all, weren't they "guerrilla sympathizers"?—as a recent *New York Times* article put it.

Alexander Haig was the pacesetter for these attacks, coming up with the wild hypothesis that the nuns ran a government roadblock, thereby forcing the poor government officials to shoot them. Michael Novak, a Catholic theologian in the Reagan administration,

called the Maryknoll Order a pawn of the world revolution. The *National Review* called the order "despicable." In its March 9, 1981 issue, *Business Week* was critical of missionaries as a whole and Maryknoll in particular. Syndicated columnist Gary Hart recently called Maryknoll members "bubbleheads." Maryknoll has also invoked the wrath of the Catholic hierarchy. In a public slap in the face, Cardinal Cody barred the president of the Maryknoll Sisters from preaching in the pulpit of her home parish in Park Ridge, Illinois on March 22 of this year. All of this set the stage for the disappearance of Father Bourgeois.

The reason these stuck pigs are squealing so hard, of course, is that some of these Maryknollers and others, faced with the stark reality of imperialism, have exposed the U.S.-orchestrated bloody repression of the Salvadoran government as being responsible for today's revolutionary upsurge. This doesn't quite dovetail with the fictitious Reagan scenario that the revolution has been spawned by Soviet, international terrorism. As this threadbare cover for U.S. imperialism's suppression of the Salvadoran people is getting ripped to shreds, they and their junior junta lackies are lashing out ever more desperately. No one is to be spared—not the children, the babies, the women, nuns or priests—as U.S. imperialism attempts to restore its murderous "order" through sheer terror. The eyes of millions of people all over the world are already on El Salvador, holding U.S. imperialism accountable for every drop of blood shed there, including Father Bourgeois'. □

May Day Greetings from the Ceylon Communist Party

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST PARTY (USA)

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of May Day 1981, on behalf of the members of the Ceylon Communist Party and all revolutionaries in Sri Lanka, please accept our fervent revolutionary greetings to your party and the working class and all revolutionaries of the United States.

Our party has been very glad to hear of the great strides taken by your party and the tremendous expansion of the sales of the REVOLUTIONARY

WORKER. The very fact that the American ruling class has made it very "hot" for Comrade Bob Avakian to stay in the United States and that he had had to seek political asylum in France is a sign, not of the strength but of the weakness, of the American ruling class. But their action is like that of the proverbial man who lifted a rock only to drop it on his own toes. It is also a sign of the growing strength and influence of your party.

Our party is glad of the increasing fraternal ties that had been forged between our two parties during the last year and we look forward to further

close ties.

Together, along with other fraternal parties, we shall strive to avert the impending inter-Imperialist war being prepared by US Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism. Together we will extend our hand of friendship to all those forces worldwide who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and Socialism.

Please accept once again our revolutionary greetings.

Yours fraternally,
N. Sanmugathasan
GENERAL SECRETARY

Senegal: Revolutionary Challenge to Neo-colonial "Democracy"

The declaration which follows calling on the Senegalese people to step forward and join the battle to legalize the revolutionary organization AND-JEF—MRDN (Revolutionary Movement for New Democracy) comes at a time when French imperialism and its neo-colonial representatives are shifting uncomfortably in their badly worn shoes of "democracy", looking for a way to cool things out. With the economy of Senegal in a complete shambles, and their Senegalese mouthpieces at the helm of the government dangerously exposed to the masses, the situation in this West African country is far from stable for these imperialists and their bloc.

The organization AND-JEF, also known as Xarebi, after the name of its publication (in the Wolof language), came out of the new generation of revolutionary forces born through the revolt of May 1968, which shook not only France but many of its "former" colonies as well. By 1975, AND-JEF was the target of massive arrests and brutal repression. Although since then the government has taken to talking about opening up some democratic freedoms, its maneuvering has failed to cover up severe political and economic crisis. The clampdown this past fall, while aimed partly at the growing ferment in secondary schools and among laid-off workers, also revealed even further the "Socialist" Party-controlled government's fear of genuine revolutionary activity, as it targeted squarely

the propaganda work of conscious forces. As we reported in RW No. 86, a cultural group was arrested in the countryside for a skit exposing village corruption and the conditions of the peasants on charges of "inciting to revolt" and "threatening state security," and a new journal called Le Communiste was banned.

On January 1, 1981, Leopold Senghor, the only president to rule Senegal since France installed "independence" there in 1960, handed over the neo-colonial reins to his prime minister, Abdou Diouf. It seems that this move represented more than anything else an attempt to make some cosmetic changes in order to buy some time to stem the growing resistance of the Senegalese masses. The decision by the Senegalese National Assembly on April 24 to permit more than the present limit of four legal political parties is another step in this direction, though the extent to which this will be implemented remains to be seen, of course.

Even as the French bourgeoisie and their Senegalese frontmen make some limited moves in this direction, the bottom line for French imperialism in Africa is being revealed by the dispatch of French troops as well as the infamous French Foreign Legion to Zaire, Chad, the Central African Republic and elsewhere. As things heat

up rapidly on the world scene, French imperialism's role in policing large chunks of Africa—and especially "protecting" important minerals and raw materials such as uranium, cobalt, etc.—is a strategic question for the U.S. bloc as a whole.

In this context, the initiative comes at a very opportune time to force the question of "democratic" freedom even more sharply out into the open—not just to expose the government's position of weakness, but for the revolutionary forces to actually use it to gain the ability to operate more freely among the masses. Hailing this initiative by AND-JEF, Jaay Doole-bi, a Marxist-Leninist paper which has also faced harassment by the government since it began publishing just over a year ago, calls it "... an event of great historical bearing..."

"Faced with the disastrous situation of the country and the growing appetites of the forces of domination for regional or world hegemony, no one is outside the arena of challenge of the cardinal tasks of the hour. Tasks that we will only be able to carry out by being fully conscious of the fact that it is not enough to have truth on our side, but that also, and especially, in order to be a political force working for the defeat of the semi-feudal and neo-colonial order, the people's camp must organize itself."

The declaration is being circulated in French and Arabic. Translation by the RW.

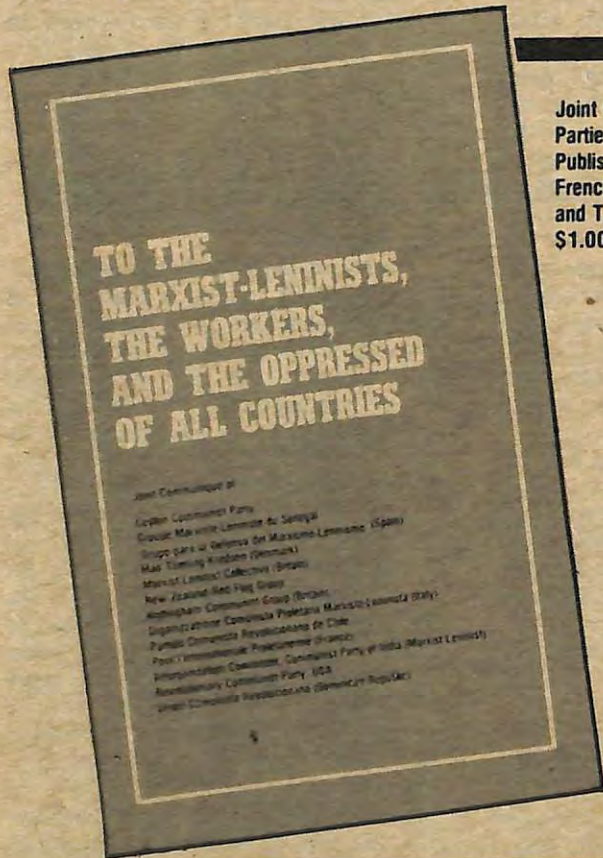
Declaration of the Provisional Initiating Committee of AND-JEF—M.R.D.N.

We proletarian militants, workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, members or supporters of the AND-JEF XAREBI Organization, inheritor of the rich, noble and indomitable traditions of resistance and struggle of the valiant Senegalese people, are taking up the solemn commitment of openly ensuring the continuation of its revolutionary action and struggling for its recognition.

This historical decision reflects our determination to establish a proletarian revolutionary pole working courageously, firmly and consistently under the flag of AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY (AJ-MRDN) for the defeat of the imperialist dominating order, and toward the advent of a new, free and democratic society, of justice and social progress.

Our initiative arises from the full awareness that the laboring classes, producers of all social wealth, the real makers of history, can and must no longer be confined within the limits of

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Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil
\$1.00 plus .50 postage

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

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THE FACE OF THE ENEMY —TRIBUNAL TESTIMONY

The first hearings of the mass proletarian war crimes tribunals were successfully held in San Francisco on the weekend of April 24-26. Among those who testified were Vietnam vets and other soldiers, Central and South Americans, Iranians, Lloyd Wake—a Japanese minister and survivor of the concentration camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II, Richard Boyle—a writer who witnessed and reported imperialist actions in Vietnam, El Salvador and other countries, Nancy Hormche—one of the tribunal panelists and a prominent lawyer supporting the Iranian revolution, and others. In addition, tapes and letters were sent to the tribunal by people from Latin American countries who were unable to appear in person. The tribunals will reconvene after May 1st and are scheduled to be held in Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta and New York. During the course of the tribunals, several panelists called for further testimony—including

tapes, letters and films from all spheres including prisons and other such imperialist hellholes.

The next Tribunal will be held in Los Angeles. To participate in the tribunals contact: The National Office at 2625 E. Third Street, Long Beach, California 90814, Telephone: (213) 439-4985.

Below, the Revolutionary Worker is presenting several excerpts from the testimony heard in San Francisco, and we will continue to publish testimony in the coming weeks.

Dresden

Some particularly important testimony was offered by Manfred Bahmann, a Lutheran minister and survivor of the firebombing of Dresden, Germany:

"My testimony is directed against a system of destruction both in thought and deed which uses terrorism and violence in an unscrupulous and unlimited manner. Now this system of destruction by unscrupulous and unlimited terror had a field day on that February 13, 1945, happened to be a Tuesday night. And the next day Wednesday, February 14th when about 300,000 civilians were burnt to a crisp in my hometown... I have to give my public testimony here because no other public tribunal has ever asked me for it and to the best of my knowledge there's never been any tribunal which has heard the case of Dresden... On February 13th, 1945 the Red Army had already crossed the borders, was already standing on German soil, it was already deep into Silesia. General Patton on the other side was ready to jump across the Rhine, and then slice through Germany with his tanks like a hot knife through the butter. Only a few days after the bombing of Dresden, a conference, the Yalta Conference, was being held, at which time Germany was already clearly divided between the Allied Powers of Soviet Russia, United States, England and also a sort of little bit behind France. But it was quite clear that the end of the war, as far as Germany was concerned, was imminent...

Dresden was basically a city of culture, a lot of museums, old churches, castles, art galleries, this kind of stuff. We had no military installations in town. We had no weapon industry within the city limits... If you want to burn a big city of 650,000 people to the ground, you do have some logistical problems. Your biggest problem is how to provide oxygen. No oxygen, no fire, right? You light a candle, put a glass on top of it, candle goes out. So what you can do, and what they did, was they came in first with bombers that threw heavy explosives. And these heavy explosives would establish air channels. It was a very precision bombing, very much precision bombing. They would establish air channels, then afterwards you'd come in and throw your incendiary bombs. Of course in those days they did not have napalm yet, and so they used phosphorous. And as the phosphorous starts the fire going, the fire has such a hunger for air that it starts pulling in the air through the air channel. Then as the air channels coming in from different directions clash against each other they create a disturbance which then really brings the sparks; they're constantly going around. You've got there a nice perpetual mobile that's really going to go until it really burns to the ground. Of course the other thing is that this enormous suction effort that you have going there creates then what you call a firestorm and which in Dresden developed a velocity of up to 100 miles per hour... The people who stayed behind, and that is my real point here, many of them stayed behind, now, most of them died of asphyxiation. The fire was coming closer; it would use up the oxygen so they would just simply choke. And the rescue people who went into the basement afterward to clean out found very often their bodies carbonized, meaning that because of the extremely intense heat their bodies would be sitting there or maybe lying. They looked perfectly okay but actually everything had already been decomposed. I mean if you touch it it could just turn into ashes."

El Salvador

The following testimony was given by a woman from El Salvador:

"Teachers have also been killed for organizing themselves since 1964 in an organization called ANDES 21st of July, a teachers and educators' organization. Up to August last year they had killed more than 200 of these teachers, especially the community leaders. This drama we are suffering in El Salvador is nothing new. We have been governed by military, fascist regimes for 50 years now. What is new is that since 1975, the people have organized and are determined to put a stop to these atrocities. This situation of misery, injustice and oppression has led the people to form a coordinating force. Since 1975 a new face has begun since the people realized nothing could be done except by force. They have found the answer to the atrocities, to the repres-



The first panelist, Rev. Manfred Bahmann, testifies on the Dresden firebombings as the War Crimes Tribunal opens in San Francisco.

sion of the military that behave like these idle queens in a beehive and have never done one good thing for the Salvadoran people. The army is not the armed forces of the people of El Salvador. They behave like beasts, murdering and repressing the people. Since 1975 they have implemented a government tactic against the young and anyone opposed to the junta, tactics of kidnapping and assassinating all opposition. On the 30th of July, 1975, they machine-gunned a demonstration of university students right in the streets of the capital... They murdered hundreds of students and it was so brutal that their mothers were not allowed to claim or bury the bodies. The tactic is to make people "disappear" and then they deny the kidnapping.

In October 1976, my son disappeared. He went out to the movies and did not come back. He was just 21. From that time on, began a slow homicide of my whole family. At one point, 20 National Guards raided my home. They said we had arms. I had no arms, I've never had weapons at my home or anywhere else. They sacked the house—it was in part a school and they took all the supplies and machinery. That night they took my husband to prison. Looking for my son, I tried every legal measure

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WHIPPING UP THE REACTIONARIES

SENATE COMMITTEE "DISCOVERS" SOVIET MENACE

The U.S. Senate's new Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism opened hearings in Washington last week. Fittingly headed by one of the foremost terrorists of the Vietnam War, Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, the committee's initial purpose was said to be documenting the Soviet hand behind numerous military and paramilitary groups and organizations internationally whose activities are hostile to the interests of the U.S. and its allies.

But the opening barrage of the hearings was directed towards activities the U.S. ruling class seems to find of more immediate danger and explosiveness than the bombs of the Red Brigades: spreaders of disinformation. According to a definition helpfully supplied by the *New York Times*, "disinformation is an

intelligence term derived from a Russian word (funny, it seems to have more of a Latin root) meaning, in part, the clandestine planting of information by one power to the disadvantage of another power or group." Suppose, for example, that someone found out during the Vietnam War that U.S. forces had massacred hundreds of women and children at My Lai. If it could be proved that this information was leaked by the North Vietnamese and the story was disadvantageous to the U.S., then the person who reported or exposed the story would, by definition, be a spreader of disinformation.

Or suppose that the Soviets, for their own imperialist reasons, let it be known that the U.S. ruling class supplied, trained and directed fascist government

terror squads in El Salvador, Chile and other countries of Latin America that were responsible for murdering thousands of people every year. This information would certainly be disadvantageous to the U.S. imperialists who like to parade around as the greatest defenders of justice and democracy the world has ever seen. Disinformation. Or what if the Soviets "planted" the information that U.S. cops murdered hundreds of Black people on the streets of America every year?—disadvantageous—disinformation.

This is precisely the kind of thing Denton ranted against at the first hearing. Denouncing those in the U.S., including some press and politicians, who spread disinformation harmful to the U.S. efforts to subjugate the Vietnamese, he cried that "It hurt. It hurt for the North Vietnamese to be seeing all the glory of (the war) and for the U.S.

to be seeing all the hell of it." Denton knows whereof he speaks. A navy fighter pilot, he gained his expertise in terrorism while pursuing his life's ambition of bombing Vietnam back into the stone age. Blown out of the sky while dropping megatons of explosives on the people who were "seeing all the glory" of the war, Denton spent seven years as a POW in North Vietnam. But even then he showed what he was made of (or for), blinking pro-American Morse Code signal messages with his eyes while being filmed by foreign journalists in the POW camp. Once released, Denton was made an Admiral and put on the lecture circuit as "the POW who didn't crack." At the hearings, Denton's antics included ripping open his shirt to show that he didn't wear any bullet-proof vest, 'cause he wasn't afraid of no terrorists. (The Vietnamese couldn't

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On the Uprising in Santo Domingo, 1965

The following letter was received by the RW on the anniversary of the 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo and the U.S. invasion of that country. In recent weeks the hatred of the people of Santo Domingo for U.S. imperialism once again erupted into street battles, when the U.S. brought to Santo Domingo the very same ships which were sent to the island in response to the uprising 16 years ago. In answer to this blatant provocation from U.S. imperialism, the revolutionary students and youth and broader sections of the Dominican masses have been waging fierce protests in several cities which were once again met by tanks and guns.

Sixteen years ago, we had just begun.

I, like hundreds of thousands of Dominicans, remember April 24, 1965, as a day when the revolutionary masses of Santo Domingo picked up the gun to overthrow a U.S. puppet government. In fact, it was one of those days when the oppressed tasted a little bit of freedom. To me, it was the best political lesson I had received when I was growing up in this U.S. colony, which for many years had been ruthlessly ruled by the Yankee imperialists since 1916. This armed insurrection had a profound effect in the line of millions of us. It showed clearly how the "American democracy" was nothing but a bloody dictatorship exercised against the oppressed.

I was a fourteen-year-old youth, growing up in the midst of a lot of oppression, exploitation and misery. Before the revolution, we were involved in high school and united with the home struggle of the workers. When the uprising started in the capital city of Santo Domingo, I was in the second largest city. We were very excited and wanted to start some shit in our own city. The masses, especially the youth, were in the vanguard.

The TV station was seized by revolutionaries for a while. The battle was escalating mainly in the capital city. But then the big news was that 45,000 American troops had invaded Santo Domingo again. We organized some youth to go in the streets. There was a



Street battle in Santo Domingo last month.

curfew, but we wanted to go to the military fortress to get some guns. In fact, there were some illusions and some confused thinking that the army was going to "give" us the guns. We, of course, learned the opposite. Soon we were getting desperate. Nothing was happening in other cities; we didn't have political leadership.

But the situation was very tense. At night people were forced to stay in their houses. A good number of people were murdered by the army and the police. My parents kept me naked for a while because they knew I was dying to join the revolution. I ran away from my house, got some money and ended up going into the heavy shit.

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

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

The uprising was mainly led by the military, headed up by Col. Francisco Camano, who was murdered after the revolution by the U.S. puppet Balaguer. The revolutionaries in Ciudad Nueva were called Los Constitucionalistas, because mainly when the uprising started it was upholding the 1963 constitution. When the government of Juan Bosch was overthrown by U.S. loyal military, we were surrounded by the Yankee marines, (CEFA) the Dominican army, the "FIP". Fuerda military made up of Bolivians, Brazilians, Paraguayans, etc.

We had a clandestine radio which was the main way to keep the masses informed of the situation. There were

pro-Mao groups—by the way, that was when I first saw the famous Red Book and heard about Chairman Mao. There were all kinds of tendencies for Cuba. Finally by September, the leaders came up with a "fake" agreement with the OAS which recognized a provisional government and, therefore, we were supposed to give up all our weapons, dismantle our commando squads—just give it all up!

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

From a Dominican comrade now living in the U.S.

Fire Smolders in Mexico

An article, entitled, "Outcry Over Fire Imperils Mexico City's Scavengers," appeared in the April 18 edition of *The New York Times*. It seems that a fire has been burning for over two weeks in one of Mexico City's two open-air garbage dumps. So far the fire has consumed 40 acres of the Santa Cruz Meyehualco dump. The fire has prompted the raising of outraged voices among some Mexico City residents because due to the depth of the garbage

piles, firehoses have so far been unable to drench the smoldering fire, and soot, smoke and toxic sulfur dioxide fumes have been sent wafting to other parts of the city, bothering some upper class neighborhoods as well. In fact, this fire is the only reason this garbage dump came to the attention of the *New York Times* at all. But upon reading this piece of bourgeois journalism, it becomes apparent that there is another long-burning fire in that dump. It is one which will

ultimately send far more than smoke in the direction of the *New York Times* and those it speaks for.

The article describes "7000 or so 'pepenadores'"—scavengers, who live around and work in the dump: "The scavengers, old and young, men and women, went about their chores, picking out bottles, cans, cloth, plastic bags and cartons for resale and ignoring the toxic fumes enveloping them." Garbage is not even picked up in these people's neighborhood.

The *Times* continues, "The 7000 or so pepenadores, though, are not without friends... by paying for the right to scavenge, the pepenadores have bought themselves protection... Access to the scavengers' union is eagerly sought by the unemployed and tightly controlled by its leader, Rafael Gutierrez Moreno, who is also a member of Congress from the governing party... In the 150 acre dump, a team of sturdy 'cabos', or corporals, assign scavengers to specific areas, reserving the freshest piles of garbage for those who give them small tips. They are also in charge of chasing away outsiders."

Mr. Moreno, it is clear, is a coyote, one of a class of vicious parasites who are the very legitimate offspring and local enforcers for imperialism, in this case U.S. imperialism. But the *Times* writer apparently believes that Mr. Moreno and his "cabos" are "friends" of the pepenadores—perhaps even more than a little exploitative, but necessary friends, nonetheless. Sort of like a stern and protective father, looking after his "children." In this article the Mexican people described are pictured as pitiful creatures, not only because they are in danger of losing their livelihood to a fire, but also because they *love* and just can't imagine anything better than their exploitation. The article begins by quoting a man named Menendez, angrily de-

nouncing the furor over the fire and the demand that the dump be closed, "I don't know what the fuss is about. We live and work here all the time and the worst we have is a little sore throat. The complaints in the press are lies." It is not mentioned until a passing phrase halfway through the article that this Menendez is a "cabo," a petty leech feeding off the situation.

If there was ever a testament to the oppression of nations by imperialism, then this is it. If anyone wishes to see a picture of explosive forces gathered together by imperialism, then this is it. This situation is no product of mere "greedy overseers", and mysteriously impoverished people. This is imperialism. It is U.S. imperialism, whose expansion, and in particular whose distorted "development" of Mexican agriculture, has thrown countless masses off their lands where they labored as peasants and has thrown them literally onto the scrap heap.

But the imperialists are blind to the consequences. They console themselves by thinking that these masses are endlessly meek, pitifully and endlessly addicted to their own miserable condition. The author of the article humors his superiors with a final pitiful quote from a pepenadore, "Now they want to take our jobs. Our families have worked here since before I was born. What else can we do?"

It seems that the imperialists like to be surprised. Fine. Go on and fill yourselves, lull yourselves, with quotes like this. It seems we've heard similar quotes in the past: "Iran is an island of stability." Wasn't there something, too, about the residents of Brixton being terrorized into submission and hopelessly divided by race? If you insist on surprises (or even if you don't), the proletariat and the oppressed of the world will be happy to deliver. □

SUPPORT THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

Support Our Key Weapon Now in the Destruction of Imperialism

The leap called for in distribution of the RW—50,000 on May 1st and well over 100,000 of this May Day issue—requires and makes possible a leap in money collected from sales and contributions:

1. Collect donations wherever you are for the *Revolutionary Worker* and May Day. Turn in the money in person or by other arrangements to your local distributor, center or bookstore.
2. Turn in all sales money in the same way. Make as large a downpayment on your bundles as possible.

Supreme Court Refuses to Hear Case of Bob Avakian & Mao Tsetung Defendants

FLASH—As we go to press, the Mao Defendants' battle has reached a major turning point. On April 27, the U.S. Supreme Court denied the defendants' petition for a hearing, refusing to even consider the case. While all details of the decision are not yet known, it is clear that the Supreme Court refused to reverse the highly political Appeals Court decision of October 21, 1980 which defied even their own established legal precedents in order to reinstate the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. With this action, the case is returned to the lower court for a trial date to be set.

The ruling class, through their

highest legal arm, has made a significant decision to go forward with their vendetta against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. This is so despite a major hitch in their plans—Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Bob Avakian's demand, as well as the heightening of the support around the Mao Defendants' case, represented by an ad in the *Washington Post* signed by many hundreds of prominent people, all this has created no small dilemma for the authorities. They have a major case on their hands whose political nature and the fact that it has been constructed around their efforts to target and

silence Bob Avakian, has been exposed to hundreds of thousands of people. With Bob Avakian's recent demand for political refugee status, the U.S. government is faced with even greater necessity to cover up the political nature of their case, while at the same time carrying through with the railroad of all the defendants.

The prosecution's brief to the Supreme Court showed something of their vicious tactics in response. They first argued the "non-political" nature of the case. (This in itself was an obvious admission of the opposite.) Then they loaded up their argument with descriptions like a "violent, armed at-

tack on police officers guarding the White House." This outrageous, lying description of a demonstration attacked by police, coming in the midst of all the talk about Reagan's shooting, is a transparent attempt to slap the highly political label of "terrorist" on this political demonstration.

These major developments, especially the fact that the case now returns to court for trial, calls for intensifying the struggle on both fronts—in support of Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status and against the major assault on the revolutionary movement which the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants represents. □

Gang of Four called "National Nihilists"

Bourgeois Nationalism and Capitulation from China's Capitalist-Roaders

Since their coup in 1976, the Chinese revisionist rulers have left no doubt that they have thrown internationalism into the gutter. Their reactionary "three worlds theory" has shown itself again and again in practice: Hua Guofeng sitting down to a banquet with the Shah of Iran while his troops were shooting thousands of people down in the streets in the midst of the revolutionary struggle; incidents involving beatings of black African students studying in China—the list goes on. A front-page article in the March 19 issue of the official *People's Daily* adds more theoretical justification for this slide into the most narrow and chauvinistic nationalism, which has gone hand in hand with their capitulation to imperialism. The article, entitled "Patriotism is a Great Spiritual Force in Building Socialism," is signed by a "special commentator," which means it was written by someone in the top levels of the Party. It is a piece of reactionary garbage well befitting the top revisionist dogs.

The article starts off with a claim that "a new tide of patriotism whose main content is deep love of the socialist motherland and sacrifice for her prosperity and strength is rising among the Chinese people." Its message could be more accurately translated, "a new tide of opposition is buffeting us, so just settle down, buckle down and sacrifice for us revisionists."

Especially following the inspiring stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in the Peking courts, there recently has been a marked rise in the activity of those who, as Deng warned, call for carrying out a "second Cultural Revolution." Strikes and demonstrations among workers and students are spreading. What is further worrying the revisionist rulers is that, as even this *People's Daily* article on the "new patriotism" admits, there are rumblings of discontent among those they consider part of their social base. According to this "special commentator," there are people holding the following types of wrong thinking which can hinder the development of patriotism: "Can socialism still save China?"; "What is there to love about such a backward motherland?"; "Do we need national pride if we are supposed to learn from foreign countries?"; "It's not that I don't love the motherland, it's that the motherland doesn't love me." These are the voices of the backward forces among the scientists, artists and generally within the intellectuals who despised Mao's revolutionary line and the Cultural Revolution with all its turmoil which threatened their positions and privileges. The revisionists had won them over to their side in the 1976 coup on the basis of a program of reversing the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and promising them that they would be provided with material rewards and prestige on a par with their counterparts in the developed capitalist countries. But because China is still a relatively underdeveloped country and because of the dislocations in the economy from the

unleashing of capitalism, the revisionists have not been able to deliver on the promises to the satisfaction of these backward forces. In fact, since the coup there has been a steady draining of scientists, artists and even athletes out of China to Hong Kong, the U.S. and other Western countries in search of fame and fortune. Within China the revisionist rulers are being pressured to drop what remains of the socialist mask and speed up the process of capitalist restoration.

It's precisely because of increasing opposition from revolutionary forces as well as even from their own social base that the revisionists have had to come out with such an article calling for patriotism—to serve revisionist rule. However, the *People's Daily* article leaves no doubt that the revisionist rulers consider the followers of Mao's line the most dangerous threat to their efforts to generate such patriotism. Three paragraphs into the article, the "special commentator" opens fire on the Cultural Revolution: "The ten-year calamity of the 'Cultural Revolution' severely distorted and damaged our tradition of patriotism." The "special commentator" tells us in absolute horror that what the "Gang of Four" did during the Cultural Revolution "is in reality propagating a kind of extremely absurd 'national nihilism'."

The article charges that the "revolutionary mass criticism" of the Cultural Revolution "completely wiped out the glorious history of our Party and our state, the glorious history of the Chinese nation and the dazzling array of outstanding persons, leaving behind a few 'Legalists' which were distorted for the worse." (Legalists were representatives of the rising landlord class which overthrew the reactionary slaveowning class represented by Confucius 2000 years ago. This was the historical back-

ground to the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius which was initiated by Mao and hit hard at revisionists like Deng and Zhou Enlai.)

So the revolutionaries are charged with "national nihilism"! They plead "innocent" as charged as upholders of proletarian internationalism. "National nihilism" was a concept concocted by Dimitroff at the 1935 World Congress of the Comintern (Communist International) as part of an assault against proletarian internationalism. As the article "You Can't Beat Your Enemy While Raising His Flag" (*RW* No. 65) put it: "By 'national nihilism' Dimitroff meant to imply some sort of view based on the idea of wrecking, destroying or denying the whole history of development of the nation; of course, since this is a bit difficult, to say the least, for a basic materialist (such a history exists, no matter what you say), this straw man phrase 'national nihilism' was meant to characterize and attack any view that did not base itself, ideologically and politically, on patriotic sentiments."

By raising the ghost of "national nihilism," the present-day revisionists in China are trying to attack the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist line of Mao and his comrades. But immediately after attacking the "Gang of Four" for "national nihilism," the *People's Daily* article continues, "At the same time (the Gang of Four) extolled as 'patriotism' the leftover feudal poison of xenophobia and exclusionism, distorting and trampling on patriotism from another angle." So the revolutionaries are accused of both "wiping out the glorious history of the Chinese nation" and pushing "xenophobia and exclusionism." Make up your mind, revisionists! Actually, this seemingly contradictory posture is a reflection of the dual character of the big bourgeoisie in a country like China: national chauvi-

nism combined with slavishness to imperialism. They cherish fond dreams of being a big (or at least regional) power and enslaving others, but their idea of how to achieve this ugly goal is on the coattails of an imperialist power, like the U.S. (or the Soviets). The very idea of relying first and foremost on the revolutionary energy and initiative of the masses is hateful to these revisionists. When the Chinese masses were building 10,000-ton freighters on 5,000-ton docks in the Cultural Revolution (the kind of policies attacked as "xenophobia") these revisionists' views were aptly characterized: "Why build a ship if you can buy it; why buy it if you can lease it." The *People's Daily* article concludes with a declaration that "The great renaissance of the Chinese nation can certainly be made a reality." In another passage, the youth of China are called on to learn from Zhou Enlai and take up as their guiding principle the maxim, "Study to make China eminent." "Please forget the world revolution" is the implied conclusion.

The *People's Daily* article stops short of slandering Mao directly, although as anyone knows any attack on the "Gang of Four" or the Cultural Revolution is an attack on Mao. Instead, an attack by implication is made in a section of the article listing the "outstanding persons" in the history of the Chinese nation (the list includes such notables as the notable reactionary Confucius). In this list Mao is listed only as one of several communists. No mention of him is made in other lists such as "poets," "military commanders" and "heroes." In fact Mao is listed third in the list of communists behind Li Dazhao, an early member of the Party whose contributions are in no way comparable to Mao's, and Qu Qiubai, who capitulated to the Kuomintang enemy shortly before being executed. The list also includes such revisionists as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Peng Dehuai. Obvious-

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50,000 RWs on May 1st

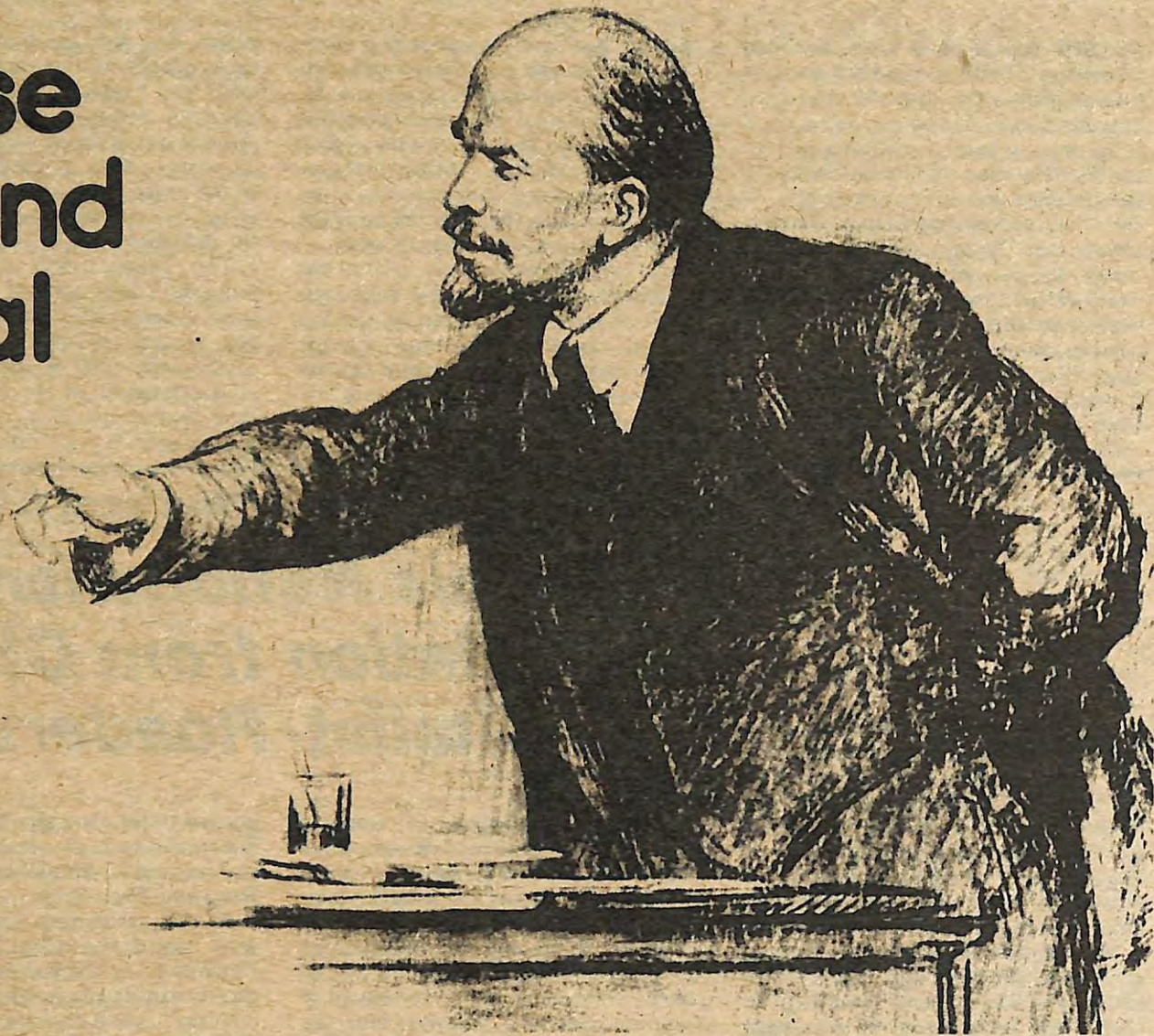
Even as proletarians take up many diverse forms of revolutionary struggle on May 1st, the *Revolutionary Worker* will be at the heart of the matter. The poster in the centerfold, the red flag on the back and the revolutionary content of the paper will be giving shape and character to the territory which the proletariat politically "liberates" this day. In

such areas where, as the call to May 1st put it "the formerly suppressed political energy of the masses, their activism, their search for revolutionary ideas and theory is able to blossom," the *Revolutionary Worker* will be part of the process of blooming. The Revolutionary Communist Party is calling on all those revolutionary elements fighting

with heads up and eyes to the future to assist in meeting the goal of distributing 50,000 copies of this issue on May 1st and to persist in the week following to push the distribution of this same issue of the *RW* over the 100,000 mark, and find the ways to forward all sales and donation money to the *RW*.

Lenin's War on Opportunism, Social-Chauvinism

The Collapse of the Second International



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

special aim at Karl Kautsky, a notorious leader of the German party, whose theoretical justifications in particular are raked over the coals. Collapse played a key role in the struggle to decisively break with social-chauvinism, as well as to prepare proletarians for the revolutionary situation which was developing in different countries. Lenin's theses of the historic conjuncture are outlined in *Collapse*.

The collapse of the International is sometimes taken to mean simply the formal aspect of the matter, namely, the interruption in international communication between the socialist parties of the belligerent countries, the impossibility of convening either an international conference or the International Socialist Bureau, etc. This is the point of view held by certain socialists in the small neutral countries, probably even by the majority of the official parties in those countries, and also by the opportunists and their defenders. With a frankness that deserves profound gratitude, this position was defended in the Russian press by Mr. V. Kosovsky, in No. 8 of the Bund's *Information Bulletin*, whose editors said nothing to indicate that they disagreed with the author. Let us hope that Mr. Kosovsky's defence of nationalism, in which he went so far as to justify the German Social-Democrats who voted for war credits, will help many a worker at last to realise the bourgeois-nationalist character of the Bund.

To the class-conscious workers, socialism is a serious conviction, not a convenient screen to conceal petty-bourgeois conciliatory and nationalist-oppositional strivings. By the collapse of the International they understand the disgraceful treachery to their convictions which was displayed by most of the official Social-Democratic parties, treachery to the most solemn declarations in their speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle international congresses, and in the resolutions of these congresses, etc. Only those can fail to see this trea-

chery who do not wish to do so or do not find it to their advantage to see it. If we would formulate the question in a scientific fashion, i.e., from the standpoint of class relations in modern society, we will have to state that most of the Social-Democratic parties, and at their head the German Party first and foremost—the biggest and most influential party in the Second International—have taken sides with their General Staffs, their governments, and their bourgeoisie, against the proletariat. This is an event of historic importance, one that calls for a most comprehensive analysis. It has long been conceded that, for all the horror and misery they entail, wars bring at least the following more or less important benefit—they ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions. The European war of 1914-15 is doubtlessly beginning to do some good by revealing to the advanced class of the civilised countries what a foul and festering abscess has developed within its parties, and what an unbearably putrid stench comes from some source.

Is it a fact that the principal socialist parties of Europe have forsaken all their convictions and tasks? This, of course, is something that is readily discussed neither by the traitors nor those who are fully aware—or surmise—that they will have to be friendly and tolerant towards them. However unpleasant that may be to various "authorities" in the Second International or to

their fellow-thinkers among the Russian Social-Democrats, we must face the facts and call things by their right names; we must tell the workers the truth.

Do any facts exist that show how the socialist parties regarded their tasks and their tactics before the present war and in anticipation of it? They undoubtedly do. There was the resolution adopted at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912, which we are reprinting together with the resolution adopted at the Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held in the same year, as a reminder of socialism's forgotten ideals. This resolution, which summarises the vast anti-war propagandist and agitational literature in all countries, is a most complete and precise, a most solemn and formal exposition of socialist views on war and tactics towards war. One cannot but qualify as treachery the fact that none of the authorities of yesterday's International and of today's social-chauvinism—neither Hyndman and Guesde, nor Kautsky and Plekhanov—dare remind their readers of that resolution. They are either silent about it, or (like Kautsky) quote excerpts of secondary importance and evade everything that is really of significance. On the one hand, the most "Left" and arch-revolutionary resolutions, and on the other, the most shameless forgetfulness or renunciation of these resolutions—this is one of the most striking manifestations of the International's collapse, and at the same time a most convincing proof that at present only those whose rare simplicity borders on a cunning desire to perpetuate the former hypocrisy can believe that socialism can be "rectified" and "its line straightened out" by means of resolutions alone.

Only yesterday, one might say, when, before the war, Hyndman turned towards a defence of imperialism, all "respectable" socialists considered him an unbalanced crank, of whom nobody spoke otherwise than in a tone of disdain. Today the most prominent Social-Democratic leaders of all countries have sunk entirely to Hyndman's position, differing from one another only in shades of opinion and in temperament. We are quite unable to find some more or less suitable parliamentary expression in appraising or characterising the civic courage of such persons as, for instance, the *Nashe Slovo* authors, who write of "Mr." Hyndman with contempt, while speaking—or saying no-

thing—of "Comrade" Kautsky with deference (or obsequiousness?). Can such an attitude be reconciled with a respect for socialism, and for one's convictions in general? If you are convinced that Hyndman's chauvinism is false and destructive, does it not follow that you should direct your criticism and attacks against Kautsky, the more influential and more dangerous defender of such views?

In perhaps greater detail than anywhere else, Guesde's views have recently been expressed by the Guesdist Charles Dumas, in a pamphlet entitled *The Peace That We Desire*. This "Chef du Cabinet de Jules Guesde", as he styles himself on the title-page of the pamphlet, naturally "quotes" the former patriotic declarations of the socialists (David, the German social-chauvinist, does the same in his latest pamphlet on defence of the fatherland), but he fails to refer to the Basle Manifesto! Plekhanov, who utters chauvinist banalities with an extraordinarily smug air, is likewise silent on the Manifesto. Kautsky behaves just like Plekhanov: in quoting from the Basle Manifesto, he omits all the revolutionary passages (i.e., all the vital content!), probably on the pretext of the censorship regulations The police and the military authorities, whose censorship regulations forbid any mention of the class struggle or revolution, have rendered timely aid to the traitors to socialism!

Perhaps the Basle Manifesto is just an empty appeal, which is devoid of any definite content, either historical or tactical, with a direct bearing on the concrete war of today?

The reverse is true. The Basle resolution has less idle declamation and more definite content than other resolutions have. The Basle resolution speaks of the very same war that has now broken out, of the imperialist conflicts that have flared up in 1914-15. The conflicts between Austria and Serbia over the Balkans, between Austria and Italy over Albania, etc. between Britain and Germany over markets and colonies in general, between Russia and Turkey, etc., over Armenia and Constantinople—all this is what the Basle resolution speaks of in anticipation of the present war. It follows from that resolution that the present war between "the Great Powers of Europe" "cannot be justified on the slightest pretext of being in the least in the interests of the people".

The Internationale

This song, the international anthem of the proletariat, was written in 1871 by the poet Eugene Pottier. This was just after the Paris Commune of 1871, the first time in history the proletariat had seized power from the bourgeoisie. Pottier wrote it in June, living underground on the outskirts of Paris, after it had been announced in a Versailles newspaper that he had been arrested and put to death. The words were penned amidst the roar of guns and fire and under the threat of death. Lenin wrote: "In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the Internationale."

Die Internationale

Wacht auf, Verdammte dieser Erde,
die stets man noch zum Hungern zwingt!
Das Recht wie Glut 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! :1

Es rettet uns kein höh'eres 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

L'INTERNAZIONALE

L'INTERNAZIONALE
COMPAGNI, AVANTI! IL GRAN PARTITO
NOI SIAMO DEI LAVORATOR.
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 TUTTI ESSER VOGLIAMO
NELLA FAMIGLIA DEL LAVOR.

Italian

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.

Internacionala

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

Ustajte roblje, ne više u bedi.
Svet će se dicit na novim osnovame.
Bili smo ništa, a bićemo sve.

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

Serbian

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，
我們要作天下的主人！

副歌：
這是最後的鬥爭，
團結起來，到明天，
英特納維爾耐爾
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。
快把那剝削火燒得通紅，
趁熱打鐵才能成功！

Chinese

La Internacional

¡Arriba, parias de la tierra!
¡En pie, famélica legión!
Atrúena 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 tribunales
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 Internasyonal

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 maaasahang
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

Η ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ.

Ἐμπρός τῆς γῆς οἱ κορασμένοι
τῆς πείνας ἐκράβοι ἔμπρός - ἔμπρός.
Τό βίβλο ἀπ' τό κράτηρα βγαίνει
βά βροντή, βά κεραυνός.

Φτάουν πιά τῆς ἐκθραβίης τά χρόνια
τώρα εἶεἰς οἱ ταπεινοί τῆς γῆς
πού ζούσαμε ἐπὶ καταφρόνια
θαί γίνουμε τό πᾶν εἶεἰς!

Στόν ἀγῶνα ἐνωμένοι
κι ἄς μή δειψοῦμε καρεῖς!
Ἰὸ νάτῃ γὰς προβύει
ἐτό κόβωο ἡ Διεθνῆς.

Greek

ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛ

Вставай, проклятем заклеймённый,
Весь мир голодных и рабов!
Кипит наш разум возмущённый
И в смертный бой вести готов.
Весь мир насилия 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,
Добьёмся мы освобожденья
Своею собственной рукой.
Чтоб свергнуть ёнёт рукой умелой,
Отвоевать своё добро.

Russian

L'Internationale

Debout les damnés de la terre,
Debout les forçats 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 comun—
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

الانترناسیونال

بر خیزای داغ لعنت خورده دنیای فقر و بندگی
جوشیده خاطر مارا برده به جنگمگ و زندگی
باید از ریشه براندازیم کهنه جهان جور و ستم
وا نکه نوین جهانی سازیم هیچ بودگان هر چیز کردند
(روز قطعی جدال است آخرین رژیم)

انترناسیونالست نجات انسانها (۲)
بر ما نبخشند فتح و شادی خدا نه شه نه قهرمان
با دست خود گیریم آزادی در بیکارهای انسان
تا ظلم را از عالم بروریم نعمت خود داریم به دست
دیم آتروا و بکوییم تا وقتی که آهن گرم است
(روز قطعی)

انسانها (۲)
تبا ما توده جهانی اردوی پیشمار کار
داریم حقوق جهانیانی نه که خونخواران قسدار
غرد و قتی برق مرک آسا برهزنان و دژخیمان
در این عالم بر ما سراسر تابد خورشید نور افشان
(روز قطعی)

انسانها (۲)
Farsi

Senegal

Continued from page 4

servility while the exploiting classes wallow in idleness and opulence.

Twenty years of neo-colonialism under the Senghor regime have been nothing but a long period of inhuman survival for our heroic people, marked by imperialist exploitation, economic disaster, and growing impoverishment of the masses of people. Laborers from the cities and countryside, workers and peasants, fishermen and livestock raisers, youth and women, the elderly and the physically handicapped, are immersed today in a deep social and moral misery where insecurity and sickness, famine and unemployment, ignorance and obscurantism are their daily lot.

Twenty years of repression, of muzzling democratic freedoms, of confiscating power in the service of imperialist interests, French in particular—this is the other, incontestable legacy of Senghor.

The imposition of this reactionary violence in all its forms drove militants and genuine revolutionary organizations to find ways to exist and spread their work which conformed to the imperatives of the situation.

AND-JEF's enlistment in the actual fight for national liberation and social emancipation and its great revolutionary determination created uneasiness and confusion in the ranks of the neo-colonial government.

At the price of having to put its whole police arsenal into gear, in June, 1975 the regime succeeded in dealing some severe blows to AND-JEF. The ferocity and barbarism of this repression, unprecedented in the history of our country, are testimony to the vigorousness and depth of the revolutionary action instigated by AND-JEF in the Senegalese Democratic National Movement.

Despite these setbacks, AND-JEF has not ceased to exist or struggle. In spite of errors, weaknesses and hesitations—signs of the political inexperience and ideological immaturity which affected it—AND-JEF has always striven in illegal conditions, to be among the masses, to guide their revolutionary fight. Loyalty to the cause of the Senegalese people, self-denial, and the spirit of sacrifice of its militants have been the proof of the pursuing of its revolutionary activity.

Thus in the past period, in different forms and in various sectors, AND-JEF

has undertaken a series of initiatives which contributed greatly to the development of a revolutionary current in the working class, within the peasantry, among the youth and women.

We are proud to confirm the echo and support created by this practice.

In the name of AND-JEF, the signers of this Statement are making their self-criticism to the broad masses and, in light of the lessons drawn, are solemnly committed to pursuing consistently the rectification movement and deserving the confidence and enthusiasm of the popular masses even more.

The temporary defeat of June 1975 marked at the same time an ebbing of the Democratic National Movement and back then allowed the authorities to seize the initiative with the "Democratic Opening" maneuver in 1976.

But because of the deepening of the unprecedented crisis of the neo-colonial system, the leap in the struggle of various urban and rural sectors, the intensity of demands around democratic freedoms being led by all the revolutionary, patriotic and democratic forces, imperialism found itself compelled to change tactics.

With Abdou Diouf in power, imperialism is attempting to carry out a policy of delaying maneuvers to hide the crisis and impose a neo-colonial solution on our people.

But given the regime's obedience to the dictates of the IMF and other moneylenders, as well as its willingness to maintain imperialist exploitation and domination over our country and our resources, the Democratic National Movement with the proletariat at its head, is committed to bringing together the conditions for a true revolutionary alternative.

AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY is a political organization which bases its action above all on the working class and is open to the laboring peasantry, to revolutionary intellectuals, to thoroughgoing democrats and patriots. It aims to break the Democratic National Movement away from reformist and revisionist influences, to make the workers movement—which is the vanguard of the struggle for new democracy—the leading force of a true democratic national revolutionary current.

AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY intends to organize the masses; not around saviors, but around a

political programme for the road of the Popular and Democratic National Revolution.

AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY, through the process of carrying out its political objectives, supports every revolutionary movement directed against the neo-colonial and semi-feudal system but fights resolutely against any programme or action which attempts to mislead the struggle of the Senegalese people.

AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY will develop militant solidarity with the international proletariat, national liberation movements, and progressive and democratic forces in the world.

AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY is advancing the following political programme which is based above all on the full and active mobilization of the working people under the leadership of the proletariat:

- Establish a State of New Democracy;
- Build an independent national economy in the service of the people;
- Ensure the social well-being of the popular masses;
- Develop a scientific, popular and national culture;
- Carry out a policy of independence and real sovereignty.

Around this fighting platform, the PROVISIONAL INITIATING COMMITTEE calls on all proletarian revolutionaries, workers, peasants and thoroughgoing patriots and democrats de-

termined to fight for the national and social liberation of the Senegalese people to join in its efforts to establish a legal political pole.

The signers urge all militants and supporters to set up ways to plan and get the initiative going everywhere in the factories, businesses, workshops, neighborhoods, schools, universities, villages and emigration areas, with a view to the struggle for the recognition of AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY.

FORWARD TO THE OPEN ACTIVITY OF AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE AND-JEF—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR NEW DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE SENEGALESE PEOPLE!

For the Provisional Initiating Committee

Landing Savane,
Statistical Engineer—Dakar
Alioune Sene, Mechanic
national railways—Guinguinéo
Mamadou Diop Decroix,
Information technician—Dakar
Abdoulaye Bakhom,
Retired heavy transport driver—
Ziguinchor
Tapha Kane, Railroad worker—
Thiès
Mamadou Cissokho, Peasant—
Ségou Coura, Eastern Senegal
Jo Diop, Soccer coach—Dakar
Bassirou Sarr, Teacher—Kaolack
Aziz Dieng, Student—Paris

Another Vietnam?

Continued from page 3

military "aid," sending in what is actually hundreds of "advisors" and declaring its intentions to "draw the line in El Salvador." There were mountains of imperialist doublethink used to justify this naked aggression and distinguish it from the exploits of Soviet imperialism around the world. Reagan explained that the situation in El Salvador "has no parallels" to the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan since "it was the Soviet Union that put their man as president in Afghanistan. And then their man didn't work out... So they brought in another man, trained in Moscow." Of course, in El Salvador, it is a completely different situation since the U.S. replaced their former puppet Romero with another puppet named Duarte who was trained at Notre Dame University in the good old U.S.A.

The important point here is that all this, including the increasingly absurd and transparent rhetoric from all the imperialists, is not an exception or a reversion to the "Vietnam era" but precisely a sharp example of what will be going on more and more in an increasingly intense and volatile way in the period ahead. While the U.S. defeat in Vietnam had a profound effect on the political, economic, and military situation facing U.S. imperialism, they still had the reserves to fight that war and even at the same time grant some concessions at home and still get out of the war and cut their losses before deeper and more serious problems developed for them internationally. This is no longer the case. In today's situation, on the one hand, every move that either superpower makes must be very carefully considered and all its ramifications weighed. This is in itself an indication of just how high the stakes are with the whole deal going on the line. Any move either makes could have dire and unforeseen consequences giving the other an important advantage. (Each carefully follows the troop movements and other military activities of all the other imperialists, for example, as well as keeping tabs on a whole range of important areas.) But more importantly neither can afford *not* to make political, military and economic moves as their geopolitical jockeying escalates to higher and higher levels

with the military becoming more and more central. Thus more and more the kind of "reforms" increasingly being administered by the imperialists are like those being carried out in El Salvador—the sending of U.S. "advisors" and military henchmen and a "democratic" fascist junta which has murdered 13,000 people in the last year on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

All manner of covert and overt imperialist intrigue and aggression are guaranteed to reach greater and greater heights (or rather depths). But more important than this is that in the final analysis the developments on a world scale hold increasing dangers for the imperialists. Things are in fact growing increasingly out of control for them. Cracks and crevices are appearing in the edifices of their empires as their rotting insides stand increasingly exposed. While a patch-up job here or there may hold them for a time much larger ones are bound to open up.

They are precisely not sitting on top of some stationary global chessboard but more like a global time bomb. In the upheavals that are sure to come, unprecedented opportunities for the advance of revolutionary struggles on a world scale will present themselves, though this will not be a straight line process. Already the opening up of these cracks and crevices has provided fertile ground for the growth of revolutionary struggles of the masses of people, not the least of which is the struggle of the people of El Salvador, despite the strong influence of both pro-Soviet revisionists and more pro-U.S. elements in the leadership of the opposition forces. Even a temporary "negotiated settlement of the conflict" is bound to be short lived and destined for the scrap heap of history.

Truly, the old order is crumbling and the forces that are capable of burying it are being drawn into motion, but it will never collapse by itself. It must be torn down. In order to be able to seize on the revolutionary opportunities on the horizon where things are increasingly going to go up for grabs including very possibly right here in the belly of the U.S. imperialist empire, not only must the very real desperate situation for the imperialists of every kind be seen clearly, but those who welcome these revolutionary prospects and see themselves as working for proletarian revolution, or are moving in that direction, must act now to lay the basis for actually successfully tearing down the walls when the time is ripe wherever and whenever such historic opportunities present themselves. □

Miami

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that Nathaniel Lane, a 19-year-old Black youth from Liberty City has been attacked in the Dade County Jail. Lane is facing the death penalty on three bogus charges of First Degree Murder stemming from the Miami rebellion. Judge Mario Goderich had postponed jury selection for almost one full week conveniently hiding the fact that Lane had been hurt. Lane was brought into trial this week with an inch and a half knife cut on his swollen jaw.

In other developments, the state's star witness failed to appear on the opening day of trial. This snitch from Liberty City had testified last February against Lawrence and Leonard Capers in order

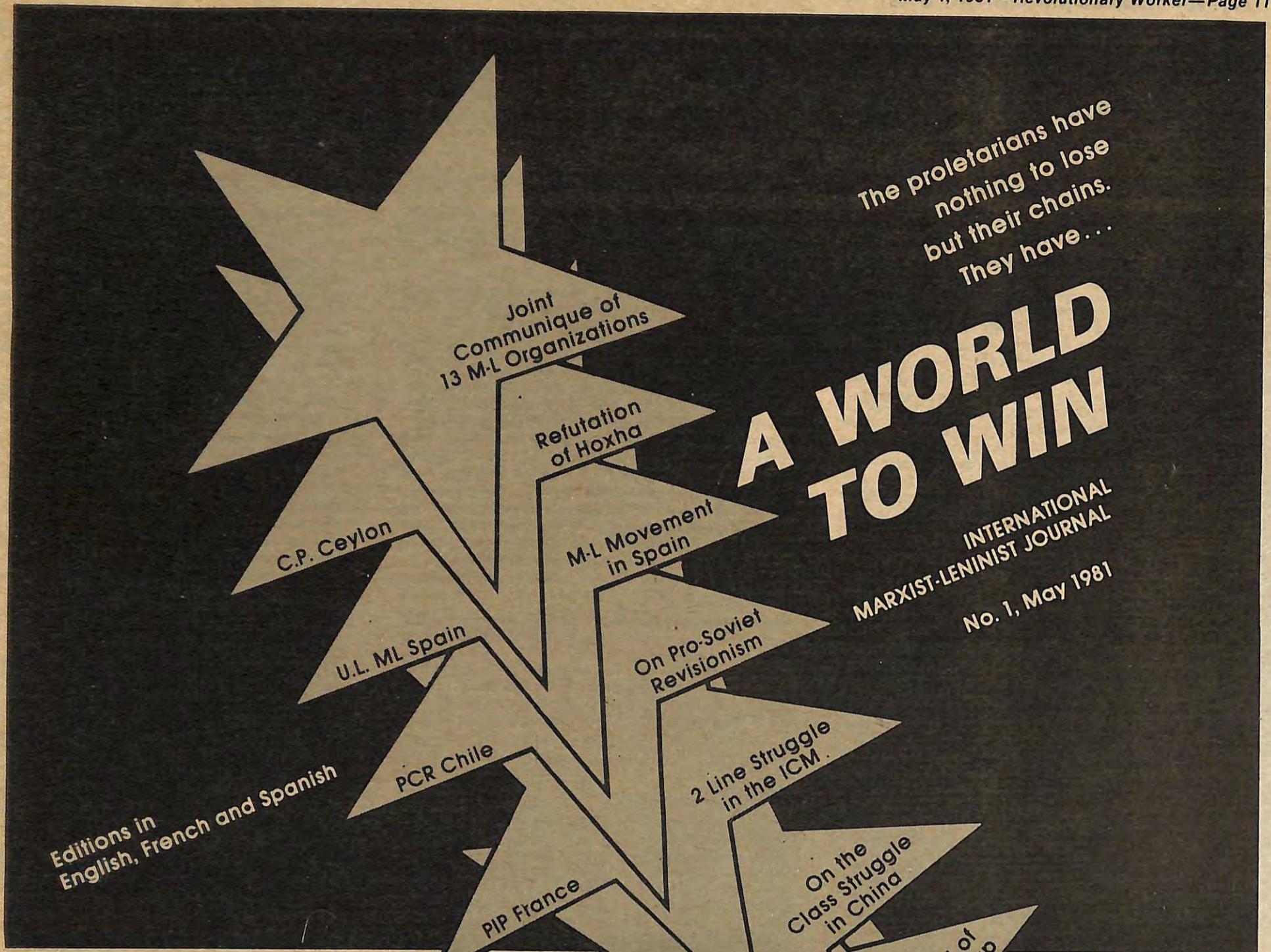
to seal their conviction on third degree murder raps. She had been moved to a new apartment and given a job for this service, but once in court was declared an adverse witness by the state for her flimsy testimony. The prosecutor was obviously upset once again by this extremely unreliable witness.

Court was cut short on day one, when a group of Black Vietnam vets and political activists dressed in military clothing filed into the courtroom immediately following the state's failure to produce their witness. The judge visibly squirmed at their entrance: He hurriedly dismissed the jury and slipped away himself. □

Last week we reported that the UN2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, had been hastily transferred from the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) in New York. In an act of desperation only days before the anniversary of the UN action when the red flag was raised in the UN security chambers and also, not coincidentally, just before May 1st, 1981, Steve Yip was moved to Danbury, Connecticut. Glenn Gan is being bused to California in shackles.

Since last week a couple of new facts have come to light. WBAI radio in New York interviewed the warden of MCC, who insisted that the reason for the move was not political as the UN2 were saying, but that each case "has its own particulars." However, one day later, the UN2's case worker blurted out the real story. The warden had told him

that the UN2 were moved "because of overriding political considerations." Steve Yip, now at Danbury, has been thrown into solitary, while one official claims his papers haven't arrived, and another says he may be "reclassified because this is a minimum security prison and someone could jump the fence." He is being held on a floor with no other prisoners except one who is waiting to see a psychiatrist, and he may be in solitary for two weeks or more. Glenn Gan is right now being transferred to California by bus and is being locked up in solitary in prisons along the way. It is a well known form of harassment for the prison authorities to move prisoners that they have singled out from prison to prison for extended periods of time. □



New Marxist-Leninist Journal Appears Worldwide

At the beginning of May, issue No. 1 of the international Marxist-Leninist journal *A World To Win* is being released all over the world, in English, French and Spanish editions. This is an important step forward for the Marxist-Leninists, the workers and oppressed of all countries, for all those who are seeking not only to overthrow the old order but to bring the new one into being.

What better day than May 1 for the appearance of this new international journal—the first to be put out by revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations from various countries in many decades. The rallying cry, “We have a world to win,” brought to life by the actions and declarations of the revolutionary proletariat and oppressed masses the world over on May Day, takes on very direct and pressing importance in today’s world. At a time when the deepening crisis of imperialism is daily heaping more suffering on the masses and new depths of barbarism and destruction loom ahead as two rival bands of imperialist cutthroats prepare to unleash World War 3—in such times, the truth of Marx’s famous statement that “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains” becomes clearer to millions upon millions worldwide. As Lenin wrote in the middle of World War 1, such crises “cast aside all that is relative, superficial and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real mainsprings of the class struggle.” And it’s also precisely at such an historic conjuncture, when the boiling up and over of all the contradictions of the imperialist system holds out greatly heightened revolutionary oppor-

tunities, that the proletarians of all countries in a very direct sense have “a world to win”—they are presented with the rare and historic opportunity to overthrow imperialism and reactionary rule in many countries, and possibly even large chunks of the world. But the very possibility for such earthshaking advances depends on the capabilities of the revolutionary forces, both internationally and in the various countries.

From this it can be seen what an historic step forward was taken with the publication on January 1 of this year of the Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, which has so far appeared in 20 separate editions in 10 languages—that we know of. Already since January, revolutionary groups and activists from a number of countries—including Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Sweden, Australia and West Germany—have indicated their support for the communique. All this represents a tremendously significant qualitative leap in the unity and organization of the genuine Left internationally. In the months ahead the work of circulating this document and gathering forces around it must continue and step up in order to make it even more of a material force in the world.

One of the specific decisions taken by the organizations signing the communique was to launch an international journal: “To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can

and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.” In addition to being open to the contributions of the signatory organizations, *A World To Win* is actively soliciting contributions and correspondence from other Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world.

A crucial part of the political training of the workers, including right here in the belly of the beast of U.S. imperialism, is to see things through the eyes of the international proletariat as a whole. This first issue of *A World To Win* provides a vivid picture of how several Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations view some of the major questions that are confronting Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary-minded people in all countries. The journal contains a number of articles criticizing the main varieties of revisionism in the world today. It underlines the importance of continuing to unmask and expose Soviet-style revisionists and the various tactics they employ, which are especially pernicious because of the powerful backing they receive from an imperialist superpower and their influence over many millions among the masses. It upholds Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought against the attacks of the trend centered

around the Party of Labor of Albania, whose rightism and unity with Soviet revisionism is becoming more apparent with each passing day. Several articles in the journal hit at the new revisionist rulers in China who have wrecked socialism, restored capitalism and allied with U.S. imperialism since the death of Mao, and stand firmly with the Cultural Revolution and the defiant, revolutionary stand in the face of death taken by Mao’s revolutionary comrades, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Finally, articles in this first issue of the journal delve into the development of the revolutionary process and the revolutionary movement over the past decades, both internationally and in particular countries, analyzing the legacy of some wrong lines that go back many years in the international communist movement.

Blasting away the revisionist garbage that continues to pose as “Marxism-Leninism” in many parts of the world, the journal, along with other means, will enable genuine Marxist-Leninists of various countries—including many who are just coming into contact with each other for the first time—to study, discuss, and struggle over the central political and ideological questions that present themselves all over the world, with the goal of deepening and concentrating the knowledge that has been gained by the international proletariat in order to forge a correct general line for the international communist movement. Already our Party’s thinking has

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Workers and Oppressed F

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got...

Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Foreign Language Press, p. 56.

...Marx and I were commissioned to draw up the Manifesto. This was done immediately afterwards. A few weeks before the February Revolution it was sent to London to be printed. Since then it has travelled round the world, has been translated into almost all languages and today still serves in numerous countries as a guide for the proletarian movement. In place of the old League motto, "All Men Are Brothers," appeared the new battle cry, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" which openly proclaimed the international character of the struggle. Seventeen years later this battle cry resounded throughout the world as the watchword of the International Working Men's Association, and today the militant proletariat of all countries has inscribed it on its banner.

Engels, "On The History of the Communist League," *Marx and Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

Moreover, the mass of propertyless workers—the utterly precarious position of labour-power on a mass scale cut off from capital or from even a limited satisfaction and, therefore, no longer merely temporarily deprived of work itself as a secure source of life—presupposes the world market through competition. The proletariat can thus only exist world-historically, just as communism, its activity, can only have a "world-historical" existence. World-historical existence of individuals, i.e., existence of individuals which is directly linked up with world history.

Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology," *Marx and Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 37.

"Working men of all countries, unite!" But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty-two years ago, on the eve of the first Paris Revolution in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own. On September 28, 1864, however, the proletarians of most of the Western European countries united to form the International Working Men's Association of glorious memory. True, the International itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day. Because today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as one army, under one flag...

London, May 1, 1890

Engels, "Preface To German Edition (Manifesto of the Communist Party) of 1890," *Marx and Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 104.

"The Internationale" and Lenin's article express throughout a Marxist standpoint and outlook. What they say is that slaves should arise and struggle for truth. There never has been any supreme saviour, nor can we rely on gods or emperors. We rely entirely on ourselves for our salvation. Who has created the world of men? We the labouring masses...

Mao Tsetung, 1971, "Talks on the Lin Piao Affair," Schram, *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, p. 297.



China—1968 demonstration hails Mao's statement in support of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S.

Finally, fraternisation between nations has today, more than ever, a purely social significance. The fantasies about a European Republic, perpetual peace under political organisation, have become just as ridiculous as the phrases about uniting the nations under the aegis of universal free trade, and while all such chimerical sentimentalities become completely irrelevant, the proletarians of all nations, without too much ceremony, are already really beginning to fraternise under the banner of communist democracy. And the proletarians are the only ones who are really able to do this: for the bourgeoisie in each country has its own special interests, and since these interests are the most important to it, it can never transcend nationality; and the few theoreticians achieve nothing with all their fine "principles" because they simply allow these contradictory interests—like everything else—to continue to exist and can do nothing but talk. But the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy, and one and the same strug-

gle. The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices and their whole disposition and movement is essentially humanitarian, anti-nationalist. Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations.

Engels, "The Festival of Nations in London," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 6.

The fight against the domination of the capitalist class is now being waged by the workers of all European countries and also by the workers of America and Australia. Working-class organisation and solidarity is not confined to one country or one nationality: the workers' parties of different countries proclaim aloud the complete identity (solidarity) of interests and aims of the workers of the whole world. They come together at joint congresses, put forward common demands to the capitalist class of all countries, have established an international holiday of the entire organised proletariat striving for emancipation (May Day), thus welding the working class of all nationalities and of all countries into one great workers' army. The unity of the workers of all countries is a necessity arising out of the fact that the capitalist class, which rules over the workers, does not limit its rule to one country.

Lenin, "Draft and Explanation of Programme for The S.D. Party," *CW*, Vol. 2, pp. 108-109.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent technique of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the masses, who are more oppressed than ever and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the working-class movement will now inevitably develop.

V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, FLP, p. 377.



Kurdish Fighter

The imperialism of our days has led to a situation in which the Great-Power oppression of nations has become general. The view that a struggle must be conducted against the social-chauvinism of the dominant nations, who are now engaged in an imperialist war to enhance the oppression of nations, and are oppressing most of the world's nations and most of the earth's population—this view must be decisive, cardinal and basic in the national programme of Social-Democracy. (Communism—RW)

Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat And The Right of Nations To Self-Determination," *The National Liberation Movement In The East*, Progress Pubs. p. 126.

The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.

Why? Because capitalism develops unevenly, and objective reality gives us highly developed capitalist nations side by side with a number of economically slightly developed or totally undeveloped, nations.

Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," 1916, Vol. 23, *CW*, p. 60.

The aim of socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states and all national isolation; not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them. And in order to achieve this aim, we must, on the one hand, explain to the masses the reactionary nature of the ideas of Renner and Otto Bauer concerning so-called "cultural national autonomy" and, on the other hand, de-

mand the liberation of the oppressed nations, not only in general, nebulous phrases, not in empty declamations, not by "postponing" the question until socialism is established, but in a clearly and precisely formulated political programme which shall particularly take into account the hypocrisy and cowardice of the Socialists in the oppressing nations. Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede.

Lenin, *On the National and Colonial Questions*, FLP, 1967, p. 6.

The proletariat must demand the right of political secession for the colonies and for the nations that "its own" nation oppresses. Unless it does this, proletarian internationalism will remain a meaningless phrase; mutual confidence and class solidarity between the workers of the oppressing and oppressed nations will be impossible; the hypocrisy of the reformist and Kautskyan advocates of self-determination who maintain silence about the nations which are oppressed by "their" nation and forcibly retained within "their" state will remain unexposed.

Lenin, *On The National and Colonial Questions*, FLP, 1967, p. 7.



Barricades in Amsterdam

The basic reason for this tremendous acceleration of world development is that new hundreds of millions of people have been drawn into it. The old bourgeois and imperialist Europe, which was accustomed to look upon itself as the centre of the universe, rotted and burst like a putrid ulcer in the first imperialist holocaust. No matter how the Spenglers and all the enlightened philistines, who are capable of admiring (or even studying) Spengler, may lament it, this decline of the old Europe is but an episode in the history of the downfall of the world bourgeoisie, oversatiated by imperialist rapine and the oppression of the majority of the world's population.

That majority has now awakened and has begun a movement which even the 'mightiest' powers cannot stem. They stand no chance...

Lenin, "On the Tenth Anniversary of Pravda," *CW*, Vol. 33, p. 349-50

The significance of the imperialist war which broke out ten years ago lies, among other things, in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions into a single knot and threw them on to the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat.

Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 76.



Eritrean Rebels

If a German under Wilhelm or a Frenchman under Clemenceau says, "It is my right and duty as a socialist to defend my country if it is invaded by an enemy", he argues not like a socialist, not like an internationalist, not like a revolutionary proletarian, but like a petty-bourgeois nationalist. Because this argument ignores the revolutionary class struggle of the workers against capital, it ignores the appraisal of the war as a whole from the point of view of the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, that is, it ignores internationalism, and all that remains is miserable and narrow-minded nationalism. My country is being wronged, that is all I care about—that is what this argument amounts to, and that is where its petty-bourgeois, nationalist narrow-mindedness lies.

Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky," *CW*, Vol. 28, p. 286.

The socialist, the revolutionary proletarian, the internationalist, argues differently. He says: "The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the

els, Lenin, Stalin & Mao

Peoples of the World Unite

'enemy' is stationed; it depends on *what class* is waging the war, and on what politics this war is a continuation of. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the *world proletarian revolution* as the *only* escape from the horrors of a world slaughter. I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country (for that is the argument of a wretched, stupid, petty-bourgeois nationalist who does not realise that he is only a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie), but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution."

Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 287-88.

...We do not confine ourselves to fraternisation between German and Russian soldiers, we call upon all to fraternise. This, then, is what we mean by fraternisation:

"...endeavouring to turn this instinctive expression of solidarity of the oppressed into a politically-conscious movement as well organised as possible for the transfer of all state power in all the belligerent countries to the revolutionary proletariat."

Fraternisation, so far, is instinctive, and we must not deceive ourselves on this score. We must admit this in order not to delude the people. The fraternising soldiers are actuated not by a clear-cut political idea but by the instinct of oppressed people, who are tired, exhausted and begin to lose confidence in capitalist promises. They say: "While you keep on talking about peace—we have been hearing it now for two and a half years—we shall start things moving ourselves." This is a true class instinct. Without this instinct the cause of the revolution would be hopeless. As you know, nobody would free the workers if they did not free themselves. But is instinct alone sufficient? You would not get far if you rely on instinct alone. This instinct must be transformed into political awareness.

Lenin, "7th (April) All-Russia Conference," *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 268.



Panamanians demonstrate against Shah's arrival, 1979

Recognition of internationalism in word, and its replacement in deed by petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism, in all propaganda, agitation and practical work, is very common, not only among the parties of the Second International, but also among those which have withdrawn from it, and often even among parties which now call themselves communist. The urgency of the struggle against this evil, against the most deep-rooted petty-bourgeois national prejudices, looms ever larger with the mounting exigency of the task of converting the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national dictatorship (i.e., existing in a single country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat involving at least several advanced countries, and capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole). Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.

Lenin, "Draft Thesis on National And Colonial Questions," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

The social-chauvinists are our *class enemies*, they are *bourgeois* within the working-class movement. They represent a stratum, or groups, or sections of the working class which *objectively* have been bribed by the bourgeoisie (by better wages, positions of honour, etc.), and which help *their own* bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples and to fight for the division of the capitalist spoils.

Lenin, "Tasks of Proletariat In Our Revolution," *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 76.

No matter whether in China or in other countries of the world, over ninety per cent of the people will support

Marxism-Leninism in the long run. In this world at present there are still many people being deceived by social-democratic parties, by the revisionists, the imperialists, or by the reactionary elements of various countries, who have not yet awakened. But eventually little by little they will awaken, they will support Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is truth; it cannot be resisted. The masses want revolution; the world revolution will finally be victorious.

Mao Tsetung, 1962, "Talks at an Enlarged Central Work Conference." (Schram)

...And Kautsky says as clear as clear can be that the Constituent Assembly should have been preserved, and the Bolsheviks should not have taken power.

So internationalism means *supporting one's "own"* imperialist government, as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries supported Kerensky, it means concealing its secret treaties, hoodwinking the people with fancy phrases, such as that we "demand" the savage beasts be tame, we "demand" the imperialist governments "accept the slogan of no annexations or indemnities".

That, in Kautsky's opinion, is internationalism.

In our opinion it is sheer renegacy.

Internationalism means breaking with *one's own* social-chauvinists (i.e., defence advocates) and with *one's own* imperialist government; it means waging a revolutionary struggle against that government and overthrowing it, and being ready to make the greatest national sacrifices (even down to a Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty), if it should benefit the development of the *world workers' revolution*...

Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 110-11.



Brokdorf anti-nuke demo, West Germany

A real socialist would not fail to understand that for the sake of achieving victory over the bourgeoisie, for the sake of power passing to the workers, for the sake of *starting* the world proletarian revolution, *we cannot* and *must not* hesitate to make the heaviest sacrifices, including the sacrifice of part of our territory, the sacrifice of heavy defeats at the hands of imperialism. A real socialist would have proved by *deeds* his willingness for "his" country to make the greatest sacrifice to give a real push forward to the cause of the socialist revolution.

Lenin, "Letter to American Workers," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 64-65.

An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more. Perhaps certain individuals of this type will honestly consider themselves "internationalists". However, people are judged, not by what they think of themselves but by their political behaviour. The political behaviour of "internationalists" who are not consistent and determined adversaries of opportunism will always aid and abet the nationalist trend.

V.I. Lenin, "Under A False Flag," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 156.

There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception.

Lenin, "Tasks of Proletariat in Our Revolution," *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

World wars end not in favour of the warmongers but in favour of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary people in all lands. If the warmongers are to make war, then they mustn't blame us for making revolution or engaging in "subversive activities", as they keep saying all the time. If they desist from war, they can survive a little longer on this earth. But the sooner they make war, the sooner they will be wiped from the face of the earth. Then a people's united nations would be set up, maybe in Shanghai, maybe somewhere in Europe, or it might be set up again in New York, provided the U.S. warmongers had been wiped out.

Mao Tsetung, 1955, "The Chinese People Cannot be Cowed by the Atom Bomb." (Vol. 5)

How different is the logic of the imperialists from that of the people! Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic, this is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

Mao Tsetung, 1949, "Cast Away Illusions. Prepare for Struggle." (Vol. 4)

What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn... We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

Mao Tsetung, "In Memory of Norman Bethune" (December 21, 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 337.

The workers will not allow themselves to be disunited by sugary speeches about national culture, or "national-cultural autonomy". The workers of all nations together, concerted, uphold full freedom and complete equality of rights in organisations common to all—and that is the guarantee of genuine culture.

The workers of the whole world are building up their own internationalist culture, which the champions of freedom and the enemies of oppression have for long been preparing. To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering, and national isolation the workers counterpose a new world, a world of the unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for any privileges or for the slightest degree of oppression of man by man.

Lenin, "The Working Class And The National Question," *CW*, Vol. 19, p. 92.

Our friends in Latin America, Asia and Africa are in the same position as we and are doing the same kind of work, doing something for the people to lessen their oppression by imperialism. If we do a good job, we can root out imperialist oppression. In this we are comrades.

We are of the same nature as you in our opposition to imperialist oppression, differing only in geographical position, nationality and language. But we are different in nature from imperialism, and the very sight of it makes us sick.

What use is imperialism? The Chinese people will have none of it, nor will the people of the rest of the world. There is no reason for the existence of imperialism.

Mao Tsetung, "U.S. Imperialism is a Paper Tiger," *SW*, Vol. 5, p. 311, July 14, 1956.



Miami Rebellion

The socialist movement cannot triumph within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed. To the present-day bourgeoisie's attempts to divide and disunite them by means of hypocritical appeals for the "defence of the fatherland" the class-conscious workers will reply with ever new and persevering efforts to unite the workers of various nations in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie of all nations.

Lenin, "Position and Tasks of Socialist International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 39.

Capitalism and the capitalist system "are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment." On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life.

Mao Tsetung, Cited in Report to the Central Study Class by Wang Hongwen. 1974. *And Mao Makes Five*.

PULL OUT AND POST

**MAY 1st
INTERNATIONAL
WORKERS DAY**





**Take history into
our hands!**

No End to Gov't Plotting Against Leonard Peltier

American Indian Movement (AIM) freedom fighter Leonard Peltier continues to be incarcerated at the federal prison at Marion, Illinois and is now facing renewed efforts by the prison authorities to "neutralize" him by putting him in the infamous Control Unit. This is the unit specifically designed to break prisoners' resistance, especially political prisoners. Kept in cells the size of dog kennels (known to the inmates as "tiger cages"), prisoners are subjected to the latest mind-numbing drugs and subjected to physical and psychological torture euphemistically known as "behavior modification." Several times prisoners who have entered this unit have not gotten out alive, including one last year who was stabbed to death by another inmate as prison guards looked on. Since Leonard has been the target of assassination plots involving numerous government agencies including the FBI and the federal prison authorities, this move to put him into the Control Unit is particularly significant and reveals that the authorities' attempts to murder him have in no way been abandoned.

Last December, prison authorities at Terre Haute, Indiana brutally murdered another AIM activist, Bobby Garcia, in his cell. Garcia was a close friend and supporter of Peltier who helped him escape from federal prison in 1979, temporarily thwarting a government plot to kill Peltier at the time. Another federal prisoner, Standing Deer (also known as Robert Wilson) has revealed how he was coerced by the government into helping set up Peltier's murder. But instead of pursuing the government's plot, Standing Deer warned Peltier about it. Fearing for his life, Peltier, with the aid of Bobby Garcia and Dallas Thundershield, escaped from the federal prison in Lompoc, California. Dallas Thundershield was shot in the back as he attempted to surrender. Since then, Garcia has been cold-bloodedly executed and prison authorities have tried unsuccessfully to force Standing Deer to submit to a lobotomy.

At the time of the escape Leonard was serving two consecutive life sentences for the Indians' armed self-defense against an FBI attack on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975—the same reservation that was the scene of the liberation of Wounded Knee in 1973. In the wake of Wounded Knee, the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had terrorized the Indian people, especially singling out activists from the American Indian Movement. On June 26, 1975, SWAT teams, Bureau of Indian Affairs goon squads, U.S. marshalls and about 20 FBI agents converged on a spiritual camp and opened fire. The security team, which included Peltier, defended the camp. The shootout left one Indian, Joe Stuntz, dead, as well as two FBI agents—sending the government on a rampage, hunting down suspects.

Peltier was among four Indians charged with aiding and abetting in the shootings of the FBI agents. He had long been on their hate list for opposing the oppression of the Native American people by the U.S. rulers and the systematic theft of their land. (Indeed, on the very day of the FBI attack, one-eighth of the reservation was secretly transferred to the government—land which contained a huge deposit of uranium.) He was well known to the authorities, having founded the Milwaukee chapter of AIM and helped organize the takeover of the main office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. in 1972.

Peltier fled to Canada where, instead of laying low, he actively organized the Indians there. Meanwhile, two of his codefendants went on trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The all-white jury not only acquitted them but wanted to file charges against the FBI for misconduct. Charges on the third defendant were dropped. The government then moved with increased vengeance on Peltier. At

Secretary of State Kissinger's request, the Canadian government obediently arrested and extradited him.

Since the time of the trial, it has been revealed that the testimony on which the extradition was based had been coerced. From the moment Peltier was taken into custody, no bail was even set for him. He was rushed to Fargo, North Dakota, far from the reservation. Not wanting a repeat of the Cedar Rapids trial, the judge announced, "Leonard Peltier is on trial, not the FBI. I will hear nothing derogatory about the FBI." The only facts that mattered were the lying testimony of the FBI and government agents.

The government stopped at nothing, even murder, to railroad Peltier. One Indian woman, Anna Mae Aquash, whom they tried to coerce into being a witness against Peltier, and who steadfastly refused, was found dead on the reservation. Government agents told the family she had died of exposure and they had done the family a favor by burying her. The family had her body exhumed and found she had a bullet in the back of her head. Since that time all of the government's chief Indian witnesses who had been coerced into testifying against Leonard have publicly recanted their entire testimonies.

Of course, Peltier was convicted anyway. His appeal was popped around from court to court (one of the "unbiased" judges was nominated to be head of the FBI while he was hearing Peltier's case). But although Peltier was behind bars, his spirit wasn't broken. In the fall of 1978, he issued a statement from his cell to all Indians: "As warriors of our nation we must show our people the spirit of Crazy Horse so they may raise off their knees...raise up with me and resist the terrorist attacks of genocide against our nation!"

Then recently, Peltier's conviction for escape was reversed by a federal appeals court. In the original trial, Peltier was not allowed to present a defense for why he had been compelled to escape, nor was Standing Deer allowed to testify about his intimate knowledge of the government's assassination plot. But the technical reason given by the appeals court for reversing the conviction was only the (rather blatant) fact that the FBI agents who testified against him on the escape charges just happened to be personal friends of the agents killed in the Pine Ridge incident, and that the defense had not been allowed to question them. But clearly the reversal of Peltier's conviction (along with the recent dropping of fabricated charges against Peltier for "illegal possession of firearms" in a federal court in Oregon) in no way meant that the government was giving up its longstanding attempts to eliminate him. Last week it was announced by the same appeals court that they were granting the government a new trial (to start in late May)—a trial before the same judge that originally convicted Peltier in the first place! On the question of whether Peltier will be able to present his defense this time, the court merely ruled that this judge must "take under consideration" the possibility of allowing such a defense before the trial begins—which, of course, does not make it very likely that this "possibility" will ever materialize.

Since the first trial the FBI has been forced to release to Peltier's attorneys over 12,000 pages of documents that they collected on Peltier alone, and there are still thousands more they refuse to turn over. And while, in turning over these documents, the FBI no doubt has hoped to intimidate the growing numbers of Peltier's supporters (and activists generally), what has

been revealed of their content already shows the fear of the authorities themselves for the struggle of the Indian people and their desperation to eliminate one of its most respected leaders. According to one of the attorneys, immediately after the death of the two FBI agents, the FBI not only began to develop a nationwide web of lie compounded upon lie to paint Peltier and AIM as "terrorist" but called for extensive investigation of any Native Americans with military training.

In response to the exposure of their murderous designs on Peltier and in face of the broad-scale support he has received internationally (for example, over 13,000 have signed petitions supporting Peltier in Western Europe), the capitalist press, this time in a recent *People* magazine article, has attempted to recharge the government's attacks. The April 20, 1981 issue brazenly attempts to paint Peltier as a killer (even the title of the article refers to him as an "enforcer") who got off on the escape charge on a "technicality" and even claims that a "Peltier supporter" believes he killed the agents when in fact Peltier himself and all his real supporters insist he did not. The article puts forward only the FBI's version of the deaths of the two agents, and, of course, says nothing of the government's string of assassinations and executions in the course of their attempts to get Peltier.

The *People* article even ends with an undisguised warning that "Leonard will always be in danger whether in prison or out." While this is undoubtedly true as far as the authorities' efforts to silence him are concerned, more significantly, in prison or out Leonard Peltier continues to be an inspiration to the oppressed. □

B.I.A. Moves on Big Mountain

On April 18, the U.S. government took a significant step in its war against the Navajos—1980s style—as it officially divided the Joint Use Area of the Navajo reservation at Big Mountain, Arizona, between its puppet Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils. For 400 years, Navajo and Hopi have lived side by side on this land, but the government is now moving to "relocate" more than 600 Navajos from the area to pave the way for coal companies to strip mine. But this land ripoff has met with fierce resistance since the beginning, and now as the government escalates its moves, resistance of Native Americans and others, including some white farmers in the area who lease land for grazing, is also intensifying.

Beneath the arid land of Big Mountain, thought to be the worst around when it was originally designated a reservation, lie millions of tons of coal, uranium and other minerals, the target of a vicious race for more profitable—and more secure—energy sources by the likes of Kerr McGee, Gulf & Western, and Peabody Coal (which already has a lease of some Big Mountain land). After discovery of the coal deposits, in 1974 Congress passed the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, partitioning the Joint Use Area in two and targeting Navajos for relocation from "Hopi land" by 1982. Under cover of settling a "Navajo-Hopi land dispute" (a "dispute" instigated by the government itself), the government's aim is to remove Navajo residents, to crush the resistance by the traditionalist Navajos (and Hopis) on the land, and to clear the way for the Hopi Tribal Council to sign leases with the coal companies.

For five years, the government's principal effort in pulling off the "relocation" has been to erect a fence across

Big Mountain marking a "final settlement" in the "land dispute." And for five years, every time the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) has started construction of the fence, there has been a confrontation, people have been arrested, and the construction has been stopped. In the government's last attempt in September 1980, four women (ages 16 to 62) were arrested for blocking construction, but so far it has been unable to bring them to trial. In its first effort to prosecute them, the government had to declare a mistrial because it couldn't field a jury likely to convict. And more recently, when another trial was scheduled, the women, showing the courts all the respect they deserve, didn't even show up. Now the BIA has announced that it will put up the fence by July 8. But Big Mountain residents and supporters are stationed there to make sure the fence stays down.

Meanwhile, the government has been trying to organize a social base of its own to support its ripoff scheme at Big Mountain. While the BIA and puppet Tribal Councils created by them to "represent" (i.e., help oppress) Native Americans are fiercely opposed by both Navajo and Hopi traditionalists, there is a stratum, ironically referred to by traditionalists as "young progressives," who are so enraptured with dreams of 4-wheel drive trucks and \$12-an-hour jobs at Peabody Coal that they are willing to do the work, in or out of uniform, of the Tribal Councils and the BIA. One militant described them to the *RW* as "educated" and "Christianized" by the Mormon Church (which he called "worse, more deadly, more effective than the M-16's carried by the police").

But most Navajos and Hopis at Big Mountain, however, are not taking this

course; opposition has steadily grown.

In the last two weeks, Big Mountain has come to resemble a war zone, as BIA helicopters and airplanes swoop down on Navajo livestock "trespassing" on what the government has now decreed "Hopi land." BIA agents, armed with shotguns and M-16s, move in with trucks to "impound" the "trespassing" animals. However, these search and destroy missions (that is, search out Navajo livestock, impound or destroy it, and then charge the owners for all costs of the operation plus fines in order to destroy their only livelihood, and often the only source of meat for Navajo families in the area) are meeting with resistance. In one instance, as the BIA moved in to impound a Navajo woman's sheep, she told them simply: "There's my sheep. Here's my loaded gun. Go ahead and take them!" The BIA agents quickly changed their minds and left.

On April 17-19, a Survival Gathering to organize resistance to the land ripoffs was held at Big Mountain. BIA police are so worried about growing support that they have been stopping and harassing any out-of-state cars they find off the normal tourist routes, to prevent supporters and provisions from reaching Big Mountain. They have even sent a special BIA SWAT team into the area to terrorize people. Nevertheless, not only did united forces of Navajos and Hopis attend this gathering, but new forces joined—Papagos as well as Navajos from another area where the government has already succeeded in erecting a fence for relocation purposes. The gathering showed support coming from the entire Southwest, and even internationally, for the Big Mountain struggle. □

Send May 1st Reports Right Away!

Everywhere the red flag is raised on May 1st 1981, and everywhere readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must take up the serious task of immediately reporting on all the events of the day, in every city and in every sphere of society. This is a crucial part of preparing for revolution, enabling the Party and the masses to sum up the deep chords struck among the proletariat and oppressed and the broad impact throughout society of May 1st, and, in doing so, deepen our assessment of the strength and influence of the revolutionary movement. The accounts of May 1st—as we saw in the historic battle of May 1st 1980—will not only enable us to assess the situation, but also will further enable the proletariat to intensify our work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion, inspiring hundreds of thousands more with the news and significance of May 1st 1981, reported in our revolutionary press. So it is the duty of every class-conscious fighter to sharpen their eyes and ears, and send written reports, tapes, and photographs right away to the *Revolutionary Worker*. Because

of the great importance of such news of May 1st actions in various countries in developing the international movement of the proletariat, foreign born workers and students and all others who are in contact with the revolutionary struggle in other countries should also try to get reports on May 1st demonstrations and actions internationally. These reports, even if they are brief, should be sent to the *RW* immediately after May 1. In the days and weeks following May 1st, we will continue to publish further reports and more detailed information and we would like to receive information, including photos, news clippings, both from the revolutionary and bourgeois press, cultural materials from other countries, and so on. Send all reports, tapes, photos and clippings to the *Revolutionary Worker*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Or deliver them to the RCP in your local area (See addresses page 2). Bear in mind that the Post Office is part of the bourgeois state apparatus when writing reports and selecting photographs.

correspondence on May 1st

Solomon

To politically liberate territory and raise the red flag this May Day places major challenges before us. It will require that we boldly project the message of May Day, that we defy convention and authority and mobilize the strength of those who truly recognize this system for what it is. If May Day is a concentrated outpouring of revolutionary determination and energy, a proclamation that we will march alongside the international proletariat and oppressed people everywhere, struggling ever more consciously until all oppression is wiped out, then we must learn from the advanced experiences of our brothers and sisters in other countries, exactly to carry that struggle forward. It is in this spirit that I wanted to relate some of the experiences of the struggle in Azania (South Africa).

In 1976 the black townships (those areas of South Africa where blacks were forced to live under the apartheid system) erupted in militant struggle. Soweto became synonymous with

resistance and rebellion throughout the world. Here where the masses had been subjected to some of the most vicious repression in history, the ruling order was powerfully and irreversibly shaken. The immediate issue that touched off protests and clashes with the authorities was language instruction in the high schools, where blacks were forced to learn the Afrikaaner's language. The high school students boycotted classes and through the course of the entire uprising they played an initiating and leading role, not only in shutting and burning down the schools, but in leading rallies and spreading the struggle, which broadened into an all around protest against apartheid and white minority rule, to other townships.

Since any public gatherings were strictly forbidden and student leaders were being hunted down like animals, the question of pulling off rallies (or other gatherings banned by apartheid) and protecting leaders became an urgent one if the struggle were to advance. The more conscious elements

were able, despite the many difficulties, to develop and master new forms of struggle. The squalid mudded thatched townships into which blacks were herded were now turned to their advantage.

One of the most legendary figures in the struggle was a high school student and agitator by the name of Solomon. Typically just prior to a rally word would get out that such an event would soon take place and that Solomon would be speaking. Always there would be an air of anticipation. No one knew where or exactly when he would appear, but he invariably would—almost out of nowhere addressing the crowd in a rapid fusillade of indictments of the hated regime and calling upon people to carry the struggle forward. Often Solomon's agitation would right there galvanize people on the spot and they would take on even higher, more militant forms of struggle. Plans were made ahead of time to whisk him away when the police inevitably showed up. He did not stay in one place but moved from home to home, usually by night, pro-

tected by activists and sympathizers. Because of the cramped and makeshift nature of the dwellings, Soweto now became a kind of maze to the police. But one thing they knew was that Solomon, the fiery and elusive orator, had to be caught and they set out with fascist gusto to find him. Yet they failed miserably. Because not only had the system of secretly planned and quickly convened and dispersed rallies—each somewhat different from the next—thrown the authorities off guard; not only had the network of houses and hiding places kept Solomon one step ahead of the authorities; but, it turned out, there was not one but many Solomons! Evidently such a student leader by the name of Solomon existed and played this kind of role but he quickly "multiplied," spontaneously and later by design, (with people prepared to step forward and agitate should Solomon be stopped). The Solomon the police were combing the townships for evolved into a battery of agitators. To the masses Solomon was a single entity—embodying the spirit and determination of the struggle. And he became exactly that to the enemy as well.

The example of Soweto and the very fact that things could continue on this level became a source of strength and inspiration to others. The struggle spread to other townships, with the students again playing a leading role. And just as important, it spread to other sections of the black population, including the workers, especially those in transport where strikes were sporadically attempted. Of course, even this more developed form of resistance could not in and of itself sustain the movement—it would have to be raised politically and tactically to a higher level—but its significance should not be lost sight of. It became possible to overcome formidable obstacles through imaginative and daring tactics which mobilized and drew in larger numbers of people. All this—the vital role of agitators like Solomon and the resourcefulness of the masses in protecting them exactly because they cherished such people—is something that should certainly be thought about this May Day 1981.

Garment District

Comrades;

On April 24 the conscious workers from the garment district participated in a demonstration where we saw the significance that the red flag has for the masses of people. We the revolutionaries see that the only alternative that the people have is to fight unceasingly until they defeat this rotten capitalist system which is of no use to the dispossessed, but only for the powerful, the oligarchy of this country. We

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Above: Proletarians at the barricades in Moscow Uprising 1905. In summing up the "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" Lenin made this point about the fight for the troops:

"In the December days, the Moscow proletariat taught us magnificent lessons in ideologically 'winning over' the troops, as, for example, on December 8 in Strastnaya Square, when the crowd surrounded the Cossacks, mingled and fraternised with them, and persuaded them to turn back. Or on December 10, in Presnya District, when two working girls, carrying a red flag in a crowd of 10,000 people, rushed out to meet the Cossacks crying: 'Kill us! We will not surrender the flag alive!' And the Cossacks were disconcerted and galloped away, amidst the shouts from the crowd: 'Hurrah for the Cossacks!' These examples of courage and heroism should be impressed forever on the

mind of the proletariat.

But here are examples of how we lagged behind Dubasov. On December 9, soldiers were marching down Bolshaya Serpukhovskaya Street singing the Marseillaise, on their way to join the insurgents. The workers sent delegates to meet them. Malakhov himself galloped at breakneck speed towards them. The workers were too late, Malakhov reached them first. He delivered a passionate speech, caused the soldiers to waver, surrounded them with dragoons, marched them off to barracks and locked them in. Malakhov reached the soldiers in time and we did not, although within two days 150,000 people had risen at our call, and these could and should have organised the patrolling of the streets. . . . Malakhov surrounded the soldiers with dragoons, whereas we failed to surround the Malakhovs. . . ."

Some Places Where the Unmistakable Sights & Sounds of May 1st Will be Seen & Heard

May 1st, 1981 promises to be a full day (and night) of all around revolutionary struggle in all spheres of society and taking many different forms. At the same time, in a number of cities, central rallying points and focuses are planned during the day.

Los Angeles: While all throughout the morning red flags will be breaking out everywhere, a 12:00 noon assembly point for a May 1st march has been called for Pershing Square in the heart of downtown L.A.

San Francisco: At 3:00 in the afternoon, forces will gather at a rallying point on 24th and Mission Sts. in the heart of the Mission District.

Chicago: May 1st rebels will rally at 4 p.m. at the Daley Plaza in downtown Chicago. People in Chicago and the surrounding area are requested to report on activities throughout the day by calling 922-1140.

Atlanta: The central focus of May 1st will be the projects where acute struggle has been raging over the murders of the Black children in Atlanta.

New York: Even as May 1st is breaking out in diverse ways throughout New York City and the surrounding area, the New York garment district will be a central focus for the battle for May 1st all day long.

Correspondence

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see the importance that May 1st has for the working masses; the revolutionary fervor grows daily among the workers and the masses of people in general. We the revolutionaries have to fight for the unity of all the revolutionaries and the anti-imperialists, so that together we can hoist the banner of the proletariat and sock it to this exploitative system and in its place raise the red flag which stands for peace, liberty, progress and the social well-being of the people.

Let's forge the revolutionary unity for the final conflict; in unity there is power.

This imperialism is in decline, let's give it the final stab. (Let's establish in its place a revolutionary regime of social justice, democracy with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought).

Come to May 1st and raise the red flag of the international proletariat and deal a blow to the imperialists and their lackeys.

from a class conscious proletarian in the New York Garment District

I'd like people to remember John Lennon's death: a peacemaker dying a violent death. The government spit on him when he was alive, but now they make him into a god. Even if we protest peacefully, the system attacks us, so it's going to have to go the other way, we're going to have to be the ones doing the violence and the ones taking a stand. Tell people to sweep down on capitalism on May Day. The only way to bring the world up is to tear it down, you have to destroy to create. I'd destroy a "communist" system if it turned capitalist. Capitalism has to put people in Harlem, under gravestones, in the nuthouse, and it's time we put those people on their own two feet. It's something we have to start changing, hopefully we'll make a change for the better.

A revolutionary punker,
Washington State

Berkeley Breakout

I was thirteen and going to junior high in Berkeley in '67 and '68 during the movement against the war in Vietnam. When the demonstration erupted

at the Oakland Induction Center on October 16, 1967, everyone at school knew about it. Some wore buttons that just said "October 16" on them in support of it and a few had even gone to the demo. Mainly I remember that no one could not have an opinion on the demonstration, whether to support them, when the police attacked them whether it was an example of what the police were really for or could the blame somehow be laid on "violent" demonstrators? Your attitude towards the demonstrations and the various trends in the anti-war movement were as much dividing line questions as your attitude towards the Panthers. A handful of students in junior high were so excited by the October 16th demo we vowed not to miss the next one which I believe was an April 24th moratorium, a "no business as usual" day. In the weeks before the day, we met with older high school students to plan where to meet and when to go and to talk about getting more of our friends to come break out of class and go to the demo. We talked about how this was the way revolutions were planned. The question was being debated hotly all through the school all the last week before the day. The school was a "closed campus" which meant you couldn't sit, stoop or squat without a pass signed by one of the overlords or forged by one of the students. Anyway, on that day, about 50 or 75 of us went to our first class, and

then met on the lawn calling on others to come out. We later found out that 250 students cut school that day. The dean and the rally boys tried to threaten some of us with suspensions and make it sound really severe but they just looked ridiculous as we turned our backs on them and everything they stood for and went to join the demonstrations. When we got to the induction center, we were joined by a group from Berkeley High but there was no one else around. It was mid-morning and the police had already dispersed the people. Our number was now down to around 100 because some left when they saw the demo was over but the rest of us decided to march anyway. As long as I live I won't forget the look in those pigs' eyes as our contingent of 12-17 year-olds marched down the middle of the street past the debris of the riot and the groups of tac squad, chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win!" The exhilaration of knowing that with all their apparent strength, they were never going to be able to keep us from rebelling and finally eliminating the oppression they stood for will stay with me forever. If that vision terrified our rulers then, imagine what the impact will be of class-conscious rebel youth breaking out on May Day 1981. The proletariat's dreams will soar, the bourgeoisie's nightmare will stop them in the streets. On to May 1st, '81!

China

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ly the revisionists cannot leave out Mao altogether—to do so would be to deny the legitimacy of the Chinese revolution in which Mao is the dominant leadership figure and thus further erode the revisionists' already flimsy "socialist" cover. So they try to spread the lie that Mao was one of the nationalist boys—a bourgeois democrat—although perhaps somewhat wild and unruly.

Mao's Internationalism

But such transparent tricks cannot erase the great contributions of Mao in leading the Chinese proletariat in carrying out its internationalist duties. It was during the Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by Mao, that millions gathered in Peking's Tienanmen Square in a powerful show of solidarity with the struggles of the Indochinese people against U.S. imperialism. Mao's 1968 statement in support of the struggle of Black people in the U.S. was another inspiring example of proletarian internationalism. Because of such a stand, China under Mao's leadership was looked up to by millions around the world struggling against imperialism and hated with passion by imperialists and reactionary ruling classes. And Mao's theoretical contributions to Marxism-Leninism are an indispensable part of the revolutionary arsenal of the

international proletariat.

But while this was going on, the revisionists—the very same ones holding the reins of power now—tried every which way to sabotage China's proletarian internationalism, claiming that the Chinese people should be concerned first with developing their own country and that a poor country like China could not afford to aid the liberation struggles of others. Blasting in particular those who pushed such a line during the Korean War, Mao said: "Of course, it would have been better if we had not had to fight the war and spend this money. For construction in the country today calls for expenditure and the peasants still have difficulties. Last year and the year before last, the agricultural tax was a shade on the heavy side, and so this set some friends talking. They demanded a 'policy of benevolence', as if they represented the interests of the peasants. Did we favor this view? No we didn't. At that time we had to do our utmost to win victory in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. For the peasants, for the people of the whole country, which was in their interests? To endure austerity for the time being and strive for victory? Or not to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and so save a few coppers? Undoubtedly winning the war was in their interest." ("Our Great Victory in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea and Our Future Tasks," Sept. 1953, *Selected Works*, Vol. V) Even though China had just gone through years of

war and the economy needed immediate rehabilitation, Mao mobilized the Chinese people on the basis of internationalism to volunteer to fight in Korea and to give material aid. A typical example of Mao's "idealistic" and "unpatriotic" line! Mao clearly saw China's liberation as inseparable from the world struggle against imperialism.

In a revolution like China's—unlike in imperialist countries such as the U.S.—communists must programmatically uphold patriotism in the sense of stressing the unity of the nation against imperialism and its flunkies, but their ideology must be *internationalist* and they must actively strive for world communism. In the first—new-democratic—stage of such a revolution the proletarian party can and must unite with different class forces, even the national bourgeoisie, for the immediate program of getting rid of imperialism and its compradors within the country as well as the vestiges of feudalism. Further, the party must wage active struggle against the notion of national inferiority, which is an ideological manifestation of imperialist domination. All this requires the party to take a patriotic stand and build up the national self-respect of the people. But throughout this first stage, and even more so with the leap to the socialist stage, the party must base itself on an internationalist, not a nationalist, outlook, and must actively propagate this outlook and combat narrow nationalism among the masses. This was the line that Mao and

other communists in China struggled for. However, not a few bourgeois democrats who were revolutionaries during the first stage of the revolution did not make the leap to becoming communist, and therefore as the Chinese revolution advanced, they became capitalist roaders. Their goal was not world proletarian revolution but simply a strong, prosperous (and capitalist) China. This is the kind of nationalist outlook that leads the *People's Daily* "special commentator" to declare in all his narrow nationalist splendor, "It must be understood that up to today human society is divided into states based on geography. (Never mind the fact that capitalist relations, not geography, are the fundamental reason for this, since "geography" will exist under communism—*RW*.) As long as this historical condition exists this situation will still continue for a long, long (!,! —*RW*) time in human history. Any revolutionary class must still exist and develop within the confines of its motherland... and social environment of its motherland, and it must first and foremost struggle with all its strength for the destiny of its motherland and the people."

Sorry, revisionists. Free of the "confines" of such narrow nationalism, the international proletariat and its communist vanguard in the various countries will strive "first and foremost" and with "all" its strength for the world revolution and the liberation of all mankind. □

Collapse

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And if Plekhanov and Kautsky—to take two of the most typical and authoritative socialists, who are well known to us, one of whom writes in Russian while the other is translated into Russian by the liquidators—are now (with the aid of Axelrod) seeking all sorts of “popular justifications” for the war (or, rather, vulgar ones taken from the bourgeois gutter press); if, with a learned mien and with a stock of false quotations from Marx, they refer to “precedents”, to the wars of 1813 and 1870 (Plekhanov), or of 1854-71, 1876-77, 1897 (Kautsky), then, in truth, only those without a shadow of socialist conviction, without a shred of socialist conscience, can take such arguments in earnest, can fail to call them otherwise than unparalleled Jesuitism, hypocrisy and the prostitution of socialism! Let the Executive (*Vorstand*) of the German Party anathematise Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg’s new magazine (*Die Internationale*) for its honest criticism of Kautsky; let Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Hyndman and Co. treat their opponents in the same manner, with the aid of the police of the Allied Powers. We shall reply by simply reprinting the Basle Manifesto, which will show that the leaders have chosen a course that can only be called treachery.

The Basle resolution does not speak of a national or a people’s war—examples of which have occurred in Europe, wars that were even typical of the period of 1789-1871—or of a revolutionary war, which Social-Democrats have never renounced, but of the present war, which is the outcome of “capitalist imperialism” and “dynastic interests”, the outcome of “the policy of conquest” pursued by both groups of belligerent powers—the Austro-German and the Anglo-Franco-Russian. Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. are flagrantly deceiving the workers by repeating the selfish lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries, which is striving with all its might to depict this imperialist and predatory war for colonies as a people’s war, a war of defence (for any side); when they seek to justify this war by citing historical examples of non-imperialist wars.

The question as to the imperialist, predatory and anti-proletarian character of the present war has long outgrown the purely theoretical stage. All the main features of imperialism have been theoretically assessed, as a struggle being waged by the senile and moribund bourgeoisie for the partition of the world and the enslavement of “small” nations; these conclusions have been repeated thousands of times in the vast socialist press in all countries; in his pamphlet *The Impending War (1911)*, for example, the Frenchman Delaisi, a representative of one of our “Allied” nations, has explained in simple terms the predatory character of the present war, with reference to the French bourgeoisie as well. But that is far from all. At Basle, representatives of the proletarian parties of all countries gave unanimous and formal expression to their unshakable conviction that a war of an imperialist character was impending, and drew tactical conclusions therefrom. For this reason, among others, we must flatly reject, as sophistry, all references to an inadequate discussion on the difference between national and international tactics (see Axelrod’s latest interview in *Nashe Slovo* Nos. 87 and 90), etc., etc. This is sophistry, because a comprehensive scientific analysis of imperialism is one thing—that analysis is only under way and, in essence, is as infinite as science itself. The principles of socialist tactics against capitalist imperialism, which have been set forth in millions of copies of Social-Democratic newspapers and in the decision of the International, are a quite different thing. Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat; when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors; we must not allow ourselves to be taken in by hypocritical assertions

that “not everybody understands imperialism in the same way”, or that the chauvinist Kautsky and the chauvinist Cunow can write volumes about it, or that the question has not been “adequately discussed”, etc., etc. Capitalism will never be completely and exhaustively studied in all the manifestations of its predatory nature, and in all the most minute ramifications of its historical development and national features. Scholars (and especially the pedants) will never stop arguing over details. It would be ridiculous to give up the socialist struggle against capitalism and to desist from opposing, on such grounds, those who have betrayed that struggle. But what else are Kautsky, Cunow, Axelrod and their like inviting us to do?

Now, when war has broken out, no one has even attempted to examine the Basle resolution and prove that it is erroneous.

II

But perhaps sincere socialists supported the Basle resolution in the anticipation that war would create a revolutionary situation, the events rebutting them, as revolution has proved impossible?

It is by means of sophistry like this that Cunow (in a pamphlet *Collapse of the Party?* and a series of articles) has tried to justify his desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie. The writings of nearly all the other social-chauvinists, headed by Kautsky, hint at similar “arguments”. Hopes for a revolution have proved illusory, and it is not the business of a Marxist to fight for illusions, Cunow argues. This Struvist, however, does not say a word about “illusions” that were shared by all signatories to the Basle Manifesto. Like a most upright man, he would put the blame on the extreme Leftists, such as Pannekoek and Radek!

Let us consider the substance of the argument that the authors of the Basle Manifesto sincerely expected the advent of a revolution, but were rebutted by the events. The Basle Manifesto says: (1) that war will create an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will regard their participation in war as a crime, and as criminal any “shooting each other down for the profit of the capitalists, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties”, and that war evokes “indignation and revolt” in the workers; (3) that it is the duty of socialists to take advantage of this crisis and of the workers’ temper so as to “rouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism”; (4) that all “governments” without exception can start a war only at “their own peril”; (5) that governments “are afraid of a proletarian revolution”; (6) that governments “should remember” the Paris Commune (i.e., civil war), the 1905 Revolution in Russia, etc. All these are perfectly clear ideas; they do not guarantee that revolution will take place, but lay stress on a precise characterisation of facts and trends. Whoever declares, with regard to these ideas and arguments, that the anticipated revolution has proved illusory, is displaying not a Marxist but a Struvist and police-renegade attitude towards revolution.

To the Marxist it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the “upper classes”, a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for “the lower classes not to want” to live in the old way; it is also necessary that “the upper classes should be unable” to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in “peace

time”, but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the “upper classes” themselves into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible. The totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. Such a situation existed in 1905 in Russia, and in all revolutionary periods in the West; it also existed in Germany in the sixties of the last century, and in Russia in 1859-61 and 1879-80, although no revolution occurred in these instances. Why was that? It was because it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, “falls”, if it is not toppled over.

Such are the Marxist views on revolution, views that have been developed many, many times, have been accepted as indisputable by all Marxists, and for us, Russians, were corroborated in a particularly striking fashion by the experience of 1905. What, then, did the Basle Manifesto assume in this respect in 1912, and what took place in 1914-15?

It assumed that a revolutionary situation, which it briefly described as “an economic and political crisis”, would arise. Has such a situation arisen? Undoubtedly, it has. The social-chauvinist Lensch, who defends chauvinism more candidly, publicly and honestly than the hypocrites Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co. do, has gone so far as to say: “What we are passing through is a kind of revolution” (p. 6 of his pamphlet, *German Social-Democracy and the War*, Berlin, 1915). A political crisis exists; no government is sure of the morrow, not one is secure against the danger of financial collapse, loss of territory, expulsion from its country (in the way the Belgian Government was expelled). All governments are sleeping on a volcano; all are themselves calling for the masses to display initiative and heroism. The entire political regime of Europe has been shaken, and hardly anybody will deny that we have entered (and are entering ever deeper—I write this on the day of Italy’s declaration of war) a period of immense political upheavals. When, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote (October 2, 1914, in *Die Neue Zeit*) that “never is government so strong, never are parties so weak as at the outbreak of a war”, this was a sample of the falsification of historical science which Kautsky has perpetrated to please the Südekums and other opportunists. In the first place, never do governments stand in such need of agreement with all the parties of the ruling classes, or of the “peaceful” submission of the oppressed classes to that rule, as in the time of war. Secondly, even though “at the beginning of a war”, and especially in a country that expects a speedy victory, the government seems all-powerful, nobody in the world has ever linked expectations of a revolutionary situation exclusively with the “beginning” of a war, and still less has anybody ever identified the “seeming” with the actual.

It was generally known, seen and admitted that a European war would be more severe than any war in the past. This is being borne out in ever greater measure by the experience of the war. The conflagration is spreading; the political foundations of Europe are being shaken more and more; the sufferings of the masses are appalling, the efforts of governments, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to hush up these sufferings proving ever more futile. The war profits being obtained by certain groups of capitalists are monstrously high, and contradictions are growing extremely acute. The smouldering indignation of the masses, the vague yearning of society’s downtrodden and ignorant strata for a kindly (“democratic”) peace, the beginning of discontent among the “lower classes”—all these are facts. The longer the war drags on

and the more acute it becomes, the more the governments themselves foster—and must foster—the activity of the masses, whom they call upon to make extraordinary effort and self-sacrifice. The experience of the war, like the experience of any crisis in history, of any great calamity and any sudden turn in human life, stuns and breaks some people, but enlightens and tempers others. Taken by and large, and considering the history of the world as a whole, the number and strength of the second kind of people have—with the exception of individual cases of the decline and fall of one state or another—proved greater than those of the former kind.

Far from “immediately” ending all these sufferings and all this enhancement of contradictions, the conclusion of peace will, in many respects, make those sufferings more keenly and immediately felt by the most backward masses of the population.

In a word, a revolutionary situation obtains in most of the advanced countries and the Great Powers of Europe. In this respect, the prediction of the Basle manifesto has been fully confirmed. To deny this truth, directly or indirectly, or to ignore it, as Cunow, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. have done, means telling a big lie, deceiving the working class, and serving the bourgeoisie. In *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Nos. 34, 40 and 41)* we cited facts which prove that those who fear revolution—petty-bourgeois Christian parsons, the General Staffs and millionaires’ newspapers—are compelled to admit that symptoms of a revolutionary situation exist in Europe.

Will this situation last long; how much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the experience gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about “illusions” or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today’s revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow’s) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat’s revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organisations suited to the revolutionary situation.

No influential or responsible socialist has ever dared to feel doubt that this is the duty of the socialist parties. Without spreading or harbouring the least “illusions”, the Basle Manifesto spoke specifically of this duty of the socialists—to rouse and to stir up the people (and not to lull them with chauvinism, as Plekhanov, Axelrod and Kautsky have done), to take advantage of the crisis so as to hasten the downfall of capitalism, and to be guided by the examples of the Commune and of October-December 1905. The present parties’ failure to perform that duty meant their treachery, political death, renunciation of their own role and desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie.

* See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 92-93, 181-82, and 192-93-Ed.

1. The Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, held on September 15-21, 1912, passed a resolution “On Imperialism”, which said that the imperialist states were pursuing “a policy of shameless plunder and annexations” and called upon the party “to fight imperialism with greater energy”.

During World War I leaders of the Second International treacherously violated the decisions of the international socialist congresses, in particular, those adopted in Chemnitz.

2. On Struvism, see Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 221-23.

TRIBUNAL TESTIMONY

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I could think of. Finally I joined up with other mothers whose children had disappeared. Listening to their stories—women from Argentina, from Chile, from Colombia, from all over Latin America—I realized we had the same kind of dictatorship in these countries, out to kill young people who disagreed with their ideas, and fought their rule. . . . Last year, they shot my brother, who was a doctor. He was a doctor among the poor. They went and ransacked his clinic, then ambushed his car, burned it and even burned his guitar, because he was a musician as well as a doctor.

Lately the repression has become unbearable. Walking down the streets of your neighborhood, you come upon people who have been decapitated—their heads far away from their bodies so that you have to bury your dead without their head. The genocide they are committing has been increasing in just the last few months. There are whole communities that have been bombed by air. A countryman who just arrived here told me he saw three villages with little left but the shells of bombed out houses and the dogs that had survived eating the corpses. Anywhere you go you can find pieces of bodies on the road, in the country. It is not allowed to bury them. . . . I wish the government of this country would come to know the truth I am speaking. I am a mother and I can't lie. I'm not a political woman, I'm a mother who has suffered. Don't continue to send these arms that cause such horror and death on the streets of the capital, and in all parts of my country. I think it costs the American people something to believe this, to believe these tales of atrocities. I've seen them decapitate a person in the street, take little boys of 12 to 14 years out of the classrooms and kill them. There are a lot of schools that are closed in El Salvador. . . .

This killing that is going on and is supported and directed by the developed countries like this one will pass into history as a shame of the 20th century. These horrible atrocities committed against defenseless people, women, children, old people. All your amazing technological and scientific developments aren't worth anything. They don't bring any happiness, these scientific and technological developments, to people who are oppressed with poverty. If these amazing technological and scientific developments aren't any good for bringing happiness to our people, then what good are they?"

Vietnam Vet

Excerpts from the testimony given by a Vietnam Vet:

Vet: "In both my units, in both the 9th Infantry and in the First Air Cavalry, I knew a total of two people who I would consider well off and one of them was a high-ranking officer's son who had something to prove to himself or more importantly to his dad. But other than that, predominantly it was Blacks, Chicanos and working class whites. Their parents were not influential enough or wealthy enough to buy them lawyers, and to get them out of having to fight. The combat roles are the same thing, the Blacks, Chicanos and poor whites. As far as where they come from, there were a lot of GIs from New York, a lot from California. There was a few from down South. That's one thing that spurred a lot of the fragging that went on between enlisted men and the officers. A lot of the soldiers started to see this as a class thing, for what it really was. We were being used as expendable pieces of pawn in a chess game. It was a hard thing for a lot of the guys to swallow. At that time a

lot of the Blacks, a lot of the Chicanos, had that knowledge already but to a lot of the working class whites such as myself, when I went over there, I believed in the system and then to find out that it's an ugly, horrible monster that feeds on its people—that's real hard for us to deal with. And that's when the fragging started towards the end of my first tour over there which was the latter part of 1970. Then when I came back in 1972, the fragging incidents had doubled so I mean that's pretty much where that's at."

Panelist: "Could you briefly explain to people what fragging is?"

Vet: "Fragging is, well, fragging is done with the aid of a fragmentation hand grenade, that is, a bomb, and I'm sure you've seen John Wayne movies—you pull the pin and you've got 5 seconds, and it's going to explode. It's got a killing radius of 15 meters and anything within 15 meters without any adequate cover is dead. Fraggings occurred between enlisted men and officers. Take an example, where an officer is sleeping back at the wood. One of the enlisted men will get hold of a grenade, they gave them to us like candy. When we got to the bushes, the officer is sleeping and just pull the pin and throw the grenade on the floor. It's very effective. . . .

"I'm currently a student at San Francisco State, and I currently work at the office of Veteran's Affairs out there. And my experiences of learning about U.S. imperialism comes from spending approximately 2 years in Vietnam in the infantry as a combat man. . . . in my second tour of duty when I was with the First Air Cavalry Division and we were called in to do a mop-up operation after an air strike in a village in the Central Highlands region that was supposedly a Viet Cong village. Supposedly troops had been receiving fire from the village or near the village and supposedly the aircrafts had been receiving fire from the same area. So they called an air strike and we got on the helicopters and took off and they landed us maybe 100 meters outside of the village, or what was left of it, because they just annihilated a complete area around the village and the village itself. Now mop-up operations basically entail going into an area after a firefight or a bombing and trying to tie up the loose ends, so to speak. Looking for documents, looking for anything that might point to Viet Cong involvement in the village or North Vietnamese involvement. And I remember the sight as I got off the helicopter at the time that this happened. I was squad leader, and we moved towards the village, it was on fire, parts of it was on fire, most of it was still smoldering and there was nothing standing except a few civilians who had somehow miraculously survived and there were bodies of children, old men and women and young men. Vietnamese bodies lying all around the village, and we moved through this carnage single file, and a Vietnamese woman holding what was left of her baby came up to me and screamed in my face, 'Why? Why?' and I didn't have any answer for her. There was screaming and moaning all around and a lieutenant finally got on the scene and I, I just put this lady off and all I could say was 'I'm sorry' and I went over to the ditch and I got sick. We moved through the village looking for papers and documents which we found none. And somehow they justified that, too. We spent maybe two hours in the village poking through the ruins, and we had three or four people that were ordered to hold the civilians in one group that survived at gunpoint while we just poked through what was left of their belongings and what was left of their village. And after two hours they airlifted us out and again it was the same pattern. Apparently the officers could see that a lot of enlisted men and a lot of the NCO's were really affected by this. And they came in and they gave us the job well done speech. 'Good job, it was necessary.' And by this time it was becoming all too apparent that this speech could have been written on a stencil and run off for all these officers. . . ."

DISCOVERS

Continued from page 5

crack him because he was cracked already!) But Denton is a man whose time has come. He did reveal quite a bit about what the U.S. bourgeoisie was up to. If television coverage had existed at the time of the opening battles of World War 1, he said, Germany would have won the war. No disinformation on television, or anywhere else, for the coming World War 3.

In France they have a law against such outrageous activities. Last year a rather prominent French journalist (the brother of the president of the Renault Automobile Company) who was known to be "soft on the Soviets" was sentenced to five years in jail for spreading "disinformation." In the U.S. there is no such law on the books as yet, but they don't really need such a law to whip up reaction and try to intimidate even the most "respectable" dissent, do they. As they race towards the global showdown with their rival imperialists in the Soviet Union every exposure of their own hideous features must be suppressed. Every ripple of discord, no matter how small, must now be shown to be a cunning maneuver of the rival superpower. Any activist or intellectual who calls out the crimes of U.S. imperialism is now a real or potential traitor.

But it does not take the Soviet imperialists to reveal the crimes of U.S. imperialism to the people of the world, any more than it takes the U.S. to expose the designs of the Soviets. What is at stake here is an attempt to cover up these crimes and reverse the verdicts of history, to paint any voice raised against U.S. marauding and terrorism as Soviet-inspired. When you are getting ready to go to war, when you need to mobilize millions of people to fight and die unquestioningly, you want a fever pitch built against the enemy's crimes, not your own. Disadvantageous disinformation will be disallowed, and its spreaders will be politically, and if necessary physically, deceased.

Already announced targets of the new terrorist committee's investigations are the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies, The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and *Mother Jones* magazine.

IPS Targeted

This growing and frantic concern in the ruling class over treason to their war

preparations has been particularly focused recently on the Institute for Policy Studies. The IPS was founded almost 20 years ago by two government officials who had become profoundly disillusioned by their direct experience with the innards of imperialism. Leaving the National Security Council and the U.S. Arms Control Agency respectively, Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnett went on to found IPS, which was to be an overtly leftist think tank with the avowed purposes of exposing activities of U.S. imperialism and influencing Congressmen and other government officials. At the high tide of the anti-Vietnam war movement, Marcus Raskin was indicted along with baby doctor Benjamin Spock for conspiracy to obstruct the draft. The Attorney General doing the prosecution was Ramsey "Mr. Civil Liberties" Clark. More to the point, Raskin's crime included the publication of *The Vietnam Reader*, an influential anti-war book written during the period of early anti-Vietnam war protest.

Within the last eight months the Institute for Policy Studies has been the focus of "articles," i.e. attacks, in Dow Jones Company's *Wall Street Journal* and *Barron's Weekly* and, just this past weekend, a crude hatchet job in the *New York Times Magazine*. Dredging up some graduate student at the Georgetown University School of Strategic Studies, the *Times* gives him 5 pages of its Sunday magazine to use all the old tricks of the trade to paint IPS, and dozens of other left-liberal groups and individuals which are linked to it by often the most tenuous threads, as a hotbed of pro-Soviet propaganda and influence in the U.S. In the middle of his guilt by innuendo, association and convergence of opinion, the author does get down to some of the hardcore cases of IPS sins that have now drawn this concentrated fire from the bourgeoisie.

"In their writings, Barnett and Raskin describe the (Vietnam) war as aggressive, imperialist, colonialist and as genocide," charges the *Times*.

"In 1969, Barnett traveled to North Vietnam, where he spoke at a rally expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese." "The IPS board chairman Peter Weiss, and his wife, Cora, also made several trips to North Vietnam." It goes

on to describe books published by IPS scholars favorable to the Pol Pot government in Cambodia (hardly a favorite of the Soviets—they did overthrow him) as well as the links between IPS and the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) which documents favorably the struggles of the Palestinian people and has exposed some of the atrocities of the Zionists in the occupied West Bank. It is hardly coincidental that the *New York Times* with its large, liberal New York Jewish readership chooses to make a special effort to link MERIP and IRS. The fact that Raskin served on the board of *Counter Spy* magazine, which named CIA agents operating in countries around the world, and the fact that the Chilean Socialist Party in exile in Cuba sent a monthly stipend to IPS staffer Orlando Letelier (a Chilean exile and former cabinet minister under Allende who was murdered by CIA-connected assassins on a Washington, D.C. street) is further "proof" of the Soviet connection. The *Times* article goes through considerable journalistic contortions to draw out the sinister links and implications of the association of the people around IPS and other groups, most of whom met or collaborated initially when millions of people in this country came forward against the Vietnam War.

Rouse Their Social Base

The *Times* article, like the Senate hearings themselves, is mainly designed to rouse neanderthals of the right and the rest of the firm social base of the ruling class and point them in the direction of a new target. But despite the fact that it is such a hack job that it is just as likely to rile as to intimidate many liberals, the article is also aimed at warning liberals and week-kneed lefties that they'd better put some distance between themselves and these "radicals."

After endless pages of trying to nail IPS as a Soviet think tank, the *Times* gets down to the very serious business of naming and hinting at those bourgeois politicians who have had direct or indirect contact with IPS:

"In 1978, 56 members of Congress, including almost 1/4 of the Democratic Caucus in the House, asked IPS to prepare a study of the federal budget. The published study was hailed by then Senator Abourezek." "IPS is working to strengthen its ties with Congress, the

Democratic Party and organized labor. In *These Times* (published by IPS—RW) has hailed the emergence of the new group on Capitol Hill called the Progressive House Staff Group, launched by aides of Representatives Conyers and Dellums, two of the members of Congress who have been closest to IPS." Even Republican Senator Mark Hatfield is attacked for saying a good word about IPS. The article ends with an ominous warning that IPS has begun to work closely with the American Federation of Government Employees "whose biggest block of members consists of civilian employees of the Pentagon." Watch out! Those "commies" are on the verge of grabbing the military establishment itself! Pretty transparent McCarthyite crap, but something to get the Moral Majority types stirred up.

"Coincidentally," the *New York Times* article appeared the same week that the Denton Committee hearings began. The first day's witnesses included such lulus as Clair Sterling, author of *The Terror Network*, an American correspondent living in Italy for the last 30 years, plucked from obscurity to become an expert on Soviet influence in terrorist groups; William Colby, former head of the CIA, obviously a terrorism expert; and Michael Leeden, editor of the *Washington Quarterly*, published by the George Washington University Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington's resident on "moles."

But the real star of the show was Arnaud de Borchgrave, former foreign correspondent for *Newsweek*. De Borchgrave is co-author, with CIA journalistic mouthpiece Robert Moss, of the political pseudo-novel *Spike*. Now, a well connected journalist and an international apologist for Somoza, the Shah and the Chilean junta don't sit down to write a novel together out of love of literature. The *Spike*, in fact, brings all of these themes together: terrorism, moles, high treason, and a master Russian plot to sap the West's will to resist by using naive liberal journalists and social activists to propagate pro-Soviet, anti-American analyses of current events (disinformation). The "hero," one Robert Hockney, starts out disillusioned by the Vietnam War, writes an exposé of CIA hirelings in the Western media for *Ramparts* magazine (subtly called *Barricade* magazine in the

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May 3rd March on Pentagon

There is an angry mood currently sweeping this country over U.S. activities in El Salvador. On the surface, it seems as though every remark uttered on the subject by government spokesmen—increasingly naked remarks openly expressing bloody U.S. imperialist aims not only in El Salvador, but across the globe—compels greater numbers to actively protest and many more beyond these to sharply question the policies, the intentions, even the very interests of their own government. On this issue, hundreds of thousands have become objectively opposed to the bourgeoisie. Below the surface lies an imperialist system enmeshed in a web of sticky—and potentially deadly—contradictions on a world scale.

Attention is now focused on a national march on the Pentagon set for May 3 in Washington, D.C. The umbrella coalition sponsoring the demonstration—called the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM)—has established local coordinators in over 75 cities. The event has been endorsed by hundreds of organizations. With buses coming in from many parts of the country, the march itself will focus on key government centers, passing the State Department, moving across the Potomac for a rally at the Pentagon. Important support demonstrations are also scheduled for the same day in Denver, Seattle, the Bay Area, Tucson and Kansas City. Given the momentum at this time, thousands and thousands can be expected to demonstrate nationwide. The central slogan of the action is "U.S.—Hands Off El Salvador," and there are other slogans added to this.

Sharp political stirrings over El Salvador have already been seen in different events over the past few months, notably actions on April 18 which drew thousands in L.A., New York and elsewhere. The fight against the U.S. in El Salvador has drawn activists from the anti-nuke and anti-draft and women's movements. The radical clergy, in particular within the Catholic Church, has played an important role. Immigrant workers and students from El Salvador and other countries have also been a significant social force within all this, turning out in large

numbers to demonstrate, especially on the west coast.

Very few college campuses of any size have been unaffected. Scores of teach-ins have already been organized by colleges across the country. Modeled after the anti-Vietnam war teach-ins in the '60s, these freewheeling debates have also unleashed a great number of faculty members to take an active part. In the Bay Area in early April, several events like these were held for one week attracting thousands.

Various strands and streams will be converging on May 3rd; the political spectrum promises to be vast. The demonstration will certainly wage sharp blows against the U.S., but at the same time, the event itself will be an arena of sharp political struggle.

On a certain level, this has already been evident. In the weeks leading up to the demonstration, a minor scrap took place between the Workers World Party (WWP), the outfit which issued the initial call for the march, and the rival Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The scrap reveals something about both organizations. Earlier this year, the WWP called for the May 3rd march on the Pentagon only to have the SWP call for a rival demonstration on May 9th. The SWP charged WWP with planning a violent confrontation, claiming a march on the Pentagon was provocative. Its newspaper, *The Militant*, shrieked: "An action at the Pentagon, where it is very difficult to obtain a permit to hold a rally, is almost guaranteed to result in a physical confrontation with the police or army."

The PAM grouping, with WWP at its core, responded by promising to be polite. PAM national organizer, Sara Flounders, was quoted in the *Guardian* as saying: "PAM has made it clear to all that we are committed to building a massive, disciplined, orderly march whose militancy will be expressed in the political content of its demands."

It was hard to tell who the antagonist was in this dispute, each seeming to outdo the other with pledges of order. Indeed, any difference which did exist was resolved after the permit was obtained, as SWP rejoined the flock and decided to march on the Pentagon.

But a couple of things should be noted. SWP's raising of the "spectre of violence" sounds remarkably similar to the line generally run by the authorities to thwart participation in demonstrations. More importantly, both groups clearly have their weather vanes in top-working condition. They are gauging a restive and militant mood, particularly among the youth, which threatens to burst beyond the boundaries of their beloved order. For all of WWP's talk of "militancy...expressed in the political content of its demands," the opposite is the case. There will be efforts to restrict militancy principally by restricting advanced political content. There will be efforts to nix talk of revolution—perhaps even talk of imperialism—on the grounds that this would "disrupt broad unity" or "alienate the people," etc., etc. But that the argument arose at all, and that WWP stuck to its Pentagon target mainly because *that's* where the masses wanted to march, is proof that there is a real hunger for revolutionary ideas which won't be put to sleep by the drones of politicians and other hacks.

It goes without saying that the political motion around El Salvador—and the march on the 3rd in particular—provide very favorable ground for class-conscious proletarians. More than this, the situation actually presents—it would be better to say *sharpen*s—the responsibilities of those who hold and those who are influenced by a revolutionary communist political line. Yes, people are awakening; given the depths of the international crisis (El Salvador alone shows the profound effect of international events on the class struggle in a particular country), this is only natural. They are awakening, but this is a largely spontaneous process.

This is not to underestimate the general legacy of the '60s. It is certainly the case that many have come out of "political hibernation," and along with those who never entered this state are bringing what political training they received—positive and negative—into the struggle today. So, for example, a man in his early '30s at an El Salvador rally in L.A. remarked of the barrage of conciliatory tones coming from the

speakers' platform: "At least we talked about imperialism in the '60s." And beyond people who directly experienced the '60s, there is a whole new wave of others who look toward those years for political nourishment.

But it is possible to nourish the struggle breaking out today with a far more profound, far deeper and more developed revolutionary line than was possible at that time and, given what is shaping up in the world—world war and the chance of revolution in this and other countries—it is vitally necessary to do so.

For one thing, a line which is genuinely internationalist and revolutionary must make its presence felt in a situation which is frankly marked by a great deal of confusion, on the current world situation, the nature of the imperialist enemy, both U.S. and Soviet, and other major matters. Mao Tsetung once said that revisionists "shit and piss on people," and this truly applies to efforts by those who stomp for the imperialist rulers of the Soviet Union and pawn the Soviets' predatory aims in El Salvador (and elsewhere) off as "internationalism." Many who correctly and righteously hate the crimes of U.S. imperialism do not yet understand the nature of the Soviets (or the Soviets' neo-colony, Cuba) largely because of the lies pushed by the revisionists. On the other hand, the sheer force of bourgeois ideology and habit pulls more people in the other direction and into attempts to cast the interests of America into a mold which will "serve the people." Thus it is said that U.S. government activity in El Salvador is "not in the national interests." But the interests of the nation *are* the interests of the imperialist ruling class, and are diametrically opposed to the interests of the majority of the people of this country and the world. The history of even the last 20 years has taught us this.

The May 3rd demonstrations are extremely significant political events. Here—like everywhere the masses of people are in revolt—the red flag of the international proletariat must be raised. □

Londonderry

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The fighting began on April 15 as Sands entered the 46th day of his hunger strike. On Sunday, April 26, 10,000 people marched through the city of Belfast demanding "Smash H Block" and "Political Prisoner Status Now!" As the demonstration drew to a conclusion, youth once again took the lead, surrounding a couple of British army vehicles and bombarding them with rocks and bottles. At the same time in London, supporters of the struggle in Northern Ireland attempted to march from the Irish district there to the British government's offices at Downing Street. London cops swooped down on the marchers in a vicious attack designed to contain the demonstration to the Irish area, citing a 28-day ban on marches imposed in the wake of the recent rebellions in Brixton. (This ban, it should be noted, also covers all but the "traditional May Day marches" by the British Labor Party et al.) With all this coming hot on the heels of the powerful rebellions of blacks and white youth in Brixton and elsewhere, the British rulers find themselves in a very uncomfortable situation, to say the least. Jolted by these uprisings and haunted by the spectre of much more, they are lashing out desperately.

On April 19, Easter Sunday and four days into the street fighting in Northern Ireland, thousands of people demonstrated in the city of Londonderry (usually called Derry by the Catholics of Northern Ireland) in commemoration of the 1916 Easter Rebellion. Popularly referred to as "The Rising," Easter week 1916 saw the attempted

overthrow of British rule in Ireland. The rebels sought consciously to take advantage of British imperialism's involvement in World War I to rise up and free Ireland by force of arms. The insurgents held Dublin for a week before the British army crushed the rebellion behind the combined weight of troop reinforcements and British naval vessels that shelled the city into flaming rubble from the safety of Dublin harbor. In an effort to further intimidate and crush the spirit of the Rising, all its leaders were executed (except Constance de Markievicz, a woman, who was sentenced to life in prison). James Connolly, due to his badly shot-up legs, was placed before his executioners seated in a chair!

While the Rising is commemorated every year, this demonstration, occurring in the midst of Bobby Sands' hunger strike and in the wake of four days of fighting in the streets, was especially charged. As the demonstrators marched through the streets of Derry, a British Army Land-Rover plowed full force into the crowd. James Browne, 18, and Gary English, 19, were struck down and killed. The army and the police, displaying their cold-blooded outlook as to the lives of two Irish-Catholic youth, matter-of-factly informed the people that it was being handled "like a routine traffic accident." But before the authorities could even issue a traffic citation (if indeed even *that* severe a reprimand would have been forthcoming), the youth of Derry delivered their verdict—taking to the streets.

Throughout the following week the fighting continued in waves in both Belfast and Londonderry. Wednesday, April 22, was another peak of struggle,

as hundreds gathered in Derry for the funerals of the two slain youth. Soon after the funerals ended, fighting flared anew, as youth in Belfast's Falls Road and in West Belfast joined youth in Londonderry's Bogside and Creggan districts in taking their anger into the streets and alleys. And by Thursday, youth from the cities of Dungannon, Strabane and Lurgan had also joined the fray, challenging the authorities in those cities as well. On Saturday, it was announced that a third Derry youth, 15-year-old Paul Withers, had died as a result of the head and brain injuries he received when he was struck in the eye by one of the British imperialists' "humanitarian and non-lethal" rubber bullets on the first day of fighting.

All of this has been a sharp blow to the nervous claims of the British imperialists that the struggle against their domination has really very little support in Northern Ireland. Another very interesting demonstration that British claims are nothing more than poppycock was the election of political prisoner Bobby Sands to the House of Commons in Britain's Parliament. Sands seized the opportunity presented by the death of former Member of Parliament (MP) Maguire, to use the "by-election" to dramatize the struggle of Irish political prisoners.

His opponent, a member of the reactionary Protestant Ulster Unionist Party, Harold West, did his utmost to scream "terrorist" at Sands, giving windy speeches about how everyone just loves (or should love) living under the British Crown and how there is little support for those fighting the British in Northern Ireland. He was joined in his campaign efforts, of course, by the en-

tire British propaganda machine. It was declared that West would be a shoe-in. But when the ballots were tallied, the people of the district (which includes County Fermanagh and part of County Tyrone near the border with the Irish Republic to the south) had elected Bobby Sands by a 51% margin. Needless to say, this was a considerable embarrassment to the British government. The ruling class was at a pronounced loss to explain how Bobby Sands, who was serving a 14-year sentence in the H Block, had wound up being a Member of Parliament.

The British imperialists are no strangers to resistance from the masses of Catholics in the north. The roots of this current outbreak go back to the powerful civil rights movement that stunned the British government in the late '60s and early '70s. Since that time, in conjunction with the declining fortunes of the British bourgeoisie and the imperialist system as a whole, the situation in Northern Ireland has worsened dramatically. Unemployment has spiraled, housing delapidated, and even the ability to migrate to England to work and live has been shut off, thus creating a restive population, especially among the youth. All this and British troops too.

The unmitigated gall of Britain's overlords in contending that somehow the Catholics in Northern Ireland just love British rule is amply demonstrated by some recent history. It was in August 1969, in the face of powerful demonstrations and armed clashes between Catholics and police aided by para-military groups of Protestant supporters of British rule, that the British landed some

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10,000 troops in Northern Ireland. Under the paper-thin cover of a "peace-keeping force," ostensibly to keep Catholics and Protestants from killing each other, the troops were used to occupy the Catholic areas in order to suppress their struggle and prop up the Protestant-dominated official government. The crisis in the government had been precipitated by a burgeoning civil rights movement among the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland that began in response to discrimination and systematic oppression in every sphere of society—housing, employment, property rights, etc. But much to the rulers' chagrin, the movement quickly spiraled with the whole rule of British imperialism in Northern Ireland being called into question. But while the troops imposed martial rule (by 1972 they had reached a peak strength of some 22,000 men), the political crisis in government had hardly abated. So, in that same year 1972, the British Parliament established the post of Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, disbanded the Northern Ireland Parliament housed at Stormont Castle, and instituted direct rule.

It should be pointed out here that British domination of Ireland dates back to the 17th century, when the British, utilizing Scottish Protestants as settlers, established their first permanent foothold in the north where Belfast now stands. Over the next 300 years, using the Protestant settlers, Britain consolidated its domination of Northern Ireland, while in the south Britain's role went from colonial overlord to neo-colonial overseer. This charge came as the result of the partitioning of Ireland in 1921 when, in the face of nationwide struggle to gain independence from England, the rising Irish bourgeoisie in the southern 26 counties was granted the status of an independent republic by Britain.

The partitioning of the country had the effect of stemming the tide of Irish resistance while at the same time keeping the northern six counties firmly under the direct control of Britain. And a key part of maintaining that hold has been the systematic oppression of the masses of Catholics (now a 2 to 1 minority) in the north and maintaining a privileged upper stratum of Protestants. It is this history of relentless colonization and continued imperialist domination by the British in Northern Ireland that the imperialists are trying to hide by painting the struggle against British rule there as simply an age-old religious conflict.

Throughout the years since 1969 British troops and their "unofficial" thugs exercised a reign of terror in the Catholic ghettos. Emergency powers were enacted to crush the IRA and all resistance to British domination. A virtual state of martial rule existed. And while juryless courts (dubbed Diplock Courts after their originator, Lord Diplock) perfected a virtual shuttle route from the Catholic areas into the H Blocks, Protestant paramilitary assassination squads did their best to keep Long Kesh prison from getting overcrowded. In response to this was the "Free Derry" and "Free Belfast" movements in which armed self-defense units were formed establishing "no-go" areas where both British troops and paramilitary thugs were kept out by the masses. (At the same time there was growing support for the struggle among sections of the Protestant population, with a number even joining the IRA.) The British unleashed their troops and quashed the resistance in these areas for the time being, but all this was done at a high price in the form of widespread political exposure of British imperialism both in Ireland and worldwide.

In order to cover up their brutal imperialist domination of Northern Ireland, and to slander the opposition to this occupation as "common criminals," the British rulers revoked the political prisoner status of the Irish rebels they had thrown into British prisons and adopted a policy of "criminalization" on March 1, 1976. All the former political prisoners (currently over 300) were placed in "The Cages" area

of Long Kesh, while the men arrested after March 1 were sent into the H Blocks (so named for their shape). All the former rights granted to the men under political prisoner status—the right to wear their own clothes, to not participate in prison work, to freely associate with other political prisoners, to receive packages and visitors regularly—were abolished for the new internees. Six months later, on September 14, 1976, the "blanket" protest was born in opposition to the British government's policy of "criminalization." All the men in H Block refused to wear the prison issue uniforms and wrapped themselves instead in their woolen blankets, vowing to continue their protest until the status of political prisoner was regained. Since that day, prisoners at Long Kesh have remained 3, 4, 5 years "on the blanket."

Of course, the authorities hardly welcomed this resistance and they began to step up their usual harassment of the prisoners. It is common practice for guards at Long Kesh to urinate and defecate in prisoners' food. And ground-up shards of glass provide additional "seasoning" to the meals—compliments of Protestant prisoners, who are often given the responsibility of preparing the meals for the "blanket men" of H Block! In addition, when the prisoners rang their signal bells to go to the bathroom, the guards turned the trips into a running of the gauntlet, hurling abuse, punches and clubbings at the prisoners.

In response, the men began hurling the contents of their slop buckets out of the jail windows rather than making the trips to empty them or to wash up. Quickly the guards boarded up the windows and began kicking over the overflowing slop buckets onto the cell floors. This soon resulted in the prisoners smearing the contents on the cell walls so as to keep the floor relatively dry so that their bedding wouldn't become saturated and unusable.

The imperialist press has had a field day portraying the "no wash/no slop out" protests as self-inflicted; a product of the prisoners' incorrigibility. More to the point, however, is the incorrigibility and treachery of the British government—the incorrigibility of a desperate class sitting on a powderkeg. This mounting political instability in the "British Isles" itself comes at a very bad time for the crisis-ridden British bourgeoisie, and they and their NATO allies look upon it as a very disturbing development that they have already been forced to commit thousands of troops to deal with rebellion so close to

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book), but in the end stumbles on the master Soviet plot which is being organized out of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington (subtly called Institute for Progressive Reform in the book).

But at the hearings, de Borchgrave didn't restrict his exposé to the intellectuals at the IPS think tank. He used the same tried and true methods to take a whack at the anti-nuke movement.

"The Soviet Union today is playing a covert role in the anti-nuclear lobby," he charged, and cited everyone from science writer Fred Hoyle to Soviet dissident Andre Sakharov as dupes of the Soviet-inspired anti-nuke line. "There is a direct link between the World Peace Council, a well known Soviet front organization, and anti-nuclear lobbies both in the U.S. and Western Europe," he said. The sinister link is the fact that the World Peace Council is one of 140 members of the Mobilization for Survival Coalition. Expanding the nefarious conspiracy he declared that "The MFS has now linked the anti-nuclear protest to unilateral disarmament advocates, new Left activists and some ecologists." Faced with such a horrendous conspiracy he complained that current FBI guidelines make it difficult for the Bureau to monitor "the very groups and individuals that the KGB hopes to manipulate or recruit."

Big surprise that the Soviets would like to see turmoil and dissidence within the belly of their imperialist rival and its bloc. Big surprise that they've been most likely trying to encourage or infil-

trate such groups. Just about as big a surprise as if it would be if someone said that the U.S. imperialists are trying to encourage dissidence and rebellion in Eastern Europe, or that the Polish union Solidarity as been infiltrated or influenced by agents of the U.S. We weren't born yesterday. All these imperialists are gangsters on a world scale, arming and preparing to wage world war. But what both the U.S. and Soviet rulers want to be able to do is crush any internal opposition to their murderous plans and criminal rule. So blame it all on the "enemy."

home when more than ever they need to pull things together in an all-around way to go to war for the greater glory of the empire.

It is political-strategic considerations such as these that are behind the present British hard-line position on the question of granting the Irish prisoners political status—for fear that giving in to this demand, even under the loosely defined heading of "prison reform," would unleash even worse troubles than they are now faced with. This they vividly demonstrated last December during another hunger strike that brought seven Long Kesh prisoners to the brink of death, when in the face of massive protests worldwide they gave promises that they were going to concede them political prisoner status, only to turn around and refuse this. This was a slick maneuver designed to take the wind out of the sails of the Irish prisoners and their supporters and throw confusion and demoralization into the movement. None of the demands of the prisoners, much less official recognition of them as political prisoners, was ever met.

That tack was doomed to failure this time around. Instead, both the British and the U.S. authorities have attempted to work some behind-the-scenes pressure to convince Bobby Sands to come off the protest. This has unfolded in a number of ways. The imperialists have sought to unleash the "Lord's representatives" in order to cool out the masses and end the hunger strike. In both Belfast and Londonderry, priests have pleaded for the youth to end the street fighting. Even the Pope, whose visit to the Republic of Ireland last year was to lay down the papal law restricting the participation and sympathy of rank-and-file priests for the struggle in Northern Ireland, has voiced his concern that Sands end the hunger strike. His representative in Ireland, Msgr. Gaetano Alibrandi, has offered, to no avail, to act as a go-between. Of course, among these high church officials, amid all the hand-wringing over "senseless violence," one could scarcely find a word of condemnation of British oppression and exploitation. And this time Irish youth made it unmistakably clear that the sprinkling of holy water would not be enough to douse the flames of rebellion.

The British government then called on Prime Minister Charles Haughey of the Republic of Ireland. Readers may remember that both he and Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher collaborated to pull the rug out from under the last hunger strike. Haughey's role has been to attempt to trade in on his position as

"free Ireland's" leader in order to influence and undercut the struggle in the north. But he, like his predecessors, have done everything in their power to crush the struggle of the people there, from enacting their own version of special laws to round up suspected rebels, to running joint operations with British troops along the border. This time his role was to bring Bobby Sands' sister, Marcella, to Dublin in order to cynically cash in on her concern for her brother's life. Thus he convinced her to file a petition with the European Human Rights Commission that brought two of its representatives to Long Kesh to see Bobby Sands in order to convince him to desist. The Commission, of course, has consistently adopted the British imperialists' side on the question of political prisoner status. They have voiced cosmetic concern over the treatment of prisoners by British jailers but have denounced the granting of political prisoner status as a concession to IRA "terrorism." To his credit, Bobby Sands refused to meet with these prostitutes of imperialism, stating in no uncertain terms: "I refuse to change to suit the people who oppress, torture and imprison me, and who wish to dehumanize me. While I remain alive, I remain what I am, a political prisoner of war." And after seven hours of hovering around Belfast they flew home.

The recent wave of support for the political prisoners held at Long Kesh and at the women's prison in Armagh, and in opposition to British domination, has come at a very bad time for the British imperialists and the Western imperialists generally. Indeed, it is becoming quite a common malady for the imperialists these days, that wherever they turn and whatever tactics they choose to employ in order to deal with the enormous contradictions they face, their problems are only intensifying at a greater and greater rate. And as we go to press not only does the fighting in Northern Ireland continue, but the stakes are being raised. British troops and police have begun to round up every political activist that they can get their paws on, hoping desperately that with these people behind bars the street fighting will subside. With Bobby Sands now on the edge of death, new outbreaks of fighting are likely. Not only are the British occupiers girding for yet further uprisings, but so are the rebels in Northern Ireland. Whatever develops in this particular round, clearly all is not quiet on the Western Front. □

committee has come up with is to redefine the word "terrorism" (probably also from a Russian root in their intelligence dictionary). According to Denton, the CIA's new definition of terrorism is "the threat or use of violence for political symbolic effect that is aimed at achieving a psychological impact on a target group wider than its immediate victim." It's not hard to figure out where they intend to go with this one. A cop claims to get hurt at a demonstration against nuclear weapons: "20,000 pro-Soviet terrorists march against U.S. vital defenses." Some KKK'er gets boxed at a confrontation on a street corner demo against police brutality: "Terrorists attack police supporters."

Senator "They Can't Crack Me" Denton's committee is a worthy successor to HUAC (House Committee on Un-American Activities) and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. But it is no flashback to the McCarthyism of the 1950s. It is a jump forward in the bourgeoisie's preparations for world war and revolutionary struggle in the 1980s.

CORRECTION

In the article "Spectre of Brixton Stalks Imperial Mummies" on page 5 of last week's issue (RW No. 102) it was stated in the second paragraph that: "And on England's coast, crowds of more black youth fought running battles with the cops in no less than five coastal resorts..." It has come to our attention that these were, in fact, white youth. No further details are available at this time.

Terrorism Redefined

One of the interesting twists that the

Bob Avakian on May First

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throughout the world, who don't own the property, the means to exploit others, who are propertyless and powerless unless and until we unite together and rise up and make revolution? What should be our attitude toward this deepening crisis, toward a war which is shaping up which represents and will be the concentration of all the contradictions of their system and the deepening and the concentration of that crisis, including the deepening of the situation which finds them stretched more to the limit and more vulnerable to the uprisings of the people around the world? What should be our attitude? We've got to start from how things are basically for us anyway. Lenin once put it this way and he said it right on, the way it should be said, that life under capitalism for the masses of people, for the proletarian masses is *always* an endless horror without end. It's *always* living hell living under this system, the *daily* operations of this system and all the hell it puts us through. This is what we start from. This is what this system means for us any damn way. That's not unusual. The only thing that's unusual is that maybe we'll have the chance to get rid of it, with all the horrors that it brings down, including the monstrosity that they are now preparing, yet a third time in this century, another world war among these cutthroats to see which one of them can carve up and dominate most of the world. But it's always endless hell for us, the proletarian masses, and it's even worse for people outside the borders of the U.S., under the domination of these imperialists, squeezed even more viciously and exploited and oppressed even more brutally than the proletarian masses within the U.S. itself. So we've got a choice. Are we going to let them just run us through the wringer and see if we can survive one more time just to keep this same system going? Or are we going to join with those people like us, throughout the world, regardless of their color, their nationality, their language, our class brothers and sisters, the propertyless proletarian people who are tired of being propertyless and powerless and want to rise up and take into the common hands of the proletarian people throughout the world the destiny and the future of mankind? That's our choice. And that's what we're confronted with in a very real and immediate way, daily, as things develop more and more throughout the world. Because not only are there developments toward war but once again we see rising revolutionary struggles throughout various parts of the world. And even in the United States, after a few brief years when things were more or less quiet on the surface, we see once more uprisings like Miami. We see once more people protesting and rebelling against the draft, women refusing to accept the degradation where they can't even walk safely in the night. We see the Black people, we see the Latin people, the immigrants, the Native peoples of the United States rising up again and refusing to be beaten down, refusing to accept the more vicious, the more systematic and the deliberately depraved attacks that are coming down on them. We see, as Lenin once said, again, communism springing from every pore of society. We see, in response to these depraved attacks, people raising larger questions about the whole nature of the society which brings forward and brings down on people such degradation all the time, and which finds the authorities and the people in power justifying it, declaring it justifiable homicide, or something which is just part of daily life and will have to be tolerated while it grows worse all the time. We see people raising larger questions, even as they begin to protest, merely perhaps about a particular murder or a particular outrage of some other kind; we see them straining, we see them struggling to try to find a way out from underneath the whole setup, the whole system, that not only allows but fosters and promotes these kinds of outrages on a worse and worse scale, day in and day out on top of or along with the monstrosity of the world war which both rival blocs of imperialists are actively preparing.

We have to ask ourselves—this is the situation that's sharpening up immediately and this is the day in day out kind of madness and horror that we have to live under this system, and what is the only way out of this, what is the only solution to this, is there a way to be found out of this and if so does it lie within this system? No. We've tried that. People have tried it, people have given their blood, even just trying to just change this system from within, and it grows worse by its very nature. And especially in times of such acute crisis, because of the increased suffering they're going to put us through, but even more because of the increased opportunities that we can't afford to lose or throw away, we can't any longer afford to go along with these illusions that there's some way, some possibility, somehow, that we can patch up this fundamentally sick and evil system which has long since outlived any kind of usefulness and must be buried by the revolutionary action of the masses of people not only in this country but throughout the world, rising up together and struggling in a united way for a common goal of a future free of exploitation, free of classes themselves, a communist future—which no matter how much and even all the more they say it's something we must not even think about, we must think about and, more than think about, act and struggle to bring about.

Now some people say: it's not possible to make revolution in a country like this; there's no use even

thinking about it; the most we can only think about is how to survive. Some people say we can't make revolution, and when you get down to the real deal, what they say, in the end, is that we can't make it because we can't get a majority of people united to go along with it. We know about, and there is no use trying to avoid, all the many divisions they have put in our ranks and that they have created and their system fosters among us, divisions based on the inequalities and the increased burden of oppression that are brought down on the Black people, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans and Native peoples and all the other peoples they call minorities and try to isolate and divide and conquer over. The divisions between men and women, all the other divisions they sow in our ranks: these are real and we have to unite our ranks and fight against the inequalities that their system promotes and which they use to keep us divided.

But let's go back to the basic question. Can we in fact get the majority of people to unite for revolution? Yes we can. *But we ain't going to get them all at one time, and more than that we ain't going to wait until we got 'em all at one time together* before we talk, and more than talk, before we act together with millions of people to make revolution. I've got a question. What's wrong with taking power with a minority of people? So long as we're talking about millions and millions and millions with the class-conscious proletarians at the head, so long as we're talking about millions and millions of people, what's wrong with starting with a minority? And then winning over the majority? If you look at the Russian Revolution when it succeeded in 1917, and if you look at the Chinese Revolution through its more than 20 years of struggle until it finally won nationwide political power in China in 1949, it started out with a minority of people rising up and seizing power in one form or another. In Russia they seized it first in a few cities, and then they went on and took over the rest of the country, defeating the armed forces of the reactionaries on the battlefield. And in a different form but in fundamentally the same way they did the same thing in China. And when it comes down to it, what's wrong if that's what we do here? What's wrong, if millions of people become politically conscious and strike when the objective conditions have become most ripe, establish a revolutionary regime, bring forward their revolutionary programme—which shows you the importance of the programme being brought forward now by the vanguard Party in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party—and on that basis and in the thick of the struggle win over the majority of people who hate this system, but who don't believe that it is possible to have anything better, anything higher, that it's possible to rid themselves of this daily grind and hell and degradation, but who will come forward when they see, eventually, not a tiny handful, but millions strong enough to strike the first blows and rise up and proclaim a new revolutionary regime actually holding power in parts of the country, what's wrong if we then go forward to win over the majority and conquer power and defeat the reactionaries thoroughly throughout the whole deal?

Now that doesn't mean that now is the time to jump up and try to run out all bad, helter-skelter, and try to do something which can't be done yet. Now it's hard, it's hard not to become totally impatient. In fact we should be impatient. We shouldn't be tolerant of this system and all the crimes it brings down, not only on us but on people throughout the world. We shouldn't have an ounce of patience for us or for people throughout the world having to live under this system, but we've got to have what we might call revolutionary patience and perseverance. We've got to do the necessary kind of political work; and we've got to prepare ourselves and bring forward millions of more people and politically train them and educate them in the course of and in the thick of struggle, in the course of and in the thick of political activity in order to prepare to strike when the time is right, and not prematurely and not too late. It's hard to be patient and the point is not to sit by with our arms folded and let them just whip up on us and let them continue to drive us down further and let them break us apart in such a way that we can never rise up even when the conditions do ripen. The point is to actively prepare and to actively struggle to prepare to be in a position for when the time does ripen and when the conditions are ready so that we can rise up with the class-conscious force at the head, win over millions and then go ahead to win the majority and actually carry through the revolution all the way.

So we shouldn't be discouraged if the time is not yet right to actually rise up, if it's not yet time to start the revolution in the fullest sense. We should be impatient but we should be impatient to carry out political activity at this time which creates revolutionary public opinion among the broadest masses and trains, at every point, the advanced forces, the people who are coming forward, who do question deeply, who do raise the basic issue about is there a way out of and a way forward from all this madness and can we in fact transform the world. Because the question we've got to ask ourselves along with all this, at the foundation of all of it, is what after all is this all about? What are we trying to do? Are we trying just to pull off some kind of coup, difficult as it might be in this country, with all their military power which they do possess; are we just

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trying to pull off a coup and get a handful of new exploiters in, talking a little bit better rap about how they're down with the people and all for the people, and a thousand other things we've heard from a thousand other bad-talking mouths before? No, we're talking about a real revolution to transform the whole world, the social relations in it, and even the very thinking of the masses of people throughout the world and to bring in a whole new era. And that's the only way, first of all, we're going to uproot the basis for all this madness we have to go through; and it's the only way that humanity can advance, together, through struggle, but advance and continue to advance through struggle in a whole new era, the era of communism, where all this madness and exploitation, division of society into exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled will be put behind us in a museum.

Because let's look at the world, it's not just that we're suffering, that masses of people are suffering in the United States or some other countries, or in fact different countries throughout the world, which is true and important; but that's not the most fundamental thing that we've got to be all about and that we've got to understand. To put it basically, to put it simply: we've reached the point now where not only is the world fucked up, but it's upside down when it doesn't have to be any longer. Throughout the world, looking at the world as a whole and within each country at this time, things are completely upside down when there's no longer any need for it. That is, a handful of people, a tiny minority of people control and dominate and monopolize, according to their own dictates, the wealth and the means to wealth and the possibility, and in fact suffocate the possibility, for the means to a whole new and higher form of life materially and spiritually for the masses of people throughout the world.

While millions of people are literally starving to death in Africa, a handful of people in a handful of countries are controlling and dominating and suffocating the means to a far higher life for the masses of people, not only in these African deserts or other societies, but throughout the entire world. So we have to turn the world rightside up. The only reason there are still deserts in the world, where people are forced to live, and that they're not fertile is because these same imperialists and exploiters control and dominate and wreck and ruin even the land and the other means to life for the masses of people. And it is no longer necessary. The means are at hand to completely and thoroughly eliminate and uproot this once and for all; and that's got to be our vision, that's got to be what we're fighting for; and if we're fighting for anything less, if we're fighting for anything narrower, if we're fighting for any goal more restricted than that, then we're going to be divided and conquered again and again and again, whether the people ruling over us call themselves capitalists, whether they call themselves humbugs, whether they call themselves socialists, communists, or whatever they might call themselves, like in the Soviet Union or China today. It's only when we see the whole world picture and struggle to make revolution in this country not only and not *mainly* even for ourselves, but to advance the cause of the oppressed proletarian masses and the oppressed peoples throughout the world and to uproot the basis for any kind of oppression, exploitation and to advance the whole world to a whole new stage, that's the only way our revolution can go for-

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ward, can win initial victory and can continue to struggle together with the people throughout the world who've been oppressed under this system to bury these conditions of oppression and this backwardness that society is still chained in, once and for all.

So this is the perspective, this is how we have to look at things. This is how we have to start, this is where we've got to start from. This is how we have to approach the question even of taking the first great step of rising up and making revolution and seizing political power right in this country. And this is how we have to look at this sharpening situation, the deepening crisis and the very real and active developments and preparations toward world war that these rival imperialist dogs are carrying out. Because first of all, even to put it on that level, the only way we're going to prevent something like world war, the only way we're going to prevent world war itself from breaking out through revolution, not just in this country but with this country as a crucial arena where revolution would make a decisive blow against the imperialists in the cause of the masses of people throughout the world; but revolution has to win enough victory throughout the world if it's even going to be possible to prevent world war. But more than that, even if that doesn't succeed in the short run, we can't be paralyzed by that. Yes they're going to bring down terrible destruction, but it is an endless hell living under this society, not only for us but even worse for many people throughout the world; and more than the tremendous destruction they're going to be bringing down, something like a world war is going to find them all stretched to the limit in a rare situation where they are battling each other all the way out and all the way down and where we have an opportunity right from within to rise up and take it away from them and put an end to the madness, including the wars that they've dragged us into. So this is the way we have to look at the situation; this is the way we have to prepare; this is how we have to look at the question of will it do any good for us to be politically active, does it make any difference if we come out for something like May Day this year, May First 1981.

Now on May Day 1980 we put out the slogan—to rally forward people for the historic demonstrations and actions that in fact took place building up to and most of all on May 1st 1980—we said we have to rally forward all those who hate this shit, rally them forward and weld them into a class-conscious force for revolution. We had to raise up the bright red banner of the international proletariat, the red flag in opposition to the red, white and blue rag of plunder and oppression throughout the world. And we had to declare, as we did, that we are not Americans, we're proletarians, we're internationalists, we stand with the proletarian masses and the oppressed people throughout the world in the struggle to bury this system and to bury the imperialists and reactionaries and exploiters of whatever nationality. And this year we have to build on the tremendous achievements that were made in May Day 1980. We've got to build on the tremendous achievements that have been made in creating revolutionary public opinion, in training the advanced forces, most of all through the deepening and broadening use of our main revolutionary weapon now, the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. We have to take a further leap, we have to take matters even more firmly and more fully into our hands, and bring forward more people to take bolder action, politically conscious, aware action, politically motivated action with a clear political purpose—preparing for the future time when we can rise up for real all the way and make revolution and overthrow them. So this is again a crucial day, May 1st, 1981, that we're looking forward to. And what we do on that day and how much we're able to carry forward from the last May Day 1980 and from the gains that have been made, especially through

wielding the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper as our main weapon, how much we're able to take a further leap is crucial in whether or not we're going to be able to seize the time when it sharpens up, as it will at some point in the future, and the conditions finally do ripen for an all-the-way-down revolutionary struggle.

As we began to do, in a qualitatively higher way with May 1st, 1980, we've got to do even more deeply and broadly in the period ahead, in the struggle ahead. It's got to be the case, more and more, that wherever oppressed people rise up in struggle, that they clutch up and raise in one hand the red flag of the international proletariat, which was raised up in the hands of thousands, defiantly and with a far vision, and a picture of the broad horizon on May 1st 1980. 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. When people rise up in future Miami's or other struggles, the red flag must be raised up in their hands and among their midst, because it's going to come down to a struggle for and among the masses of people as well as against the imperialist enemy and its troops and forces. We know the red flag is not going to be the only banner out in the field when forces are mobilized and people come more and more into motion in the period ahead and especially as a revolutionary situation develops. There will be many banners and many forces in the field. And it will be crucial to unite as broadly as possible with all the different forces who are coming into motion against this common imperialist system, against this common enemy. But at the same time, whether or not this revolutionary upsurge of the masses of people is defeated, whether it is turned back, whether it is led into a blind alley and set up for an ambush, whether it goes only part way and then suffers yet once more a reversal, or whether it goes forward and takes the first great step of actually seizing political power and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, and establishing a base area for the proletarian revolution throughout the world, the crucial question will be how well we are prepared: not just the ranks of the Revolutionary Communist Party, not just how much we've built the Party, people coming forward to defend it and more than defend it, join it and work with it and spread the networks of its main weapon, the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper broadly and deeply, so broadly and deeply that they can't be rooted out and ripped up by the enemy no matter how much they want to try to bring down, and no matter how much they do bring down oppression and repression against us; but more than that, how broadly a force of people has been trained, fundamentally how much and how broadly revolutionary public opinion has been created and the advanced forces have been brought forward to raise up the red flag wherever the oppressed rise up and struggle, wherever the enemy is bringing down its hideous oppression on the people and wherever its vicious hand can be exposed.

And while on every day, on every occasion, in every situation where the oppressed rise up in struggle the red flag must be raised up in their midst and put into their hands and waved defiantly in the face of the enemy as we go forward, at the same time, May 1st each year is a concentration of this. It is a time when together with our oppressed brothers and sisters of our proletarian class throughout the world, we stride forward defiantly together and proclaim the communist future and proclaim the future of proletarian revolution and the ultimate elimination of all classes and all exploitation throughout the world. And this, in a certain way, in miniature, is also an opportunity and an obligation that we cannot miss or avoid. Because if we're going to be prepared as things sharpen up, as

they are stretched to the limit, when things, as the Party's *Programme* says, do indeed go up for grabs, not just in this country but throughout the world, if we're going to be prepared for that then we've got to be politically active now. We've got to be rallying the forces, we've got to be welding those who do hate this shit into a class-conscious political force. Because as we've said over and over again, but it can't be said too many times, today to move thousands, to rally tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands, in one sense that's a small force compared to the millions and tens of millions that we have to rise up with and win over in the course of actually making a revolution; but on the other hand, those thousands, those tens of thousands, those hundreds of thousands we rally forward and influence and create revolutionary public opinion among and revolutionary political activity among, they become a force which can march to the forefront of the upsurge when really literally millions and even tens of millions of people are brought into motion by the system and all the horrors it brings down. And in the swirl, and the complexity, and the confusion and the chaos of the situation when things really do ripen up toward a revolutionary situation and when the whole deal does go on the line and things really are up for grabs, at that point it's too late to come running out with the red flag and raise up the banner of the international proletariat. It's too late at that time to begin creating public opinion for revolution; it's too late to begin taking revolutionary action behind the all-the-way and the only all-the-way revolutionary banner, the red flag of the international proletariat. If we wait till then, if we wait till everything is on the line to begin creating public opinion, to begin rallying forward and training the advanced, to take further leaps in welding those who hate this shit into a class-conscious force, it'll be too late and we'll miss, even throw away, the opportunity and yet again another generation of people will have to suffer unnecessarily or more than necessary under the horrors of this system, the daily horrors, and face once again the monstrosity of an even more destructive world war. So if we don't take action now, if we let the opportunities that confront us today and that we're faced with and that we can seize today, especially a concentrated one like May 1st, the day of celebration of revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, if we let that go by without raising up that banner, without taking initiative, without taking history more boldly and more fully into our hands, without finding the ways to break out and break free on an even broader and deeper scale, if we don't bring forward especially the youth, then... But not only the youth because let the old people not be far behind, let them catch up with the youth, but let the youth be out there in the forefront because we know that they have been and they will be. Let them be bold and be daring, let them come out on May 1st, let them challenge everything that's old and rotten, decadent and decrepit in this system. Let them raise up the banner and let the old people not be far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth to bring their experience and their whole lifetime of hatred for this system onto the political stage. Let's raise up our heads. Let's look to the far horizon. Let's see the opportunities shaping up, not just the horrors, but the real chance of perhaps putting an end to a system which creates such endless horrors and such terrible monstrosities. Let's raise up the banner of our class. Let's be on the political stage in an even greater way than the historic occasion of May 1st 1980. Let May 1st 1981 be a further leap and even more developed preparation for the time when we can rise up, win over and bring forward finally the forces of the masses of people, to make revolution and march forward together with the whole international proletariat, having taken a great step toward its final emancipation but not stopping until together with the proletariat and oppressed masses throughout the world we have finally achieved that goal. □

New Marxist-Leninist Journal Appears Worldwide

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advanced through this process and will undoubtedly continue to do so in the course of a common struggle for the most advanced understanding possible of the world situation and the tasks of communists at this momentous point in history.

As the Joint Communique states, this international journal is a weapon for helping to unite the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. It is not a general forum or a debating society for those who are unwilling or unable to draw clear lines of demarcation between Marxism and opportunism. Some people argue that because of the crisis in the international communist movement brought to a head by the attacks on Mao's line launched first by the Chinese revisionists who seized power after Mao's death and then by the Albanian Party of Labor led by Enver Hoxha, there are no longer principles around which Marxist-Leninists

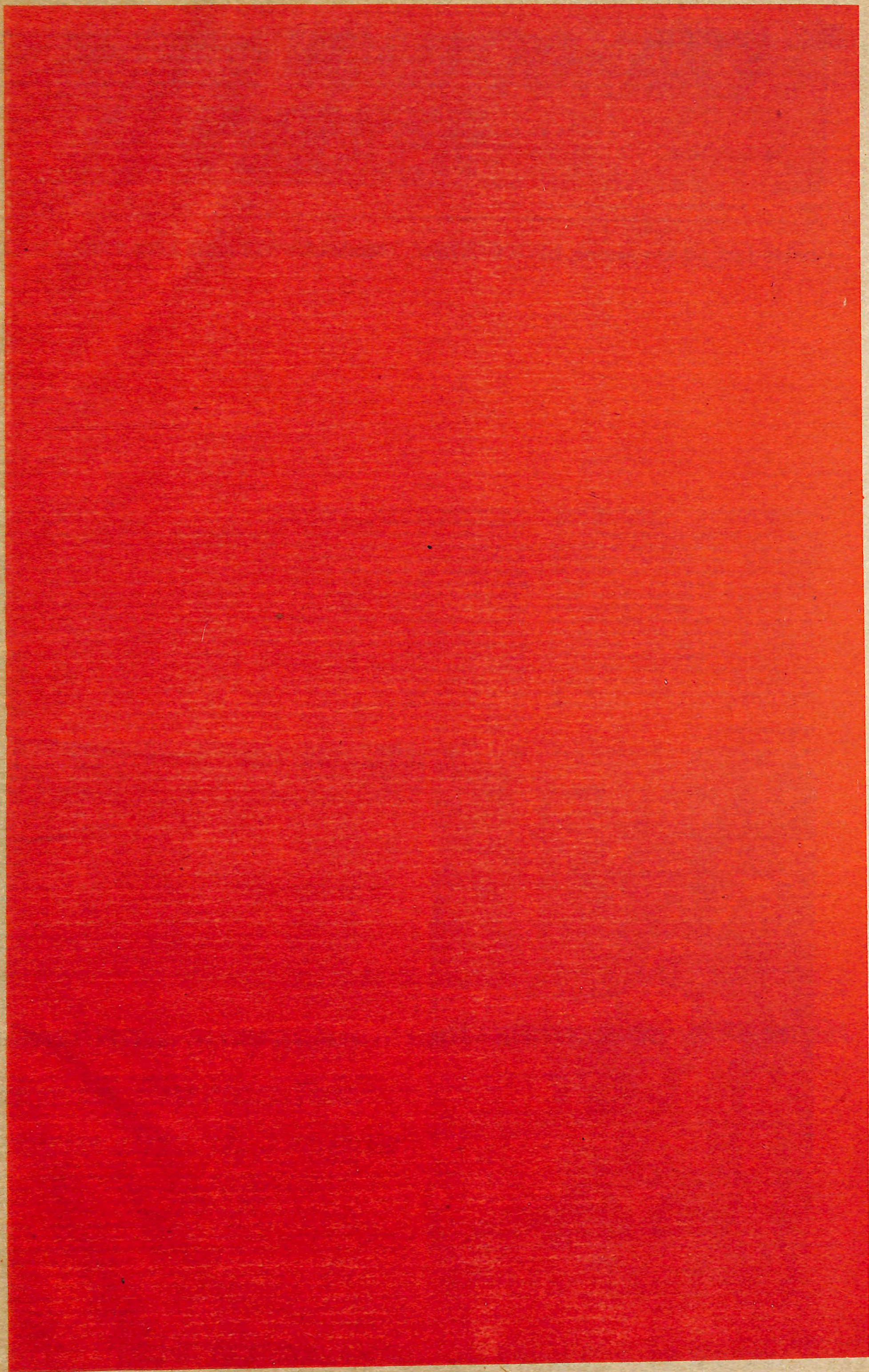
can unite—everything must continue to be discussed and nothing important can be decided. This view is being proven wrong in practice, as a growing number of Marxist-Leninist forces across the world do unite on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, including the defense of Mao's contributions against which revisionism's attacks are concentrated, and on the main political questions as they present themselves in the world today. The process of discussion, struggle—and unity—on this basis is not sterile academic debate; rather, it is a matter of life and death for the workers and oppressed masses worldwide, for the outcome of this struggle will have everything to do with whether it will be possible to convert imperialism's greatest crisis into major advances for the proletariat on a world scale, instead of condemning hundreds of millions of people to suffer yet another round on the rack of crisis, misery and war.

In many countries, revolutionary

mass movements have already erupted in the past few years, especially in the colonial, neo-colonial and dependent countries such as Iran and El Salvador. But as yet the proletariat and genuine Marxist-Leninist forces have not been in the leadership of these struggles. The degree to which the proletarian vanguard is able to establish its leadership in such situations will greatly affect the development of the class struggle internationally and in all the different countries, while the building of a new, revolutionary international communist movement on a solid foundation will have a significant impact on these revolutionary movements and the development of proletarian leadership within them. The progress made through this back-and-forth process will greatly affect the degree to which in the period ahead—and in particular as the underlying contradictions of the imperialist system once again approach the exploding point—the international proletariat

can actively prepare for and seize the opportunities that arise for revolution in a number of countries, both imperialist countries and countries dominated by imperialism.

Particularly when viewed up against the real possibility of making such unprecedented advances towards the bright future of proletarian revolution and communism, it is a fact that the organized, conscious forces of the international proletariat are lagging far behind, on a world scale as well as in the various countries. But it is of even greater importance that the communist movement internationally has the basis—and has taken the first steps—to emerge greatly strengthened, ideologically, politically and organizationally, for the momentous period ahead. With the appearance of the international Marxist-Leninist journal, *A World To Win*, the battle is stepping into still higher gear.



INSTANT RED FLAG — FLY IT HIGH!

