

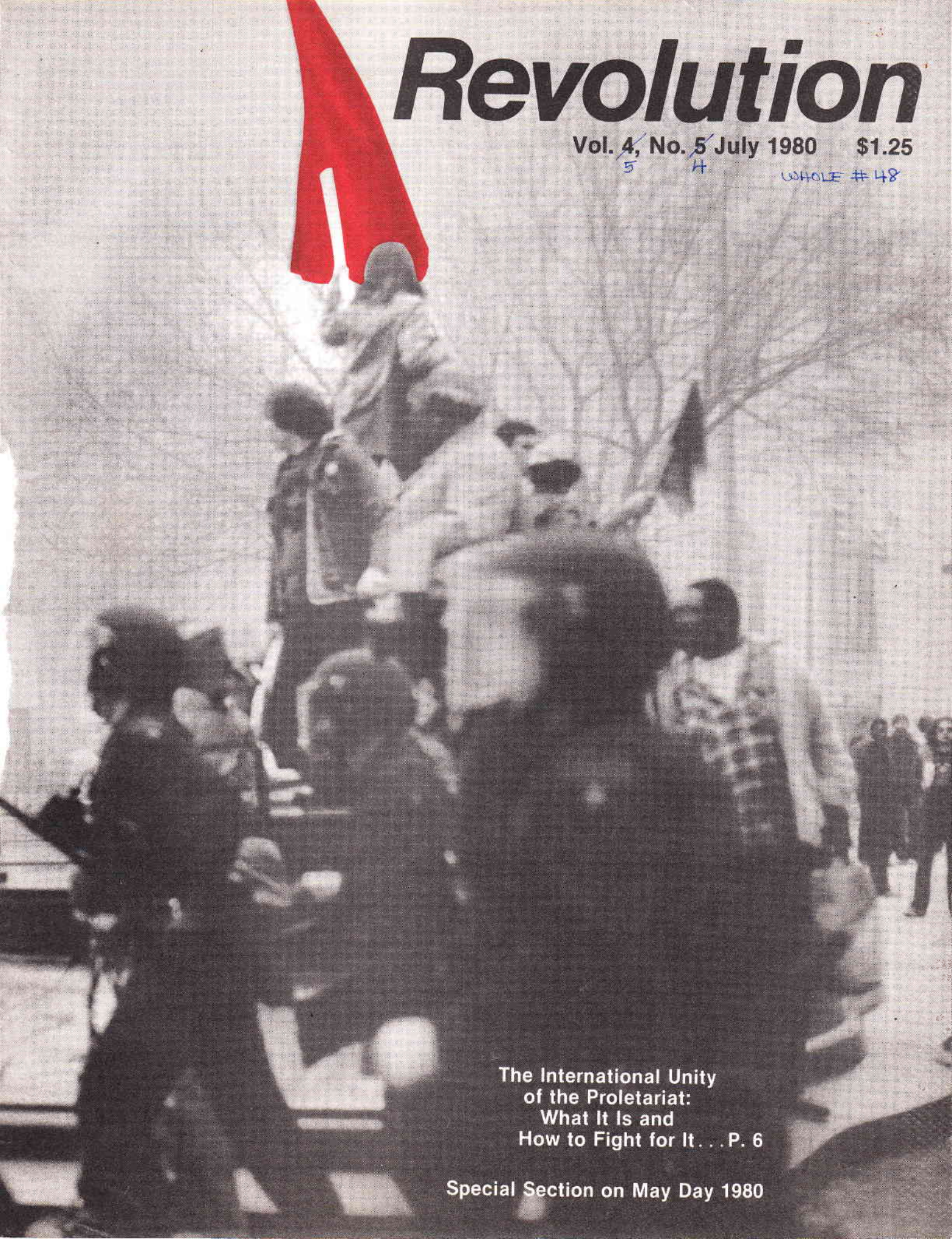


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WHOLE # 48



The International Unity
of the Proletariat:
What It Is and
How to Fight for It... P. 6

Special Section on May Day 1980

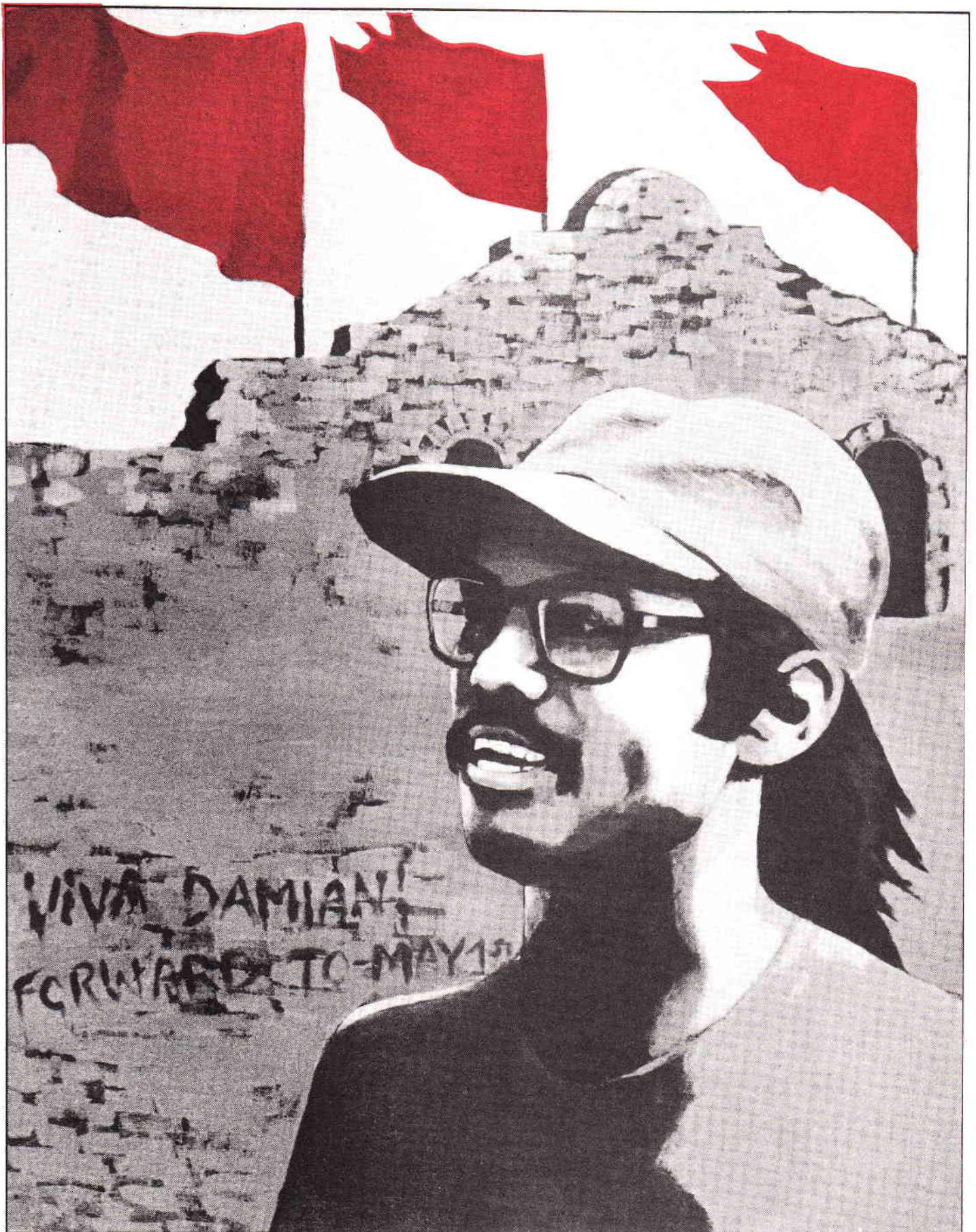
The killing of Comrade Damian García was a cowardly act in which the bloody hand of the police and the bloodsucking capitalist class and the system they represent, the law of oppression and the order of exploitation they enforce, are clearly implicated and for which they are accountable, adding yet another to the endless list of their crimes. And it is all the more cowardly and despicable because the police and the authorities have tried to camouflage their treachery, pretending they have no connection with the degenerate fools posing as gang members whose hands actually wielded the weapon that cut Comrade García down. But the facts already known show that the attack on Comrade García and others was not only a part and an escalation of the many vicious attacks on the Revolutionary Communist Party and its supporters, especially in connection with the campaign for May Day, but was a premeditated, calculated assault in which Comrade García in particular was singled out from the first and consciously, deliberately targeted for murder. Comrade García was well known to the police and other government hit men, not only in Los Angeles but throughout the country. He was one of those comrades who only a few weeks ago raised over the Alamo the brilliant Red Flag of the international working class in whose cause Comrade García was a brave, selfless fighter. This bold action sent shock waves all across the country, indeed even to many other parts of the world, driving the ruling class of this country and their allies and bootlickers into a frenzy, and sending a chill of fear up their spineless backs, while shooting a bolt of joy through the hearts of thousands, even millions, among the masses who learned of it, filling them with pride and inspiration.

It was in retaliation for the stand and actions of Comrade García and others at the Alamo and across the country, in unflinching defiance of the murdering dogs who rule over the masses, that this foul act of murder was perpetrated. And, in particular, it was with the aim of stopping the gathering momentum for May Day, on which the work and efforts of Comrade García and thousands of others have been concentrated as a crucial battle to make a leap toward the goal of proletarian revolution in this bastion of oppression and reaction, the USA. It is no accident that this murder was carried out only slightly more than a week before this historic event is to take place. But this only shows that the rulers of this country and their assassins, in and out of uniform, are not only cowardly but desperate—desperate to prevent the awakening and the class-conscious action of a section of the working class right in the U.S., at the head of other oppressed masses, here in the stronghold of their tyrannical worldwide empire. And in fact, this only shows more clearly that it is the imperialists and reactionaries who fear the people, especially the thousands who are preparing to step onto history's stage on May First and the millions and millions of others who are beginning to raise their

heads, of which Comrade García was a representative and for whom he was a front-line fighter. And if these desperate criminals thought, or hoped, that by carrying out such a cold-blooded murder they would cause the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA to lay down the banner of revolution and retreat, to run in fear from the arduous task of building May Day, preparing for revolution; if they thought beyond that they would intimidate those who have already stepped forward to join this historic struggle and scare away those on the verge of doing so in the final days before May First, they will find out that the exposure of their bloody hand in this action will have just the opposite effect—it will deepen a hundred-fold the determination of those already involved to carry forward the fight for which Comrade García gave his life, and will inspire hundreds, indeed thousands more to step forward and become part of that same great battle.

Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole. To die in the causes for which the imperialists and reactionaries have and will on an even more monstrous scale enlist the people—including the world war for which the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet counterparts are right now feverishly preparing—or to give up living and to die a little death on your knees passively accepting the torment and humiliation and the crimes committed against yourself and others by this system; or to consume oneself in futile attempts at self-indulgent escape; all this is miserable and disgraceful. But to devote your life, and even be willing to lay it down, to put an end to the system that spews all of this forth and perpetuates it, to live and die for the cause of the international proletariat, to make revolution, transform society and advance mankind to the bright dawn of communism—this is truly a living, and a dying, that is full of meaning and inspiration for millions and hundreds of millions fighting for or awakening to the same goal all around the world. Such was the life and death of Comrade García, a fighter and martyr in the army of the international proletariat. We cherish and draw strength and illumination from his example; and we are determined to honor him by carrying through to victory the immediate battle for May First in which he fell and carrying forward the overall cause for which he gave his life and of which May Day is now such a crucial part—proletarian revolution and the final abolition of every form of exploitation and class division throughout the entire world.

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

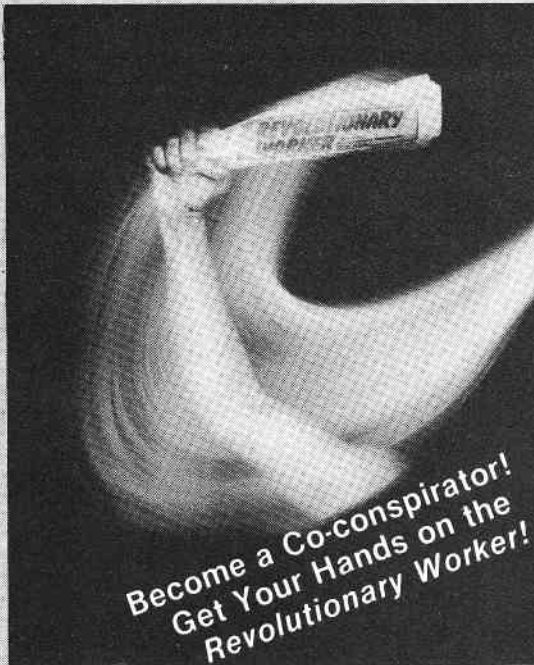


Comrade Damian Garcia

Member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Murdered by police agents in Los Angeles, April 22, 1980

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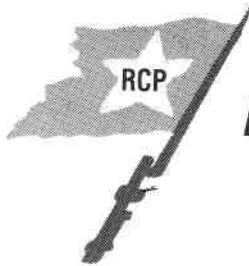
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Also, please note: The volume and issue number on the cover of *Revolution* is wrong. The volume and issue number on the table of contents is correct. There was no April-May issue of *Revolution*.

Communique from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

In October 1979, an important meeting was held between Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, and Jorge Palacios, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and a member of the Secretariat of its Central Committee. These discussions on a wide range of subjects marked the beginning of formal relations between our two Parties.

Since that time, and in accordance with the agreements reached during that meeting, representatives of the Central Committees of the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have continued to hold discussions on many topics, including especially the crisis in the international movement and the struggle for unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Through the course of this process a unity of views has been achieved on many questions, including:

1) Opposition to the counter-revolutionary coup in China which overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it with the rule of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The new revisionist rulers are, with breakneck speed, dismantling socialism and undoing the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and subjugating the masses once again to exploitation and all the misery typical of capitalist society. Internationally the new ruling Chinese bourgeoisie is capitulating to imperialism, which at this time is taking the form of integrating China into the sphere of Western imperialist exploitation and hitching China onto the U.S.-led war bloc. The revisionist usurpers have concocted the "strategic theory of the three worlds" and tried to pass off these tarnished revisionist theses as the work of Mao Tsetung. They have even repudiated the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism. They are trying to spread capitulation and betrayal around the world.

2) The need to wage a vigorous defense of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung to the science and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in the face of the attacks on his line from all quarters. Mao Tsetung developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the fields of making revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; the theory of people's war and military affairs; political economy and socialist construction; literature and art; Marxist philosophy; and, most important, the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung led the struggle in the international com-

munist movement against modern revisionism and developed a thorough critique of the latter. Mao Tsetung, at the head of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which, for ten years, prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, further revolutionized the socialist society, trained revolutionary successors who today are fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the new capitalist ruling class in China, and left precious and vital lessons for the world proletariat. For all these reasons the attacks on Mao Tsetung are, in fact, attacks on Marxism-Leninism and must be treated as such.

3) The Soviet revisionists remain mortal enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. Under no circumstances can Marxist-Leninists abandon the struggle against them or the revisionist parties with whom they collaborate and generally lead. All forms of opportunism, including Trotskyism, Castroism, "focoism," and social democracy must continue to be fought.

4) The recognition of the growing danger of a third world war. The deepening crisis of the Western imperialist countries and that of the Soviet bloc states is forcing all the imperialist powers to seek a new, more favorable (for themselves) division of the world. The two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are heading up rival imperialist blocs to prepare for a new imperialist war that looms more menacing every passing day.

Our Parties condemn recent acts of aggression by the imperialists and those linked to them including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. interference in Iran. In this light, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia must also be opposed.

An inter-imperialist world war could break out soon and there is a very great likelihood that it will break out in the next ten years unless it is prevented by revolution. In the face of this the proletariat must step up its revolutionary struggle, fight against imperialist war preparations, and prepare so that if revolution is not able to prevent a war it will be in a position to turn an inter-imperialist war into a war against the imperialists and their collaborators.

5) Not only is the development of the objective situation creating more fertile ground for revolutionary struggle in various countries, but there are actually growing revolutionary movements in many countries at the present time, and already within the last few



Bob Avakian and Jorge Palacios, Chicago, October, 1979.

years reactionary regimes in such places as Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere have been overthrown or powerfully shaken by mass revolutionary struggle. While, as yet, none of these struggles have advanced to the stage of actually achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, they clearly indicate the potential for this, in both the colonial (or neo-colonial) and dependent countries and in the imperialist countries themselves.

6) The need to carry out a thorough discussion and summation of the experience of the international communist movement, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. This is necessary, in particular, to achieve a deeper understanding of revisionism so as to better combat its pernicious influence and to continue and deepen the struggle against it even in our own ranks.

7) The urgent need for the ideological, political and organizational unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Such unity will only come about through bitter ideological and political struggle against opportunism; no good will come from trying to hide or obscure differences, still less by treating major questions of demarcation as irrelevant or mere topics for sterile academic debate.

8) Proletarian internationalism requires the active struggle to overthrow one's "own" reactionary ruling

class; the full support for the struggle of the proletariat, oppressed masses and oppressed nations throughout the world; and support for socialist countries where they exist or may be established—all toward the goal of achieving the historic mission of the international proletariat.

On the basis of these common views the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have jointly undertaken bold and serious steps to further the process of unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists on a world scale. It is the view of both Parties that while the crisis of the international movement is deep and the dangers are menacing, the possibilities for revolution, in each respective country and in the world as a whole, are greater still. With this perspective both of our Parties pledge to fight to their full capacity for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, for the victory of the revolution and the advance to communism throughout the world.

July, 1980

Signed,
Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The International Unity of the Proletariat:

I. INTRODUCTION

Communism has always meant internationalism, ever since Marx himself helped found the first international organization of the working class, replacing the utopian slogan "All Men Are Brothers" with the watchword, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" based on the revolutionary interests arising from the material position of the working class in society.

Although the revolutionary bourgeois democrats of the 19th century who waged war on feudalism and absolutism often supported each other from country to country, the whole development of capitalism is inextricably tied to the development of nations and countries, of national states and national markets. No matter how international capital has become in its appetites, the fact that the means of production are privately owned and the profits reaped from this ownership privately appropriated means that in the end all capital is tied to one or another country. For the propertyless proletariat, on the other hand, which represents the other aspect of the contradiction between private accumulation and socialized production, internationalism corresponds to its class position and revolutionary interests.

As the RCP draft *Programme* explains, "So long as capitalism and exploitation exist in any country, this will be a base for the bourgeoisie in its attempts to defeat the working class and restore capitalism everywhere. And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the peoples of all countries in developing the rational use of the world's resources and productive forces. The international working class can emancipate itself only by emancipating all of humanity; it can achieve communism only by eliminating the rule of capital and the chains of exploitation and the remnants of class-divided society everywhere."¹

This is why the RCP's draft *Constitution* begins by declaring that our Party is "a part of the communist movement internationally, just as the working class in the U.S. is one part of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat."² Although the proletarian revolution takes place country by country, since it means the overthrow of bourgeois governments, and develops unevenly from country to country, still, taken as a historical process, the proletarian revolution is most definitely international, with both its victories and defeats marking the development of a world-wide war between the old order and the new which will go on until

capitalism and its remnants have been eliminated entirely—which will mean the complete disappearance of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and consequently of the state as well. Such development—from one epoch of world history to the next—is necessarily long and complex. The Paris Commune, the October Revolution in Russia, the revolution in China—especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—were each new and higher points in the tortuous, spiral-like process of world revolution, and each in turn had a tremendous impact in raising the level of the whole movement everywhere.

This dialectical relationship between the proletarian revolution in each country and on a world level means that the proletariat needs international organization in order to unite the detachments of the worldwide proletariat, strengthen existing ones and form new vanguard organizations where they do not exist, and concentrate and bring to a higher level the experiences and understanding gained in the different countries, thereby immensely strengthening the battle in each country politically and ideologically, as well as providing mutual material support.

The First International, which lasted from 1864 to 1872, served to propagate revolutionary Marxism across Europe and elsewhere, even though Marx's line never really achieved hegemony within it. It was followed by the Second (Marxist) International (1889-1914), which brought about the growth of Marxism into a mighty mass movement of the working class, but which, during the long, comparatively "peaceful" period of its development—that is, "peaceful" in terms of the absence of wars and revolutionary situations in the advanced capitalist countries where the workers were then organized—was increasingly infected by economism and reformism, by a clutching at the crumbs thrown out by developing imperialism to a certain section of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie, until it fell apart with the outbreak of World War I, when most of its leadership sided with their own national bourgeoisie. Out of this collapse of the old forces of socialism came a new wave, headed by V.I. Lenin, who led in founding the Third (Communist) International, also known as the Comintern.

With the first imperialist war over the division of the world and the establishment of the socialist Soviet Union, revolution led by the proletariat became a possibility and a necessity in the whole world, including those countries which first had to pass through an anti-colonial, anti-feudal stage before going over to socialism. Communism became a truly

What It Is and How to Fight for It

worldwide movement. From its founding amidst the revolutionary storms sweeping Europe and Asia in 1919 to its formal dissolution in 1943 (to be replaced later by the Communist Information Bureau, the Cominform, from 1947-1956), this International united every communist party in the world (being instrumental in pulling together such parties in many countries in the first place) and enabled the slogan "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" to take on concrete meaning in the highest level of thought and action yet achieved by the international proletariat.

The history of the Comintern is extremely rich in lessons—negative and positive—which must be very thoroughly studied, in terms of the struggle to found it, the lines it adopted in leading the world revolution, and the question of its organizational form, as well as some other questions relating to its dissolution. But although we have dealt with some aspects of these questions,³ a really profound summary of the political and organizational line of the Comintern is not a task which can be accomplished by a single party working in isolation, "but through the *unified efforts* of as many such forces as possible, who are able to unite and actually do unite on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and clear lines of demarcation marking off the main questions of principle in the situation today."

This is a quote from a previously unpublished section of the RCP's 1979 Central Committee report, presented by its Chairman, Bob Avakian.⁴ The report goes on to make the following remarks, also previous unpublished except in part, which are at this time of the greatest relevance:

"One point can and must be taken up by our Party right now as a point of departure—and of self-criticism to a significant degree. And that is the erroneous tendency, spontaneously if unofficially encouraged in our ranks, of negating the need for international communist unity—specifically on an organizational level—on the basis of negative experience of the Comintern. This negative experience is real enough and should be thoroughly summed up and the appropriate lessons drawn, but one of these lessons is not that international communist organization is wrong in principle or bound to harm rather than help the struggle in each country and world-wide.

"A question: can the arguments usually advanced—including within our own ranks (and in my own thinking in the past in particular)—against such organization—and specifically that it will be dominated by the narrow interests of the most powerful/prestigious force within it—be main-

tained on the basis of and stand up to Marxist-Leninist analysis? Think of what such arguments are and see if they can't also be applied as arguments against a democratic centralist organization (Party) in a single country?

"This is a point we must discuss seriously—and urgently. To forge such international communist unity, ideologically and politically and on that basis organizationally, is indeed a difficult process, a process of struggle. But it is a struggle that can and must be taken up and advanced to the greatest degree possible in the shortest time possible. Of course, if we were not able to achieve principled unity with a single force internationally, that would not mean that it would be impossible for us (or others) to make revolution (in this country or others). But we are proletarian internationalists, the working class in this country is in fact one part of the international army of the world proletariat, and we should in no way raise the primitiveness and present low level of concrete unity among Marxist-Leninists to a principle nor fail to recognize that the forging and further development of such unity will greatly enhance the revolutionary struggle in each country and internationally."

An extremely important point that should be underlined here is that whether or not the revolutionary communists in each country really fight as a detachment of the international proletariat and as part of this to actually build the international unity of the proletariat as far as possible, is in turn tightly connected with the political line these forces are carrying out to make revolution in their countries. If we're not fighting in this way on an international level, then how can it be that we are carrying out the revolutionary struggles within the various countries on anything but a nationalist basis, a basis that will prevent revolution or lead to its degeneration into its opposite. The statement made by Chairman Avakian—"who else can prepare and then lead the masses in seizing the opportunity—and who else, for that matter, can throw away that opportunity"—applies sharply to the responsibility faced by the communists not only within our country but also on a world level.

II. HOW TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST UNITY

For several years now, especially since the RCP, USA's Second Congress in 1978 which consolidated the victory over those who sought to drag the Party down the revisionist road

represented by Teng & Co. in China, our Party has been carrying out efforts to make contact, carry on struggle and build principled unity with Marxist-Leninist forces in other countries on the basis of drawing and upholding clear lines of demarcation, in order to build unity not only of viewpoint and general purpose but also of action to the greatest degree possible. In this we have been guided by the following principles, first laid out in a paper entitled "Thoughts on Points for Discussion," presented to a Central Committee meeting in late 1978 by Chairman Avakian, which have been widely circulated and discussed internationally:

"Opposition to and exposure of China as revisionist, and as a key part of this its revisionist international line and its specific form now in the 'three worlds' strategy, while at the same time upholding China under Mao as a socialist stronghold of the international working class, upholding the achievements and lessons of the Cultural Revolution, and upholding Mao's contributions and enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism; the necessity to continue to thoroughly expose Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism and its international line and role; the determination that the two superpowers are equally the main enemies of the people of the world and are both, through their contention, pushing things toward world war in accordance with the laws of imperialism; that preparations for such a war and particular acts of aggression by both superpowers and others in both imperialist blocs must be exposed and fought against now; that, under all conditions, support must be given to all genuine struggles for national liberation against imperialism, and in general support must be built for all struggles, in every country, to achieve socialism and defend it wherever it exists or is established; and that, should such a war break out, it must be fought against as an imperialist war, that all belligerents in it—that is, all imperialists and those belonging to one camp or the other in the war—must be exposed and, in the imperialist countries in particular, the main fire must be directed against 'one's own' bourgeoisie with the aim of and constant work toward turning this imperialist war into a revolutionary war. The general guiding principle is that set forth by Lenin: 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception.'"⁵

This is not a call for the formation of a new international at this point, for such a development could only emerge through a complex process. But in our view, there already exist the necessary conditions for a qualitative leap. The very development of the underlying objective conditions, pregnant with revolutionary situations in which the future of countries and whole areas of the world will be up for grabs and the outcome will depend on the capabilities of the revolutionary forces, demands that whatever steps are possible at this time be taken with the greatest urgency.

At this historical juncture so full of promise, the international communist movement is at a crossroads, and which road will be followed is a question starkly posed for every party and organization in the world.

The People's Republic of China, a quarter of humanity and under the leadership of Mao Tsetung a lighthouse of world revolution, has been seized by bourgeois renegades from within the Communist Party who have capitulated to imperialism. Many of the forces internationally which at one time seemed revolutionary are following them. Compounding this, the Party of Labor of Albania and other forces formerly united in the international communist movement have split with China not on the basis of upholding the revolution in China that has been temporarily defeated, but of denouncing everything that was revolutionary in China just as bitterly as China's new revisionist rulers, differing with them mainly on the basis of competing nationalisms.

Out of this fragmentation of what was once the international communist movement, clear trends have appeared. Imperialist rivalry and the coming of world war—which is pulling on the whole world to line up with one side or the other, and which comes together with the heightening of all the world's contradictions—has led to mounting pressures to capitulate; and capitulation today means capitulating to imperialism and joining up with one superpower war bloc or the other. This capitulation has had its theoretical expression in the form of virulent attacks on the key advances of Marxism formulated by Mao Tsetung, especially the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Attacking Mao's line, especially on this key point, can only mean repudiating the bitter lessons of capitalist restoration in the USSR; it can only result, sooner or later, in turning the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship when the working class seizes power, and coming to terms with the bourgeoisie where the working class has not yet seized power. In countries like China and Albania, where the forces of production are still relatively backward, this leads ultimately to degenerating into a comprador bourgeoisie and capitulating to foreign imperialism, while in the imperialist countries themselves it leads to capitulating to one's "own" bourgeoisie, although there is the phenomenon of those within the Western imperialist bloc who look to Soviet social-imperialism, and vice versa.

Mao Tsetung Thought is not something different from Marxism-Leninism, it is not the Marxism of a new era the way Leninism was (after the emergence of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution). It is the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism on many fronts (revolution in colonial countries, revolutionary war and military line, political economy and socialist construction, philosophy, culture and the superstructure, and most especially, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat), and is the theoretical concentration of the experience of the proletarian revolution since Lenin. There is and can be no "returning" to a Marxism minus these advances, since Marxism is a living science. The inevitable and very visible result of trying to overturn these advances is the unraveling of the whole fabric of Marxism and the championing of a revisionist line on every major question—a common feature of all the trends that have arisen today in opposition to Marxism.

This is why the question of Mao stands at the center of today's controversy. It was Mao who led in criticizing the "three peacefuls" (peaceful transition, peaceful competition and peaceful coexistence) with which Khrushchev advocated

Continued on page 52

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY, MAY 1ST, 1980

The Welding of a Class-Conscious Force

May 1, 1980. A great, an historic step was taken. Years from now, when people look back on this year's May Day, what will stand out is that in the shadow of the approach of world war, as the question of patriotism, of standing with the U.S. ruling class or with the international proletariat was fast becoming the key question facing all of society, a class-conscious section of workers surged through the streets of 16 major cities across the U.S., their chants reverberating:

Red, white and blue
We spit on you
You stand for plunder
You will go under!

The red flag was held high and defended with force as the flag of proletarian internationalism and revolution, ripping it away from revisionism and the image of Soviet tanks. It was taken up by a multinational working class force determined to join with the international working class to end all exploitation and oppression, and this drew the close attention of millions and spoke straight to the hearts of hundreds of thousands. Class-conscious workers had mounted the political stage.

Embodied in the red flags of May Day 1980, piercing through all the shrill patriotic frenzy and war cries, was this spirit described by Lenin, "In short we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible." The revolutionary proletarian movement in this country joined the ranks of class-

conscious workers internationally.

"This rally here shows," a Black worker said at the end of the Cleveland march which had been attacked 30 times, "the spirit that we have, it shows the people that they can't fuck us around. We just kept fighting on, marching through the rocks and bottles, the whole works. We kept on steppin'. I believe we won a lot of believers and I believe we'll win the whole thing."

The start of the 1980s; everyone senses the undercurrent of big changes to come. Moves toward world war are undeniable, the world is pregnant with revolution. May Day demonstrations around the world took on even more significance. Workers in Turkey, undaunted, heroically and capably fought battles against the fascist regime's tanks. Workers filled the streets in many Iranian cities, vowing to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialist domination and those Iranian reactionaries who support it or capitulate to it. In Chile, a mass police roundup of 500 people on the eve of May 1 failed to prevent it from being celebrated in scattered marches and secret meetings. Pitched battles in the countryside and a successful march of thousands defying the poised guns of the U.S.-puppet government marked May Day in El Salvador. Tremors of the turmoil yet to come reverberated around the world. And this year together with them, the class-conscious workers and others in the U.S. straightened their backs to put the proletariat on the

political map of this country—their determination to carry the battle through was unquestionable.

"The revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act... but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm." Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA underscored this quote by Lenin, saying, "The work we do now, the battles, especially the major political battles, we wage now can be crucial not only at hitting back, politically, at the enemy, and not simply as general preparation, but beyond that perhaps in deciding the outcome whenever the conditions for revolution do ripen... This emphasizes, again, that all we are doing now is or must be, precisely preparation for when the conditions do ripen, *and* that (in line with the statement by Lenin referred to just above) our actions are, in another sense, a *part*, a very important part, of the whole process of revolution and have a great deal to do with victory or defeat when there is a qualitative leap in the situation."

The future was being battled out in the streets May 1 and in this battle could be seen in a beginning way the

ability of the working class and its Party to unleash and lead many different social forces when a revolutionary situation does develop. In the heat of the battle around May Day, a class-conscious force was welded. This showed itself in many ways, most decisively on May Day itself. A Gray Panther (revolutionary "senior citizen") in Portland grabbed for a bigger stick and charged through the middle of a crowd of reactionaries to make way for the demonstration. In Los Angeles hundreds of workers, Black, white and Chicano, started to march, red flags flying, right up to police lines blocking the street and sidewalk from three sides. The pigs attacked, billyclubs swinging, clubbing anyone they could get their hands on. Twenty-eight were arrested. Within minutes, to the amazement of the cops and the joy of hundreds of bystanders, the march was reconstituted a block away.

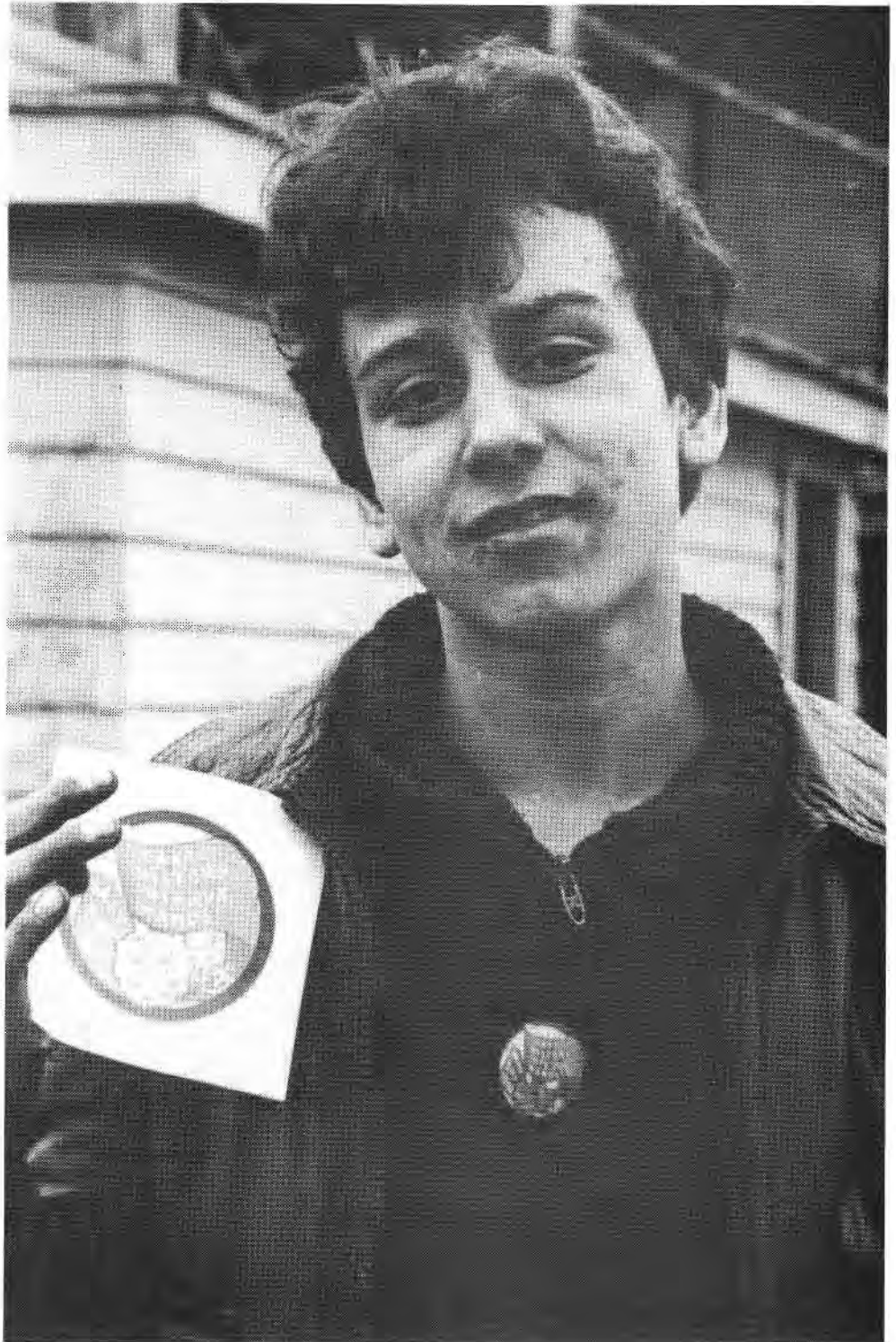
Those marching looked around to see many thousands watching. They taught and encouraged the unconvinced and the undecided. A young woman on the sidelines in Seattle suddenly jumped up and grabbed a red flag set on fire by reactionaries, stomping out the flames. Was revolution possible? Those who marched got a liberating, an exhilarating taste of the great well-spring of the people's revolutionary strength and the decisive role they could play in unleashing it. Powerful seeds of revolution were planted.

"Who Will Be Among the First?"—A Battle Plan

May Day 1980 was a political necessity. Events in the world were developing rapidly, there was no time to waste. A class-conscious force steeped in internationalism had to step forward.

The analysis of the RCP, USA is that this will be a decade of war and revolution on a world scale, including the real possibility of a revolutionary situation arising in the U.S. In this world war, the U.S. will be on the front lines against the equally imperialist Soviet Union, from the beginning. The preparations alone, the regulation and mobilization of all of society, will put it all out there—economic sacrifices, rationing, demands for the sacrifice of lives of men, women, children, whole cities if necessary. It is possible that, in conjunction with the underlying economic crisis, these preparations could give rise to revolution. And when the U.S. imperialists are

In defiance of the re-opening of the court railroad of Bob Avakian on Thursday, March 27—Button Day—10,000 workers and others across the country wore May Day buttons to show their determination to protect their revolutionary leadership and as a step towards May 1. That 10,000 were wearing this button at one time to make a powerful revolutionary statement was testament to the visible emergence of a force of class-conscious workers and to the growing influence of the Party and its line among the masses.





stretched to the limit, fighting their rival imperialist enemy and trying to clamp down on the tremendous "social unrest" this will give rise to, the precious opportunity to overthrow the U.S. superpower may very well present itself. This would be a tremendous victory not only for the masses of people in the U.S.—even more it would be a victory that would lift a life-crushing weight from the backs of the peoples of the world. It is not inevitable that a revolutionary situation will arise in the U.S. in this decade, but it is inevitable that preparation today for such opportunities will dramatically change the future. This was the significance of May Day 1980.

The plan for May Day 1980 was put forward in a special announcement from the Central Committee of the RCP at the end of a major speech by its Chairman Bob Avakian at May Day 1979. "Who

will be among the first to come forward, to stand boldly and proudly in the ranks of the revolution and as the contradictions deepen and the situation arises, increasingly rally millions of people to the revolutionary cause and carry it through?"

This was a plan to open the eyes of millions to the possibility of revolution and mobilize thousands to act on this understanding and prepare today to realize this goal in the future. As the May Day Manifesto issued in the fall of last year put it, "We must come from behind, catch up to the gathering momentum and march to the head of it, enabling the revolutionary movement and the conscious understanding of millions of people to take a leap forward, to keep pace with the rapidly changing times. And we must do this now, for if we do not we may very well miss the tremendous possibilities that lie ahead."

Mobilizing thousands of advanced around May Day did not hinge on radical changes in the crisis and world situation between May of 1979 and 1980, although things did sharpen up, and this did bring many to be further disillusioned in the "American dream," raising for them and others many profound questions. The analysis of the RCP was that even when the call was made in 1979 there was a basis for bringing to the fore thousands. There were already millions who hate and are sickened by this so-called "best of all worlds" and within that several hundred thousand revolutionary-minded workers in this country. Not class-conscious workers, but workers for whom the message of May Day would be no stranger.

"I think a lot of what the advanced section of the proletariat is now are people who for reasons other than simply

being members of the proletariat are somewhat more politically advanced. People who went through the experience of the '60s in one way or another; people from the oppressed nationalities; people who were veterans of the Vietnam War; women who don't accept being in their 'place'; some immigrants, especially those from countries where there's a relatively strong anti-imperialist struggle, and so on. And a crucial question for the Party is how to give all this a class-conscious expression and help spread it to broader sections of the working class as well as exerting an influence on other forces in society, broader sections of the people. I'm not saying that we should

make that an absolute and go around looking for different strata within the working class and make them into separate compartments. Just the opposite—we have to look for those ways that different streams of political and social expression and movement are an influence within the working class that can be a big lever to move a class-conscious section forward and to influence much broader masses." (Bob Avakian, *Coming From Behind To Make Revolution*)

May Day did not develop in isolation from other important events here and internationally. In particular a class-conscious core began to be mobilized in

the summer and fall of '79 when the RCP had come under very sharp attack after the January 1979 demonstration against the visit of Chinese revisionist chieftain Teng Hsiao-ping, an attack that focused on Chairman Bob Avakian. The sharpness of the charges brought against Bob Avakian necessitated as well as provided an opportunity to wage a major campaign against and further exposed the government and system it serves. The viciousness with which the government was going after the Party forced many to seek and to find out exactly what it stood for. Many thousands heard Bob Avakian in the course of a national speaking tour. Millions saw and heard him on the nationally televised Tom Snyder show. Perhaps the ruling class thought that if they could ambush him on the air with a hot-shot "host" they could make revolution look ridiculous in front of millions and turn around the Party's growing influence. They found out differently. Many began to see in the analysis and line of this Party, that it was the leadership that could forge a way out of this insanity.

The task set before the Party and active revolutionaries was to link up with the sentiments of revolutionary-minded workers, raise their understanding of the situation and their role, and guide and channel them into a class-conscious force to sound the opening salvo of the 1980s and prepare to lead millions in revolutionary insurrection when the opportunity presents itself in the future.

Seeds of Internationalism

A revolutionary-minded Black vet working in a defense plant summed up, "The mood of the working people I talk to is this—they are in a quagmire. Within that there is a quandary." The Iranian "hostage crisis" sharpened this during the months before May Day. It polarized and jolted people awake. It confirmed the analysis of the Party that things were accelerating at a rapid pace. But it also brought to light the pressing need for the class-conscious to act and how workers could be trained to their class interests in the midst of boiling turmoil.

Iran was a momentous event. Still in the context of what is yet to come, it has been a kind of teaching experience. Lenin said, "The day to day experience of any capitalist country teaches us the same lesson. Each 'minor' crisis that such a country experiences discloses to us in miniature the elements, the

COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION

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

This major analysis originally appeared in the *Revolutionary Worker*, issue no. 49, under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to Do with It?"

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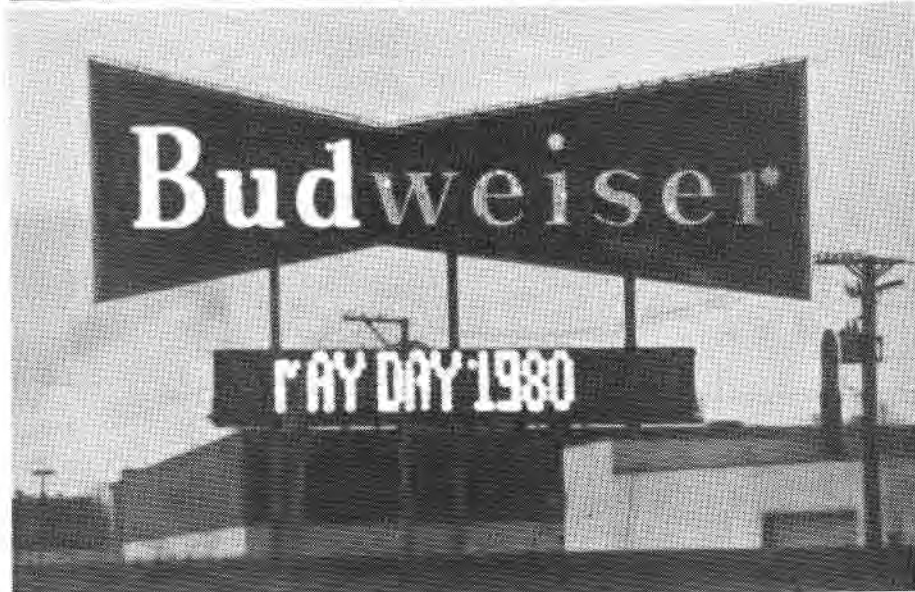
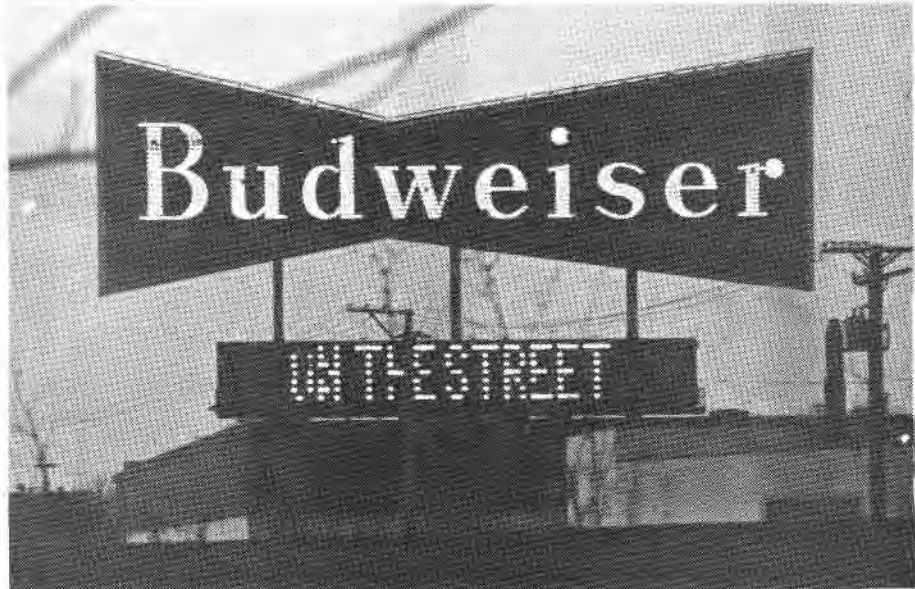
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rudiments, of the battles that inevitably take place on a larger scale during a big crisis."

It was an opportunity. Bob Avakian said in a New Year's 1980 article, "...our rulers, like sorcerers—these mummified merlins—are driven to conjure up forces they cannot control, including and most fundamentally, the force that they most hate and fear. They must drag the *masses of people* into political life. Of course, they aim to do this under *their* banner—to whip up a reactionary and flag-kissing hysteria against their own enemies—whether they are reactionary rivals like the Soviet Union or revolutionary peoples around the world. But once this 'genie,' the masses of people, and most especially the working class, is roused up, *everything* can be thrown up for grabs—including just who is going to stuff who into what bottle."

In response to the Iran crisis the bourgeoisie was throwing all kinds of social forces into motion. Labor hacks were enlisted to try to mobilize "their" workers to rally behind the U.S.A. The "America Held Hostage" specials became regular nightly programs. December 18th was named national unity day. As people were drawn into the raging debate they were confronted by questions and forced to make decisions they otherwise wouldn't have made. As the patriotic fanfares bombed, some protested, "They burn more American flags in Iran than we put on display here." Others responded to the crazed flag-wavers with anger, but were hesitant to step out in opposition to it. People could sense it was only the beginning of what was on the horizon, but they weren't sure how they could change this. The bourgeoisie made strenuous efforts—and some progress, though far less than they wanted—at stirring up patriotism, but far more significant were those won to act in their class interests—a minority who stood up as members of the international working class in the face of this chauvinist whirlwind.

Under the leadership of the Party some workers stepped into the midst of the cauldron of debate that was raging in the plants, on the campuses and throughout society to put forward an internationalist stand and expose the bloody hand behind the Shah. Where they did others were forced to seriously confront their own thinking. At one plant, when a revolutionary stood up on a cafeteria table agitating about Iran,



For three days before Button Day this billboard along the busiest highway in the country stopped going along with the program.

April 30—the eve of May Day—in a moment inside the hallowed UN security chambers, the carefully constructed lies of the two superpowers who each portray themselves as 'guardians' of the peace and point to each other as the warmonger, were exposed to the whole world. The U.S. representative and Soviet ambassador stood covered with red paint. The political railroad of the UN 2, charged with this act, was an exposure itself of how stung the U.S. imperialists were. In a three-day trial, they were convicted of felony assault and conspiracy. They face possible long jail terms as we go to press. As they lashed out, what the U.S. rulers feared most—the masses being inspired by seeing a revolutionary path opposed to imperialist war—only spread further.



STEP UP THE STRUGGLE TO FREE THE UN 2

backward forces were made to look like fools as they paraded around, some actually wearing red, white and blue and hanging out with the bosses, while other workers listened to the revolutionary intently. Workers who had previously said, "It's not my problem" began wearing "Death to the Shah—U.S. Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran" buttons. Nineteen workers at a high security defense plant, most with over 15 years seniority, signed and sent a banner to Iran. Unfurled from the embassy wall in Tehran were these words, "We Have Far More in Common With Iranian Students Than Americans Held Hostage." It was concrete training in internationalism and in using every blow against and defeat suffered by "our" bourgeoisie as an opportunity to hit them even harder and eventually bring about their overthrow. Iran was a rich lesson teaching many just how important the influence of a minority can be and how great the potential and need was to mobilize far more for May Day 1980.

Key Role of Agitation and Propaganda

The leap that May Day represented would not have been possible without the key role played by agitation and propaganda, especially through the *Revolutionary Worker*. How else could a class-conscious force have emerged? Only through agitation and propaganda could the advanced workers be won to see why they should step forward around May Day, to really understand what forces were at work and to see what difference their actions would make. It was only in this way that their deep questions could be addressed so that they could fully play the role required to carry out May Day. And it was in this way, together with the actions and struggle waged by the advanced workers themselves on this basis, that the line represented by May Day was able to become a force broadly in society.

As Chairman Avakian said, "We have to arm ourselves and the advanced outside the Party with a deeper understanding of our Party's analysis of the objective situation and what role the action of the class-conscious forces can and must play in rallying the oppressed at this point, even if it only numbers in the thousands right now, on May First itself. And on that basis we have to put the challenge squarely to the advanced,

to those who *do* hate this shit: if you say it can't happen and don't act then you are working to make it not happen; don't say 'it's a good idea but it won't happen'—it *can* (and ultimately *will*) *happen*, but you have a role to play, a crucial role, in *making* it happen."

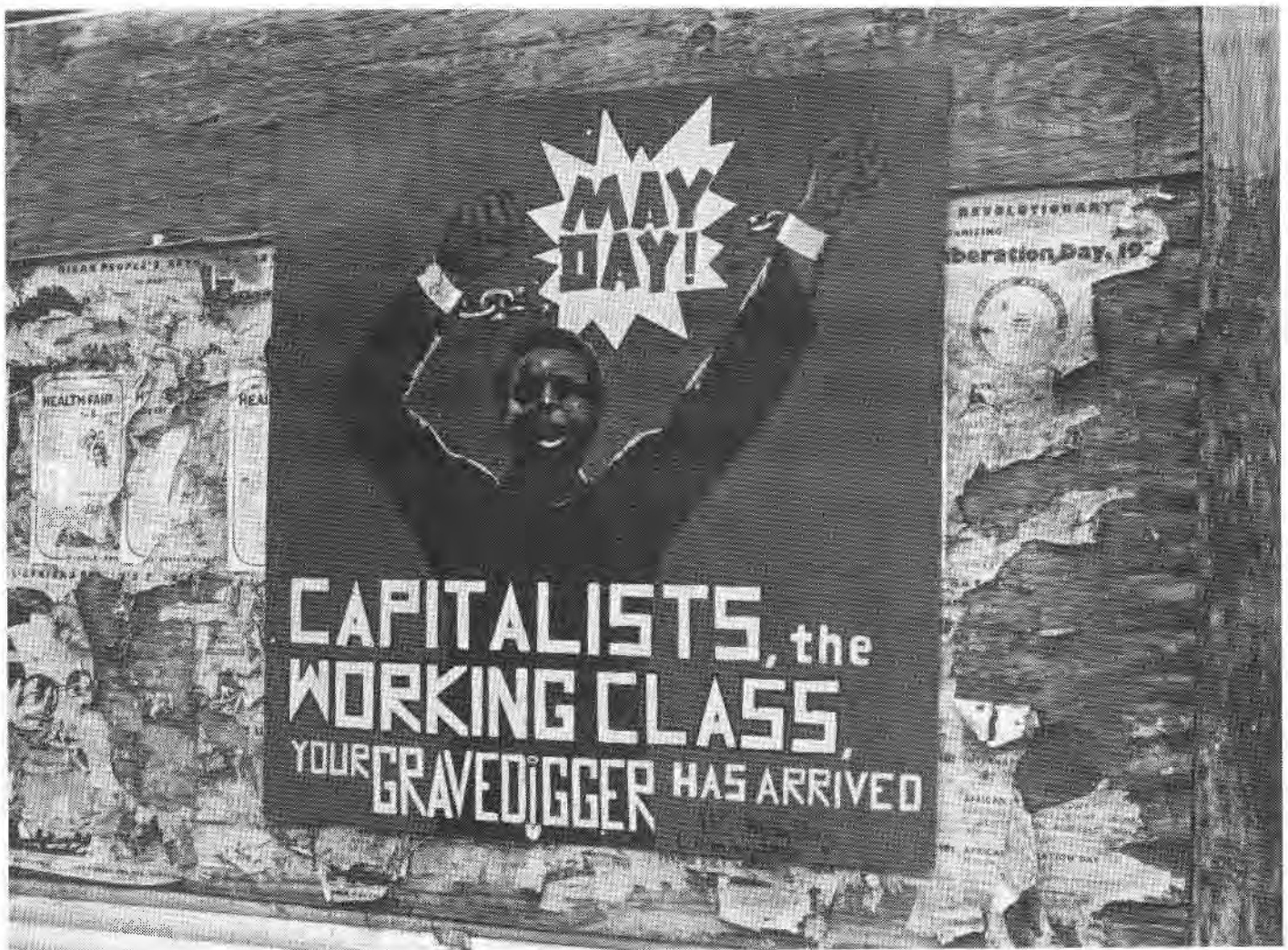
When a million leaflets (more than the Party had ever led its ranks and others in distributing) hit the streets with a sharp and challenging message, the lines began to be drawn. This leaflet said in part, "You'd have to be blind not to see that crisis—Chrysler teetering on the brink of collapse—and world war are staring us in the face. . . . This is your choice: to go down the tubes with these dinosaurs who long ago made Hitler look like a petty gangster, or to be an active part of the advanced who will put the working class on the stage of this country with its own flag, the Red of revolution. . . ."

The Iranian revolution was still shaking the world, and with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, confrontation between the U.S. and Soviets escalated, including in the sphere of public opinion. Leaflets were returned to the National May Day Committee, the words "we owe the Iranians a profound debt" or "Red flags raised like bayonets" circled and denounced. Others wrote long letters explaining why they saw the answer in God and could not march May 1st, but they, too, were "troubled and worried" by what they saw developing in the world. Advanced workers began to stir. A telephone worker in Alabama wrote, "Even though I had known for some time that organizations like yours were in existence I had been unable to contact any of them. . . . For the past 11 years I have worked for XX and have discovered first hand what it is like to be hated by management for espousing a philosophy that does not agree with the capitalist exploitation of the worker. . . . I agree with you that it's time to take the battle to the free-enterprise freaks."

But it was not enough to draw people forward, to inspire them, especially when they began to take out May Day themselves and were confronted with the masses' questions and themselves struggled with new questions as the bourgeoisie increasingly attacked May Day and the Party. What Lenin called the "interests and requirements of this advanced section of the workers," had to be addressed not separate from the overall task of broad agitation and propaganda, but in order to allow them to play their

role as leaders of the working class and revolutionary masses, including in carrying out this work. As Chairman Avakian put it, "So, especially with regard to the advanced workers—including those who have for some time, for various reasons, been more inclined toward a revolutionary position, but generally those who more readily gravitate toward and tend to take up revolutionary agitation and propaganda—we have to struggle with them to understand our analysis of the objective situation and its possibilities. I believe that if they do not grasp that, we cannot win them to take up May Day—and not just come out themselves, but to *build* for it. 'Cause why should they act? Why will they themselves be brought forward to act? Simply because they've always hated this system and would love to see it wiped away? No, by and large they are not yet acting politically, even spontaneously; although some are here and there, in general they are not yet acting politically—not only not in a politically conscious way, which of course they can't do without revolutionary leadership anyway, but not even by and large (and certainly not on a large scale and intensely yet), they are not doing so spontaneously. Many people, especially among the more advanced, have been through a lot of struggle, and they have a lot of deep questions. They are not just going to come out and struggle, no matter what their sentiments might be, they are not going to come out in large numbers and in any kind of sustained way unless and until they see the possibility for it to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change, toward revolution." This, in fact, proved to be the decisive question in the overall success, as well as the shortcomings, of May Day, and underlined the key role of the Party's agitation and propaganda, particularly its newspaper.

The need for this—and the result—were spelled out in the words of a Mexican worker, interviewed in the *RW* shortly afterwards, "Now that I see that there are millions of people in the world that think like I do and now that I see that there is a Party here, a revolutionary Party that bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and on top of that we have Bob Avakian and millions of people that hate this system and that we are uniting, now I feel that my desire to



Painting by a revolutionary artist. It was defiantly nailed on a wall at the corner of 14th and U in Washington D.C. this February in response to the police murder of a Black man, Bruce Griffith, at this corner.

struggle against this imperialism has been redoubled.

“One thing that I want to say is that it’s not just me, there are thousands of people like me. But they don’t know how to change it. I think they must even feel alone, but they should know that we have a revolutionary movement here in our own time, and that right now we have great opportunities to overthrow this miserable system once and for all. And more, we are not alone, we have the whole international proletariat. Now it’s a question that we have to reach them, we have to teach them that there is a Party, that we do have this Party that’s going to make the revolution and that it is capable of carrying it out.”

In the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* those participating in building for May Day, those anticipating and observing it, could get a sense of how the movement was unfolding and what their part in it was. A vivid picture was

drawn of not only the continuing and deepening crisis of the imperialists, the struggles of peoples around the world, but also the fertile soil from which May Day could be built and for preparing for revolution. In-depth articles on “Silicon Valley,” California, a horror-chamber of the electronics industry full of women sick from being used as guinea pigs to test chemicals, sick of raises and promotions being offered in exchange for sexual favors; Birmingham, Watts, flames of the liberation struggles of the ’60s still smoldering and threatening to rise again under new conditions, revolutionary elements present in today’s non-revolutionary situation.

More than ever before people began taking up calls, writing for organizing materials directly and only from reading the *Revolutionary Worker*. Many prisoners communicated through letters what an inspiration May Day was. They called on the working class outside the

prison walls to step forward and told of their efforts and plans for May Day organizing inside.

Revolutionary-minded workers and others wrote letters and statements to their class brothers and sisters directly challenging them to wake up. Many were particularly powerful and influential because they were written by people newly involved in the struggle. They were distributed at plant gates, run in the *Revolutionary Worker* and also, like the one following, made into stickers. A Latin American woman, living in the United States, looking forward to May Day, wrote, “The despised image of the gringo worker (a middle-classish, foolish chump manipulated by remote control by TV, ignorant as to political matters and happy with his Coke and McDonald’s) will explode into a thousand pieces when it becomes known that here in the paradise of democracy is a conscious minority which dares—like the rest of



National May Day poster, San Antonio Park, Oakland, California.

the world—to dream the dream of socialist revolution, and to fight so as to make it a reality.” It was a concrete manifestation of what it would mean for the international proletariat if workers were to march May 1. It created great controversy as it was put up, torn down and put up again on plant walls.

In addition to agitational articles which tapped people’s anger and exposed all that is going on in society like a spotlight in a dark room, it was also necessary to go deeply and all-sidedly into many questions. Propaganda articles in the *RW* had a particularly important part in building for May Day in addition to their more general importance. This was the role of the series of selections from Comrade Avakian’s speaking tour the previous fall, such as the one summing up what had happened to the Black Panther Party and its lessons, which spoke profoundly to experiences that had inspired and in some ways later disillusioned a whole generation, particular-

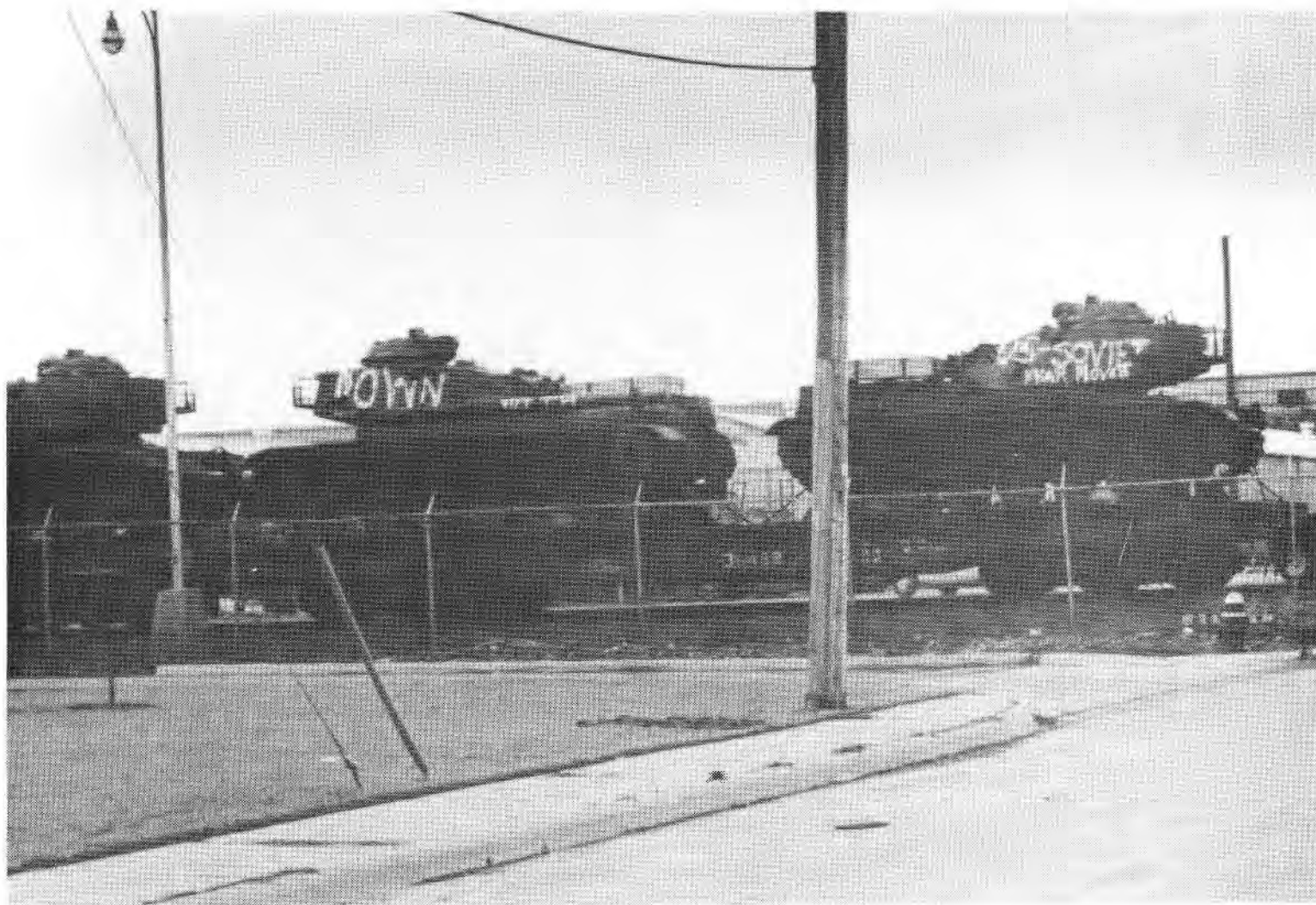
ly among Black people.

Especially important was the “Talk” by Bob Avakian published in the *RW* (later reprinted as the pamphlet, *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*) on the Party’s analysis of the objective situation, the role of the conscious forces within that, and the importance of May Day. The publication in the *RW* and *Revolution* of the chapter from a major book in preparation, *America in Decline*, “Crisis and War: The Mood and Conditions of the Masses,” armed people with an understanding of why the Party emphasizes the importance of revolutionary work right now—what gives rise to sudden outbreaks and “minor” crises today and why there will be upheavals on a massive scale in the future that could give rise to a revolutionary situation. The Party’s *Programme* and *Constitution* drafts, “weapons in preparation” as they were called, written to meet the demands of this kind of period, appeared in March

and gave a powerful push to the momentum developing around May Day, because, as Comrade Avakian said, “. . . winning people to a revolutionary position is dialectically related to enabling them to see the possibility of abolishing all this madness through revolution, because when you’ve finally had enough has a lot to do with whether you see that you don’t *have* to put up with this any longer.”

Through the course of this May Day campaign, extremely important advances were made in the use of the newspaper, as well as its content, in every aspect of the Party’s work and increasingly by the masses themselves as both a guide and organizer and as a weapon with which to carry out the battle. It was the backbone of May Day.

Its distribution doubled in the last three months before May Day alone. The authorities came to look on it, and rightfully so, as dangerous and threatening. Over 250 of the 800 May Day campaign



busts were for selling the *RW*, not even counting indirectly related arrests for “trespassing” on company property, etc. to sell it. Getting it off the streets, out of the reach of the masses, became a necessity for the bourgeoisie, increasingly even worth the risk of the self-exposure of clubbing and arresting *RW* sellers on busy streets.

New forms of agitation and propaganda were developed that reflected the Party’s ability to wage a relentless battle with the bourgeoisie and also the growing participation of the masses as they began to take history into their hands. A crowd of several hundred gathered around a couple of agitators at a downtown street corner in Detroit. Lively debate ensued. People listened intently while others from the crowd put forward their views. “I agree there’s something wrong with this system. I hate unemployment. I hate discrimination. But I can’t agree with this revolution thing.” A young white woman got up, “I don’t know a lot, but I know one thing—workers better stick together!” People en-

couraged each other to speak up and demanded ideas be carefully justified.

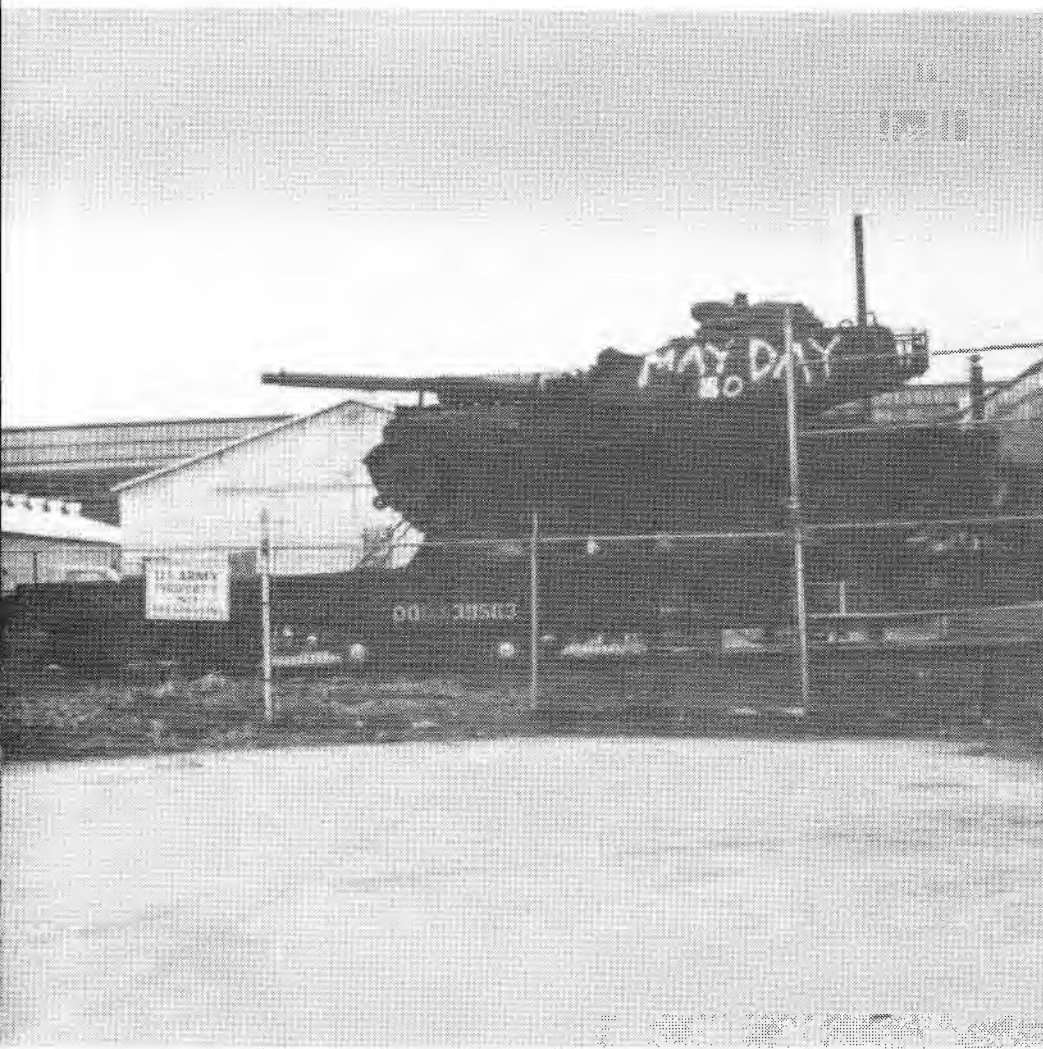
On a mass scale, people were themselves deciding and struggling out what the future held in store and what they were going to do about it.

In the same way that May First was a manifesto—jolting people awake, reawakening feelings and yearnings for a way out of this madness, and posing the alternatives sharply to millions—many of the actions that built for May First were themselves a powerful form of agitation. From slapping the May Day manifesto on George Meany’s coffin as it was carried into the funeral, to the historic raising of the red flag over the Alamo and the splashing of red paint on the faces of the U.S. and Soviet UN representatives on the eve of May Day, the bourgeoisie was exposed, the stand of the international proletariat was brought out sharply, and revolution was raised anew to millions. Many began to look to and seek out May Day.

In February the Party called for the formation of Revolutionary May Day

Brigades as one important part of the Party’s efforts to build May First. Looking back over stacks of newspaper headlines from cities across the country, it seems difficult to believe that it was only three brigades, 60 people in all. Those who joined had made the decision to become full-time revolutionaries building for May Day, to shake cynicism and despair from their brothers’ and sisters’ bones. For many it was a first step to becoming professional revolutionaries. Men, women, Black, white, Latin, Chinese, they became a powerful vehicle for spreading the Party’s line. Even the act of volunteering for the Brigades had an impact on others. When one Beth Steel worker in Seattle quit his job with seven years seniority and distributed a personal call to May Day at the plant gate, it caused great debate in the plant. Reactionaries, of course, said all the “commies” should quit, which itself was back-handed recognition of the fact that revolutionaries had become a force among the workers. But others thought about it seriously. “If he quit,” one

"Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves—May Day 1980" rolled out from the assembly lines of a Detroit tank plant one morning before May Day.



captured the imagination of millions, and many were weighing the question seriously. People, especially workers, began to go through soul searching and intense ideological struggle with themselves. A young worker in a plant where several others in his department were taking up May Day said, "I feel like the man in the poster, I want to step out but what can one person do?"

The bourgeoisie lashed back. Lenin, in summing up the lessons of the Moscow Uprising of 1905, said, "The whole course of the Russian revolution after October and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days, strikingly confirmed one of Marx's profound propositions: revolution proceeds by giving rise to a strong and united counterrevolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defense and in this way devises ever more powerful means of attack."

The bourgeoisie responded to May Day with rage. They saw in this emerging class-conscious section of the proletariat led by this Party their most dangerous enemy.

In just the three months leading up to and including May 1st, 800 were arrested, over \$500,000 was paid in bail, many were held in jail for weeks for ransom. From the beginning the hand of the highest authorities could be seen behind this onslaught of attacks. Youngstown, Ohio, a dying steel town, volatile with deep disillusionment and the swelling anger of workers whose lives had been built around the steel industry, was the site of the first May Day busts. The judge set outrageous bail on direct orders from the State Attorney General. He told the nine defendants he was worried they'd show up in Cleveland or Washington, D.C. After a red flag march in Beckley, West Virginia was attacked and revolutionaries were beaten by Klansmen and undercover cops (described in the daily papers as patriotic old ladies with umbrellas), an FBI agent dragging away a revolutionary who had disrupted an Anderson for President rally in Chicago grabbed the red flag and said, "We broke lots of these in Beckley."

The bourgeoisie began churning out ar-

worker said, "I've got to question everything I'm doing with my life."

The Brigades gave impetus to the overall Party work in the local areas, which they supplemented, doing agitation and propaganda and working with others stepping forward, going deeply into their political and ideological questions. Their very presence raised questions and made a profound point.

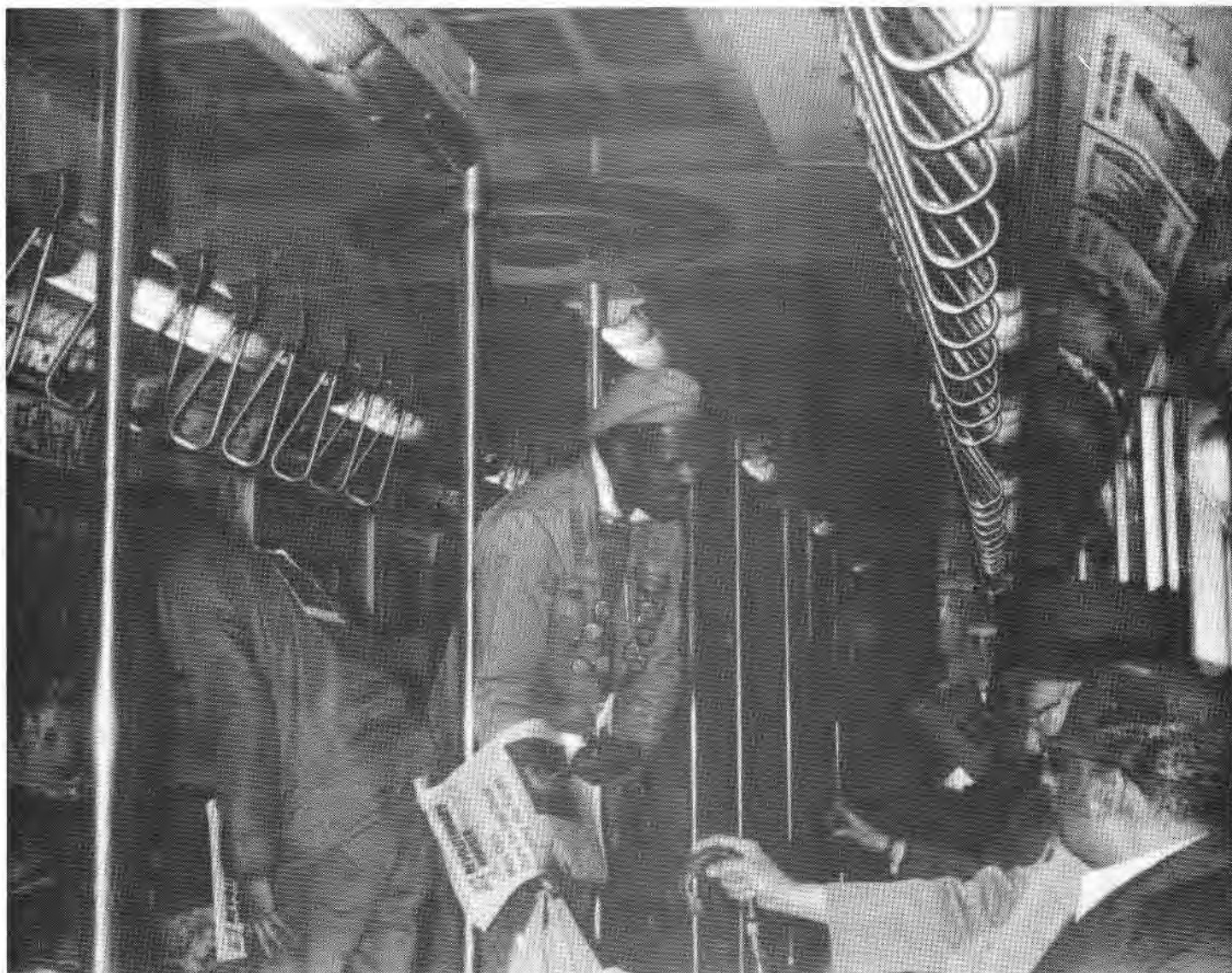
Through all these means the Party's overall line and May Day in particular was becoming a material force among the masses. The newspaper was the key link in creating the conditions for May Day. The extent to which agitation and propaganda and particularly the newspaper were successfully wielded both determined the success of May Day and the ability to move forward from this victory, with workers and others trained in the Party's line and in Marxism, with broad influence and links and contacts among the masses, a growing network of people tied to and getting a leading line from the *RW* to extend and carry out the "conspiracy of

slaves,"—all the elements which have to be nourished and strengthened and expanded to be prepared for the future.

Devising Ever More Powerful Means of Attack

May Day was everywhere. An editorial letter submitted to a Cleveland paper complaining about taxes ended with, "is it any wonder that those of us with poor-paying jobs are so ready to join the May Day Revolutionary Brigade?" It had become a reference point. Even in the heart of one of their military training camps—Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, Washington—army brass walked out one morning to find GI's had covered the walls of a lifesize German town training replica with May Day posters. The same kind of thing was occurring among American GI's stationed in West Germany.

Revolution was being discussed and argued on a scale unseen in years, it began to be seized on by the advanced as the realizable alternative. "We Won't Work That Day—Will You?"—the idea



The Revolutionary Worker aboard New York subways, April.

ticles and editorials against May Day across the country. "Red Brigades," they labeled the May Day Brigades—an obvious attempt to portray the RCP as terrorists. Headlines such as "Communist Agitators Used Nazi-Like Tactics to Provoke Brawl in Beckley," such as appeared in West Virginia, were meant to conjure up a vision of white racists beating Blacks and minorities. The bourgeoisie couldn't cover up May Day, so they had to try slander.

Articles on the front page of the Seattle papers in April read: "Shipyard worker plants foot in stomach of Revolutionary Communist"; "Unemployed Joe Gun Yells at the Communist Marchers That He Is Ashamed of Them." An American flag decal, "Be an American Work May 1st," was circulated at Beth Steel and in the West Virginia coal mines. There was

the unleashing of backward super-patriotic slobs—those who had become what the bourgeoisie wanted them to be. They had been forced to speak to the question of the working class, so they tried to paint their own picture in retaliation. And this battle spread beyond the factories, becoming especially sharp to those being raised as future wage-slaves and cannonfodder. Cops in projects tried to bribe youth with bubblegum to attack May Day organizers—an act that was not only futile, but made these pigs look totally ridiculous. As May Day buttons and manifestos began to appear in high schools, especially detention rooms, principals began more openly playing their cop role—threatening suspensions, calling emergency board meetings, writing letters to parents.

These were not the howling and actions

of a secure overlord. They were an outright statement that even the bourgeoisie sees revolution as a possibility. In one plant, as early as the beginning of March, foremen were overheard discussing, in panic, the possibility of a walkout May 1st. The U.S. masters understand the precarious situation they are in—their ability to throw out cushions and crumbs is being rapidly undercut, already influencing the very masses they have to quickly prepare to fight and die for them against their imperialist enemy the Soviet Union. They understood well there was a section of the masses ready to hear the revolutionary internationalist message of May 1 and the impact this section of revolutionary workers could have on all of society.

For them it was a question of weighing their necessity to stop May Day against

the dangers (for them) of drawing more people into political motion and more openly exposing the force on which their system ultimately relies—the armed state. As they took on May Day the advanced and intermediate were forced to investigate what this was about, why was it being attacked. Many of those who still clung to illusions that this country is free had to begin to come to look at reality. It was by grasping how their attacks were educating material for both the possibility and necessity of revolution—and very particularly of May Day 1980—that the revolutionary forces turned these attacks into ammunition, “devising ever more powerful means” to build May Day.

Busts were numerous. But so were *Revolutionary Worker* networks set up in the course of and wake of these attacks, both in the streets and in the jails. Through this broad agitation, the emergence of a class-conscious force among the workers themselves and in particular these *RW* networks, some-

thing was created which they will never be able to arrest.

As the battle intensified and spread, the overall line of the Party and the movement of a section of the advanced workers that was coming into being around May Day had a real social effect on many other sections of the people. A minister wrote, “I have many questions but I must confess an interest in your cause. . . . I am a member of the Protestant clergy, but if you think many of us are not interested in your kind of solution you are not well informed.” An anti-nuke coalition wrote an endorsement statement, “We must unite with the working class and oppressed people on May Day in order to carry our fight against nuclear power one step further aimed at its true source. After all, it would be a hollow victory for the anti-nuclear movement to stop nukes only to awaken to a solar-powered Auschwitz.”

The line around May Day and revolution was taken up and applied by a broad variety of forces, including in par-

ticipating in the May 1 actions themselves and also in many ways that played an important part in building for May Day. It found expression in music, sculpture, painting, theater and other forms, as well as in many varied ways among the workers. Significantly, much of this happened in ways unknown to the organized revolutionaries. A Chicago mural painted for a neighborhood drug clinic became the focus of fierce controversy when clinic directors refused to allow this work they had commissioned to be put up, in fear of losing government funding—and clinic staffers and clients, neighborhood people and artists were drawn into this battle. Musicians, theater people and others took up this line—or were influenced by it and the controversy surrounding it—and this was reflected in their art and in other ways. All this broadened and intensified the battle for a revolutionary culture opposed to the reactionary garbage propagated by the bourgeoisie, and heightened the general atmosphere of



ard the broccoli cutters bus, Salinas, California.

revolutionary struggle. It developed in relation to the stirrings of the class-conscious workers while also helping inspire and train them.

Another, different part of this training came through the attacks of opportunist, phony “communist” or “socialist” forces who provided rich teaching material by negative example. It became impossible to continue with the simple lie that the RCP is “completely isolated” from the workers. So instead they labeled those coming forward as “anarchistically inclined” and advised these workers to have more patience and accept the slow death of pre-occupying themselves with struggles around “the immediate concerns of the masses.” (These quotes are from the League of Revolutionary Struggle,

whose newspaper *Unity* carried a more coherent diatribe against May Day than most other more well-known groups, who often *confined* themselves to lies and police-inspired slanders.) All these groups carried horror stories about how the RCP was creating too much “controversy” and thus spreading “anti-communism” (by which they meant that May Day was bringing out the political and ideological questions these opportunists so carefully avoid), and they were especially freaked out about how May Day was leading to actual “confrontations” among the workers, as though the working class could ever lead in revolution and transforming society without challenging the ideas and outlook that arise from capitalist society which the capitalists work so hard to

pound into the heads of the workers. Where such an outlook as these opportunists recommend has already led them became evident in their attacks on the burning of American flags and the raising of red ones as not only too “controversial,” but also as *undesirable*, because these opportunists preach that in what they describe—whenever they fearfully lift their heads a bit to look at it—as “the coming world apocalypse” the workers have no choice but to line up with the bourgeoisie and set aside all thoughts of revolution. And as for their efforts to make it a point in their favor that the May Day forces were so often arrested while *they* don’t seem to have that problem—*that* spoke for itself.

The efforts by these opportunists to oppose May Day were taken on by the Party, in the *RW* and other ways, in order to make good use of them in clarifying the Party’s line and how different lines ultimately represent the outlook and interests of different classes, and showing why it is that the class-conscious proletariat must put itself at the head of all those oppressed by capitalism and lead the revolution.

May Day itself was a powerful refutation of these opportunists’ arguments, as the advanced workers and those who rallied around them and their Party showed in practice, to millions, that there will be another road and that the most far-sighted and determined workers are already preparing to lead the millions on it.

It was precisely because the bourgeoisie was forced to expose its bloody hand as it attacked May Day and because the revolutionary forces were able to turn these attacks into more powerful means of attacking this system, that the bourgeoisie grew more frantic.

April 22: police agents executed Damian García, a member of the RCP. Damian García had been one of the three Brigaders to fly the red flag over the Alamo. This bold action had inspired millions here and around the world. It was an action that enraged the bourgeoisie. The Alamo is a sacred monument, pointed to internationally as a symbol of freedom and democracy. Its “heroes,” now including John Wayne, are pointed to as examples of Great Americans. When the red flag flew above this citadel, it was exposed as a monument to imperialist plunder, to the subjugation of Mexican people, to national oppression.



The publication of the May Day manifesto in 14 languages (including Russian) made it a weapon for politically and practically organizing the foreign-born, and most importantly made a bold statement about the bonds of the international working class.



Damian García talking with workers in the Los Angeles meat packing district where he worked. A member of the RCP, this revolutionary martyr was known to millions, not by name, but for the bold stand he and two others took when they raised the red flag over the Alamo. In retaliation, Damian García was cold-bloodedly murdered April 22, in an East L.A. housing project.

While the "official" story in the daily papers called it a "gang killing," police officials hardly tried to hide the evidence that pointed to the true killers: Damian Garcia and Hayden Fisher (who also took part in the Alamo action) were the sole targets of the attack. As the murderer said before Damian Garcia's throat and abdomen were professionally slit, "You hate the government, I am the government. Your flag is red, mine in red, white and

blue." Police seen in the area conveniently missed capturing his killers, but returned to the scene in time to arrest 10 other revolutionaries.

Two weeks before his murder, Damian García was personally threatened by LAPD officers, "We've just busted the big hero that climbed the Alamo." "How did you get out of Texas alive?" "I'd have thrown you in the bayou." "We may still have a chance..."

More recently, just after a statement of outrage at Damian's murder signed by over 6,800 people appeared in the L.A. Times, the LAPD held a press conference to announce that a suspect had been found—dead. Revealing is the fact that this suspect had "negotiated a settlement" with the LAPD to avoid jail only eight days before Damian García was executed.

The cowardly execution of Damian García was in retaliation for this bold act, it was meant as a sinister message to all who yearn for a way out of this madness, who attempt to stand up. It was meant to bring the RCP to its knees, and in particular to intimidate those considering or planning to take decisive action on May 1st. What it brought to the fore with force was the viciousness of the system and its rulers and that nothing short of armed insurrection will end it.

It set the terms of the battle; it mark-

ed the extreme lengths the bourgeoisie would go to stop May Day. In the wake of this execution, plans for Red Flag/Internationale Day, April 24th, became all the more powerful. It was a significant event in itself—a call to May Day heard across the country. Class-conscious workers and others stood up in defiance of the whining and bellowing of the backward and company henchmen. Some stepped back when Damian García was murdered. But more importantly, many who had clung to the illusion that life is tolerable were jolted

awake and inspired to pick up the red flag on word of his execution. And as voices in many languages joined in singing the *Internationale* at the precise same instant across the country, even workers standing alone in a plant could sense their strength, knowing they were part of an advanced detachment of their class.

A meatcutter never before active put his red flag on his meat-hook and paraded it in front of backward fools who had been taunting him. 300 red flags flew in the New York Garment District, some

planted defiantly on bosses' desks and doors. In the center of the streets, under the watchful eyes of cockroach bosses and pigs, a worker quit his job when the boss threatened to fire him and joined others gathered to sing the *Internationale*. The bosses, the backward, looked like laughable fools as they scurried around trying to hand out American flags, slapping their hands over a revolutionary's mouth, asking workers to sign petitions against revolutionaries; some even admitted grudgingly that it was an impressive sight.

Never before had red flags been flown in this country in such a bold and class-conscious way. They were an open declaration of war on the capitalist class and a tremendous outpouring of internationalism.

The advanced were strengthened as they saw the impact of their actions on others. It was the May Day manifesto come alive:

"They will try to stop us any way they can. But they will not contain us on May 1. We will face all repercussions knowing that our action will have a tremendous impact on countless more who hate this system but wait for the right moment to act. They will be able to see the opposing forces lining up and many will recognize their true interests, support our action, defend it and themselves take up the banner we will be raising."

The most important aspect of "divining ever more powerful means of attack" by the revolutionary forces was the actions on May Day itself. To carry it out was mainly a political question, only secondarily tactical. It would require grasping the nature of the political situation created through the battle to build May Day, responding politically to the upping of the ante through the bourgeoisie's attacks by deeply explaining what was at stake here and what it would mean for the future when the

enemy is still deeper in trouble and weakened, when both the misery of the masses and the bourgeoisie's brutal attacks on those who stand up against it and the possibilities of revolution will be increased a hundred-fold, and by devising tactics following from this understanding to be able to transform it into actions which themselves would reverberate like thunder throughout society. This, too, would determine both the success or failure of May 1 itself and the basis established through May Day to advance in the future.

May Day Dawns

Millions were watching, anticipating. Thousands lined the streets, some with homemade red flags, others with eggs and bottles. Riot cops were everywhere. Throughout the day many radio programs gave updated reports on the battles in the streets of the target cities—New York, Washington D.C., Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Oakland, Los Angeles—as well as nine other cities across the country. In Portland, a Black worker speaking before the march began looked straight out at a crowd of idiots that had come wearing "Fuck You—Iran" t-shirts and said to them, "This is International Workers Day. This march isn't going to be stopped by guys like you or anybody else." An older white worker, a Korean vet and prisoner of war, jumped into the march in D.C., "Some guys on the corner were talking about stopping you guys. I told them they'd have to go through me first. . . . What I learned from the POW camp and when I came back was that my enemy was right here. . . . I learned that freedom has got to be fought for, it doesn't come bloodless." A woman in Oakland saw the red flags coming down the street. She remembered this was International Workers Day, grabbed her kid and fought her way through cop barricades

to finally join up. Two taxicabs filled with eight Latino workers pulled over in downtown Los Angeles and jumped out and into the march. Other forces lent their support in the battle—clergy in Oakland formed a contingent to "prevent a police riot," students from Iran, the Middle East, Ethiopia and more joined in.

There was an understanding, unevenly grasped but permeating their ranks, that something significant was coming into being, that they had to blaze a path to inspire and assist others. This understanding enabled them to withstand arrests and attacks at the height of conflict, and show tremendous heroism, inspiring some to joyfully join, others to step into this conflict in spite of themselves and many to look on in awe. People who had held back couldn't ignore it. They wanted May Day to succeed, but weren't ready or willing to take that step. As May Day unfolded their respect and confidence grew.

It had been clear, even to the bourgeoisie, that there was no stopping May Day. But still, they knew the explosive impact it could have—class-conscious workers daring to march right into the teeth of their bloody system. They were forced to continue to expose their real nature. In Chicago, shortly before May Day, the head of the biggest housing project in the country went door-to-door warning that anyone who marched or had anything to do with the *RW* would be evicted. On May 1st, police were stationed inside one plant in Chicago by 4 a.m. In Boston, a counter-demonstration was held at one plant, although they had to import participants, failing to find many workers there to join. Many factories had only one gate open, ID's were checked, even lunchboxes were searched. At Selfridge Air National Guard Base in Michigan, where vets had previously carried out

May 1st, International Workers Day!

Take History Into Our Hands!

- WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE—In Iran, Around the World the Flames of Revolution are Spreading!
- DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the Exploitation, National Oppression and Inequality It Thrives On!
- DEFEND OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP!
- DOWN WITH U.S. AND SOVIET WAR MOVES—OUR FLAG IS RED—NOT RED, WHITE AND BLUE!

Hasten Imperialism Into Its Grave!

agitation around Iran, an armed perimeter of 200 National Guardsmen surrounded the base, standing with M-16's at 50-foot intervals.

In Los Angeles, pigs in full riot gear stood at the rally site handing out leaflets—in English and Spanish—threatening to arrest anyone marching. At Beth Steel, Seattle, neanderthals were given the job of cutting pieces of rebar (bars of recycled steel) to be used against anyone daring to walk out. One Black worker, in the face of this, declared he would walk and did. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, where the only form of organizing that had taken place was postering, the local army recruiting station shut down for the day. In some places teachers were sent out to try to get crowds of hundreds of high school students back inside. Provocateurs and cops tried to provoke fights. In Seattle one teacher took the day off and called on the students to march, "This is what's going on in the world."

The actions of the revolutionaries and of the reactionaries spelled out the two opposing roads to all. Here were class-conscious workers—like the Chicano in Seattle whose nose was broken at the beginning rally, but still returned from the hospital to meet the march near its end, red flag in hand—fighting for a revolutionary future, the end of all exploitation and oppression. And here were cops, thugs, fools throwing eggs, jeering, trying to defend the red, white and blue in the face of workers and others so revolutionary that they were chanting "We're not Americans, we're proletarians." The scene was repeated across the country.

It was in this situation, which had emerged through the course of the May Day campaign, that the battles on May 1 had their decisive significance. Their understanding of what they were doing and of its importance unleashed the initiative and heroism of the masses. This is what enabled the May Day demonstrations to be carried out at all, in the face of intense and concentrated repression. This is what drew others to step forward in the face of danger. And this is what gave these actions on May 1 their broad impact which reverberated from one end of the country to the other.

What else but this understanding could have given the marchers this unity and strength and provided the basis for the flexibility and sharp tactics necessary to carry out these actions which the bourgeoisie was so intent on



May Day Brigade agitator, February, Oakland, California.

stopping?

In Los Angeles, where the marchers' ranks swelled to 500 at the height, the march was surrounded on three sides by police and assaulted. Even before the march the police had told reporters that the march would not be allowed to cross the bridge into the downtown area—and with the murder of Damian Garcia there only eight days earlier and the complete denial of a permit for the march, there could be no doubt that it was blood that the authorities were after. Yet after the attack 350 people regrouped, many new faces filling the places of those who had been busted and injured. Through various maneuvers they arrived at their destination, to the joy of many who had red flags flying from factories and store windows waiting for them, and to the frothing rage of the police. A short rally was held. While cops madly tried to bust the demonstrators, a speaker summed up the significance of the day. He could be heard but not seen. As soon as he finished the marchers vanished into the crowd of pedestrians and headed out across the city to spread the word of victorious May Day.

In Detroit, where the march was attacked and broken up, a new leadership core of six people emerged, four of whom had never been involved in any kind of demonstration before, and the march regrouped around them. What made this possible? They were workers and others who had decided to take a stand with the worldwide proletarian revolution. There was no stopping them. As a Chicano in L.A. put it, "I came here knowing there would be a lot of police and no permit, but sometimes you got to put your ass on the line . . . it's history we're making now." The Party's line had become a material force.

It pulled on people like a magnet. In Atlanta, as cops formed a physical barricade around the gathering forces before the march began, revolutionary agitation began to bring people to decide exactly which side they would be on. One man describing himself as neutral, literally took a position right between the cops and rally; another stepped forward declaring this was his side, and another moved to join saying, "I'm not a socialist, I'm not a communist, but this government gotta be overthrown. It's the worst one that's ever existed in the world."

Later reports revealed that many workers who hesitated to directly join the ranks marched alongside the

demonstrations. The sentiments of some of those participating in these marches were expressed by this Chicago office worker, "I don't quite fit in but I'll stand by and I guess I'm participating in my own way, I didn't go to work and people at work have been talking about it and I guess they know now how I feel about it." Others proudly told of having been there. A group of federal govern-

ment employees marched as a contingent behind the D.C. demonstration with homemade red flags. They had decided to come to May Day from studying the *Revolutionary Worker*. There were similar side marches in almost every city.

This force kept on pulling long after the demonstrations had ended. A telephone worker in D.C. had come to the assembly point on the morning of

Red Flag/Internationale Day, New York Garment District.





May Day, but then went to work. "I couldn't not go to work. I just wasn't ready," he said. "I've been thinking about it, I've been following it. I saw Bob Avakian on TV—he was *on time*. I even watched the news about it. Everybody at work knew about it. Some were for it, some were against it. We all thought and talked about it all day. By the end of the day all of us that were for it were kicking ourselves in the ass. If we had gone, we could have—if everybody who felt like us had come—we could have swelled our ranks to a hundred thousand." Of course, "everybody who felt like us" could not have come out, no matter what, exactly because of the impact May Day was hav-

ing broadly, including on many who will not make up their minds until the further development of the objective situation shoves them forward. The fact that those who did march spoke for many thousands more who didn't was very significant. But also important here is the effect of what happened, of the actual May 1 actions, on those waiting and watching—many were "kicking themselves in the ass" afterwards because these actions had accomplished what they feared was impossible, and that fact alone helped greatly to change their thinking about the future and their own role in it. This kind of effect also stood out sharply among the Muni bus drivers in San Francisco, where, although only a

small number had come out on May Day, 105 copies of the RCP's draft *Programme* were sold in its aftermath, exactly because the idea of revolution had become far more of a possibility to them—and their own actions more urgent—through the line of the Party and the concrete actions other workers had taken.

The bourgeoisie claimed that May 1 was an insignificant and lost battle. Their newscasts focused on a carefully constructed portrait of "crazed violence." But the news of this "insignificant event was carried all day and into the next and run on the front page of many, many papers. Several weeks later one of their own DJ's opened a



Waiting for the May Day march outside a Detroit high school.

radio show saying he had two things to discuss, "The first, May Day and the RCP you already know about. You heard it on the 5 o'clock news, the 6 o'clock, 7, 10, 11 o'clock news. . ." And weeks later when covering RCP trials in San Francisco, as workers and others sang the *Internationale*, a news commentator described the day's event as "familiar scenes." Clearly May Day penetrated into most every nook and cranny of political life in this country. Since then, this has become even clearer. The examples of residents of Washington, D.C.'s Black ghetto who spontaneously raised a red flag in a confrontation with police, and a contingent in an anti-nuke rally who also decided to carry red flags, only begin to tell this story.

As Bob Avakian had said it would be, May 1, 1980 was "an event of historic significance." It was a real leap ahead. Its importance centered around the forging of a class-conscious force through these battles, changing the lives of thousands and influencing millions, helping many of them to get more prepared for when they do step forward,

when the situation ripens. This force of class-conscious workers has begun to step forward not only to lead the broader ranks of the working class but also to reveal throughout society the revolutionary qualities of this class as a whole. While those that marched were a small minority in relation to the great majority who will go into political motion with the inevitable sharpening of the objective situation, their actions and the revolutionary political line that was embodied in them have created qualitatively better conditions to carry out preparations for the development of such a situation and for revolution.

If this Party and these class-conscious workers could lead this battle in today's non-revolutionary situation, why can't they lead in preparing, mobilizing and carrying out an insurrection when the time is ripe and broad sections of the masses come into revolutionary motion?

As Bob Avakian said in his statement summing up May 1, "The aftermath of this event—the excited, inspired and further awakened response of many, many thousands shows that we could have

even done better. And this means that we have to sum up the lessons of this event, especially how serious its impact really was, how serious the class conscious workers took it, how sharply it was taken by the enemy."

May Day 1980 met its political goal—it mobilized a significant section of workers around the red flag of revolution and internationalism, and in fact influenced uncounted numbers. It brought revolution a step closer. But it cannot be said that the full potential that May Day and its impact itself revealed was realized. The bourgeoisie did grasp the situation it faced, not completely of course but in a certain sense more sharply than the conscious forces, and they acted on that understanding, sending out their goons in blue, stepping up their threats and actually occupying one plant starting at four in the morning, and trying to keep the marches surrounded by an impenetrable barrier. Under these conditions, the factory and school "breakouts" that would have had to occur in order for May Day to meet its goal of 10,000 people marching as had

originally been called for did not happen. Some people who considered marching were held back by the high price the bourgeoisie had put on such an action. Why? Not simply because the stakes had been raised, for it was the very fact that there was so much more on the line than not showing up for work or school that gives the 3,000 who marched in the main body of the demonstrations, the 1,000 who took part in side marches, and those who did attempt to organize walkouts or who walked out themselves tremendous significance. As came out very sharply in the wake of May Day, a great many plants and schools vibrated with anticipation as May Day dawned. It was not uncommon for workers to be waiting outside, trying to decide what to do, and many hoped and waited for something to develop.

What was lacking was for the revolutionaries to have better grasped both the increased seriousness and the potential of the situation. This "battle for the troops"—the wavering and undecided—required the revolutionaries to have responded politically by turning the bourgeoisie's upping of the ante into ammunition by making it clearer to these workers and others the great weakness and not strength that the bourgeoisie's actions revealed, to have

gone deeper and more sharply into the questions raised by this situation to meet the "special interests and requirements," and secondarily, but based on this, to have devised new and better tactics to turn this situation into its opposite. This is true in a bigger sense as well: with the deepening crisis and the approach of war, the ante is definitely getting upped as the bourgeoisie finds its position ever more precarious—and the conscious forces must play their revolutionary role by raising the level of their understanding and revolutionary activity, particularly agitation and propaganda, to keep up with the development of the objective situation.

Again, as Comrade Avakian said, "What we must sum up and sum up clearly from all this is exactly how important all this has been—the seriousness of the situation our rulers are in, the great revolutionary opportunities that lie before us. We must learn this and apply it right now and thereby really take yet another leap forward from here."

The importance of this event taking place right now cannot be underestimated. This class-conscious force has emerged amidst the howling and rapidly intensifying preparations of the bourgeoisie to mobilize the masses

for World War 3. An internationalist outpouring, a concrete manifestation of the ability of the working class to lead a revolutionary insurrection at the very time the bourgeoisie is trying to blindfold the masses with the red, white and blue.

This is what it means that under the leadership of the Party a section of the working class took conscious and decisive revolutionary action. A class-conscious proletarian force has emerged, a force that must be given sustained and growing expression. This Party and these workers are a force to be contended with. They are on the political stage; they will not relinquish this position until classes are abolished. The word revolutionary has taken a qualitative step towards bringing to mind revolutionary, internationalist, class-conscious workers, and as contradictions in the world sharpen up, more and more people in the U.S. will be looking to and listening to find out what these revolutionary workers have to say, what they are doing.

A great leap has been taken. "But this great leap"—summed up Chairman Avakian—"is precisely the conquering of a new position from which to carry forward and accelerate the class struggle."



High school youth debate joining in as May Day march forms up, Seattle.

The Historic Announcement from the RCP Central Committee given by its Chairman Bob Avakian at the 1979 May Day Rallies Calling for Revolutionary May Day 1980

Not only is it the historic mission of our class—the proletariat, the propertyless class of wage-slaves—to make revolution. Not only must we carry out the armed uprising of the working class and its allies, uniting all who can be united against the hated capitalist enemy, to defeat and shatter it and begin the struggle to build a whole new kind of society and a whole new world, on the ashes of the old and over the stubborn, desperate resistance of those who would drag us back. Not only is it necessary to make revolution to eliminate the evils of this society and move society forward in a great leap for mankind. But more than that, it is *possible* to do so.

It is possible to increasingly raise the consciousness of the mass of workers and others ground down and degraded by this system, to develop and strengthen their revolutionary understanding and sense of organization as this system sinks deeper into its own slime and its parasitic, cannibalistic nature is more and more exposed. It is possible, when the time is ripe, to strike with the iron-like force of millions and deliver the decisive and crushing blows. It is possible even up against a force as powerful as our ruling class, for its power rests on the blood and bones of those it has devoured and on the backs and necks of those it has sunk its fangs into today, and it is therefore bloated and rotting with fatty degeneration. When those on whose blood this beast lives straighten their backs together, millions and hundreds of millions strong, here and throughout the world, when they resolve to devote their life strength no longer to reproduce the conditions of their own enslavement, but to cast off and into the dust their enslavers, when they determine to shed the blood of these vampire-istic tormentors in order to be free, then our force will be overwhelming and will finally triumph. And that time will surely come!

But to bring this about, we have work to do and struggle to carry out. Not just in the future, but in an on-going way—and from today forward. Work and struggle to bring closer and to prepare the revolutionary ranks and the broadest numbers of the people for that day of reckoning.

And in the face of the situation right before us, with the stinking decay and jolting crisis of this system, with its dark shadow of world war cast ever larger and ever more menacing before us, and on the other hand with the sparks of revolution flaring now here, now there into flames, we must intensify our efforts, strain against the limits and advance in giant strides. We must draw forward all those, throughout this land, who do dare to dream the dream of revolution—and make them activists for the great cause of revolution. We must rally their ranks and concentrate them into a powerful force, raising an uncompromising banner, the bright banner of revolution, awakening and influencing the millions who today hate the way this system forces them to live and how it

corrupts every pore of society, and the millions more in whose minds the tremors and death-rattle of this system are sounding ever more serious alarms and raising ever more profound questions. We must arouse, mobilize and marshal the great potential strength of all those who say they agree but that it will never happen—move them from mere agreement to concrete action to expend their energy and combined force to *make* it happen! And we must do so now, for great trials, great upheavals, and also great possibilities are looming before us.

Therefore, . . .

Here today, at this May Day demonstration, 1979, the Revolutionary Communist Party calls for a one year campaign to build a mass, revolutionary May Day next year—on *May Day, Thursday, May 1st, 1980*—which will sound the first powerful salvo of revolutionary mass struggle in the '80s. This is not a call for a general strike—as yet our movement has not yet reached that level—but it is a call nonetheless for all people who have their minds set on revolution *not* to go to work or to school, and not to remain passive, on that day, but instead to take history into their hands, to act in the revolutionary tradition of May Day and more than that to take a bold, far-reaching step toward the future.

On that day, one year from now, in major cities all over this country, class conscious workers and together with them all others who burn with rage at oppression and with the desire to tear out oppression's cause at its roots, will gather not only to proclaim this stand but to make it a living, driving force that will shake this country politically, on that day and afterward; that will echo and reverberate to the four corners of this country and beyond, and into every factory, neighborhood and home, in every region, city and town. On that day the enemy and the people alike will have no choice but to direct their attention to the awesome occurrence of *Revolutionary May Day*, as thousands and thousands stride in unison through the streets, in step with the millions throughout the world fighting for the same goal, backs straight and eyes cast to the broadest and farthest horizons, holding high the standard of revolution, striking terror into the breast of the heartless rulers and quickening the pulse and arousing the imagination of millions more of the oppressed in this country, who that day will watch and listen but in the future will surge forward themselves to hold aloft this banner of revolution and finally carry it forward into battle and on to victory.

Forward with the Glorious Task of Preparing the Revolutionary Future! Forward to Revolutionary May Day 1980!

SCENES FROM MAY DAY 1980

Page 32, 33—May Day, New York

Page 34—Detroit construction worker salutes May Day March.

Page 35—A battle over the red flag in Cincinnati on May Day.

Page 36—Seattle high school students discuss May Day.

Page 37—Palestinian shopkeepers greet May Day march.

Page 38—May Day, Washington D.C.

Page 39—February: Scene as May Day agitators spread through auto plant.

Page 40—May Day, Chicago.

Page 41—Red Flag/Internationale Day, April 24, New York City garment district.

Page 42—Student from Turkey at May Day. Her sign says, "Long Live May 1st—The Working Class and Oppressed Peoples of the World Will Be Victorious!"

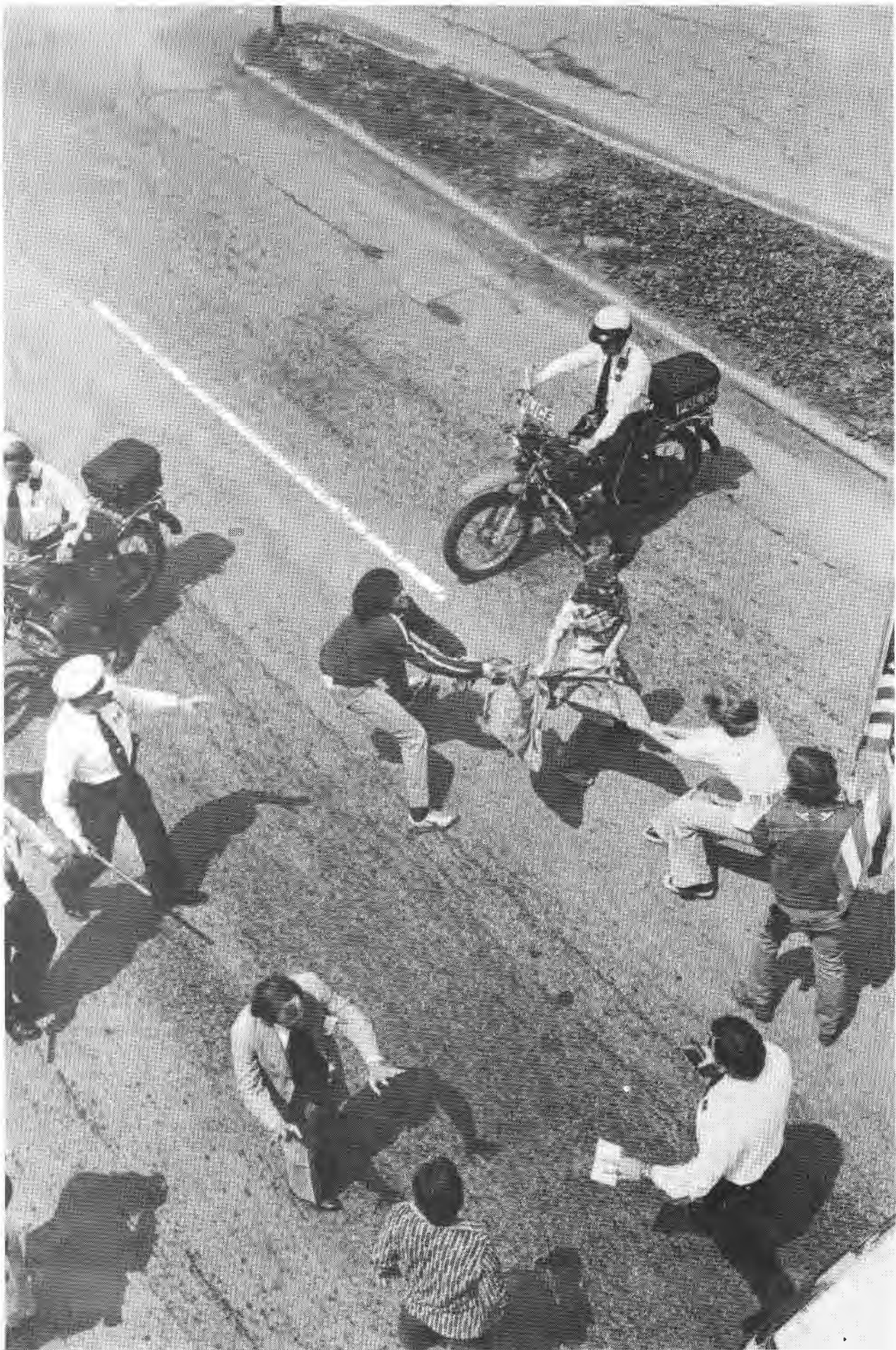




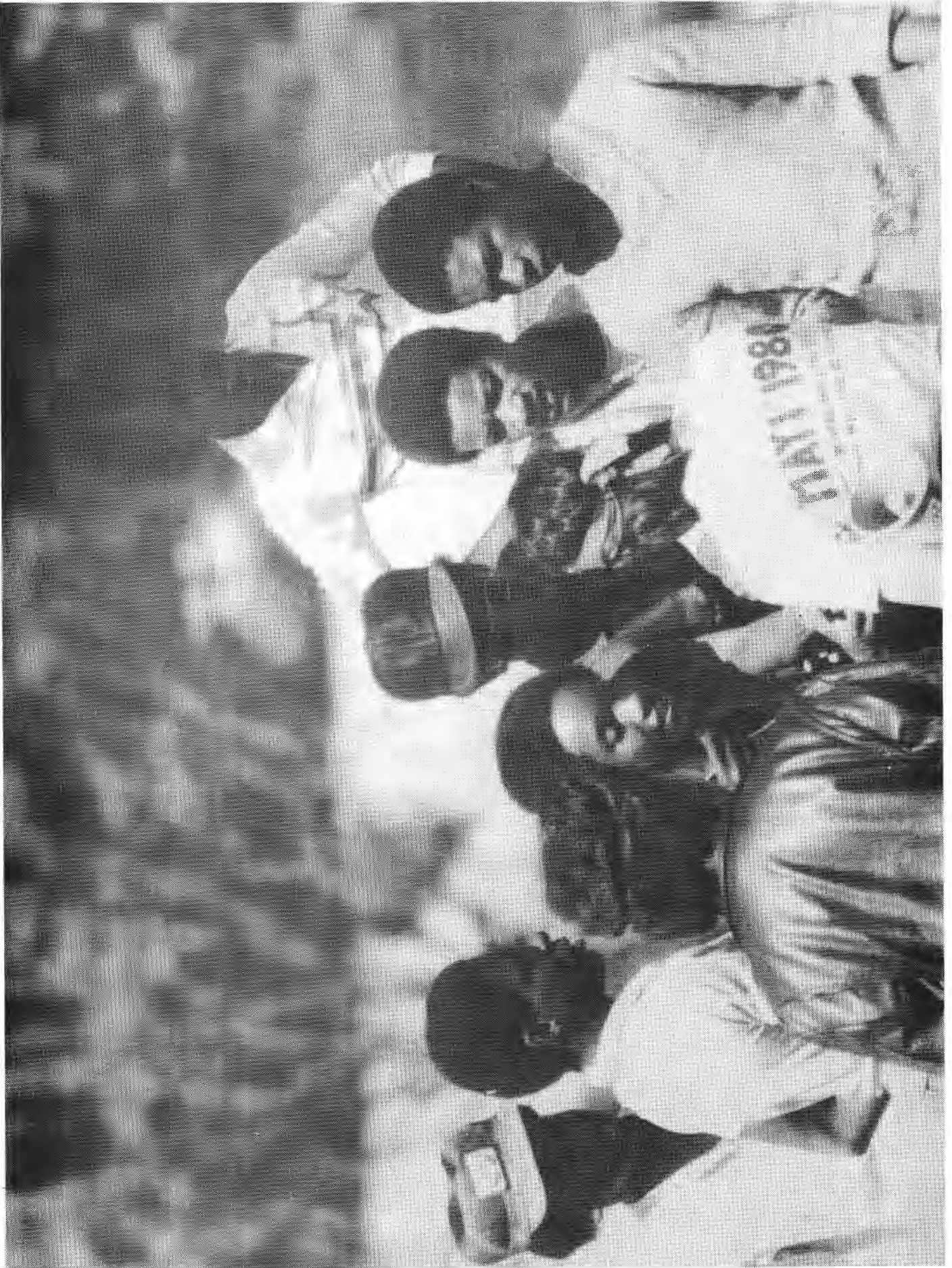
**May 1st,
New York City**



Revolution

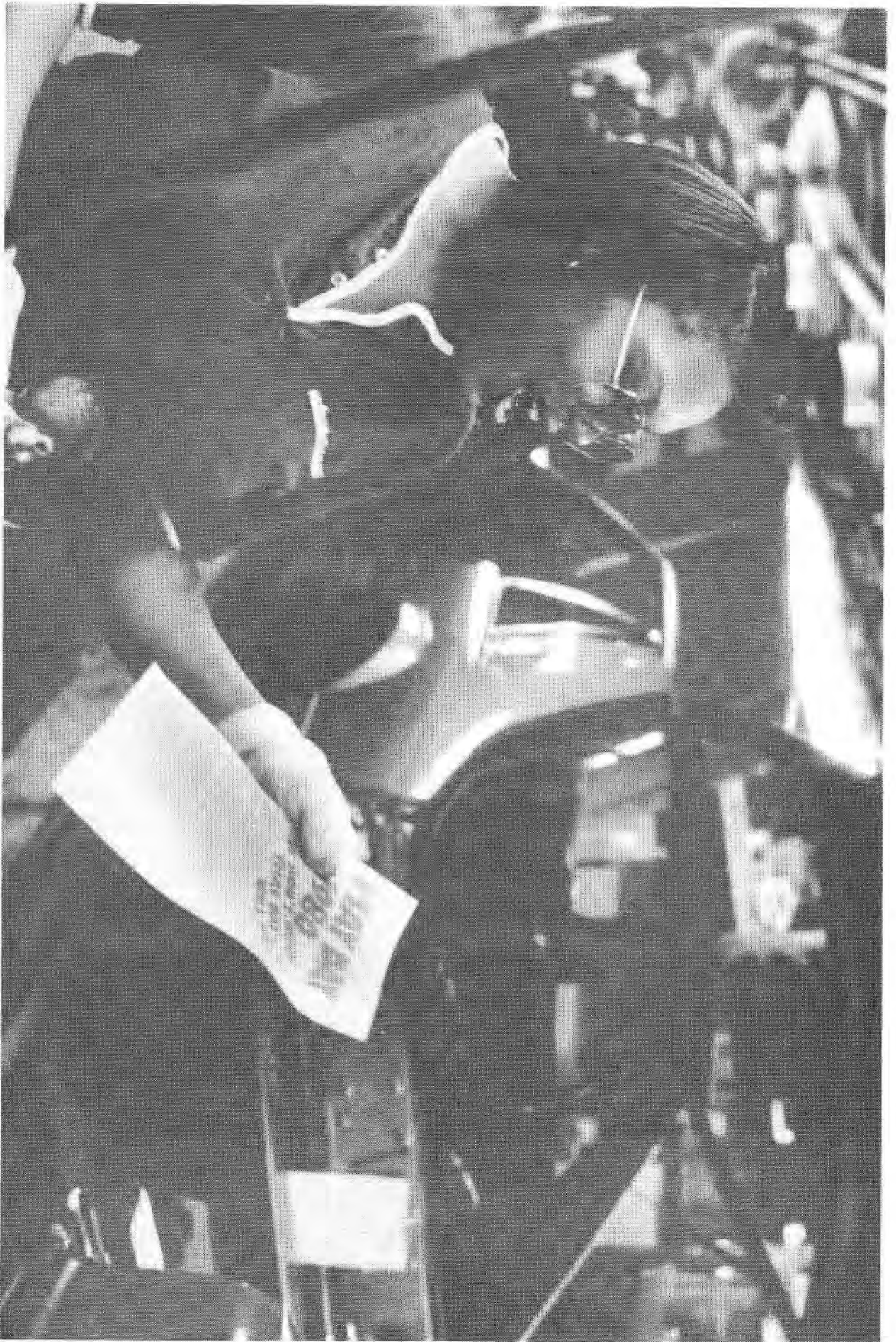


Revolution

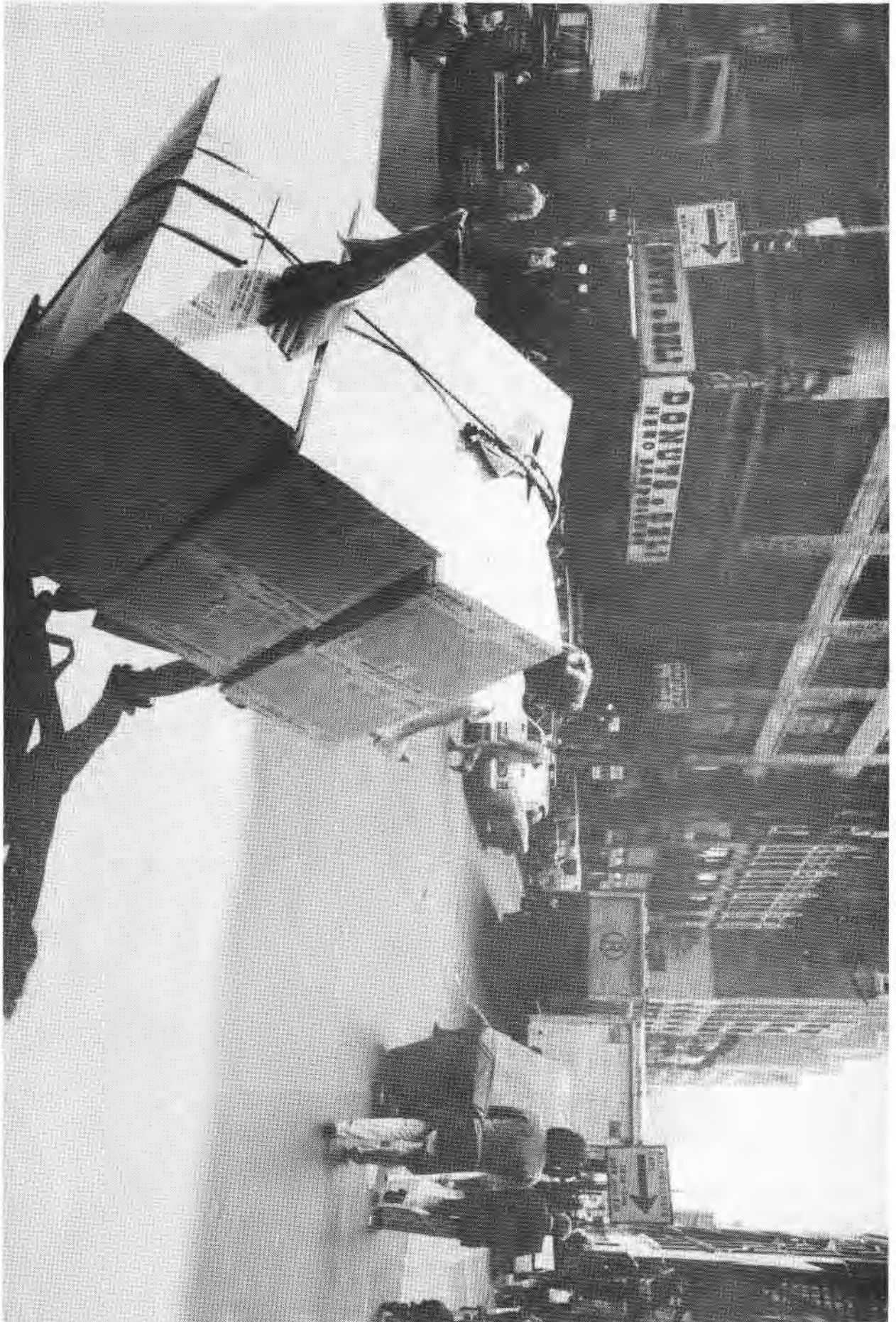


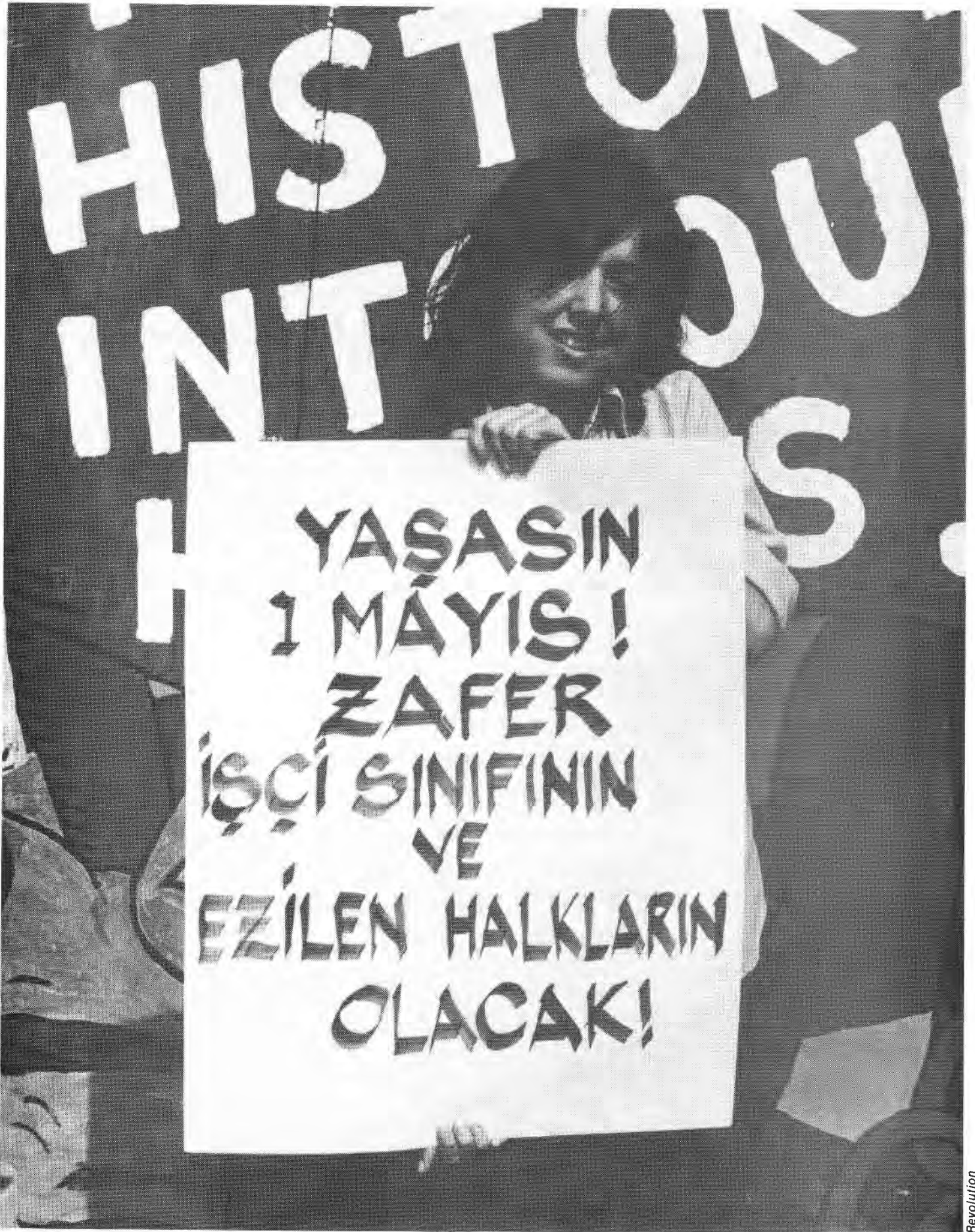












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OLACAKI!

Messages to the RCP, USA from Communists and Revolutionaries Around the World on the Occasion of May Day 1980



Part of the May Day march in Abadan, Iran in which 50,000 people, including thousands of workers, surged through the streets of this center of Iran's oil industry. They raised slogans, including: "Defend the Workers Councils"; "Down with U.S. Imperialism"; "Down with Capitalism"; and "Support the Kurdish People's Struggle."

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

To the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, on the Occasion of May Day 1980:

On the occasion of May Day, the international workers' day and the day of solidarity of the workers all over the world, we send to you and to the heroic U.S. working class our warmest greetings and we wish you even greater victories. May 1st is the day of renewing the pledges and the determination of the workers all over the world in their struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialism and all the enemies of the working class. It is the day of reconsolidating the ranks of the camp of the proletariat and the toiling masses against that of the exploiters and capitalists. May Day gives the opportunity to the workers worldwide to assemble and march in millions and see their own awesome power and put fear in the hearts of the enemies. The red flags of the international proletariat fly in solidarity with each other on this historic day, promising the day that the working class is freed all around the globe. On the occasion of this historic day we give our warmest greetings to the U.S. working class and workers all over the world.

This year, the Iranian workers celebrate this historic day a year after the downfall of the reactionary Pahlavi regime. Since the time of the victory over the Pahlavi regime, the Iranian workers have been able to gain significant achievements thanks to their uncompromising and steadfast struggles. Unions and workers' councils have been created in many factories and industrial centers. They defend the rights of the workers and act as the workers' anti-imperialist and democratic centers in the great struggles of our nation against U.S. imperialism. The Iranian workers played an important and worthy struggle in the past, and continue to do so at present in our revolution.

In the struggle to overthrow the Pahlavi regime they moved to the forefront of the revolution and shut off the oil pipelines with their powerful fists. Their continuous and nationwide strikes brought the Shah's regime to its knees, and with their active and heroic participation in the February 1979 uprising, along with the rest of the people, dealt the final blow to the Shah's regime. This struggle of the Iranian working class has heroically offered many martyrs to our revolution, and the history of our country will never forget this bravery. But, although the February uprising overthrew the Pahlavi regime, it did not finalize our anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. And due to the lack of a revolutionary proletarian communist party, the Iranian workers were not able to exert their leadership on this revolution, which consequently led to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces picking the fruits of this revolution, and the establishment of a government which did not represent the interests of the workers, the peasants and the toiling masses. Therefore, our revolution is not finished and continues. Because the principal goals of this revolution—which are to end im-

perialist domination, to achieve complete independence and democracy, and to annihilate all comprador capitalists and the big landowners and to establish the rights of the Iranian workers and peasants—are not yet realized, the revolution still continues in that direction. Through the building of its own revolutionary party and through the unity of the workers and peasants, the Iranian working class will surely be able to take this revolution to its final goals. We, and all the true Iranian communists, are determined to use all of our power to do just that.

The Iranian revolution, with the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, has taken a great stride forward and has dealt a heavy blow to reaction and imperialism. This revolution was able to destroy one of the most important military, political and economic bases of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf region in the Middle East, as well as endangering U.S. imperialism's situation worldwide. That is why the criminal U.S. imperialists are out to offset these losses at whatever cost, with the aim of ultimately imposing another reactionary and dependent regime on our people. Once, in 1953 in a bloody coup, U.S. imperialism returned the throne to the Shah and for over a quarter of a century imposed on our people one of the most criminal and brutal regimes in the world, and plundered our human and natural resources. Our people's revolution destroyed such a regime after over 70,000 people were martyred and hundreds of thousands wounded. U.S. imperialism is now injured and determined to repeat the past's dark history in our country. To do this, it has plotted against our country and our revolution and is taking into service all the remaining elements of the old regime, such as the Shah and the traitorous fugitive military top brass, the capitalists, the feudals and the SAVAK agents. That the U.S. gave refuge to the Shah and is now taking care of him and his criminal cohorts through another puppet, Sadat in Egypt, and has turned that country into one of its centers of plotting and intrigue against our revolution, are all indications of the U.S.'s interests. But this has not satisfied U.S. imperialism; using its economic, political and military power, it has begun acting directly against our revolution.

Following the takeover of the U.S. imperialist spy nest in Tehran and the CIA agents taken hostage, which gave rise to a great anti-imperialist movement, U.S. imperialism under the guise of "freeing the hostages" and with the aid of its European and Japanese allies has threatened our country with an economic blockade, has committed crimes against our people, is preparing to militarily attack our country, and has stationed a naval fleet at the opening of the Persian Gulf. It has sent its Marine guards to the dependent countries and sheikdoms in the Gulf. U.S. military aggression, which took place under the guise of "hostage rescue," was much greater than just attacking the spy nest, and the information revealed so far indicates a great plot, so far rendered abortive.

The U.S. imperialists thought that our nation would surrender before the onslaught of force and aggression. Evidently they had forgotten the Vietnam experience. If the Vietnamese people, relying on their everlasting power, could defeat the U.S. imperialists' military, our nation is also ready to create another Vietnam and defend its independence and territorial integrity to the last drop of blood.

The workers of the world must know that the entire Western imperialist camp, the U.S., Europe and Japan, have united against our country and want to destroy our revolu-

**Union
of
Iranian
Communists**

Continued on page 50

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

To the Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

We have been overjoyed and moved to hear, little by little, of the huge May Day campaign waged by your Party and of its successful culmination in important marches of thousands of revolutionaries who unfurled the red banner in various cities in the U.S.

Your Party has been unfolding a great struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie itself, right in the heart of one of the super-powers. With great courage and heroism, your Party has been defying repression and carrying on revolutionary combat.

In those memorable days of struggle for May Day 1980, Comrade Damian García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was viciously murdered. With this assassination the bourgeoisie wanted to intimidate your Party and the revolutionary forces, but this has backfired; the indestructible example of Comrade García is already being followed by many other revolutionaries who are joining the ranks of your Party to fill the tremendous gap left by Comrade Damian. An unbreakable fighter, Comrade Damian García was not only a hero of the U.S. proletariat and people, but also of the international proletariat.

In the face of this new repressive blow, in the face of this barbarous assassination of a member of our brother Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S., our Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile dips its red banners in memory of Comrade Damian García, in full solidarity with your Party, swearing by his memory to continue advancing on the revolutionary road we have charted for ourselves.

Our own experience and international experience as well have shown us that savage repression by the people's enemies is a sign of their weakness, and they can never liquidate the

revolutionary forces which represent the future of humanity.

For our Party, which is struggling under difficult, clandestine conditions against the ferocious dictatorship headed by Pinochet and against Yankee imperialism, the activities developed by your Party in the heart of our main enemy are cause for sincere, revolutionary joy. The Chilean proletariat and people sincerely appreciate the solidarity given by the proletariat and people in the U.S., as well as that of your Party.

On this occasion we also want to salute your Party for the important contributions it has made in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the thought and work of Comrade Mao Tsetung, both against the present Chinese revisionist leaders and against the dogmatism and mechanical thinking which have also appeared in the International Communist Movement.

Today the struggle against revisionism in all its forms and for the unity of Marxist-Leninists is an urgent task, one which your Party, along with other forces of the International Communist Movement, has firmly undertaken.

Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.: Accept once again our revolutionary greetings, as well as all our support. We wish you continued victories in your revolutionary work.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA!

GLORY TO COMRADE DAMIAN GARCIA, LET US
FOLLOW HIS REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
May 13, 1980

OCML Voie Proletarienne (France)

Comrades,

We express to you our militant solidarity on the occasion of this international day of struggle of the proletariat.

The struggle you are waging against your own bourgeoisie, against its war preparations, against its ambitions to rule the world while crushing the revolutionary movement, is a direct aid to the struggle of oppressed peoples and of the proletariat against imperialism. This struggle is also an encouragement to the Marxist-Leninist forces which, like ourselves, have undertaken the building of revolutionary parties right in the very heart of the imperialist countries.

It is in unity with you that the "propaganda groups" of the OCML Voie Proletarienne are going to May First demonstrations and gatherings in France to expose our own bourgeoisie and struggle against chauvinism. In this way we will show the peoples in struggle against imperialism that the proletarians and the oppressed in the imperialist countries are not one with their imperialist masters. And we will show the ruling class itself that it will have to reckon with the revolutionary forces in its own country.

We wish your party success on this May 1st. Your action will show the ruling class of the USA that their efforts to smash the RCP (USA) are only attracting even more supporters and members to your party from the exploited and the oppressed. We take this occasion to reaffirm our solidarity with Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao defendants, charged by the bourgeois justice system. Your action will show revolutionaries, the exploited and oppressed of other countries, that, despite the immense tasks that we must carry out in order to play a decisive role in the class confrontations to come, a revolutionary force is in the process of being born and is growing right in the very heart of the most powerful imperialist countries.

Your activity shows that Marxist-Leninists "learn warfare through making warfare" and that the debates, the problems that we must resolve together in order to achieve the international unity of communists are not a brake on our own revolutionary action among the masses, but on the contrary an encouragement to go forward.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE RCP-USA!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF MARXIST-LENINISTS!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Paris, 18 April 1980

Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)

To the RCP (USA) on the occasion of May 1st 1980

The Nottingham Communist Group sends revolutionary greetings to the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and to the working class of America. We recall that it was the American working class who initiated May Day as an occasion for mass action and international working class solidarity. Now, under the leadership of the RCP, you are carrying forward and deepening the revolutionary significance of this great tradition.

For us in Britain, it is very encouraging to see the growth of a truly communist party right in the heart of the most powerful imperialist country in the world. Your example is an inspiration for us to intensify our efforts to rebuild the proletarian revolutionary party here in Britain.

You proclaim: "Our flag is red—not red, white and blue!"

We reply: "Our flag is also the red flag of the international working class—not the red, white and blue of British imperialism!"

May Day 1980

Dear Comrades,

In greeting the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the whole U.S. working class on this May 1, 1980, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers cannot fail to recall that this date is inseparably linked to the heroic struggle of the workers in Chicago who on the 1st of May 1886, in magnificent combat in the streets, raised the banner of the demand for the eight-hour work day and struck a blow against their exploiters and oppressors. Even if there were no other reason, this alone would be enough to prove that the U. S. working class is a glorious and fighting class, whose example has more than once shown the way towards the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world.

Despite the fact that Portugal has lived for many years under the yoke of U.S. imperialism, the Portuguese working class does not confuse the stinking crimes of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie with the working class in the U.S., which is a victim of these same crimes.

The Portuguese proletariat celebrates May 1st this year under the conditions of a great sharpening of the class struggle. After overthrowing fascism and colonialism, after having prevented the establishment of a social-fascist dictatorship in 1975, after having unmasked the petty bourgeois democracy of the Socialist Party which was in power after the overthrow of the Portuguese revolution in 1974-75, the working class and people of Portugal today are struggling for the overthrow of the reactionary government of the so-called "Democratic" Alliance, a coalition made up of a group of reactionary and fascist parties which are flunkies for U.S. and European imperialism.

With the dedicated aid of the revisionists,

Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers (PCTP)

and under the cover of the illusions about bourgeois democracy spread by them, the Portuguese bourgeoisie threw 15% of the workers out of work and cut their real wages by about a third during the last five years. Once the opportunist and traitor parties had completed their work, the current government of the private monopoly capitalists and landowners strove to intensify exploitation and poverty even more, while at the same time attacking the revolutionary gains won by the workers, and preparing bloody repression against the working class, the peasantry and the whole people.

Our Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers is the only political force which consistently opposes the reactionary "Democratic" Alliance government and which shows the masses the road of the People's Democracy and Socialism, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Communism. But, at the same time our Party takes the lead in the struggle against the dictatorship of capital, it never ceases for a moment to fight the revisionist party of Cunhal, which constantly sabotages and derails the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat from its objective.

Comrades,

Since its founding in September 1970, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers has always defined itself as a Marxist party, that is, as a party guided by the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Therefore, we didn't have to think twice when the new Chinese and Albanian revisionists shamelessly unleashed an attack against Mao's teachings and the gains of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We remain unshakeably convinced that Maoism is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism, that it is, fundamentally, the Marxism-Leninism of our time. As such, the new attacks launched by the Chinese and Albanian revisionists, following the Soviet revisionists, have the sole purpose of disarming the proletariat in the face of imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction, of spreading political and ideological confusion among the vanguard workers and creating the conditions for the widespread slaughter of a new imperialist world war between the two superpowers, in which the peoples will be used as cannon fodder.

All this makes clear the need to intensify the internationalist struggle of the communists the world over against modern revisionism, whether it be the Soviet type, or the Chinese or Albanian type.

Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, certain that in this way we will march towards new and greater victories!

LONG LIVE MAY 1st

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-
MAOISM

Mao Tsetung — Kredsen (Denmark)

20 April 1980

To the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The May Day 1980 mobilizing of the working people's revolutionary forces inside the leading country of the imperialist gangsters now ruling the world is going to be an event of great practical significance, not only for the U.S. but in joining together revolutionary peoples inside and outside the imperialists' dominating centres.

These inside and outside revolutionary forces are equally needed to take history into the hands of the working people, and their success in doing so is inevitable when they join their common struggle and just hatred, organized, guided and steered by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Make this international workers' day 1980 further strengthen the vanguard party of the U.S. working class, the RCP, USA, and through this the international liberation movement!

Comrades,

On this glorious revolutionary May Day 1980 we express our militant internationalist solidarity with the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA), the vanguard of the great multinational working class of America. We hail your heroic efforts and the tremendous advances you have made in beating back the vicious repression unleashed on the party and Chairman, Comrade Avakian, by the war-mongering, parasitic and wholly decadent imperialist ruling class of America, and the tremendous efforts you are making to unite and lead the American working class on the correct revolutionary path.

We uphold the decisive contributions made to the International Communist Movement by the Revolutionary Communist Party, led by Comrade Avakian, in defending and advancing the cause of proletarian revolution, exposing the hideous reactionary nature of the Teng Hsiao Ping regime and holding high the banner of our beloved and immortal leader, Mao Tse Tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist revolutionary of our era.

We stand united with you today dedicated to exposing and fighting the greatest exploiters and murderers of all time—the two superpowers, and their many puppets everywhere. Today the two superpowers are desperately trying to sink their fangs deeper while they prepare to incinerate perhaps hundreds of millions of people in a Third World War, to redivide and rule the world. The U.S. imperialists and its allies have penetrated deep into the economy of our country and have begun to plunder our people and our resources in an unprecedented way. Our own comprador bourgeoisie, acting under the dictates of the World Bank, the IMF and other institutions of finance capital, have begun to escalate their exploitation and repression of the people so that we live under semi-fascist conditions. The shadow of Soviet social-imperialism with its threat of expansion, looms large over our country and the rest of Asia, particularly since its naked aggression in Afghanistan. All this is, however, nothing but the prelude to their final destruction.

World Imperialism has entered into a period of deepening economic crisis from which it can never hope to recoup. Before the international working class dawns the prospect of social revolution. Let us grasp this situation with both hands.

The 1980's is a decisive decade for us and for the whole world. The future holds many deadly challenges and great opportunities. Our party is determined to build the United Front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces under the leadership of the working class and to carry out the New Democratic Revolution as a prelude to the establishment of Socialism.

As the vanguard of the working class of one of the two biggest Imperialist powers of the world, you have a tremendous responsibility for the success of the world revolution and we have every confidence that you will discharge this great responsibility with honor.

Let us together with all other Marxist/Leninist forces of the world, guided by proletarian internationalism, march forward until final victory.

**Down With The Two Super-Powers And Their War Preparations!
Victory to the World Revolution!**

Long Live Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought!

General Secretary
N. Sanmugathan

Ceylon Communist Party

Statement by a Revolutionary Worker from Turkey Living in New York City

Comrades and Friends:

At a time when the struggles of the working class in the capitalist-imperialist system and of the oppressed peoples of the world for national and social liberation have sharpened, the RCP, part of the American working class movement, has been preparing to celebrate May Day, a day of unity, solidarity, and struggle of the world proletariat. In spite of the revisionist, reformist, and opportunist maneuvers to strip May Day of its militant character, to put May Day into a form acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie by holding May Day celebrations behind closed doors and not carrying the message to the masses, the RCP has taken up May Day as a tool in the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Especially with a new world war on the horizon, a militant celebration of May Day in the United States will add spirit to and supplement the struggles of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries (from the point of view of international solidarity). The revolutionaries and working masses of our country will see that they are not alone in their struggles, that even in the heart of imperialism there is a struggle against the common enemy.

The proletariat and working masses of Turkey have declared war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Thousands of workers, revolutionaries and peasants have given their lives to destroy fascist dictatorship and imperialism, but these attacks don't go unanswered. Today the objective conditions for revolution have ripened considerably. Collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie and feudal landlords are on the verge of collapse. Neither oppressors nor the oppressed want to live under the conditions they are used to. The proletariat and the working masses of Turkey are defending themselves against attacks by the imperialists and their lackeys, and preparing themselves for revolution. May Day of this year will be an historic turning point of the class struggle between fascists and anti-fascist revolutionary forces. The fascist Demirel government has banned May Day and also declared they would smash demonstrations by armed force. But the proletariat and working masses of Turkey will thwart their plans by raising the red banner of revolution.

Long Live May Day!

Long Live Internationalism!

**Long Live the Unity, Solidarity and
Struggle of the World Proletariat!**

Message from Jamaican Revolutionaries

When the Masses Unite, All Reactionaries Will Tremble

We came to the U.S. already hating the oppression of our people in Jamaica by U.S. imperialism. We came looking for genuine revolutionaries to unite with, in common struggle, to get rid of U.S. imperialism. We found the RCP and we found Revolutionary May Day. We were always told how strong the U.S. is supposed to be and how everybody in the U.S. loves this empire. But we have seen through building for May Day that thousands here in the U.S. are longing to do the system in. May Day 1980—millions of people around the world will march, taking history into their hands. And millions are watching to see if workers in the U.S. will now march side by side with workers of the rest of the world. We will be marching with you and we hope to see May Day in Jamaica.

The RCP has a weapon to fight this system and that is Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We as members of the Youth Forces for National Liberation (YFNL) are preparing for revolution in Jamaica. To win our liberation the tentacles of imperialism must be chopped off in our country. We have fought first British and now U.S. imperialism. While people all over the Caribbean are fighting now against U.S. imperialism, Soviet imperialists are peeping through the back door. We cannot trade a black dog for a monkey. We strongly support the RCP in the battle for Revolutionary May Day. We believe May Day will be a sparkling light to shine the path to revolution in the U.S., which can only inspire further millions the world over in struggle for our liberation.

Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, New York City Branch

The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, New York City Branch, is making a call to all people in the Puerto Rican community and Hispanic people in general, to unite with the battle cry of the working class in the May First Movement.

Comrades, raise your battle cry, and unite with this big march that will unite thousands and thousands of oppressed workers.

Puerto Rico is a territory of Central America that has suffered the most shameless colonialism and oppression since 1898, when the invaders, the enemy of freedom of all peoples—the capitalists and imperialists of North America—submitted the Puerto Ricans, through use of conventional arms, to slavery and exploitation. Even today, after 82 years, the Puerto Rican people still suffer after this empire imposed a citizenship that Puerto Ricans at no time asked for.

We are clear that the vicious intention of North American imperialism was not only to use Puerto Ricans as cannon fodder in wars which were provoked by the malignant Yankees, but also to use the workers of Puerto Rico for yearly immigration to the migrant agricultural farms of the U.S. where they live in the worst health conditions.

Brothers and sisters, workers of Puerto Rico, Thursday May 1st is your day. Show your strength for all those millions of workers who internationally raise the flag of struggle and freedom to overthrow the exploitative U.S.

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, U.S.A. Organization

Because of your gracious invitation in your newspaper asking those of us from other countries for their opinion of May Day and what it means to them, we are happy to have the honor to share in commemorating this great day by sending you some thoughts from the Iraqi people commonly and the Kurdish people especially, hoping for solidarity in their struggle with the great people of the U.S. We hope the Kurds and the exploited and oppressed in your country can work together, struggle side by side together to achieve the victory in a great revolution against imperialism, Zionism and all reactionaries here, there and everywhere! We are depending on our revolutionary workers to knock down any kind of imperialistic regime under any cover they have cloaked themselves in.

COMRADES:

The 1st of May, International Workers Day all over the world is the symbol of the revolutionary activities in which revolutionary workers are leading the people against capitalism and worldwide imperialistic regimes—holding up the Red Flags of class struggle to bring about the socialist system all over the world.

The proletarian class everywhere is rising up and shouting loudly using revolutionary slogans demanding the end of imperialism, Zionism, all reactionaries. They are preparing a worldwide revolution to knock down imperialism and fascist regimes.

In 1886 the proletarian class rose up in a big demonstration against the U.S. capitalist regime in Chicago demanding that the daily work day should consist of 8 hours only. They were demanding a better life and more hope for the working people.

Today, the proletarian class in Iraq is facing and meeting many difficulties under the fascist regime of the Baath party which is in power presently. The necessities of life are almost impossible to obtain for the working person, because of the horrendous inflation in the country. Even when wages are high, it is very hard to make ends meet, especially for the lower class consisting of mostly workers, laborers and peasants. Many necessary items have disappeared from the markets.

The Iraqi regime keeps harassing the proletarian class; putting them in jail or firing them from their jobs. Right now there are thousands of Kurdish workers who have been laid off their jobs in Kirkuk from the Iraq Petroleum Company and in Kanaqin. Adding more cruelty to their treatment, the Iraqi regime deports people by the hundreds to the southern part of the country separating them from their friends and relatives.

The Iraqi regime courted the imperialistic capitalists to gain the use of their assets. The Iraqis signed different military and economic agreements with several imperialistic countries, like the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and France. Meanwhile the Iraqi people are in need of food and clothes, but the regime needs weapons to kill—to kill especially the Kurdish people!

The proletarian class in Iraq has a bright background in their struggle against imperialism and the bourgeois who are building their castles and buying their expensive luxury cars on the laborers' shoulders.

The massacre of Gaworbaghi in 1946 was the best proof of revolutionary workers' struggle against the *above mentioned group*. The revolutionary workers prepared a demonstration in Kirkuk which is the richest city in Iraqi Kurdistan with its oil. They were demanding an increase of wages and better living conditions. The regime answered with guns and shot 80 workers to death; about 42 were wounded.

The Iraqi fascist regime kills, chases, arrests the best and most innocent and patriotic group of Iraqi people—both Arabs and Kurds and all national minorities. This regime has executed more than 300 Kurdish revolutionaries in *one day's time!* Most of these people were workers, peasants and students. At the same time they arrested some workers of the League of Toilers of Iraqi Kurdistan. Their president, Comrade Abdullah Hassan was included. He had been working in a Sulaimanyia cigarette factory. After torturing the patriots severely for three months they were executed without a trial. This wasn't the first execution! There were some other comrades including one of the L.T.I.K.'s leader by the name of Shehab Sheikh Noori who was one of the established members of the League of Toilers of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Twelve years ago, after all this, the Baath party took over the unions in the country including the Worker's Union. In spite of this, in May 1980 the Kurdistan revolutionary workers, along with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan will join together in their support of the revolutionary workers in the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party and all the other foreign workers in the United States. These workers pledge to all that they will make May Day in 1980 a great advance for the class conscious proletariat in America, holding up the red banner in the streets singing revolutionary slogans, declaring the coming of the end of capitalism and imperialism.

Today, the revolutionary workers are reminding themselves of the incident in Chicago and Gaworbaghi's massacre, telling themselves that it was a very important matter and it is NOT to be forgotten ever! It is the proletariat's right to make revolution with the support of other progressive parties, to knock down the fascist and imperialistic regimes everywhere, until they achieve victory!

**LONG LIVE THE 1ST OF MAY: THE WORKERS' DAY!
LET THE WORKING CLASS GET UNITED AGAINST THE
IMPERIALISTIC REGIMES AND THEIR ALLIES!
DOWN WITH THE WIDE WORD "IMPERIALISM"
UNDER ANY COVER!!**



tion. The imperialists are united in defending their common interests and the plunder of the peoples of different countries. The workers of the world must also be united in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism and the defense of their common interests, and they must together smash the imperialists' plots and intrigues. May Day is the day of solidarity of workers around the world, and on this historic day the Iranian workers expect solidarity and backing from their comrades worldwide. The imperialists would like to pretend that our country and our revolution is alone in the world. But the workers and freedom-loving revolutionary people around the globe are our allies and backers of our revolution. May Day is a day of expressing this solidarity.

Today the U.S. military is threatening our country with military aggression, and confronting such an attack puts a heavy load on the shoulders of you American workers and communists. You made history when you defended the heroic Indochinese peoples and with great difficulty were able to wake up the American people to the righteousness of the demands of the Indochinese peoples and bring the American masses to their defense, and show that the people all over the world were in a united front against U.S. imperialism. Our people and our working class expect the same of you in these crucial moments, and they are certain that the American workers will not leave them alone in this great struggle. The U.S. ruling class has been trying to use the issue of the hostages to whip up national chauvinist sentiments among the American people and create a favorable atmosphere in accordance with its aims of attacking Iran as well as politically gearing up and preparing for another world war. They have told the American people that the Iranians are a bunch of criminal, bloodthirsty, wild animals whose animosity is not against U.S. imperialism, but against the American people. Please convey this solidarity message of the Iranians to the freedom-loving American people and tell them that the conscious Iranian workers, who for years experienced the plunders of U.S. imperialism and the workings of its puppet regime, understand the pain and agony of American workers and hope to someday celebrate the victory of the American workers over the capitalist regime and, hand in hand, work for a world free from exploitation and plunder. Please give the American people our warmest greetings and congratulations and tell them that we are certain that this national chauvinist propaganda will not weaken the strong solidarity between the Iranian and American peoples. U.S. imperialism is our common enemy, let's together struggle to finish it off.

The world situation has increasingly taken a turn for the worse, and the two superpowers, the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism, are preparing for another devastating war. The Soviet Union, following this strategy, invaded our brother and neighboring country of Afghanistan a short time ago. Today the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan are engaged in a fierce struggle against this superpower for their freedom and independence. With its military aggression in Afghanistan and the barbaric slaughter of the defenseless

people of this country, the Soviet Union once again has shown its real fascist nature and has given a lesson to the workers around the world that, although this country speaks of "socialism," indeed it is nothing but a plundering imperialist power. These two superpowers are taking the world to another world war, and this race has been heightened to a new level with the invasion of Afghanistan and the military build-up in the Indian Ocean at the opening of the Persian Gulf. The people of the world must be ready and vigilant against this war and smash all superpower war moves. This war is a war among the capitalists and the imperialists. But they want to pit the people of the world against one another, and out of this genocide gain a bigger portion of the plunder of the people and divide the world according to their wishes. The people of our country who are being threatened from one side (the north) by the Soviet Union and have stood against the military attack of U.S. imperialism from the other side are determined to hold their fighting front strongly against these two superpowers and not let one replace the other. We know well that our country would be among the first to be preyed on by the superpowers in case world war breaks out, and we know well that we have a hard and arduous struggle ahead of us. We are determined not to submit to the rule of either of these two superpowers at whatever cost. In this struggle, along with the people and workers of the world, we are in one front against the imperialists, the superpowers and their war preparations. We believe in Comrade Mao Tsetung's teaching that "either revolution will prevent world war or world war will give rise to revolution." We believe that by relying on the revolutionary struggle of the masses we will be able to stand against the superpowers and will not allow the revisionist views of the newly risen Chinese traitors, who by betraying Mao Tsetung and his Thought propagate collusion with imperialism and its puppet regimes, get in our way. Let the imperialists and especially the two superpowers attack the people of the world. Revolution will teach them a lesson they will never forget.

Comrades:

As you know, the international communist movement today, after the historic betrayal of the new leaders in China, is in chaos, and its ranks are in disarray. History has put a great test in front of all the communists worldwide and has invited them into a great battle. Our ranks are being threatened from right and "left" deviations. Our principles have been betrayed in China and the Soviet Union, and the parties of these two countries have been usurped by the revisionists, each in a different way, plotting and intriguing against the workers and oppressed people of the world. A great ideological crisis has engulfed our international movement, and its historic achievements as a result of the struggles against opportunism and revisionism are being questioned and doubted. We must do our utmost to bring our ranks to order and eliminate this crisis, and by uniting the now disarrayed ranks of the Iranian communists, along with the unity of parties and organizations around the world, prepare ourselves for this historic test.

Honor Comrade Damian García Revolutionary Martyr

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

—Rev. Robert Guadalupe, former Comrade, Communist Party, USA



DAMIAN GARCIA

Poster © 1980 National May Day Committee, 1235 University Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133

—RAISING THE RED FLAG OVER THE ALAMO, MARCH 20, 1980

Beautiful 4-color poster depicts Comrade García raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads:

"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and

their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

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The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It

Continued from page 8

capitulation; and it was Mao who led in criticizing the theory of the productive forces which in its fully developed form had become the theoretical foundation for Khrushchev's treason. Even more, it was Mao who led in summing up the overall experience of what had happened in the Soviet Union and unleashing the Cultural Revolution, a mass political movement without equal in breadth and depth in history, which in providing the answer to capitalist restoration brought Marxism to new heights and restored and expanded its prestige around the world in a way that hadn't happened since Lenin rescued Marxism from the opportunism that had all but suffocated it.

All this is what is under attack today. The revisionists who overthrew Mao's successors have overturned the verdicts on Mao's struggle against revisionism within China and have even rehabilitated "China's Khrushchev" (Liu Shiao-chi, the principal target of the Cultural Revolution); they are doing the same with Mao's international struggle and may very well end up in the clutches of Khrushchev's successors, with whom they are already flirting. In denouncing Mao's line and contributions, Enver Hoxha has also reversed the verdicts on the struggle against revisionism, although Hoxha, who has less to peddle than the Chinese revisionists, has so far done his best to maintain a "Marxist" cover and his leadership over whatever will follow him in various countries.

His criticisms of the current rulers in China—mainly based on the "three worlds" strategy—come down to the fact that they sold out to the U.S. and left him in the lurch. Such a shallow analysis is inevitable, since Hoxha attacks Mao's theory of the class struggle under socialism and specifically denies that a new bourgeoisie can arise within the party, which leaves Hoxha no basis to deal with the reversal in China. However, this quarrel may be patched up yet, since for the same reason Hoxha has no basis to deal with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, which is why his criticism of the Soviet Union is confined to Khrushchevite capitulation to the U.S. and leaves the door wide open to coming to terms with present-day Soviet social-imperialism. Already several Hoxhaite parties (most notably in Italy and Britain) have become so openly pro-Soviet as to embarrass their reluctant comrades elsewhere, and others have thrown themselves into "united fronts against war and fascism" (most notably in West Germany) that have led to them tailing behind the pro-Soviet Communist Parties whose main object is that the imperialist bourgeoisies in these countries be pulled out of the U.S. war bloc. While not inevitable, it is certainly not inconceivable that Hoxha and Teng Hsiao-ping could end up reunited in form as well as content under the wing of Soviet revisionism (or even the U.S.), although their unity in capitulating to imperialism is not dependent on capitulating

to the same imperialist war bloc.

This brings out the fact that in addition to its similarities to the situation faced by communists in the early 1960s, the crossroads today also has great similarities to that of WWI and the collapse of the Second International, when as today the intensification of the world's contradictions with the advent of world war, which brought unprecedented revolutionary opportunities, also brought the two-line struggle within the forces that considered themselves Marxist to a head on a national and international level, and divided them into the two camps of those who supported their bourgeoisie in that war and those who took the war as an opportunity to overthrow them. In fact, under these conditions what to do in the face of world war is the main question that today divides Marxism from opportunism. This capitulation can be seen clearly in the line of the Chinese revisionists (their attempts to turn China into a "modern" neocolony and their whole international maneuvering to get the best price for this offer) and is the substance, in the final analysis, of Hoxha's as well. The particular content of the capitulation to imperialism embodied in the attacks on Mao can today *only* mean lining up with one imperialist war bloc or the other.

It is inevitable that political crisis and capitulation for some will develop out of crises in the objective situation. The question that faces the forces who remain—those for whom making revolution is still the question—is how to come from behind, to determine and carry out a political line that will enable them to play their full role in this situation and comply with the demands history is making, so that this moment of danger and desertions and also of opportunities can give birth to the tremendous historical advances which are in fact possible. As Comrade Avakian has pointed out, while this particular spiral of history that began with the end of World War 2 has so far included the terrible setbacks in the USSR and China, it is by no means impossible that it could end with even greater victories, including the possibility of revolutions in one or more of the advanced imperialist countries themselves.⁶ But no matter what happens, the advance of the world proletarian revolution is up to the line and actions of communist forces.

The following analysis made by Lenin in 1914 in many ways describes the way things stand in the international movement today:

"Let us frankly state the facts; in any case the war will *compel* us to do so, if not tomorrow, then the day after. Three currents exist in international socialism: 1) the chauvinists, who are consistently pursuing a policy of opportunism; 2) the consistent opponents of opportunism, who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have routed most of them, but 'defeated armies learn fast'), and are capable of conducting revolutionary work directed towards civil war; 3) confused and vacillating people, who at present are following in the wake of the opportunists and are causing the proletariat most harm by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, something they do most scientifically and using the Marxist (sic!) method. Some of those who are engulfed in the latter current can be saved and restored to socialism, but only through a policy of a most decisive break and split with the former current. . . ."

In our view, in the face of this situation the task is for the

most resolute and clear-headed of the communist forces—the genuine left internationally—to unite on the basis of the clear lines of demarcation that have emerged within the international movement. This will allow them to win over the vacillating elements and whatever can be still dragged out of the cesspool of counterrevolution, in the course of taking concrete steps—politically, ideologically and organizationally—which will lead to tremendous advances both overall and within the various countries. In regard to those who find themselves caught between the main trends—as represented by Mao, and by Teng, Hoxha... and the Soviets—we are guided by the advice of Lenin: “Whoever wants to *help* the waverers must first stop wavering himself.”⁸

III. UNITY OF MARXISTS, OR OF MARXISM AND OPPORTUNISM?

Lenin put it very succinctly: “Before uniting, and in order to unite, we must begin by demarcating clearly and resolutely. Otherwise our unity would only be fictitious and only serve to conceal the existing disorder and prevent us from putting an end to it.”

Some people, although perfectly capable of quoting Lenin, don't agree with this. They argue that the lines of demarcation we have listed have no basis in reality, and above all that to uphold or to denounce Mao does not represent a basic dividing line. For them, uniting the international communist movement does not mean a demarcation between trends but rather “struggling against the erroneous attitudes that oppose the necessity of the organized unity of *all* communists. It means both opposing the idea that each separate party must never be criticized or judged for its own programme and practice, and the sectarian thesis that organized unity must first begin with a certain fraction of the existing forces in the world movement.”⁹

This position—that of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!—is that of an organization which, while arguing for its freedom to criticize Hoxha and those who follow him, even more strongly argues that they should be united with and nothing should be done to break with them or exclude them. We must go into this in some detail, both because in itself this represents an extremely harmful attitude which is shared to a greater or lesser degree by some others, and also because when examined it proves our point: that while upholding Mao and opposing the attacks against him is not the *only* dividing line in the international movement, it is the one without which all the others become meaningless.

In Struggle has sharply polemicized against “the development of a movement which is strongly opposed to the condemnation of Mao Tsetung and which seeks to make the defense of Mao Tsetung Thought the line of demarcation which separates opportunism from Marxism-Leninism.”¹⁰ According to In Struggle, this amounts to “reducing the struggle against revisionism to a declaration of unquestioned support for everything that this or that proletarian revolutionary has said or done”¹¹—and the implication here is that Mao and Hoxha (and by further implication, Stalin) all have their good and bad points, although as we will see their outlook is much closer to that of Hoxha. In calling for a conference of “all groups and parties which, to our knowledge, are genuinely struggling for socialism and communism and

working for the victory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat”—a proposal directly in opposition to the kind of unity of principles we have called for—they say explicitly, “Our intention with this conference is not to reproduce or create a new group of forces which mutually recognize one another and in doing so deny that other forces are part of the communist movement. On the contrary, our intention is to insure that this conference be a place where the differences as to the path which should be followed to attain unity be clearly put on the table and discussed collectively. It is not a scandal for Marxists-Leninists to have differences on this or that question. Truth does not fall like manna from heaven believe us! Revolutionary ideas stand out when all points of view are expressed and after open and frank debate.”¹²

It is not a scandal to disagree, comrades, but let's be honest about what we disagree about! The question certainly is not “this or that” individual—it is a matter of line, of clear and opposing trends, which as Plekhanov pointed out long ago are concentrated and represented by certain leaders, especially in periods of sharp line struggle. Nor is it a matter of everything “Mao ever said or did,” which is nothing but a caricature of the position we and others have taken. What Mao represents is the consistent fight against revisionism and the advances in Marxism-Leninism won in the course of that struggle—this objective fact is what obligates those who would be Marxists to choose between Mao and those who viciously attack him, and not because “this or that” fanatic is determined to force a choice upon people for purely subjective reasons.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the extensive polemics we have already directed against Hoxha's attacks on Mao's line and against Hoxha's line in general.¹³ In fact, since In Struggle has labeled Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution* “an important contribution in the struggle against revisionism,”¹⁴ and repeatedly implied that our stand on Hoxha is senseless, it is In Struggle's responsibility to stop trying to pretend that these polemics don't exist (which is why they've never mentioned them directly) but rather to address themselves to this analysis, which shows that not only Hoxha's attacks on Mao but also his line on every major question is nothing but revisionism.

It's worth pointing out once again that in attacking Mao's line, Hoxha ends up denying the objective basis for the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country (which forces him to deny that China was ever socialist—and leaves him a bit ambiguous about the Soviet Union). He denies that the crisis of imperialism is leading to a confrontation between two imperialist blocs headed by the superpowers. He speaks of the “grave neo-colonial consequences” of U.S. investment in the Soviet Union (perhaps he thinks they can wage a war of national liberation?); of the U.S. war industry thriving because “that is where the rate of profit is highest,” which is opposed to Lenin's thesis that imperialism means war and is nothing but modern-day Kautskyism; and of China's strategy to “incite” war between the U.S. and USSR—which is definitely an echo of the Soviets. He claims that the principal contradiction in today's world and the main content of the threat of war is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. He even calls for Marxist-Leninists to take up “the defense of true independence” in the imperialist countries themselves.¹⁵ Isn't it fairly clear that what all this adds up to is a line little different in substance from that of the revi-

sionists in China, or the Soviet Union for that matter—that in order to preach capitulation Hoxha has launched an attack not only on “this or that proletarian revolutionary” but on all of Marxism? Doesn’t this make it clear that to attempt to combine the two trends represented by Hoxha and Mao means attempting to combine Marxism and revisionism? It’s about time In Struggle addressed itself to these matters if it is serious about “the struggle against revisionism.”

These points are examples of dividing line questions with profound practical implications in today’s world. They amount to revolution and counterrevolution. In other words, they involve questions posed for all communists by the development of the objective situation itself—the question, above all, of grasping the nature of imperialism and of the necessity and possibility to make proletarian revolution and continue it, that have been at the heart of Hoxha’s (and the Chinese revisionists’) attacks on Mao. This is why it is these same crucial and urgent questions that are addressed by the kind of principles of unity spoken to in the quote from Comrade Avakian. They are both at the heart of the two-line struggle that has broken out in this form and matters of life and death for the proletarian revolution.

In Struggle looks at this matter as if it had no class content—a way of looking at things that itself has class content. They would like to simply avoid it by taking the position that Mao wasn’t all bad, but that he made mistakes, so therefore nobody should make too big a deal about defending him: “Do we really have to choose between thinking that Mao made no fundamental errors, and the position that he was a revisionist? . . . Do we really have to ignore such nationalist deviations as the reduction of the struggle against imperialism to the struggle against ‘the main imperialist enemy’ or against the ‘two superpowers,’ simply because this thesis has been upheld for a long time in the international movement?”¹⁶ If In Struggle really wants to examine the question of whether Mao may have made some real errors around this question—or that Stalin also did before him, let them do so. We consider that a valid and important subject to be discussed, and have already said a few things about it based on a clear overall stand upholding Mao.¹⁷ But if they’re serious about it and not just looking for excuses, let them not defend Enver Hoxha, who has systematically concentrated these tendencies which have for so long plagued the international communist movement and has made them the basis of a clear-cut reactionary stand on today’s cardinal questions.

The argument that In Struggle is making here is that Mao Tsetung can’t be a dividing line, because some people who uphold Mao also uphold social-chauvinism, especially in the form of the “three worlds” strategy promulgated by Teng & Co. But this is a sleight-of-hand trick, and In Struggle is a poor magician. Our own Party and other Marxist-Leninists have thoroughly denounced such parties, and now the Chinese revisionists have assisted us in making even clearer the opposite lines involved here by moving to openly denounce Mao. While we have stated our disagreements with some aspects of Mao’s international line, particularly the formulation that the Soviet Union represents “the most dangerous source of war”—which in no way can be confused with the fact that as an overall strategy the “three worlds” theory is Teng’s counterrevolutionary product and opposed to Mao’s line and outlook—In Struggle is maliciously trying to use this to say that in fact there are no dividing lines.

As to the trick of pointing out that there are opportunists

who claim to uphold Mao—well, there have been plenty of opportunists who’ve done the same with Lenin, especially after he was dead also, but we don’t intend to throw Lenin out or to argue that the question of upholding him was never a fundamental question of principle. We can already anticipate what In Struggle will say when some social-chauvinist parties, such as the Canadian Communist League (M-L) which is already making telling noises, kick up a fuss about Mao and the “three worlds” theory in order to oppose the Chinese flirtation with the USSR and the open attacks on Mao (and dropping of the “three worlds” business, which was never essential anyway) that have accompanied this flirtation, not because they really like Mao or oppose capitulation, but because capitulating to their own bourgeoisie is what they’ve got their hearts set on, and they’ve already had some practice in trying to use Mao to justify it. Or what will In Struggle have to say when some pro-Soviet revisionists in the Western imperialist countries appeal to Lenin’s thesis about revolutionary defeatism in order to serve Soviet imperialist interests?

There are no magical phrases that will in and of themselves automatically divide the whole world into two neat categories, despite In Struggle’s search for such a thing (for instance, their claim that if only the international communist movement were to adopt a common programme, instead of worrying about Mao so much, that would somehow bring about a movement “freed of all traces of revisionism.”¹⁶) Obviously, things are getting complicated and those not guided by Marxism will get lost pretty quickly. This is what makes defending Mao so important—because in today’s world you can’t uphold Marxism-Leninism without upholding Mao. We think we have already shown that Enver Hoxha (and the attempts to defend him) are clear proof of this fact.

IV. CENTRISM CLINGS TO REVISIONISM

There is no better example of eclecticism than In Struggle’s attempted balancing act between Mao and Hoxha. In fact, this is their entire method—“we do not share the viewpoint of those who would reduce the struggle against revisionism to a storm of wild, fiery denunciations,”¹⁸ as if theirs was the voice of reason in a room full of madmen. Theirs is an appeal to bourgeois common sense, and not to Marxism. But eclecticism is more than an effort to mishmash together antagonistic opposites. It is an attempt to save revisionism by putting a more revolutionary-seeming face on it. Although In Struggle may not like the form that the international debate has taken, especially the aspect of having to choose, there is most definitely a Hoxhaite lean to their balance.

While politely remarking “we think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism,”²⁰ In Struggle praises and promotes Hoxha’s all-out assault on Mao, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, as “an important contribution to the debates on fundamental issues which communists must today undertake and complete in order to drive out revisionism wherever it is to be found.”²¹ Such obsequiousness to Hoxha, and such bluster in regard to Mao’s alleged “revisionism”! This contradiction makes it pretty obvious what further investigation shows in a deeper way—that there is a basis for some strong doubt about exactly what In Struggle wants to drive out of the movement, revisionism or Mao’s line and contributions.

First, there is this innocent-sounding (but really very

shocking) statement: "the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism is held back considerably by the disunity that has existed in the communist forces for over 25 years."²² Twenty-five terrible years—in In Struggle's view everything has been pretty dismal since the rise of Khrushchev and the final break-up of the Third International. This explicitly denies (or rejects) the advances of Marxism in theory and practice during this period, but there is another implication here as well: that unity is always the highest principle, the key to advance, and that Mao should have tried harder to keep together the parties that had together belonged to the Third International, when what was required was a split—exactly the kind of split Mao led—between the forces of Marxism and the forces of revisionism that were trying to keep them under their thumb, a split without which there could be no question of fighting for the unity of the international communist movement. Here we hear an echo of Khrushchev's favorite and hypocritical charge, that Mao was a "splitter." If In Struggle thinks that maybe Mao didn't go about this quite politely enough, we'd like to remind them of Lenin's attitude: "Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organizations 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 question has not been 'adequately discussed,' etc., etc."²³ Obviously this goes too far for the form in which those since Khrushchev have been dealt with, whose desertion has come in the form of attacking Mao.

But in condemning this "branding of traitors" and the rest of the political and ideological struggle over the past 25 years, In Struggle is not just criticizing the form—they are criticizing the content, the very struggle against revisionism itself. What else can be the meaning of the following: "The struggle against revisionism was then carried out in a way that many people seem to wish to continue it, that is by criticizing various parties and communist leaders one at a time and in isolation from one other. This has been done with Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchev, Liu Shiao-chi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping . . . and now Mao Tsetung!" (Their ellipses)²⁴

We couldn't ask for a better example to prove the point that throwing out Mao means throwing out the struggle against revisionism. The only possible meaning of including Mao in this list of renegades is that they were all "communist leaders," none of them deserving of "wild and fiery denunciations"—and Mao, who committed this unpardonable sin, in In Struggle's eyes is now getting a posthumous taste of his own medicine. Think about it, In Struggle, you really are going over the edge here. In this criticism of the form the struggle against revisionism took over the past 25 years inside and outside China, a form imposed by the fact that there were real leaders who really went over to the real enemy, there is more than a whiff of the idea that nobody should have gotten so excited about it because the differences were exaggerated. This is what throwing out Mao as a dividing line leads to.

The following selection from one of In Struggle's main polemics, "To Unite the International Communist Movement," is a very clear exposure of how their even-handed and reasonable position in the face of "sectarianism" run rampant, as they like to picture it, really conceals an extremely philistine and rightist standpoint:

"We even feel that at the present time, the appraisal of the lives and works of certain leaders or parties cannot be a *starting point* for defeating revisionism. In fact, those who have used this method have rapidly strayed from a materialist and dialectical point of view in their examination of the communist movement's past and present.

"Since the starting point for this tendency is to defend the 'purity' of Marxist-Leninist principles—which some find in the support of this or that leader, while others find it in the criticism of those same leaders—congresses and conferences are held, studies and analyses are made, and uncalculable energy is spent in determining the merits of one, and the mistakes of another. This results in a very special understanding of the history of the movement. A few months ago, we learned that the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong never based themselves on Marxism-Leninism. But they weren't alone, since French communists have informed us that the Communist Party of France was never worthy of the name. And more recently, U.S. communists announced that Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Workers Party were nothing but nationalists from the start. And questions are being raised about the Party of Labour of Albania. . . . Why not, once you've got a good thing going for you? . . .

"The struggle against revisionism will be fruitless if it continues to be waged in this way. Why is it so terribly important for the French proletariat to reject Mao Zedong Thought (or to relentlessly defend it), when it has been bombarded by dozens upon dozens of communist organizations and groups telling it that it must reject or defend Stalin, or the three worlds theory, or Deng Xiaoping, or Mao Zedong Thought or Hoxha ever since the betrayal of the French Communist Party? None of these often short-lived organizations ever prevented the revisionists or social-democrats from imposing their line of class collaboration with the French bourgeoisie.

"How can U.S. communists justify the fact that they have tried to make the defence of Mao Zedong Thought the main political struggle in the U.S. working class movement in the past year? There as well, there are many disunited Marxist-Leninist groups. The only winners are the reactionary henchment of U.S. imperialism who dominate the working class and union movements and are preparing the masses to support their bourgeoisie in a new imperialist world war."²⁵

The first thing to note here is a rabid opposition to "driving out revisionism wherever it is found." They are uncomfortable when people say that Mao and the Chinese Party *never* based themselves on Marxism, that is going too far. They would rather have peaceful co-existence between trends calling themselves Marxist. But they absolutely forbid anyone to even raise deep questions about Hoxha—that is absolutely going over the limit. And although they like to counterpose what they slander as the method of "appraisal of the lives and works," a kind of study of the lives of saints, to the method of "a rigorous analysis of the line and practice of the communist movement historically, and particularly during the period of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, a period which has never been fully analyzed in the course of the struggle against modern revisionism,"²⁶ here, when actually confronted by sharp criticism of this period, they show that they consider it forbidden—in advance—to find any revisionism through this "rigorous analysis." All this is symptomatic of In Struggle's dilemma: they really would prefer not to have

any dividing lines and would prefer to have everybody swim in one big goulash together—but at the same time it's really Mao that makes them most uncomfortable.

The second thing about this quote is that it ascribes In Struggle's own philistine outlook to the workers—all these heady political and even ideological questions don't matter to *them*, so please don't bother *us* with it. They engage in demagogic and idealistic speculation on the not too surprising fact that in this overall non-revolutionary period a revolutionary line has not held "dominance" among the French proletariat—and go on to make the pragmatist assertion that political line doesn't matter, which is their real point here. Perhaps In Struggle thinks that instead of all this high-flown nonsense the French Marxist-Leninists should instead concentrate on competing with the revisionists and social-democrats in their own terms in the trade union movement? That too, as we'll see in a minute.

This selection comes to a resounding finale with what In Struggle must think are crushing blows against us. But what they crush with these remarks about "disunited groups" in the U.S. is their own feet, since this reveals all too well what kind of struggle they want to promote and what kind of international they want to build.

In case anybody is wondering who these "disunited groups" are in this country, so far they have favorably mentioned in their paper the Progressive Labor Party (a neo-Trotskyite sect which won wide notoriety for denouncing the Black liberation movement, the Vietnamese struggle and Mao Tsetung in the 1960s, before sinking from sight in a subsequent career of undistinguished economism), the Communist Workers Party (which loudly upholds the "three worlds" theory, which is about the only thing that In Struggle has taken a stand against besides the unity of Marxists), and the almost unnoticeable Communist Party USA Marxist-Leninist, a third sect, as rightist as anyone in the U.S. today, which seems to warrant inclusion here only because it is in the running for the official Albanian franchise (along with the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Party" formerly known as COUSML).

The only thing these groups have in common, besides a common bourgeois outlook, is that in one way or another they all worship at the altar of spontaneity and the economic struggle. This fits quite well with In Struggle's shrill objections to our three-month long campaign culminating in the September 1978 Mao Memorials, which brought the question of revolution to hundreds of thousands of workers and others, which we consider a sort of indispensable part of building "the working class movement," and did far more to prepare the masses for war than anything we could have done during that time in the "union movement."

At this point we are tempted to say, get serious—but that's exactly the point here. Either they are serious in their admiration for these groups, in which case this is a living example of the kind of rightist hodge-podge they are proposing for the international movement, or they are desperately searching for some forces in opposition to the RCP in the U.S. to put forward to their readers and members. Either way, this amounts to one more example of In Struggle's vendetta against the Left in the international movement carried out in the guise of humble, reasonable folks just seeking unity.

Recently, In Struggle has taken to writing articles about how they are not centrists.²⁷ But what else can you call an organization whose newest "contribution" to the interna-

tional movement, a publication called *International Forum*—"For the Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement," is dedicated to putting together ("to let the reader know") under one set of covers both Hoxhaite attacks on Mao and some selections in defense of him? Isn't this a glossy version of their unreal dream of uniting Marxism and revisionism? In Struggle tries to hide under "objectivity" "without any preconceptions," "without censorship or discrimination,"²⁸ but in fact their journal has a line just as they do: a line that "discussion and debate must be stepped up among the forces that are resolutely working to break with modern revisionism (be it the Titoite, Russian, Chinese, Euro-communism or Trotskyist variant)"—in other words, Hoxha's revisionism for them isn't even a question and please don't bring up Mao again! This journal of theirs is actually insidious, since what it discriminates against and seeks to blur is any truthful statement of what the terms of debate really are in the international movement—of what the question of Mao is really about—as well as containing lots of half truths, distortions and significant omissions in their extended gossip column.

Of course these people for whom the two trends in the world today are reasonable types like themselves on the one hand and "extremists" of all kinds on the other do not worship everything Enver Hoxha ever "said or did," since they're more into the "I'm OK, you're OK" style and obviously don't feel at home with the "orthodox," suit-and-tie aspect of Hoxha's dogmato-revisionism. In fact, far from being the official Albania franchise operation in Canada, instead Hoxha's slimey kiss of approval has gone to the so-called Communist Party of Canada (M-L), and In Struggle complains bitterly that the fully dogmatized Hoxhaite parties all officially recognize what In Struggle has labeled a gang of police provocateurs (with more than a little justice) as the only communist party in Canada and they all refuse to even speak to In Struggle.

In Struggle presents itself as very principled to continue to uphold Hoxha despite the shabby way they've been treated. But there's another possible explanation for their conduct. They don't like Mao. Like Hoxha, they think the past was much better than the present and want to go back to the way things were 25 years ago, before all this rude struggle against revisionism broke out. They don't seem to like Stalin too much either and have implied what seem to be correct criticisms against his tendency to combine Marxism with nationalism (as indicated earlier), although they never criticize him directly. But without taking up Mao's Marxist criticisms of Stalin, as, for instance, Stalin's failure to see that a new bourgeoisie continually arises within the Party under socialism, or his mechanical materialist deviations on the question of dialectics, what In Struggle is left with is the worst of both worlds, an adherence to Stalin's errors along with a vague and formless tone of general opposition to Stalin that runs dangerously close to falling into social democracy.

In Struggle's attempts to deal with some of the theoretical questions involved show how throwing out Mao's contributions can only lead one way, no matter which way anyone wants to go. For instance there is their two-part analysis of the temporary triumph of revisionism in China: the first, "The leaders of the Communist Party of China are taking China down the capitalist road," deals only with the question of the relations of production in China and never even once mentions the word superstructure; it is a wooden replay of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the*

USSR, which, as Mao pointed out, only mentions things and not people.²⁹ The second, "Some theoretical points about Marxist political economy," has a point in it about the necessity for revolution in the superstructure, but neglects to apply this to socialism. In fact, they don't get it at all—they end up talking about China going imperialist and miss the whole point about Teng & Co.'s capitulation to imperialism.³⁰

As for their criticisms of Mao, consider the following, which is the most concentrated of their attempts to do so: "we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie; we think that democratic centralism was violated in many respects, illustrated, for instance, by the lengthy intervals of time between Congresses. The analysis and understanding of the precise reasons for the recent evolution [sic!] of the CPC, whatever these reasons may be, is an important task that remains to be accomplished."³¹ Two thirds of this is without content (including the criticism of the formal question of time between party congresses—if you're going to focus on that, why not criticize the equally guilty Albanian Party?), and the other third idealist: the bourgeoisie won, therefore we must "single out those errors which led to the defeats,"³² as though there could ever be a real class struggle in which there was no possibility of defeat for the proletariat. All of this is sadly identical to Hoxha, not because they are following him, but because they are following the same road.

The problem is that they want everyone to follow them, trying to appeal to the confusion and unclarity on the part of a few forces here and there to get them to go along with what on In Struggle's part is not uncertainty, but a line of agnosticism in regard to ideological questions and of rightism in regard to political ones. For In Struggle, the problem is not that they haven't made up their mind about all the crucial questions facing the international movement, but that they've already decided that nobody should come to any decisions—except to decide that Mao Tsetung shouldn't be defended, which, as we've shown, is a decision that most definitely carries with it an all-around line on these questions. In Struggle's proposals in the international arena for an extended debate among all trends (and classes), in *opposition* to uniting the Left as firmly and rapidly as possible—amounts to calling on the Left to halt its advance, to calling for an extended recess, until Marxism can be reconciled with opportunism—which would take forever. What else does this serve but the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois forces of every country?

In fact, the bottom line of In Struggle's appeal to the international communist movement is that it is an appeal to Marxist-Leninists *not* to unite on anything resembling Marxism. Ever eager to appear practical-minded, In Struggle argues against what they slander as "a 'general line,' which is limited to an analysis of the current world situation, declarations of support for one or more socialist countries and communist leaders, and lists of the kinds of organized opportunism to be opposed," and opposes this with their own view that "such a vanguard [the international proletarian vanguard] must be united on the basis of its *communist programme*, just as must be the case with Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries, just as was the case with the Communist International in the past."³³ But this question of "general line" versus "programme" as a basis for unity of the international communist movement can't be considered in the abstract—it is clear in the context of In Struggle's own

general line that their proposal about a programme has no other purpose than to oppose unity around principles and key living lines of demarcation. Pitting programme against key dividing principles would result in a very sorry programme indeed! What they oppose most is not the form of a "general line" type document, which is today within the reach of the international communist movement in a way that a fully developed programme—such as the Communist International developed for the whole world and all the key countries—is not. What they oppose is the content of a general line that embodies the principles we listed earlier. It is not really that Mao's line has nothing to do with international communist unity, but rather that they oppose the political and ideological line that he represents and fought for and they don't want that to be in any way, shape or form a cutting edge question in that movement.

No matter what the *form* around which international communist unity develops, this quote from Lenin speaks exactly to its content and puts to shame all this mumble-mouthing:

"The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combatted, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists. Only a programme that shows that we have faith in ourselves and in Marxism and that we have proclaimed a life-and-death struggle against opportunism will sooner or later win us the sympathy of the genuinely proletarian masses."³⁴

V. CONCLUSION

Many of Lenin's polemics during the years 1914-1918, when he was struggling to bring about the conditions to form the Third International, are directed not only against the Right, which had been widely discredited among revolutionary-minded people, but also against the Centrists "who write of 'Mr.' Hyndman with contempt, while speaking—or saying nothing—of 'Comrade' Kautsky with deference (or obsequiousness)."³⁵ (Hyndman, like the Chinese revisionists, openly preached that the workers had to renounce the class struggle because of the world war, and Kautsky, like Hoxha, tried to combine general phrases about class struggle with essentially the same position of capitulation). Counterattacking against those who argued that the two opposing lines represented by Lenin and people like Kautsky represented different legitimate "shades of opinion," Lenin wrote, "Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean."³⁶ Lenin himself was quite an "extremist" in defending Marxism from such "reasonable" people!

In Struggle makes a big deal about what they consider the lack of desire for unity among people like ourselves, whom they consider sectarian, and exclaim, as if they had said something profound, "To progress along the path of unity, we must want unity. Unity must clearly be posed as an objective to attain and we must put into place the means for truly uniting the communist forces that want to do so."³⁷ But in the face of the same kind of hypocritical nonsense in the service of the Right in his time, Lenin had the following unsentimental words: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan.

But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism. And we must ask everyone who talks about unity: unity with whom?"³⁸ And on another occasion, "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 behavior."³⁹

For Lenin, as for all Marxists, the avoiding of splits was not the highest of all questions, either within the international movement (where he definitely argued that a split was necessary in order to bring about unity based on the revolutionary interests of the proletariat), nor even—horror of horrors—within the existing parties and organizations, where Lenin argued that the genuine revolutionaries had to one way or another free themselves from the clutches of the honey-tongued traitors. You see, Lenin had a very high standard of "political behavior." This is what he believed that Marxists were called on to accomplish with the founding of a new international:

"An International does not mean sitting at the same table and having hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions. . . . The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, i.e., of mustering their forces and 'being the next to shoot' at the governments and the ruling classes of their *own respective* 'fatherlands'. This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However, for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who *wish* to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism."⁴⁰

The truth is that In Struggle does not see itself in this way. Yet this is exactly what gives the international communist movement its particular urgency and importance at this hour.

Compare *this* understanding of urgency and importance with In Struggle's view: "To say that the international communist movement is on the sidelines of revolution in the world is to admit reality. It means realizing that, under current conditions, it offers no real alternative to the masses, to the Islamic movements in Iran and Afghanistan, to the revisionists in Italy, France and Spain, to Arab nationalism, or the chauvinism of the German, Canadian or U.S. social-democrats."⁴¹

Is this true? It has an aspect of truth, but overall it is false and very harmful. In the vast majority of the countries mentioned, as well as in many others, there are revolutionary communists—and it is certain that the development of the world itself will pose the question of proletarian revolution before the masses. If in some cases these communist forces are small and scattered, and in some countries there is not yet a communist organization, that is something that can and will change rapidly—and especially with the help of a new communist international. For as we have stressed and stressed again, the proletarian revolutionary movement is a worldwide movement and not one that develops only country by country. The very examples In Struggle gives of countries

where aspects of a revolutionary situation are already developing and there is either no or not a sufficiently strong revolutionary party should show the genuine communists the tremendous urgency of our efforts in the international movement. Here too the words of Lenin, responding to the situation of the "internationalists in deed" in April 1917 are very relevant: "If socialists of *that type* are few, let every Russian worker ask himself whether there were many really class-conscious revolutionaries in Russia *on the eve* of the February-March revolution of 1917."⁴² It is the very contradictions which make the situation so difficult which also bring such unprecedented opportunities—opportunities we will surely throw away if we pursue the wisp of painless progress.

What we seek is not just some international coordinating committee of what already exists, an international organization which could do little more than rally international support for the struggle in "tiny El Salvador," to cite the example given by In Struggle: "the revolutionary organizations in tiny El Salvador had to take on themselves for the most part, with their own very limited resources, the task of organizing an international campaign to rally support for their revolution."⁴³ Really what is being described here—and this is the only example given—is an international anti-imperialist solidarity committee, and not an international communist organization. Compare this concept with that put forward by the RCP of Chile:

"We believe that the development of world Marxist-Leninist forces must not be seen as linked solely to the need to amass and coordinate our forces but as also linked to a qualitative leap forward in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in its merger with the mass movement in each country. We therefore see unity not only as unity between limited groups of the vanguard, but as the fighting unity of our proletariat and people against their common enemy."⁴⁴

In Struggle stands aghast at what it considers the incomprehensible "disunity" in the international movement. But Engels long ago explained such things in his famous letter to Bebel:

"One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension. . . . These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast. . . . or else they are people who unconsciously (like Muhlberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the shouters for unity. . . .

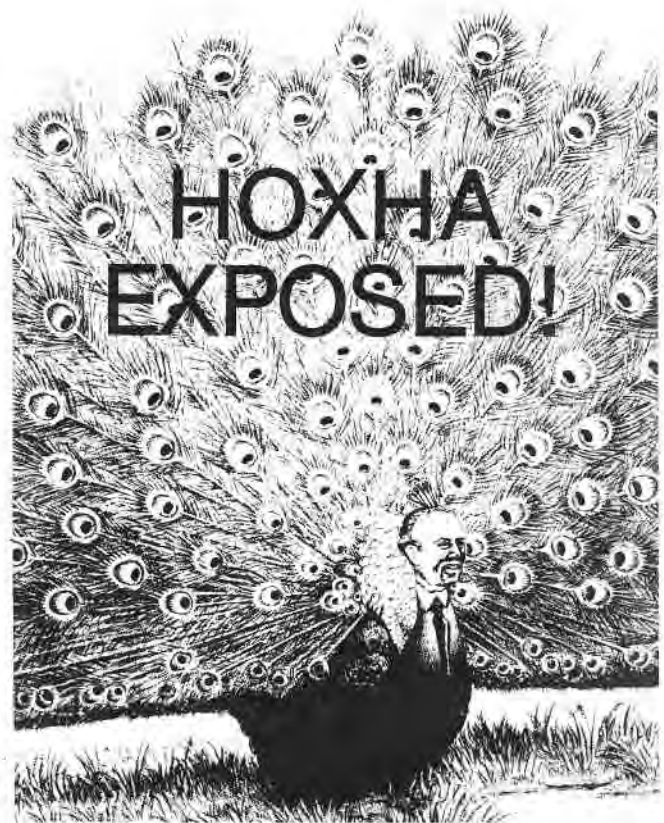
" . . . A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the 'solidarity of the proletariat' is everywhere being realised in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions."⁴⁵

No Marxist should be surprised by the apparent paradox of a ripening objective situation and a widening rift between forces that were once more united—it is inevitable that some will “get stuck” in certain attitudes and approaches and refuse to give them up when war time approaches. The fundamental question here is not why this has happened, but what attitude to take towards it: whether to make a petty bourgeois “fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them”⁴⁶ into a political and ideological line, whether to oppose a “sharp turn” in the movement—a break with forces that have deserted it, which is absolutely necessary so that the revolutionary forces can take advantage of the sharp turn in the objective situation—while timidly and idly dreaming of things somehow going backwards to more peaceful times both in the objective conditions and within the political movement, or to *welcome* this turn, this opportunity to make revolution, and, putting revolutionary considerations ahead of everything, welcome too this harsh light of revolutionary circumstances which throws into sharp relief all that is rotten and outmoded in politics.

Footnotes

1. *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion)*, (Chicago, 1980), p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. The article “Lenin’s Struggle Against International Opportunism: 1914-1917” (*Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, Oct./Nov. 1979) deals with the struggle to prepare for the founding of the Comintern in some detail. For the question of the relationship between the defense of a socialist country and the world revolution, see “The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead—Documents from the Third Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the RCP, USA” (*ibid.*), especially point six, “On the Historical Process of the Proletarian Revolution,” pp. 15-19. The article, “Slipping Into Darkness: ‘Left’ Economism, the CPUSA and the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935)”, throws light on the question of economism as it was carried out by the Comintern’s U.S. section. (*Revolution*, Vol. 5, No. 2-3, February/March 1980.)
- We have also published a three-part series in *The Communist*—Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1976); Vol. 2, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 1977); and Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1978)—dealing with the origins, nature and effects of World War 2 and the role of both the Comintern and several communist parties in relation to it. These articles represented a beginning contribution to an understanding of this period, and do not represent our present thinking in all aspects. In particular, it should be noted that the first two of these articles were written before the split with the revisionist and social-chauvinist Menshevik clique formerly in our Party.
4. For the previously published sections, see “The Prospects for Revolution”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, especially p. 11.
5. For a recently published excerpt from this paper, see “The Question of Democracy and the Communist Movement,” *Revolutionary Worker*, #56, p. 11. The quote from Lenin is from “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 75.
6. “The Prospects for Revolution”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, p. 15.
7. Lenin, “Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism (How the International Can Be Restored),” *Collected Works (CW)*, Vol. 21, pp. 99-100.
8. Lenin, “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 84.
9. *IN STRUGGLE!* (Central Organ of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), June 3, 1980, p. 15.
10. *International Forum* (Published by MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), April 1980, p. 34.
11. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, p. 12.
12. *Ibid.*

Continued on page 60



“Hoxha’s tactic reminds one of a peacock. General phrases about the ‘purity’ of Marxism-Leninism are displayed with great pomposity and fanfare. He hopes the display will mask the reality of his revisionism.”

Two important articles expose and critique Enver Hoxha’s revisionism:

Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought—comments on Enver Hoxha’s *Imperialism and the Revolution*. Published in *The Communist*, May 1979. This article is a thorough refutation of the main aspects of Enver Hoxha’s repugnant attack on Mao Tsetung’s contributions to the international and Chinese communist movement.

Enver Hoxha’s *Imperialism and the Revolution*—an “Error” from Beginning to End. Published in *Revolution*, September 1979. This article examines Hoxha’s “two worlds” theory and addresses Hoxha’s views on the question of inter-imperialist war, on the revolutionary struggle in the oppressed nations, the tasks of communists in the imperialist countries, and other questions.

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13. See "Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought," *The Communist* #5, May 1979; and "Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution—An 'Error' from Beginning to End," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 9 (September 1979).
14. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1979, p. 12.
15. All cited in the *Revolution* article, "Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution—An 'Error' From Beginning to End."
16. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
17. See Bob Avakian, *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 320-22; "A Critical Appraisal of the Chinese Communist Party's 'Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement' (1963)," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June 1979), pp. 30-32; and "The Prospects for Revolution . . .," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, pp. 16-17.
18. *International Forum*, p. 37.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
21. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1969, p. 12.
22. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," Appeal from the Third Congress of MLOC IN STRUGGLE! (March 1979), p. 3.
23. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 212.
24. *International Forum*, p. 38.
25. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, pp. 12-13. The first set of ellipses are *IN STRUGGLE!*'s; the second set are ours.
26. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," p. 16.
27. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
28. *International Forum*, pp. 2-3.
29. Mao Tsetung, "Critique of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*," *Critique of Soviet Economics*, p. 135.
30. These two articles appeared in *Proletarian Unity* #15, Feb.-March 1979 (theoretical journal of MLOC IN STRUGGLE!).
31. *International Forum*, pp. 38-39. For more on In Struggle's views on what led to the revisionist takeover in China, see "The Communist Party of China: Slowly Strangled by Factionalism," *IN STRUGGLE!*, July 3, 1979, p. 14; "On Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution: The Criticism of Modern Revisionism Must Be Carried Through to the End*," *Proletarian Unity*, No. 16, April-May 1979, especially pp. 32-34; and "The Stakes of the Mao-Stalin Debate," *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 8, 1980, p. 13. For example, in the latter article, which addresses the question of Mao's line on the existence of two lines in the party (which Mao correctly recognized as an inevitable product of class-divided society and drew attention to this precisely in order to wage struggle against the bourgeois line and those who champion it), In Struggle uses the PLA's formulation that Mao "accepted the continued existence of two lines" [our italics] and then goes on to conclude that "there is no doubt that real errors were committed by the CPC on this matter which helped pave the way for the growth and even the victory of bourgeois opportunism within the party . . ."
32. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
33. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
34. Lenin, "Socialism and War," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 329.
35. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 209.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
37. *International Forum*, p. 37.
38. Lenin, "Unity," *CW*, Vol. 20, p. 232.
39. Lenin, "Under a False Flag," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 156.
40. Lenin, "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 99.
41. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, p. 13.
42. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 82.
43. *IN STRUGGLE!*, May 6, 1980, p. 5.
44. Quoted in *International Forum*, p. 24.
45. "Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," *Marx and Engels, Selected Works in One Volume*, (International Publishers, 1968), p. 685, pp. 686-7.
46. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 243.

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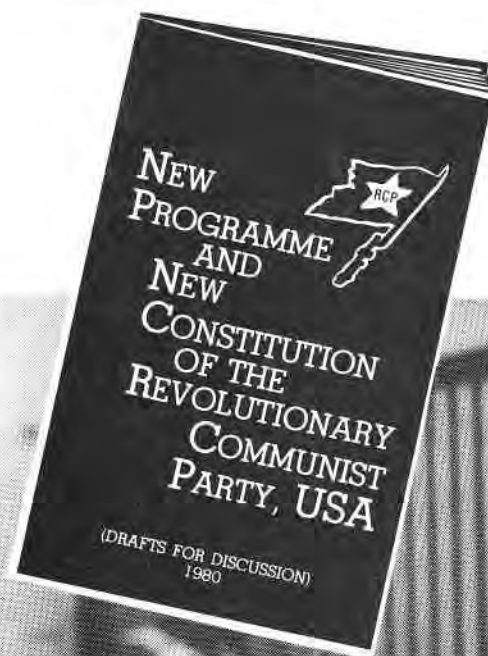
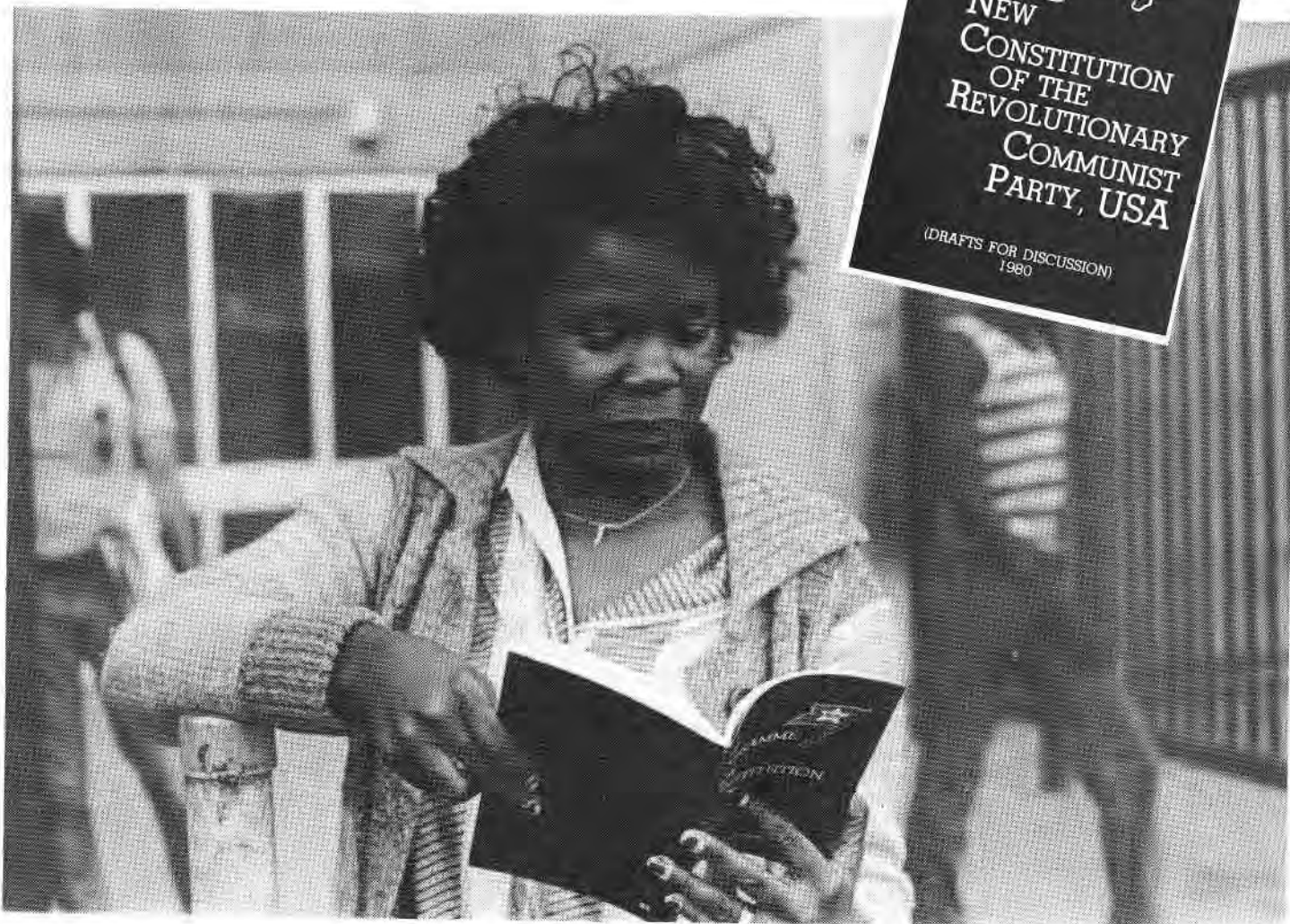
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ing on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

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Errata:

In the article "The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It," the quote from the RCP of Chile on page 58 was taken from the translation into English by In Struggle in their journal, *International Forum*. Since then we have received the original in Spanish, and feel that the paragraph, especially the last sentence, should read:

"We believe that the development of the forces of the world's Marxist-Leninists must not be seen as simply linked to the need to amass and coordinate our forces, but rather to a qualitative leap in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in fusing it with the mass movement in each country. In this sense, our goal is not just the unity of small vanguard groups, but rather the fighting unity of our proletariats and peoples against their common enemies."

Also, please note: The volume and issue number on the cover of *Revolution* is wrong. The volume and issue number on the table of contents is correct. There was no April-May issue of *Revolution*.