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REVOLT IN CHINA:



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The Crisis of Revisionism, Or... Why Mao Tsetung Was Right

By Raymond Lotta

Beijing, the capital of China, continued to crackle with political tension and activity through this past week. As we go to press there are reports that the government has regained the initiative for now and that the student protesters have decided to end their two-week occupation of Tiananmen Square. Whatever happens in this current round of upsurge, the revolt that started in Tiananmen made the crisis of the reactionary rulers in China plain to see and showed that the influence of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution is still alive.

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Part 2
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Three Main Points

by **Bob Avakian**
Chairman of
the RCP, USA

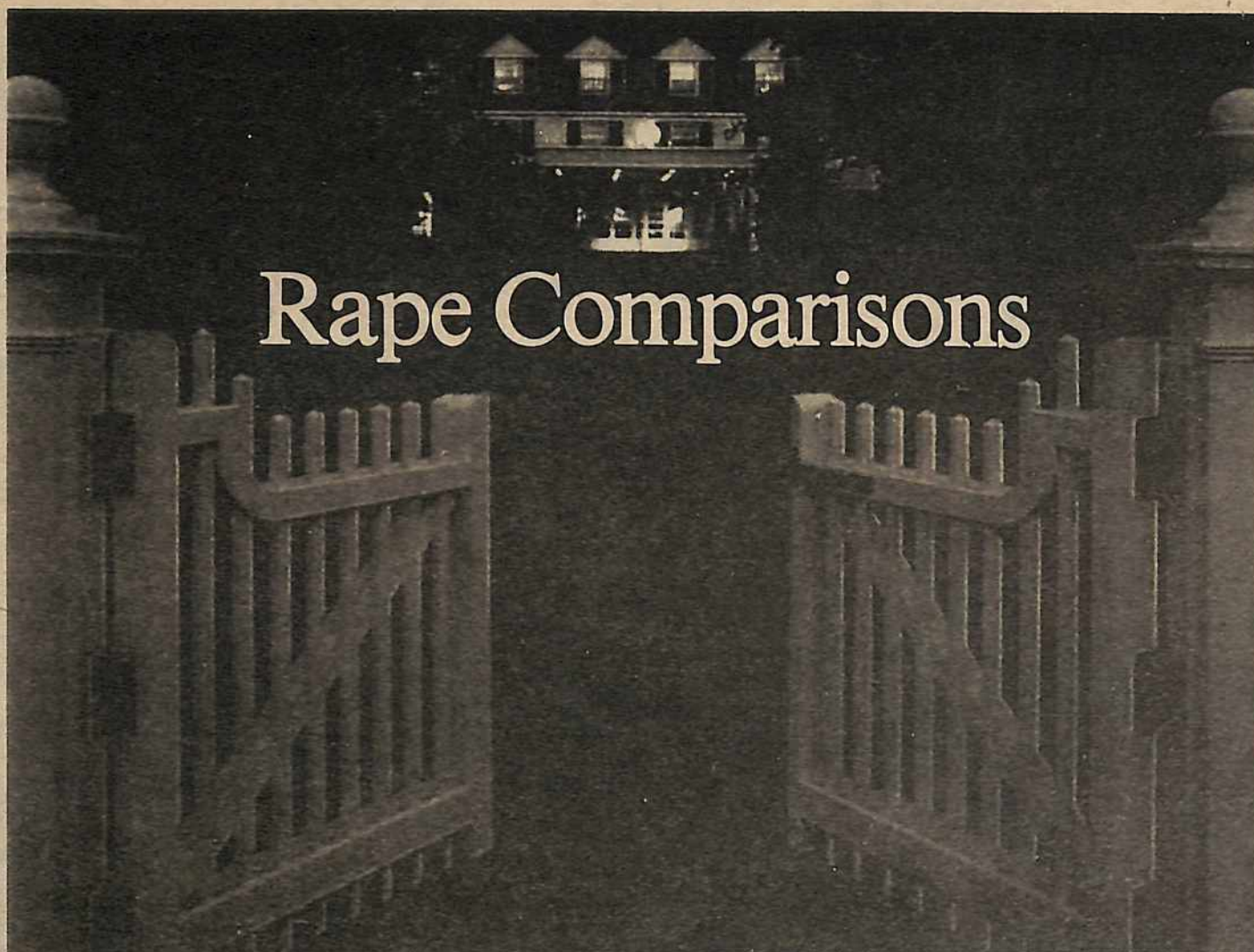
What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation — here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.



Rape Comparisons

The Central Park attack: A white woman is brutally attacked and raped. The accused attackers are Black and Latino youths from Harlem. A woman is brutalized and how does this system respond?

It responds by organizing a racist campaign against Black people. The noise is deafening. Black people are collectively charged with some mysterious responsibility for the incident in Central Park. Black youth are labeled "wolfpacks." A media openly talks about "the crime of interracial rape" as though this was supposed to be a *different* crime from rape—a concept which assumes that somehow white males have more right to rape white women than Black men do. Voices are raised to protest the racist logic and atmosphere behind the whole way this case has been treated. But the men who make the noise on the media do not want to hear it.

Women try to break through the noise, to point out how anti-woman thinking cuts through this whole society like a knife, how violence against women is condoned by the system. But the media is not interested in comparing the Black youths in Central Park to the white prep school boy who raped and strangled his girlfriend in a New York park last year. They don't want to hear about the fraternity boys at major colleges planning to be senators and stockbrokers between date rapes. They don't want to hear it. They just want to talk on and on, louder and louder, about "what is wrong with the Black youth, what is wrong with them anyway. . . ."

But the system works in mysterious ways. And it was not long before reality broke through the noise.

Suddenly the name *Glen Ridge* popped into the news.

Glen Ridge: A community of the upright where goodness is always rewarded. Mansion-size houses, big green lawns, Mercedes in the driveway—the kind of community where a woman like the Central Park jogger is supposed to feel safe.

But in Glen Ridge, rumors of a gang rape had been circulating for weeks. And finally after three months the news came out. A young high school student was sexually attacked and tortured by some of Glen Ridge's finest boys: the co-captains of the local high school football team and the captain of the baseball team. The young woman was taken into a basement and for an hour she was raped with various objects like a broomstick and a miniature baseball bat. At least another eight males watched.

This attack took place *three months* ago. Nothing was done about it. Nothing was said about it. And when the story finally broke in the media the mega-mouth Koches who'd screamed "wolfpack" over Central Park were clenched shut. There has been no scrutinization of white people to figure out why, as a race, they do such things, why their male children are so bad. No Donald Trumps clamored for the death penalty. No demands for more police patrols—especially not when it tumbles out that the cop initially in charge of the Glen Ridge "investigation" has a son who was in the basement during the attack. The media talks about these white teenaged males with tones of disbelief and brags about their academic and athletic achievements. The fact that this girl takes special education classes has been brought out in the press as though this might explain something about the bestiality of these otherwise normal American boys. Friends of the attackers are quoted in the press saying of the victim, "She wanted it." Anyone else in Glen Ridge who wants to condemn the attack now asks reporters for anonymity because those who've condemned the attackers so far have been harassed and threatened.

The *New York Times* wrote comparing the Central Park incident to the Glen Ridge case: "Despite official denials of a racial motive, [the Central Park] attack fueled speculation, from talk-show debaters, politicians, and scholars alike, about the pathology of poverty and racial resentment. . . . The Glen Ridge case contrasts with the assault in Central Park in several ways. . . . But because the case involves teen-age group behavior, it may send the speculation in new directions."

We offer speculation in a new direction:

"One out of every four women in the U.S. will be the victim of a sexual assault during her lifetime. One out of four!, and the number is expected to rise to one out of three. Right there, even if this 'way of life' did not produce any of the other seemingly endless outrages and genuinely monstrous crimes—all the way to world war—that it does produce; even if what stands behind that statistic were the only thing seriously wrong with this system, that alone would be enough to rise up against it and not stop until it had been overthrown and something better put in its place."

Bullets from the Writings, Speeches, and Interviews of Bob Avakian

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MESSAGE FROM TIANANMEN



Beijing, the capital of China, continued to crackle with political tension and activity through this past week. A core of student activists kept up their occupation of Tiananmen Square to press forward their demands against the government. Each day hundreds of thousands of students, workers, and others demonstrated in Tiananmen Square and the streets of the city. Groups of protesters formed around-the-clock human barricades to prevent convoys of troops from moving into Beijing. Meanwhile there was sharp infighting among the top reactionaries who rule China, and some official heads may roll. As we go to press there are reports that the government has regained the initiative for now and that the students have decided to end their two-week occupation of Tiananmen Square.



Government Moves and People's Response

The troops were first ordered to move against the demonstrators on the weekend of May 20-21 by Premier Li Peng after he announced martial law for parts of Beijing. For many protesters Li, along with the top revisionist Deng Xiaoping, was already a symbol of government policies they were opposed to. His order for martial law and mobilization of troops made him an even more hated target. People at Tiananmen Square shouted, "Deep fry Li," and, "As long as Li Peng retains his post, we will come every day! Until Li Peng commits suicide by hanging, we will not sleep!"

The government moves also sparked even bolder protest actions and firmed up the determination of many activists. As soon as news of the troop movements spread, thousands rushed to main roads into Beijing and stopped army trucks and personnel carriers from heading toward Tiananmen Square. Demonstrators organized themselves into shifts so they could surround the troops and keep watch on them all day and night. At one of the human barricades, a 39-year-old worker from the Capital Iron and Steel factory said, "We have towels for tear gas and maybe buckets of cement to make road blocks, but besides that, we come

just as we are—people." Several hundred city buses were taken over by protesters and used as roadblocks on main streets in Beijing. And when people heard that troops might come by train, thousands rushed out to the railroad station, ready to block any units that might come that way.

At the beginning of the week one student leader tried to convince others to leave Tiananmen Square, but he came in for wide criticism from the other students. By the end of the week there was a narrower majority when a proposal to leave the square in return for a government promise not to retaliate was voted down. The number of students staying at Tiananmen became smaller during the week, as many students scattered through the capital to conduct street-corner agitation, went to the outlying areas to help stop the troops, or returned to campuses to rest. Among the students who continued to stay at Tiananmen, about 1,000 reportedly formed themselves into a "suicide squad." One member, a 24-year-old student from Hunan Province, said, "We have sworn an oath to die rather than to be defeated, and we will do it."

Many of the students remaining in Tiananmen Square by the end of the week came from outside Beijing. Railway

workers have been giving students from the provinces free rides on the trains. The government issued a strongly worded notice to try to stop more protesters from coming in to the capital. It ordered local officials to stop students from leaving for Beijing and especially not let them get on trains without tickets.

Among workers, too, groups pledging to put their lives on the line for the movement were organized. One group of 300 called themselves the "desperados" and seemed to be made up mainly of single workers willing to go right up in the face of the troops and authorities. There were also the "kamikazes" who roamed around the capital all night looking for army convoys, carrying knives to slash the tires of army trucks.

Campus Life Turned Upside Down

At the universities final exams are coming up, but campus life has been in an uproar. Students boycotted classes, and most teachers went on sympathy strikes and were not preparing any exams. A 36-year-old economics teacher said, "Before the movement, we just taught students. Now, we spend all our time in meetings trying to figure out ways to help the students. We want some results, too."

One account described the scene at

Beijing University: "A loudspeaker almost continually broadcasts the latest rumors and protest plans. The campus triangle, which is covered with posters, has become a center for exchanging news. The floors of the long dormitory hallways are often used for writing banners. Dormitory rooms have been converted into conference centers." A graduate student who was supposed to turn in her thesis soon told a reporter, "Because the atmosphere outside is so stirring and exciting, I can't just sit around to work on my thesis. It sometimes feels so selfish."

There were similar scenes in many other campuses across China. At one university in the southern city of Guangdong, a teacher said that in the beginning the faculty did nothing. "Now, everyone talks about support for the students, and young teachers discuss the politics of the day even in class, in the open."

According to news reports, the Tiananmen revolt has sparked anti-government demonstrations in many other cities all across China. Marches of over 10,000 people have been common. In Shenzhen 100,000 people, one-fifth of the population in that city, took to the streets. Shenzhen, located next to Hongkong in the south, is one of the

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The Walleye Warriors of Lac du Flambeau

The Battle of Butternut

Five years ago the Lake Superior Chippewa left their reservations to spearfish for the first time in a century on the lakes where their ancestors had fished for hundreds of years. They bravely exercised treaty rights that had been illegally denied them. A vicious white vigilante movement sprang up to prevent them.

Last week, in the first article on this struggle, the RW described how spearfishing has been central to the culture of the Anishinabe people for centuries, and how the Indians now face nighttime rallies of rock-throwing racists when they leave the reservation to spear.

This week, we will report on the Battle of Butternut, the climax of this spring spearing season.

Part 2

A Showdown

By the first week in May the confrontations between Chippewa and racist whites in northern Wisconsin were reaching a peak.

Darkness and liquor emboldened the reactionary whites at Big Arbor Vitae Lake. Hundreds of drunk and belligerent whites were mobilized by antitreaty organizations known as PARR (Protect American Rights and Resources) and STA (Stop Treaty Abuse). Hateful Klan-like threats filled the air: "I will teach my children to shoot you Indians right between the eyes, you god-damned longhairs." The racists had eighty boats on the waters that night to threaten six boatloads of spearkers. The Indians speared anyway. The racists swore, "You timber niggers'll never get a boat in the water after tonight."

Friday, May 5. Racist attacks erupted at the local high school. Authorities responded by suspending all Indian youth from class. That night, the racists mobilized a thousand at North Trout Lake. For the first time, the mob broke through police lines. Again, the Indians succeeded in spearing.

A carload of spearkers was run off the road in an apparent murder attempt. In the town just outside the Lac du Flambeau reservation the Chamber of Commerce came under the control of antitreaty whites. Sheriffs departments of two counties announced they would no longer provide protection for Indian spearkers. The governor of Wisconsin announced he could no longer guarantee "public safety." He asked for a federal injunction against any further Indian spearing. He did not seek an injunction against the anti-Indian violence!

All of this pressure had one goal: to force the Indians to call off spearing before the traditional season was over. There was only one major night of spearfishing left this season, on May 6 at Butternut Lake. A showdown was building, and Butternut was where it would come down.

Background

In the early 1800s the Great Lakes Chippewa, like all Eastern Indian tribes, faced a forced march across the Mississippi. The U.S. government offered a so-called deal: they could avoid such a genocidal "Trail of Tears," if they agreed to live on reservations. Behind these threats the northern third of Wisconsin was "ceded" to whites in 1854 and the Chippewa were forced onto six tiny concentration camps.

The treaty of 1854 stated that these tribes would retain the rights to the natural resources of their traditional lands: "And such of them as reside in the territory hereby ceded, shall have the right to hunt and fish therein, until otherwise ordered by the President." This promise was broken as soon as the ink was dry. Indians who left the reservations to hunt or fish were called "violators" by the white power structure. And for 130 years, such "violators" were punished.

Starting in 1983, the Great Lakes Chippewa (who call themselves *Anishinabe*) decided to affirm the old treaty rights. They left the reservations to spearfish throughout northern Wisconsin. Over the last century, whites had developed a whole tourist industry based on exploiting the fishing of northern Wisconsin lakes. They believed the Indian spearkers were taking "their" fish. In typical American style, reactionary whites formed vigilante organizations.

With extreme bravery, determined spearkers formed a movement among the Anishinabe. For five years they have gone out to spear, often on five or six different lakes a night. Again and again, handfuls of Indian spearkers faced hundreds of whites who threw rocks, slashed tires, and threatened to kill them. The Indians would cast tobacco on the waters in ritual thanks for the fish; the whites would chant the Pledge of Allegiance till they were hoarse, waving the American flag.



"We Are Not Alone"

Saturday, May 6 came. Overnight calls had gone out to neighboring tribes and to the American Indian Movement (AIM) explaining the situation and asking for support. Now, on little notice, convoys of cars started arriving on the Lac du Flambeau reservation.

Bomb threats came in all day long. But they intimidated no one. S., a young woman active in the spearing movement, told the RW: "At five we met down at the minimart. Cars everywhere, you couldn't walk a straight line through the parking lot. People were parked on both sides of the highway long out of sight. I thought, 'Wow, are all these people going to Butternut?' It just sent chills up my back. For five years we've gone to boat landings and always felt like we were outnumbered. Now here was close to maybe a thousand from out of town. A lot of people came over from Minnesota and from other Wisconsin reservations. Some even flew in from California, from L.A. Four flew in from Arizona, and two from New Mexico. That was a thrill, I'll tell you."

Talking About a Revolution

In the last century, Native American peoples fought with few allies against an expanding American capitalism. Then they were forced onto the reservations. Such bitter history leaves a mark on thinking. Even the active spearkers of the Lac du Flambeau band often feel defensive and outnumbered.

S. told the RW that the sight of progressive white people at Lac du Flambeau jolted her thinking. "I guess from living up here, you don't think that there is a white person out there that would support the Indian ways. It seemed like Lac du Flambeau was this little rebel country, you might say, that just goes here and spears and makes all kinds of problems. And we felt we were alone."

Now, in the late twentieth century, American imperialism is not invincible. Powerful forces could potentially unite to bring this system down. The idea of such a revolutionary united front is a new one on the Lac du Flambeau Reservation. It suggests whole new possibilities.

C. was asked what he would think if a revolutionary uprising happened in major urban areas. "If there's a revolution in the cities, the white people around Flam-



beau here would think 'holy christ' and would be scared to death. But the Indians will stand with those that are oppressed just like them. That's how I believe it."

S. adds: "I know a lot of people waiting for the change you are talking about."



Big drum at Battle of Butternut.

“You Felt Like Your Feet Weren’t Even Touching the Ground”

A couple thousand left Lac du Flambeau heading for Butternut Lake in the heart of PARR country. The convoy filled miles of forest road. Once there, the marchers unfurled two flags emblazoned with drawings of American Indians. S. tells what happened as they approached the boat landing: “We gathered at a small intersection around a big drum AIM had brought from Minnesota, and marched to the beat all the way down. Suddenly here comes this car. They popped their clutch and went tearing into the crowd. Pop. Pop. Pop. You could hear the car hitting people.”

Out on the lake, spearers confronted boatloads of white “protesters.” Bidahseequay says, “What sticks in my mind is the voice of a woman who screamed at me for two hours, calling me ‘welfare slut.’ Each time I stood up to help my brother, she got louder and more obscene. Tears ran down my face as I wondered how she could hate me so much when she didn’t even know me. I saw ducks around me in the water, and the beauty of that

helped me persevere.”

Down at the landing the white protesters started off with taunts and threats. “Oh, you’ve brought your little drum.” “The police aren’t going to protect you this time.” The state troopers funneled the Indian march down to an area already occupied by the white racist forces of PARR. Someone apparently wanted to give the PARR forces a chance to brutalize pro-treaty people. This plan failed.

Taking Back Land

G.W. convoyed to Butternut from Minnesota. He wrote the *RW*: “The drum led an unstoppable charge to the lake. The crowd of whites parted as the Indians flowed in.”

S. says: “When we got there, there’s all these PARR protesters looking down on us. They started spitting on us, throwing cigarettes and rocks. All the while they’re yelling, ‘We got the hill, we got the hill.’ And there was this guy carrying an American flag on top of the hill. He was yelling, ‘This is the flag. Not that one.’ He was yelling against the Indian symbols we were carrying. That kinda egged everybody on. Everybody kept saying this is our land, and *our* flag should be on top of that hill.

‘Too bad. We’re taking the hill.’ And we started our move. There were hundreds of us there. At times you felt like your feet weren’t even touching the ground.”

J., an active AIM member, explained to the *RW*: “I’m not an Indian and I’m not American. I’m Anishinabe, one of ‘The First People.’ Indian and American are their creations. The United States flag is not my flag. We have our symbol made of eagle feathers. We call it our Staff. We didn’t carry it to the battle, it is too sacred. But we had the drum as our symbol at Butternut.”

As the confrontation on shore got sharper, the spearers landed their boat. Raising their spears over their heads in salute, they joined in.

G. was one of those who came in off the water: “Some supporters around me said ‘Well, we promised your council that we wouldn’t start anything.’ I answered, ‘We’re not going to start anything, we’re just going to go over here and take this hill and get our people on the high ground.’ Another tribal member says to me, ‘If we lean back, we can probably take this hill.’ So we just started leaning back, and started pushing the white people, little by little. The idea spontaneously caught on. When we got about three quarters of the way up, they started yelling, ‘These fucking Indians are trying to push us off the hill.’ So they pushed back. The cops were just waiting for an Indian to confront a white protester at Butternut, so they could come in and arrest us.”

J.: “Before we started taking the hill, I noticed only one line of state troopers at the snow fence. By the time we got to the top of the hill there was four lines of state troopers.” Two hundred more riot cops had moved forward looking for an excuse to attack.

The Taking of “Walleye Hill”

S.: “Maybe half an hour later we had passed over the top and down the other side. There was not one white protester left on that hill when we left. And the guy carrying the American flag was totally out of the picture. It was *our* hill. We’ve never done anything like that before. We’ve never run them out of where they were. We had the support. And we reached the breaking point, we were sick of their bullshit. And it felt good.”

G.W. writes: “The symbolism of Indians taking land from the whites was not lost.”

S.: “We whooped and hollered. We moved the drum to the top of the hill and sang till it all ended an hour later. We were singing in traditional Indian style, a victory song. The drum was our symbol. It was wonderful.”

The victory at Butternut Lake has not ended the confrontations. As we go to press there are reports that white vigilantes vow to rally against Indian net-fishers on June 1. □



Reactionaries threaten: “Mr. Musky Can’t Call Us Racist.” (Musky is a type of fish.)

QUEENS, NY

BLACK YOUTH PROTEST

Richard Luke was 25, Black, and living in a housing project in Long Island City, Queens when he was arrested by housing cops. Luke never made it out of their clutches alive. His murder at the hands of the police brought a swift and angry response from the people, who immediately took to the streets.

According to press reports, Richard Luke's mother phoned for medical help on Sunday, May 20. Her son was suffering a serious asthma attack. At some point two housing cops showed up. A project resident told the *RW* he saw Luke in the lobby of his building. He also saw the two housing cops go in after him. And then, "I seen him [Luke] being dragged out of the building and I believe he was unconscious. When he came out of the building he didn't come out on his own. He wasn't walking or anything like that. He wasn't able to walk. He came out of the building unconscious." Another resident told the *New York Daily News* that she saw the police beating Luke in the police car. And *Newsday* reported: "Several witnesses said the police pummeled Luke, even as residents shouted that he was sick and suffering an asthma attack."

The police have run out a string of outrageous lies, attacking their victim some more even after they killed him. The police charged that Luke was high on drugs, that vials of crack were "discovered" on him at the police station, that Luke bashed his own head against the bars of the cell, that he had a heart attack, etc. But the people know better.

WLIB, a Black-owned and oriented radio station in N.Y.C., reported that one witness saw everything—from the time the cops arrived and started beating on Luke to what transpired inside the police holding cell. This witness, according to WLIB, was himself arrested shortly after Luke was taken in and put in a holding cell across from Luke's cell. The witness reported that Luke was unconscious and that cops had repeatedly bashed his head on the floor of the cell. WLIB reported further that the witness has given a videotaped statement detailing what

he saw to the authorities and that the authorities know full well how Luke was killed.

A Righteous Response

Word of Luke's murder spread throughout the projects. By Monday afternoon hundreds of people, mostly youth, were in the streets, marching on the housing police headquarters. They headed for the Queensboro Bridge. The bridge is a major one, linking Long Island to Manhattan's East 59th Street. And the people shut that bridge down for a full half hour!

The press reported nothing. Resistance had flared up among the oppressed Black

right by the Queensboro Bridge. They're on the waterfront of the East River and just across from Manhattan. The area is primarily an industrial and commercial one. There are "revitalization" plans afoot as the grab for profitable real estate development reaches across from Manhattan. In the wake of Richard Luke's murder people at the projects talk of how the authorities want to be rid of them—one way or the other.

Like most housing projects Ravenswood has been slapped with a "crack-infested" label by the rulers. One woman called out the rulers' hypocrisy: "There is no war on drugs. . . . Let me tell you something, the

When students in China take over Tiananmen Square, the men who run the U.S. say that it's because the Chinese people want American-style democracy. But when Black youth take over the Queensboro Bridge to protest police murder, the people in power send the police to vamp on them.

masses in New York City and the press didn't dare open its mouth until hundreds of riot cops were moved into position, guarding the Queensboro Bridge and patrolling the projects. Not until then would the media acknowledge that Black people had been taking it to the streets. "I think this is a pretty volatile situation," one housing police chief confessed.

Again on Tuesday the masses repeatedly took to the streets. And again the cops were out in force. In the face of a heavy police presence and a downpour of rain, people—a lot of Black youth—continued to march in protest. The cry "Freedom or death" was heard. Angry words jabbed at the authorities in chants and handmade placards. "White Wolfpacks in Blue Uniforms," one sign said. People cheered when a group of white anarchists from Tompkins Square Park arrived carrying a banner "P.B.A. is the K.K.K. / Ain't no justice in the U.S.A."

"Robocop" on the Loose

The Ravenswood projects are located

same way gold backs the American dollar, so do drugs now." Residents have witnessed and experienced the so-called "war on drugs": cops roaming around at will, stopping people, throwing them up against the wall, beating them, planting drugs, whatever the pigs feel like doing. "I've seen plenty of cops slam people up against the wall," one youth told the *RW*. "Matter of fact, one of my neighbors who lives in this building here is in jail right now. He was beaten up by a police officer, right down here. I was standing upstairs. I witnessed the whole thing. . . . The police chased him. The police caught him. The police beat him up right here."

Youth at the projects already had a name for the cop who killed Richard Luke: "Robocop." "Robocop" has earned the hatred of the masses for his vicious attacks on the people. Youth reported that "Robocop" would, as a matter of routine, go after people, his gun drawn in one hand and a billy club swinging in the other. The protest against police murder is not over. □



MICHIGAN BLACK STUDENT TAKEOVERS CALL FOR JUSTICE

"We are here as long as it takes. We are here to stay until this is over," one Black student leader declared at Michigan State University (MSU) during a building occupation to protest racism on campus. Black student takeovers in May shook MSU in East Lansing and Ferris State University in Big Rapids, Michigan less than two weeks after a similar sit-in at Wayne State in Detroit ended in victory. As at Wayne, the two recent sit-ins ended with administrators giving in to key student demands.

Struggle erupted at Ferris State on May 4, when about eighty Black students occupied a classroom building where the office of the acting president is located. They issued a list of twenty-one demands, including increased enrollment and financial aid for Black students, increased hiring of Black faculty, more Black studies classes, and observance of the Martin Luther King holiday. Black students currently make up only 3.9 percent of the nearly 12,000 students at Ferris State, and Black faculty members are currently less than 1 percent of the faculty. Carloads of sit-in "veterans" from Wayne State drove 200 miles from Detroit to this rural area in order to support and advise the Ferris students. The sit-in ended after five days, when administrators made concessions including \$407,000 in new funding for minority programs.

Less than forty-eight hours later on May 9 a group of Black students at MSU occupied the lobby of the central administration building at the huge campus. There are more than 44,000 students and only 6.1 percent of them are Black. Black faculty make up 3.4 percent of the staff. There have been several



Inside the occupied building at Ferris State.

racist incidents at MSU this year: In one incident the dorm rooms of two Black student leaders were targeted with hate notes, dead rats, and telephoned bomb threats from a caller saying, "This is the KKK."

The militant students occupying the building increased quickly from twenty-five to well over 200, chanting, "We're

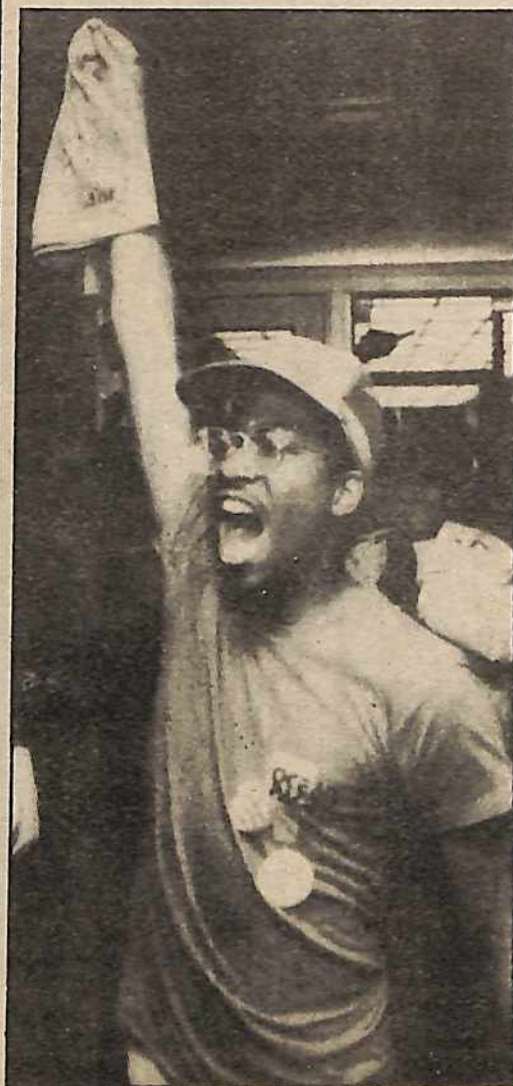
Black, we're proud!" and singing spirited songs. Their list of fourteen demands included stronger action by the administration against racist incidents, increased numbers of Black faculty, more power for Black administrators, and increased minority programs. After two days of snubs by the MSU president and visits from Wayne and Ferris activists, the stu-

dents decided to block public access to the first floor and threatened to seize other floors as well. Some parents as well as white and Asian students joined the occupation, but among the crowd surrounding the building tense debates broke out between supporters and opponents of the takeover. Some white students circulated petitions against the ac-

POLICE MURDER, BLOCK BRIDGE



Applauding speakers inside Michigan State's occupied central administration building.



After eight days, Victory! MSU students leave building after demands are met.

tion, and at one point a reactionary cross-burning occurred some yards away from the building. But the antiracist activists refused to back down. After eight days, on May 16 the MSU administration finally caved in to most of their demands.

With three takeovers in a month, the Black student struggle appears to be a growing trend in Michigan. A new ac-

tivist network, the Michigan Alliance of African American Students, has been formed to link students at eight different schools across the state. One MSU student said, "I can see this happening at a lot of other schools and colleges in the next year or so." □

Revolt in China: The Crisis of Revisionism, Or... Why Mao Tsetung Was Right

By Raymond Lotta

China has been caught up in massive upheaval. Demonstrations led by students erupted in the major cities of the country. Several attempts to remove students from Tiananmen Square failed, and soldiers openly refused orders from their superiors. Workers joined the protest movement in ever larger numbers. Discontent is deep. People from all walks of life are carrying on discussion and debate about the sickness of Chinese society. This revolt not only took the revisionist Communist Party leadership by surprise but also seriously called into question its ability and mandate to rule. Where the movement may go is unclear. The extent to which genuine Marxist-Leninists, upholding Mao Tsetung's banner, may be trying to exert revolutionary influence is also unclear. But this much is certain: Deng Xiaoping's pipe dreams of an obedient population, a stable political environment, and a controllable capitalism have been shattered.

What is happening in China is the product of twelve years of revisionist rule. After the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976, a reactionary coup d'état brought to power a new exploiting class. Since then, China has undergone sweeping changes—in its economy, in its political institutions, in its educational system, in social life, in the values it promotes. These changes have been hailed in the West and in the Soviet bloc as progress. Right there, that should tell us something about the reality of reform. What is described as the restoration of sanity is really the restoration of capitalism. What experts like to describe as a society going through growing pains and searching for political reform is really a society in deep crisis: an economic crisis, a social crisis, and a crisis of confidence in ruling institutions. The purpose of this article is to examine some of the basic characteristics of Chinese society that produced such discontent and what this suggests about the solution to the problems of China under revisionist rule.

I. China Is Not a Socialist Society Capitalism Has Been Restored and China Is Being Reduced to an Oppressed Nation

Profit in command

The Chinese economy is organized around the principle of profit in command. Chinese theoreticians themselves have said that profit provides the most useful measure for economic performance. They have said that competition among enterprises is a good thing since it insures that "only the best survive." In fact, bankruptcies now exist in China. Enterprises are now rewarded for earning greater profits, and more and more investment is now financed by loans rather than by grants. Profit guides the investment of capital. Here is an example. One policy that Mao fought for was to disperse industry throughout the country and to make special efforts to develop the poorer and backward regions. Today, development resources are being concentrated along China's coastal provinces. These have

traditionally been more prosperous regions. The idea is to develop an export-oriented economy in these areas. But the effect is that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, as investment and financial resources are sucked into high-profit ventures. This is not socialism.

The Situation in Agriculture

Under Mao, China had developed a system of collective agriculture. China's basic food needs were met and enormous social changes took place in the countryside. In 1978, after revolutionary power was overthrown, China adopted the household responsibility system. Fields were broken up into parcels and plots of land were assigned to individual peasant families. A series of directives in 1983 and 1984 allowed individual farm households to hire labor, to buy and own farm

machinery, and to market their surpluses in other regions. More efficient households were encouraged to enter into leasing arrangements with less efficient households. In this way land ownership was concentrated in a few hands.

William Hinton has described this process of decollectivization: "When the time came to distribute collective assets, people with influence and connections were able to buy, at massive discounts, the tractors, trucks, wells, pumps, processing equipment, and other productive property that the collectives had accumulated over decades through the hard labor of all members. Not only did the buyers manage to set low prices for these capital assets. . . but they often bought them with easy credit from the state banks. . . . It is doubtful if, in the history of the world, any privileged group ever acquired more for less." What you have in the Chinese

Carpenters migrate to Shenzhen "special economic zone."





Workers demonstrate in Beijing.

countryside today is a system of modern capitalist commercial farming, often with international linkages, developing alongside a dependent and fragmented poor peasant economy.

China's leaders promote short-term gain. Whatever brings in the most income will supposedly benefit the economy as a whole. "To get rich is glorious," says Deng Xiaoping. This is the capitalist way. And what have been some of the consequences? First, grain production has failed to increase over the last four years. This is because it is more profitable for farmers to grow other cash crops and because the prices of fertilizer, pesticides, and agricultural machinery have risen as a result of declining state investment in agriculture and industries supporting it. China is now importing huge amounts of grain. Second, there has been tremendous environmental destruction to grasslands and forests, and destruction to drainage and irrigation systems, as cash-oriented farming and herding spread uncontrolled. Third, polarization in the countryside, inheritance practices which split family plots into units too small to farm, and the collapse of collective social services have produced a huge migration of people out of the countryside. By 1988, 50 million peasants had flocked to the major cities. Most are without jobs or housing and many of them sleep in railway stations, parks, or urban slums. Never in human history has there been so massive a movement of people from the countryside to the city in such a short period of time. This is not socialism.

The Situation of Workers in Industry

China's leaders say they want to modernize society. They say the way to do it is to maximize efficiency. And the way to do that is to maximize profits. Anything that raises productivity is just fine. In fact, in a very important speech given in October 1987, Zhao Ziyang, the secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party, said that the sole criterion for the economy is its level of productivity. This means that the most important thing to the rulers of China is how much they can squeeze out of the workers.

Productivity is boosted by capitalist means. Workers in state industry face strict factory discipline and are subjected to management controls over the organization and performance of work. They are no longer masters of society as they were in revolutionary China; they are not engaged in all-around political life and struggle. They are mere elements in the productive process. In 1984 a "flexible wage system" was introduced, allowing for more wage differentials and bonus

systems to get more work out of people. Reforms have also given managers more "flexibility" in hiring and firing. In 1985 the government changed the terms under which young workers became employees of state enterprises. This is the labor-contract system. Rather than being hired for life, new workers are hired for a limited length of time. They do not have the same security and welfare benefits as do other workers. In some situations, these contracts are verbal agreements under which workers receive a "floating wage" based on output and profits.

The Chinese state no longer guarantees employment. In the industrial city of Shenyang, 63,000 workers were laid off in 1988; but only 16,000 of them found new jobs during the year. These reforms are sold to people as "freedom of choice"—you can work where you want to. What's really happening is that the threat of wage reduction, dismissal and unemployment, and a system of competitive hiring are used as clubs to enforce exploitation. At the same time, a segmented labor force is being consolidated. It is based on growing differences in payment, position, and security and a huge surplus of cheap migrant labor from the rural areas. This is not socialism.

Foreign Domination

Deng Xiaoping & Co. have dragged China back into the clutches of the Western powers. When Mao was alive, China was a base area for world revolution. Today China is a sweatshop for imperialism and an unofficial arms dealer for the CIA.

China has received large amounts of foreign capital over the last ten years. Since 1979 China has negotiated \$25 billion worth of foreign investment and signed loan agreements worth \$47 billion. China's large-scale industrial equipment industries increasingly rely on imported foreign technology. China often has to repay its trade and investment partners with the output of the projects with which they are associated. This is the case with much of the off-shore drilling by foreigners. China must continually export more to meet its rising import bill. Failing this, it must borrow, and its foreign debt now stands at about \$40 billion. The performance of China's economy is very much influenced by its integration in the world economy. High imports in 1984-85

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"If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population."

Mao Tsetung, in a letter to his revolutionary comrade and wife, Chiang Ching, 1966

Mass rally in Tiananmen Square during Cultural Revolution.

Revolt in China:

The Crisis of Revisionism, Or... Why Mao Tsetung Was Right

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fueled industrial growth, while recent cuts in imports have made domestic shortages and inflation worse.

In many respects the old system where foreign powers dominated enclaves and received concessions is returning. Nowhere is this more apparent than in "special economic zones" established by the Chinese government along China's southeast coast. These zones are similar to the export-processing zones established in Taiwan and South Korea in the 1960s and 1970s. The Chinese government has invested in transportation and communication, provided a work force, and offered preferential tax rates to foreign capital, which is now allowed to set up wholly-owned foreign enterprises. In 1988 more than one million workers in southern China depended on manufacturing arrangements with capital from Hong Kong. It is not uncommon to find employees, even children, working twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for piece-rates amounting to 30 cents an hour. Meanwhile, large chunks of Hainan Island,



Beijing, China.

another special economic zone, are being leased to Japan for eighty years.

The Chinese revisionists' program of internal economic reform has at the same time been a program of opening up to foreign capital. But owing to China's historical backwardness, this opening up has led to relations of dependency between the state bureaucratic apparatus and foreign capital, and because of the weakness of China's central structures, foreign capital has been able to strike deals at the provincial levels and play regions and localities against one another. China has once again become a nation oppressed by imperialism.

A Social Cesspool

The counterrevolution in China has affected every sphere of social life. While higher education has been reorganized along elitist Western lines, more than 30 million children have dropped out of primary and middle school. With the return of family farming in the

countryside, brutal feudal traditions and practices have made a comeback. In the system of family farming, male laborers and heirs are valued above the lives and rights of women. Sons are valued more than daughters. So, along with private family plots, wife beating, the persecution of women giving birth to females, and the killing of female babies have reemerged as major social problems.

Crime is on the rise in cities. Bribery, gift-giving, use of family, school, and workplace connections to get jobs or consumer goods in short supply—this is part of the survival and get-ahead game. Poverty in the cities is growing and 20 million peasants in the countryside face famine this year. Meanwhile, party officials openly flaunt their wealth.

In revolutionary China, Mao Tsetung inspired the Chinese people to work for the liberation of all the people of the world. Today the rulers of China inspire people with a vision of color televisions from Japan. This is not socialism.

II. The Current Crisis

The Economy

China's growth rate in the 1980s has averaged about 9 percent a year. This is quite high. But this growth has had a very distorted character. And today the economy is in a state of disarray.

By 1988 the central bank was losing its grip over the money supply and credit, the country was facing 10 and 20 percent inflation, and there were runs on banks. Investment was out of control: money was going into ill-conceived, get-rich-quick projects, while some basic industries were neglected. Provinces were competing for raw materials and waging price wars to corner markets. There has been a kind of economic warlord-

ism. Speculation was getting out of hand. The government responded with a program to slow down the economy and regain more central control. But this has only led to more speculation and unauthorized financial activities at the local levels and to new difficulties. For instance, because of the tightening up of the money supply, the government has not been able to pay peasants the full contract price for grain. As a result of government cuts in investment, the official rate of unemployment has jumped to 15 percent, and real unemployment is much higher. Inflation is now running at about 30 percent. Chaotic reform has been followed by chaotic retrenchment.

Corruption

If they have achieved none of their other goals in the international arena, the Chinese revisionists have certainly reached, and probably exceeded, international capitalist standards of corruption. It is rampant at every level of the party and government and bitterly resented by the masses. Local bureaucrats have the political power and control over scarce resources and state capital to take advantage of various situations. With access to officially priced products, they will for example, buy a ton of steel at 200 yuan (the Chinese money unit) and resell it at the market price of 700 yuan. They engage in speculative trading of imported goods in the special economic zones for resale to the rest of China. These practices have made many officials overnight millionaires. And there is widespread cronyism. For example, China's four largest state-owned companies are supercorporations with subsidiaries all over the country and with important connections to the outside world. On their senior staff are to be found former ministers, vice-mayors, senior party secretaries, and relatives of politburo members. These people amass huge fortunes and are protected by top officials in the party. The students had good reason to demand that party officials disclose their income and assets.

The Crisis of Ideology and Legitimacy

The Chinese Communist Party does not inspire people. As one teacher in Beijing put it, "Party members used to be 'the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts.' But now it's the opposite. All they do is take, take, take." But the problem goes deeper than that. This is a party that has nothing to do with revolution, that has nothing to do with the lofty ideals of communism, with the goal of a classless society. It has attempted to rally people around the ideology of self-interest and around the goal of a modern, industrial China. It promises an efficiently run economy and improved living standards but delivers exploitation, incompetence, and ruin. It sends 100,000 students abroad to get trained in Western management and engineering; they return only to find that the economy can't absorb their skills. It extols democracy but is an autocratic institution with feudal-like power centers and is out of reach of mass criticism and transformation. Why should people believe such a party? Why should people believe in such a party?

Homeless woman and New York City sewer cover made in China.





Big character posters go up during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Democracy Has a Class Character

The students in Tiananmen Square have made 'democracy' a major demand of their movement. But there is no classless democracy. This passage from a document written by underground Maoists in China in 1981 sheds light on this question. It shows what proletarian democracy meant when China was a revolutionary country. And it shows how the concept of democracy was manipulated by the reactionary rulers of China to suppress the people after Deng Xiaoping & Co. made a coup d'état and seized power from the revolutionaries in 1976.

"The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to open up a forum for the people's political expression, to let the people of the whole country, particularly the workers, peasants and revolutionary educated youth freely express themselves, to make them concerned about the cardinal affairs of the Party and the state, to promote the Party's mass line, to prevent anyone—especially Party members and cadres—from using their position to seek privileges and self-interest, and further link up with the masses to carry out a determined struggle against bourgeois thinking. This was in order to help the socialist revolution and construction, and further create a political situation where there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Thus, at the Second Plenum of the Ninth Party Congress, we passed a constitutional amendment to officially guarantee in the highest legal form that 'people have the right to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold big debates, and write big character posters.' But exactly because the four freedoms are a weapon to link up with the masses to carry out determined struggle against the bourgeoisie, it made the actual agents of the bourgeoisie—that is, the reactionaries who have overthrown the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the capitalist road—concoct the idea of using it to erect the so-called 'socialist democratic legality' as a cover to hide the real nature of their fascist dictatorship. But then they found that the four freedoms are extremely unfavorable to them in consolidating their rule and restoring the capitalist road. They turned around to slander the four freedoms as 'disrupting democracy, disrupting law and order and production, splitting the unity of the Party and the masses,' and viciously wrote them off. This kind of vile step backwards, these anti-Party, counter-revolutionary activities in transforming socialism into fascism, force us to add a supplement to the earlier 'from bourgeois democrat to capitalist roader,' to 'from capitalist roader to fascist dictator.' This is determined by their reactionary character, we have not invented it." □



News of developments in the Cultural Revolution is distributed throughout China.

III. Only Another Socialist Revolution Can Save China

If you want to understand why these things could happen in China, you have to go back to Mao Tsetung. It was Mao who warned of the danger of the capitalist road under socialism. It was Mao who pointed out that people joining the Communist Party only to build a modern, prosperous China would, once in power, develop into a new bourgeoisie. It was Mao who predicted that if the capitalist-roaders came to power they would slavishly submit to imperialism. It was Mao who had worked out a series of policies and principles of socialist planned economy that were designed precisely to avoid the disastrous consequences of what has since come to pass in China. And, most of all, it was Mao who initiated the Cultural Revolution to overthrow the likes of Deng Xiaoping and other new bourgeois forces within the Communist Party who were aiming to restore capitalism. Mao taught revolutionaries everywhere that the revolution doesn't end with but must continue after the seizure of state power.

The only way out of the mess of Chinese society is another socialist revolution. The revisionists must be overthrown. Foreign capital must be driven out and

China must disentangle itself from the web of imperialist economic relations. Industry and agriculture must be reorganized. The tremendous social polarization must be overcome. New political institutions of popular rule must be established. The ideas and values of private gain must be replaced with Mao's principle of "serving the people."

The situation in China is a complex one. A Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party to lead a revolutionary struggle does not appear to be on the scene. But the influence of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have been felt in the recent revolt. Analysis of the political economy and class structure of China is urgently needed, along with the formulation of strategy and tactics. Genuine revolutionaries also face a major challenge: how to popularize a truly revolutionary socialism in the revisionist countries. Many of the young people who have courageously confronted the regime and dramatized the sense of political powerlessness that people feel are themselves disillusioned with socialism. They have been educated on a diet of anti-Mao and anti-Cultural Revolution propaganda. Most have been

led to believe that what they are experiencing and revolting against is socialism. And for many of them, and this applies also to young people in Eastern Europe, socialism is often seen as something that is outmoded, that is no longer relevant or vital.

But if Mao's analysis of the capitalist roaders has been proven right, so too has his vision of socialism. Socialism is a higher order of society, which is itself a transition to communism. It is about abolishing exploitation and overcoming the differences and inequalities in society. It is about the continual transformation of society from top to bottom. It is about altering institutions and ideas. Is this possible? Well, this was the reality of China during the Cultural Revolution. One-quarter of humanity was on the road to the future. The Cultural Revolution didn't fail, it didn't collapse, as its enemies proclaim—it was defeated by those who rule China today. But that was not the end of the story. The lessons and legacy of Mao live on. The revisionists may be in power, but the crisis they now face makes one thing abundantly clear: it is revisionism that fundamentally has no future. □

May 1st Plots Against the People

In the San Francisco Bay Area the authorities were stung this year by the bold vision and broad response to May Day. In response the state attacked May 1st in a two-pronged assault with viciousness and desperation in the neighboring cities of Richmond and Berkeley. And the way they employed different tactics among different sections of the people holds some important political lessons.

Richmond, a city with a large number of Black and other proletarians, has a history of fierce struggle during the '60s. And in the '80s it has been a place the Party and the advanced masses have proudly claimed as the sister city of Ayacucho, Peru. The method of attack here was to try to prevent May Day from happening. This was done especially through a special anti-graffiti task force that went after the bold, revolutionary messages which appeared on walls. Two days before May Day a man was arrested on the felony charge of "criminal syndicalism," a law which was used in the early 1900s to attack

revolutionary organizations and make them illegal. This is an outrageous and serious attempt to set a precedent to outlaw and suppress revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations.

Berkeley is a city famous for its intellectual atmosphere and political ferment, especially among the middle classes and students. In a town covered with graffiti and posters of many political trends and where there are many revolutionary-minded people, an attempt to charge anyone with "criminal syndicalism" would be tremendously unpopular to say the least. So here the attack on May Day was disguised—it came in the form of reactionary doublespeak to try and distance the masses from the RCP and May 1st. In a manner reeking of the political police, a letter came out that tried to link the slogans of May 1st with a supposed violent and reactionary threat against school children.

The Case of the Richmond Graffiti Police

On Saturday, May 29, Richmond cops arrested a man who was allegedly "applying glue" to a wall. They charged him not with vandalism for alleged postering but with the felony charge of violating a 1919 law of "criminal syndicalism." This obscure and overtly political charge is an indication this was no local beautification effort but an attack orchestrated at fairly high and sophisticated levels.

This California law was made to go after revolutionary organizations and movements starting with the International Workers of the World and, since the 1920s, against communists. (The IWW or Wobblies were a revolutionary organization that defied the government, opposed World War I, and promoted the idea and goal of "one big union" and a world without national boundaries.) Criminal syndicalism is officially defined as "any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching or aiding and abetting the commission of a crime, sabotage or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control or effecting any

political change." The specific part of the law cited in this case singles out any person who: "Prints, publishes, edits, issues or circulates or publicly displays any book, paper, pamphlet, document, poster or written or printed matter in any other form, containing or carrying written or printed advocacy, teaching, or aid and abetment, or advising, criminal syndicalism..."

The use of this law reflects the heaviness of the times. The syndicalism law outlaws any advocacy of revolution. It moves to make political preparation for revolution illegal by treating it the same as calls for violent crimes/acts today. A conviction under this law would set a precedent for the state to go after anyone involved in a revolutionary movement, from speakers to authors of literature to sympathizers who help distribute revolutionary literature. In short it would help set the stage for outlawing a whole range of activity by revolutionary organizations and those organizations themselves.

In the days leading up to and on May 1st, revolutionary graffiti and the May 1st special issue of the RW appeared in

many places, including in many housing projects and workplaces, on Richmond City Hall, the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, and the National Guard Armory. There was even one report that it appeared in the Richmond Police Department Cafeteria. Clearly many people were involved in these May Day expressions, much to the horror and frustration of the authorities, and attempts to clean the walls as soon as things appeared was a losing battle for four days.

In early April five-foot-high graffiti appeared near a Chevron refinery that read: "Revolution is the Hope of the Hopeless" and "Never Forgive or Forget Bhopal." In response, the city began an intensive anti-graffiti campaign. The *West County Times* ran an article against graffiti, highlighting the comments of an irate businessman who complained that people who do revolutionary graffiti are "never caught" and challenged the City of Richmond to "do something." Then the police mounted a four-day "operation" against graffiti, from April 28 through May 1st, deploying at least

nine extra cops to work overtime on this campaign. The *West County Times* reported, "The campaign was timed to coincide with the traditional May Day activities of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which has made a point of displaying their banners and graffiti around mid- and late April to promote their revolutionary doctrine." This article then went on to quote a police lieutenant saying, "It became apparent to us that this was not a small scale exercise. This is a highly organized operation conducted by a group of people who were determined to get their message across..." Then on May 20 Richmond Mayor Livingston offered a \$1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for a new and fresh round of graffiti against the War on Drugs which was painted along the route of the city's "Just Say No" parade. These attacks and, in particular, the "criminal syndicalism" charge must be fought against as part of building a revolutionary movement.





Richmond, California

The Columbus School Disinformation Incident

On Friday, April 28, students at Columbus Elementary School brought home a weird and ominous letter signed by the superintendent of Berkeley schools. The letter claimed that a "blond woman" had distributed May 1st slogan-stickers to kids before school that Wednesday and had become angry and told the kids she would return on May 1st "with the Ku Klux Klan, an Uzi and a bomb and shoot all of you." The letter then "assured" parents by announcing that "effective measures" would be taken, meaning the school would be like a prison on lockdown on May 1st, crawl-

ing with police. The letter also said that the Berkeley police strongly recommended that parents "stay away."

For the next three days these lies were blasted out in the local media. Superintendent Viscovich denied the letter was a political attack and claimed it wasn't aimed at the RCP because the organization wasn't named and that the purpose of the letter was just to calm the fears of students and parents. During all this time Viscovich never made an attempt to contact the RCP to help clarify the matter and meanwhile he continued to spread fear through the school and

beyond. On May 1st a number of parents were told by police at the school not to worry, that there had been no danger, and that it was "just the communists coming around."

The letter did not mention the RCP by name, but two May Day slogans were quoted: "Racists, Rambo-Americans, Rulers of America: It's all gonna fall on you!" and "Outcasts, Downcasts, Slaves, Illegals and Rebels: It's Right to Rebel!" These have been slogans of the RCP for May 1st for the last three years. The Berkeley Police Department, who the school principal and the superintendent

consulted with before issuing the letter, not only know this, but they had tried unsuccessfully to block permits for May Day rallies under the same slogans for two years running!

This political attack had two vicious sides. First, the letter implied that the May 1st slogans are linked to the KKK and, second, that those who put forward these slogans are people who threaten violence to children. This sort of "disinformation" is an established M.O. of Cointelpro/FBI operations. And there is extensive documentation of this kind of thing, particularly against political groups in the 1960s, most notably the Black Panther Party. In the '60s the Panthers put out a coloring book for children. As part of its Cointelpro operations, the FBI made up and distributed a distorted and twisted version of the book, which portrayed the Panthers as violence-crazed Black militants. This book was part of the FBI's efforts to politically isolate the Panthers and set them up for vicious police attacks. Using the press to spread lies is also one of the hallmarks of such Cointelpro operations. In the case of the Columbus school letter, there was no investigation done by the media, and the same story, with a few slight variations, was repeated again and again, with the hope that the repeated lies would, unchallenged, take on the aura of truth. This is very much like what happened with the political-police operations of the '60s. Also, after a couple of days the slogans themselves were dropped from the stories because they showed too much of the real story—that May Day was under attack. At least one reporter wrote articles bringing out aspects of the truth and the RCP's exposure of the political attack, but these articles never made it to print.

This attack was meant to and did sow some confusion through preying on parents' concern for the kids. Two-thirds of the students did not attend school on May 1st. The authorities tried to pit progressive people against May 1st, but the lies were so blatant and far-fetched that a lot of people saw through them fairly quickly. In spite of all the fear and confusion, many just did not buy the "link" between May 1st and the KKK. One fourth grade student quoted in the *Oakland Tribune* said, "I was kind of scared. I knew the first was May Day and I'm against the Ku Klux Klan, but I wasn't really sure what it was all about. So I talked to my mom and she told me about May Day and that helped."

One parent commented that many Berkeley school district and city officials are really racist and she could see why they would attack the "Racist Rambo-Americans" slogan and try to cover up their racism at the same time. Also angry were many Latino parents who have supported May 1st here and in Latin America and knew it was a day for "working people and peasants" who build society "by their blood." One of these parents vowed to organize a May 1st celebration at Columbus School next year.

For all the authorities' denials of racism and claims that this was not a political attack, the attorney for the

Continued on page 14



Richmond, California

Thoughts on Burying This System

We received these letters from readers on the special May 1st issue of the RW and the May 1st manifesto:

To the RW:

"The one thing we want to bury is this system." The striking thing about this manifesto is the clarity with which it poses the problem and offers a solution—all-the-way liberating revolution. In a way that is not hard to understand, easy for the basic man or woman on the street to grab and run with. At the same time it offers and issues a challenge to those that want a different and better way, that they are responsible for their own liberation and the liberation of all humanity.

It exposes the present conditions, speaking with a real up beat about the future. The vicious clampdown that is present in today's Amerikkka is not because the ruling class is strong, but that it is on its way down. That part inspired some to take political action while giving others something to think about.

I thought that the graphic was right on time with the people, especially the youth, battling and making war on the police. Looking at the "war on drugs" this will clarify the fact of who are our friends and what is the enemy. The particular part of the "bury this system" leaflet I liked the most was the quote from Mao. How youth in gangs, when they see a new agenda on

the horizon, put down the criminal activity and join with the revolutionary forces propelling society forward.

My final point that comes to mind off of the leaflet are two quotes, one from Mao Tsetung and another from OUR chairman, Comrade Avakian. "Nothing is impossible if you dare to scale the heights" and "The future is ours if we dare to grasp it."

Nat Turner
Houston, Texas

To the RW:

I just wanted to point out some things I really like on the special edition for May Day. Right from the beginning of it how it says the one thing we want to do is bury this system, to the bottom showing how we are really tired of this shit the system is slapping us up with.

1. I like how they simply put it in words that we are not going to let them (pigs and system) pin us in, lock us up, and kill us all. That's right!

2. I like how this politician gave himself away say'n, "This is the era of police." All he is say'n is that we need more police to screw us around. We all know real well that's the only thing the pigs are doing to us. They are not our protectors! They're our oppressors!

3. The picture on the bottom was slick,

showing something that should be done more often. . . as we get ready to overturn their system. Scare the m-fuckers as they try to scare us!

4. This paper tells it like it is that we should not believe a damn thing this system is telling us. And I liked how this paper put it that this is OUR Party, a Party working with the people on the bottom to rise up and be able to lead. Not just a few politicians running this country, but the people like me on the bottom running it.

A Chicano man
Houston, Texas

The manifesto reading played an important role in my ability to set my values and priorities in life straight. As a new-born of the RCP, I've been able to sort out my reasons for my life's past experiences. The week prior to May First took me from being a mere spectator and victim of this system to being a participant and rebel of overturning the valueless, discriminating laws that are used to run this system. May First lets me know I'm not alone. We've all been let down and lied to. At last I'm able to see the light at the end of the tunnel; the RCP manifesto has given me an inspirational strength to stand up, speak up, and rebel! Burn Baby Burn!

A converted Republican

May 1st Plots Against the People

Continued from page 13

school district let the cat out of the bag in a letter to the attorney for the RCP which said, "What I indicated was that the threatening nature of the slogans, together with the threats of the blonde woman, created a perceived threat to the children. . . ." Clearly, those who felt threatened were those who IDENTIFY with the Racists, Rambo-Americans mentioned in the slogan.

RCP supporters, parents, and others began to circulate a petition which was signed by hundreds of people, demanding a retraction of the letter and a full apology. At the same time various broad forces entered into the struggle. For example, the PTA published the petition in their newsletter along with an editorial

statement that read in part, "I am deeply embarrassed by those children and parents who participated in a terrible

rumor mill, who panicked, and fueled a damaging hysteria. I am embarrassed that people who represent themselves as

sophisticated and well educated would repeat stories as facts...stories that could never have been true had a thinking person listened carefully. And, to those of you who were victims of this hysteria, I apologize for the actions of a few."

Local activists, including people active among the homeless and one of the organizers of a Bay Area-wide rock against racism series signed the petition and supported the demands in various ways. And the RCP was invited to present its case to the executive board of the Berkeley chapter of the NAACP.

A group of parents and RCP supporters went to the May 10 Berkeley School Board meeting to present the demands of the petition and successfully demanded that the matter be put on the May 17 School Board agenda. On May 17, attempting to ward off further political damage, the board made a significant concession and announced that they would send a letter out to parents that states in part, "It is regrettable that anyone has associated anything that happened" with the RCP and that "There was no basis for such an association in the leaflets or in anything the young woman is reported to have said." The next day the *Oakland Tribune* carried an article on the meeting headlined, "Board Eats Humble Pie to End Dispute."

At this point two key points of the battle remain. The first is that it was the superintendent's letter itself that was responsible for creating the "regrettable link" which the school board apology does not address and second, and very important, the matter is not an issue just for the school (as the limited distribution of the letter of apology indicates) but must be broadly aired in the press and other media as was the original slander.



Berkeley, California



Big graffiti: "We don't need a war on drugs, we need war on the system," Richmond, California.

MESSAGE FROM TIANANMEN

Continued from page 3

Chinese government's "special economic zones" where foreign companies get special privileges and can make big profits off Chinese labor. In Shanghai, China's largest city and a major industrial center, the authorities have been especially worried about unrest among workers. In some factories workers were warned they will be punished for taking time off for demonstrations and promised bonuses if they show up for work every day.

Influence of Mao and the Cultural Revolution

The media in the U.S. has tried to say that the recent upsurge in China is somehow the result of the influence of Western democracy and values on the Chinese people, who are described, in racist stereotyping, as "passive" by nature. They claim that what has happened in recent weeks is "unprecedented" in the forty years since China's liberation. As for things like the workers forming into groups to confront the troops and defend students, railway workers giving students free rides, campuses and factories being turned into headquarters of political organizing, the support given by

the people of Beijing to the students in Tiananmen Square, etc., the U.S. media is at a loss to explain how the supposedly "passive" Chinese people can be capable of such highly developed forms of organized rebellion against authority.

But mass political activity and organization by the Chinese are not "unprecedented"—and they definitely have nothing to do with Western bourgeois democracy. In many ways the legacy of Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary leadership, especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is making itself felt in the upsurge against those who rule China today.

Although the revisionists stole state power from the proletariat and genuine communists after Mao's death in 1976 and brought back capitalism to China, there is a whole generation of Chinese people who knew what it was like to live under revolutionary socialism. They went through the storms of the Cultural Revolution and experienced the mass debates and struggles that went on at all levels of society around all kinds of questions. They saw how Mao and his revolutionary comrades called on the people to rise up and overthrow the capitalist roaders at the top levels of the communist party—the very same reaction-

aries who rule China today—and revolutionize the party and the whole society. They made revolution within a revolution. Now that was unprecedented—in China or anywhere else in the world!

It is true that the current movement in China is a mixed bag, and many students do see bourgeois democracy as a goal. Also there does not seem to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party on the scene to lead the revolutionary struggle. But the influence of Mao and the Cultural Revolution can be seen in the way the masses of people took up the struggle and organized themselves in recent weeks. Even among the students, who grew up in the period since the revisionists seized power, there is interest in learning about how the people were able to rise up and overthrow the top bureaucrats during the Cultural Revolution.

Crisis of Revisionism

The recent upsurge has revealed and sharpened up divisions among the Chinese revisionist rulers, including in their military. Some army units reportedly refused to move on the demonstrators, and a group of high-level military officials circulated a letter advis-

ing the army against moving into Beijing. There should be no illusions about the Chinese military—it is an armed force in the service of a reactionary state, not a genuine people's liberation army as it was during Mao's time. The initial indecision and confusion at the top had to do with disagreements over how best to put down the people's revolt.

By the end of last week it appeared that Li Peng, with Deng Xiaoping behind him, had consolidated his position, reached some unity among the top political and military leaders, and seized the initiative from the demonstrators. There were reports of large numbers of new troops from other areas being moved into the Beijing area, while the numbers of people staying at Tiananmen Square dwindled.

It will take a revolution led by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party to overthrow the revisionists and get China back on the course charted by Mao. But even if the government is able to restore order for now, the revolt at Tiananmen has knocked the crowns off emperor Deng Xiaoping and other top officials, and the crisis and rottenness of their system are now right out in the open. □



Photo: René X

Asesinos No Más!

On May 7 the sign for the City Hall building in Encinitas, California, in northern San Diego County was covered over with a homemade poster reading "Asesinos No Más." Outside City Hall some sixty people protested a racist campaign directed against immigrant Mexican migrant farmworkers—a campaign that took a leap with the murders of two Mexican migrant farm workers by local white youths. These murders are the latest outrage in attempts by local residents and politicians to drive the immigrants out of the hillside squatter camps where these proletarians are forced to live.

The murders happened on November 9, 1988. They were carried out with an automatic rifle at point-blank range. The official police report says there were eleven bullet holes in the bodies. A San Diego police spokesman refused to tell the press if there were eleven bullet holes in each body or in both bodies combined.

It has since come out that the killers had bragged about the murders to their friends, but apparently their friends did not see anything wrong about the cold-blooded execution of two Mexicans! In January of this year one of the partici-

pants in the murders, Dennis Bencivenga, told police he was at the scene of the murders. But the police took no action until March 23, when they arrested the alleged "shooter" at U.S. Army Airborne training school at Fort Benning, Georgia. The following day Bencivenga was arrested at his parents' home, *three months* after he told police he was at the scene of the murders. Police claim they could do nothing until a witness came forward. Apparently a friend of the two killers, now claiming disgust with the murder, fingered his former friends.

Interviewed by a San Diego newspaper, this witness told of the views of himself and his friends, some of whom carried out the killings, "I thought we were the superior race. I guess we just kind of looked down on black people from Southeast San Diego and Mexicans from across the border."

The youth also indicated that his friends are skinheads, possibly with ties to the "White Aryan Resistance" group whose leader lives just east of Camp Pendleton in San Diego County.

These killings are the direct result of a racist, rabid anti-immigrant atmosphere that has been whipped up in this white,

upper-middle class area of northern San Diego County. There are an estimated 14,000 immigrant farmworkers living in squatter camps in northern San Diego County. Recent newspaper articles have quoted local well-to-do white people saying their neighborhoods had been "invaded by illegal aliens," that this is not "part of the American Dream," and so forth. These are the "polite" quotes. Others quoted in the *San Diego Union* call the immigrants "bush people," "animals," and blame all crime on them, even though studies of local crime show this to be a lie.

There has also been a more or less official sanctioning of the murder of Mexican migrant workers. At the rally on May 7 the Rev. Dr. Rafael Martinez told the *RW* of an Encinitas City Council public hearing held recently. About three-quarters of the people at the meeting were immigrant residents of the area who came to oppose the forced evictions of the people who live in squatter camps. A leading city councilor, Marjorie Gaines, told the mostly immigrant audience that the migrant workers living in the hills should be "eradicated."

In opposition to this ugly atmosphere,

a wide variety of forces came to the demonstration at City Hall, and lively debate characterized the speeches over the cause of the attacks and the best way to fight them. Participants ranged from religious activists to revolutionary communists. Two different groups from San Diego State University arrived—each of whom thought they were the only ones on campus who cared. A mother was brought to the demonstration by her teen-age kids who go out to the fields where immigrants work and defend the immigrants from attacks by local white racists. The demonstration was sponsored by La Resistencia; Peter Maurin, *Catholic Worker*; Chilean Information Center; C.T. Weber, San Diego County Chairperson, Peace and Freedom Party; Professor Clifford Trafzer, American Indian Studies, San Diego State University*; Cynthia Flores, SDSU, Imperial Valley*; San Diego InterFaith Task Force on Central America; Rich Garcia, Director, Centro de Asuntos Migratorios.*

*For identification purposes only.

Cinco de Mayo: Happening at Plaza Olvera

Dear RW,

The following is a report written by some immigrants who were at the Cinco de Mayo festival at La Placita in Los Angeles. In addition to what is described in their report, RW readers should know that this year at the Cinco de Mayo festival in Lincoln Park in East L.A. there were about 40,000 people, which is larger than in the recent past. The celebration was very much a youth scene with a very rebellious spirit. There were a noticeable number of Black youth mixed in with the predominantly Chicano and Mexican masses, a positive development for sure. Also people selling the *RW* met a lot of "Cholas" (young Chicana and Mexican women into the "Cholo" style) who really liked the paper's front page on abortion and were outraged over the attacks on the right to abortion.

The Lincoln Park celebration was ended by what many felt was very suspicious gang fighting. Many felt the cops could have seen the fighting developing and stopped it from happening, and others felt the cops may have in some way provoked the fighting. In any case, there is now talk from public officials about canceling future large Cinco de Mayo festivals.

In the press coverage there is a brief mention that the celebration at La Placita on Sunday, May 7 was stopped a half hour early because of "excessive drinking." As readers can tell from the following report, that is a straight-up lie. Readers should remember that in Los Angeles, from the outbreak last Halloween in Hollywood to the confrontations of high school youth with police during recent school walkouts, the authorities are very afraid of allowing those they oppress to gather together in large numbers.

May 7, 1989

There was a demonstration in Plaza Olvera. It was a celebration of Cinco de Mayo, the battle of Puebla. There was a meeting of 100 Mexicans because the government of Mexico is pressing down on us. We want liberty and justice. We are counting on your support.

We were shouting "Yankees out," "Migra out" and "Mexico! Mexico!" People got together and fought against the Migra. A dog effigy of the Migra was pulled out and we humbled it; we kicked it to make them understand that we are going to fight

and win. All of us Hispanos are fighting for this overthrow of the government to have a better government all over America. A government of true democracy.

It became a big scene against imperialism. A brigade of cops came to calm down the meeting but they couldn't. So they grabbed two compañeras associated with the Party because there's no freedom of speech here either. It was our responsibility to go look for them, so we did. Because they didn't speak Spanish the authorities didn't understand us. (If we had been reporting some drug traffickers they would have all understood Spanish!)

Why did they send so many police and helicopters? Because they were afraid we were going to win the rebellion!

The next time you provoke us, we're going to respond! Let this be a warning for the next time.

Cantinflas
Jaime
Pai
Pantera
JLS

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This book contains Avakian's historic analysis of the 1976 coup in China. Written in 1977, after the coup and the arrest of the "Gang of Four" but before Deng Xiaoping was restored to power, the papers in this volume provide the theoretical basis to understand how the revisionists were able to seize power in China, and important lessons for the proletarian seizure of power in the future. This book provides a crucial analysis and defense of the theory as well as the specific line and policies for socialist society developed by Mao and the revolutionaries in China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

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