



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 620

(Vol. 13, No. 18)

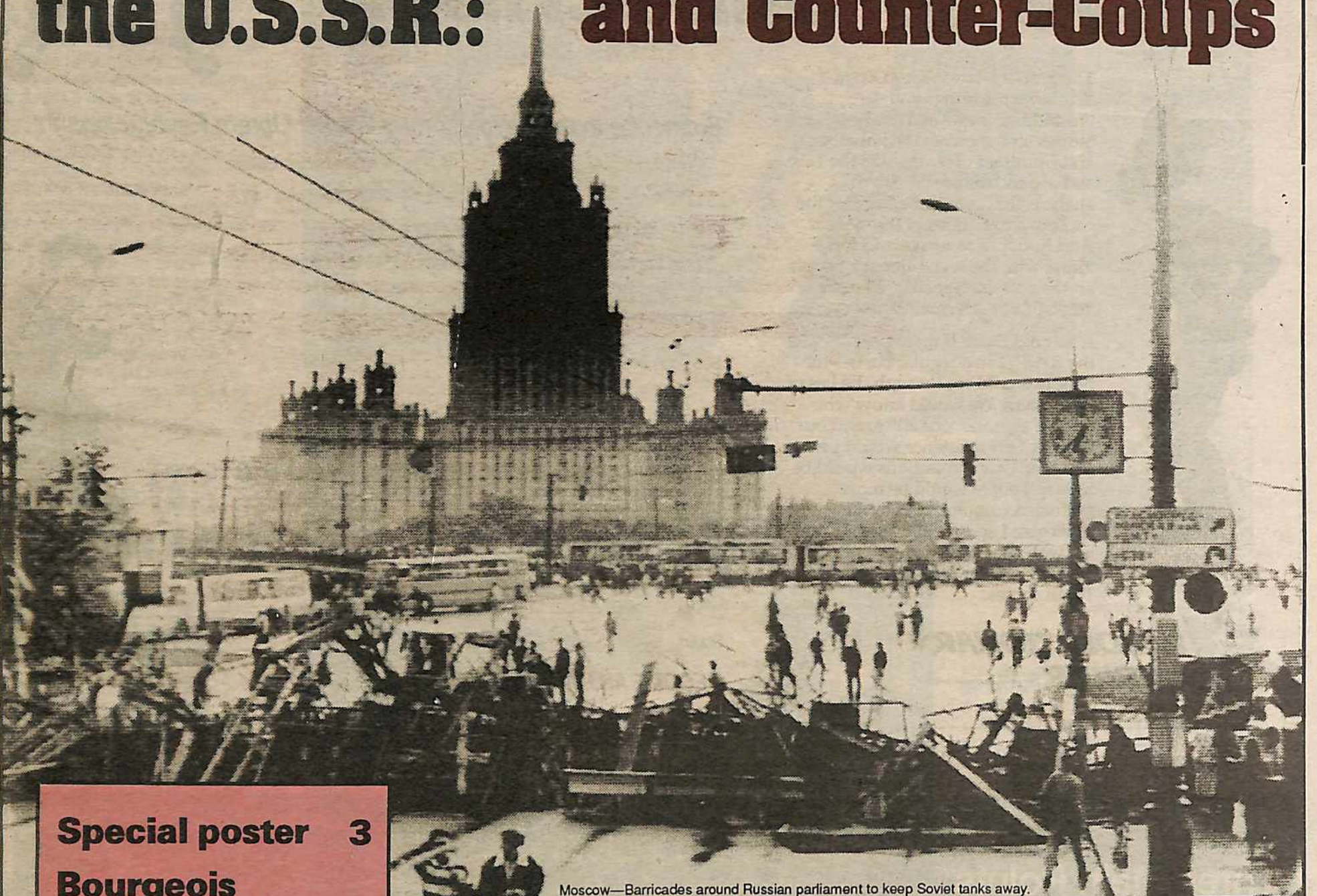
September 1, 1991

Editions in English and Spanish published weekly

\$1.00

Crisis in the U.S.S.R.:

Bourgeois Coups and Counter-Coups



Moscow—Barricades around Russian parliament to keep Soviet tanks away.

Special poster 3

Bourgeois Coups and Counter-Coups 4

Who's Who in the Coup 4

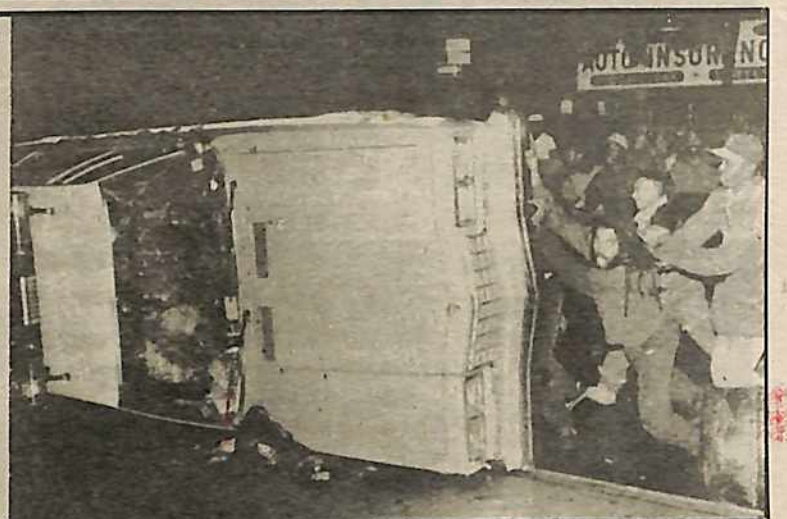
Union Treaty 12

Imagine... 13

Appeal to the People of Eastern Europe 14

6

The Anger in Crown Heights



8

War Stories: Return to South Africa

COPY THIS COUPON AND GET NEW SUBSCRIBERS TODAY!

BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR!

Get Down With the Drive to Subscribe!



The *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* brings you "forbidden" news and analysis. Stories straight from the hotspots and frontlines of struggle in the U.S. and around the world. Sharp analysis that gets to the heart of the real power relations of the system. And in-depth coverage and interviews with the revolutionary people on the bottom of society who are "invisible" to the mainstream press.

It's a cold truth: If more people read the *RW/OR* on a regular basis—the people would see through the lies of the system. We would know who are our enemies, our allies, and our friends. Our resistance would be stronger. Our connections would be tighter. People would be more politicized, organized, mobilized, strategized and revolutionized. And we would be prepared to battle the powers in a new way when the TIME comes.

Subscribe to the *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English Edition | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish Edition |
| <input type="checkbox"/> One Year - \$40 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 months - \$12 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> One year Library or Institution in the U.S. - \$52 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I want to buy a subscription for a prisoner (\$40 for one year) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I want to become a monthly sustainer of the <i>RW/OR</i> .
I promise to send _____ every month. | |

See your local *RW/OR* Distributor

Or mail to: RCP Publications, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

BECOME AN *RW/OR* DISTRIBUTOR!



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.

Contact the *Revolutionary Worker*
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654
In your area call or write:

California:
Los Angeles: c/o Libros Revolución, 312 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90014 213/488-1303
San Francisco: Watch the *RW* for new location.
Berkeley: c/o Revolution Books, 2425C Channing Way, Berkeley CA 94704 415/848-1196
District of Columbia: c/o Revolution Books, 1815 Adams Mill Rd. NW, Washington, DC 20009 202/265-1969
Florida: *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 016065, Miami, FL 33101 305/529-7108
Georgia: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 483 Moreland Ave., N.E., Atlanta, GA 30307 404/577-4656
Hawaii: c/o Revolution Books, 2567 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96828 808/944-3106
(Send mail to: P.O. Box 11228, Honolulu, HI 96828)

Illinois: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657 312/528-5353
Maryland: *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
Massachusetts: c/o Revolution Books, 38 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138 617/492-5443
Michigan: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 4712 Cass Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 313/832-4430
New York & New Jersey: c/o Revolution Books, 13 East 16th St., NY, NY 10003 212/691-3345
Ohio: c/o Revolution Books, 2804 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 216/932-2543
Oregon: P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208
Pennsylvania: *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 44024, Philadelphia, PA 19144 215/961-1595
Texas: P.O. Box 230112, Houston, TX 77223 713/684-4701
Washington State: c/o Revolution Books, 5519A University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 206/527-8558

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$40 a year, \$12 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico (\$52 for institutions).

Postmaster: send all changes of address to *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

What Happened in the Soviet Union Is Not a Case of People Power but a Bourgeois Power Play.

The U.S. media has declared the Soviet leaders Yeltsin and Gorbachev heroes of the people. They claim that "people power" stood up to a coup d'etat by "hardliners" who wanted to stop "reforms" in the Soviet Union. This is a big lie.

It's a cold truth: the powers-that-be in the U.S. and the Soviet Union are all trying to use the recent events in the Soviet Union to hoodwink and manipulate the people—in order to advance their ruling class objectives. This brings home an important point: Different classes have their own interests and programs.

Until the people learn to figure out the class interests behind developments and events in society—and organize around our own class interests—the powers are going to keep on playing the people for suckers.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and the Soviet coup plotters are all part of the problem in the Soviet Union—they are not part of the solution.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin are just bourgeois powers trying to get more power by using the name of the people.

Some oppressed people like the coup plotters better because Gorbachev has been kissing the ass of the Western imperialists, but the coup plotters are just playing a different version of the same game.

The Soviet coup failed—not because the people rose up to tear down an oppressive system—but because the coup plotters could not get enough of the bourgeois powers and the armed forces to go along with them.

The leadership struggle in the Soviet Union is not between "hard liners" representing a more socialist view and "reformers" representing an anti-despotic democratic view. It is a struggle between different sections of an imperialist ruling class.

All the players in this scene have blood on their hands. Their fight is over how to preserve a big empire and control the people.

The U.S. rulers favor Yeltsin and Gorbachev because this temporarily suits their own plans for ripping off and dominating the globe.

Soviet society is in a serious economic and political crisis. But this is not a crisis of socialism. The Soviet Union is not passing from socialism to capitalism. Gorbachev, Yeltsin—and the coup plotters—all want to bring about a change from one kind of capitalism—state capitalism—to another form of capitalism.

They are all just different capitalist solutions to a capitalist crisis.

Because the rulers in the Soviet Union have been practicing this state capitalism under the false banner of socialism, most of the Soviet people believe they are rebelling against socialism. And because people have been oppressed and alienated by these phony communists, many also believe that Western-style capitalist democracy and market-oriented capitalism will deliver them from political oppression and deprivation. This has already brought great suffering to the people of the Soviet Union and it will bring more. The U.S. rulers are using this confusion to make themselves look good.

This crisis could provide a real opportunity for the people in the Soviet Union to advance their struggle against exploitation and oppression...if they can get clear on and act on their own class interests. A real revolution against the oppressors in the Soviet Union would be in the interests of the people of the whole world.

The problem is that big bourgeois gangs—with the U.S. rulers on top—are running the world. Gorbachev and Yeltsin are just another bourgeois gang.

What the people of the world really need is a radically different future and a radically different system.

Real power to the people in the Soviet Union would be a revolution against *all* the different bourgeois factions and would be for real communism—where people work in common for the common good of society and humanity worldwide.

Capitalism – Old or New – Will Not Save the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Phony Communism Is Dead. Long Live Real Communism!

Mao More Than Ever!

Don't be a sucker for the lies of the system.

Get on the revolutionary tip!

Read, subscribe, distribute the Revolutionary Worker.



**REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER**
Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Crisis in the U.S.S.R.: Bourgeois Coups and Counter Coups

Last week, key figures inside the Soviet government of Mikhail Gorbachev staged a coup d'etat. The bitter disputes and divisions inside the Soviet ruling class erupted into an open, armed showdown.

On Monday, August 19, an eight-member coup committee was formed, including the heads of the military, the KGB (which is the Soviet equivalent of the FBI and CIA), Gorbachev's Vice President and lesser figures. All of these figures were men ap-

pointed by Gorbachev himself to their posts; all of them were prominent figures of the ruling revisionist party. Their forces captured Gorbachev in his vacation palace and cut him off from the outside world. They declared military rule in key power centers and troublespots: in the capital Moscow, in Leningrad, and the Baltic republics. Tanks appeared in the streets, surrounding the Kremlin—the central offices of the Soviet government.

Within hours, the tables turned. The coup stalled and then collapsed. Rival forces organized around the Russian President Yeltsin staged a counter-coup—they not only routed the coup-makers but assaulted the major power centers of the old central government. By week's end, the revisionist "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" was stripped of all its government powers and property—its offices seized, its newspapers closed.

None of the Sides in this Struggle Was Genuine Communist

The western media portrayed the coup as a move by "last of the hardline communists" supported by guns and the defeat of the coup as a victory by reform-minded progressive democrats backed by the people. Every part of this is untrue—it is a false picture designed to serve the class interests of the western powers.

This was a showdown between bigshot exploiters within the Soviet ruling class. Both sides are desperate for ways to stabilize the country and preserve their ability to exploit the masses of people throughout the Soviet Union. Both sides want to reconstruct a functioning capitalist economy and bourgeois government system in their country—in order to re-emerge as a major dominator power on the world stage.

All the forces in this showdown—Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the coup-makers—are representatives of the same Soviet state-monopoly capitalist ruling class. The fact that their split broke into the open just shows how deep those splits are inside that ruling class and how serious is the crisis of economics and politics in the U.S.S.R.

There were no genuine communists involved anywhere in this bourgeois struggle. In fact, there have been no genuine communists anywhere in the government of the Soviet Union since capitalism was restored there in the Khrushchev power-grab of 1956.

Until 1985, the ruling powers of the Soviet Union chose to still call themselves "communists." Because they were phony communists and real exploiters of the people, Maoists have always called them "revisionists" and "Soviet social-imperialists."

After 1985, the Soviet rulers increasingly stopped even pretending to be communists. Yeltsin left the Soviet Communist Party and declared he was an anti-communist. Gorbachev decided to stay in the revisionist party, but he called on this party to openly proclaim itself as a social-democratic bourgeois ruling party.

The military, police and party forces behind the coup are described as "hardline communists" in the western press—but this is also untrue. In all their public statements,



Woman confronts soldiers who took over Moscow's telegraph center.

Who's Who in the Coup

Gorbachev

The Western imperialists and their media say that Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's future after the coup seems shaky but that at least he should be given credit for opening the door to "democracy" and leading the people down the road of "freedom." In reality, Gorbachev's program of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) was a desperate attempt by the Soviet ruling class to deal with severe crisis and save their system from collapse. They hoped to change their state capitalist setup into another form of monopoly capitalism more in tune with Western capitalism and to realign international relations so that they could compete with the other imperialist powers in the world on a new, stronger basis.

These policies have meant nothing but greater hardship for the masses in the Soviet Union. People have been hit with unemployment and food shortages. Gorbachev has sent troops to enforce brutal crackdowns in Azerbaijan and the Baltic republics—blood is on his hands.

And Gorbachev has failed to pull the ruling class out of crisis—their problems have only gotten sharper. The economy is



in a bigger mess, the republics are straining against central Soviet control, the people hate Gorbachev and his government and the Soviet Union is seen as much weaker internationally.

Gorbachev's policies had already given

rise to conflicting centers of power—at the republic level, in the military, and so on. Heated disputes developed over the pace of change. The failure of his policy to make major headway against the crisis has made the splits in the ruling class even sharper.

And these contradictions broke into the open with the coup.

Yeltsin

Boris Yeltsin is pictured by his supporters and the media as a "democratic liberal" who represents "progress." This is a big lie. It's true that he has learned from bourgeois politicians in the U.S. who claim they have a "mandate from the people"—and then use that as license for all kinds of crimes against the people. But his "democratic" cover is very thin. The rise of Yeltsin means the rise of Russian nationalism in the Soviet Union.

Before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian oppressors and the ruling tsars lorded over what Lenin called the "prison-house of nations." Yeltsin's rise has brought the revival of ugly Russian chauvinism and resurrection of tsarist symbols. When he was the top revisionist party official in Moscow, Yeltsin became the first government official to give recognition to Pamyat. This is a militantly reactionary group who call for racist attacks against Jews and whose goal is keeping Russia



Tanks outside the Kremlin on the first day of the coup.

they endorsed the Gorbachev policy of becoming more openly bourgeois. *Nowhere* in their statements did they call for maintaining the revisionist camouflage: they never *once* used the words "socialism," or "communism." They repeatedly said they fully supported the current moves to develop private capitalism alongside state capitalism.

Crisis Created Deep Splits Within The Soviet Ruling Class

The Soviet Union is in the deepest political and economic crises that has hit any industrialized country in the last half century. Although the west has glorified the so-called "reforms" of Mikhail Gorbachev, the truth is that under his six years of rule the society has sunk into a worsening economic mess. And in the last year, the economy has dropped like a stone—the people cannot even get the most basic necessities of life.

This year, inflation went from around 10% to 250%. In the last two years national economic production went from almost \$600 billion to under \$400 billion. The country has almost stopped exporting and must import massive amounts to feed the population—leaving the country increas-

ingly in debt and bankrupt.

A joke on the street: "When Gorbachev came to power the country was on the brink of a terrible abyss. Then he ordered us to take a bold step forward."

This situation has greatly deepened the people's distrust of the government. It increased support for those calling for different structural changes in the government and the economy. And it has increased the eagerness of smaller nationalities to leave the Soviet Union altogether. One Baltic government leader said: "Why should the mouse attach himself to a sinking elephant?" The coming Union Treaty [see article page 12] would have accepted a smaller Soviet Union and a far weaker federal government. These developments increased the struggle inside the central ruling circles.

Internationally, Gorbachev's policies have also failed. He attempted to make deals with western powers in exchange for loans and technical help in stabilizing the economy. The western powers have forced major concessions out of Gorbachev and then demanded more, but the so-called "aid" they have given in return has been extremely limited. Gorbachev has been developing closer ties with Western Europe so the Soviet Union could reemerge as a

major world player—but the Soviet Union really appears to be steadily weakening on the world stage, losing its bloc in Eastern Europe and losing its influence in key regions like southern Africa and the Middle East.

These failures have deepened bitter splits in the ruling class. Major structural changes in the government, in the economy, and in the military have caused dislocation and discontent among those who control powerful institutions. New power centers have been emerging and competing.

Basically the coup-makers feared that central power in the Soviet Union was collapsing and they made a desperate move to stop this.

The Counter-Coup Was Not Based on "People Power"

When this coup failed, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that these events showed that Mao Tsetung was wrong about where political power comes from. Political power, Baker said, does not come from the barrel of a gun, it comes from the will of the people.

This remark was outrageous and deceitful. It is outrageous because the whole

world has seen how the U.S. government relies *heavily* on its guns to enforce its political will throughout the world—and the desires of oppressed people, in places like Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Arab East are not what influence the decisions of the U.S. imperialists!

Baker's remarks were deceitful because Yeltsin's victory did not represent "the will of the people" and also does not represent the interests of the masses of people.

Russian President Yeltsin called for mass resistance and a general strike to resist the coup. But the truth is such mass mobilization did not happen. There were scattered strikes and a few large demonstrations. But the country was not "paralyzed."

When the coup happened, Yeltsin made his way to the Russian government headquarters (called the "White House"). Ten tanks arrived there to prevent the coup-makers from seizing it. Yeltsin made a speech on top of a tank—and his message was clear: sections of the military were loyal to him, and he would resist the coup-makers with all his power.

Tens of thousands of Yeltsin's supporters joined the pro-Yeltsin tanks surrounding the Russian "White House." This was more a determined stand by his organized

Continued on page 12

"pure" from "foreign" influences. When Yeltsin was inaugurated as the Russian president, the music that was played was a work called "Life for the Czar." He adopted the flag of tsarist Russia as the flag of the Russian republic. These are expressions of the ambitions of the Russian oppressors to once again become big, brutal dominators.

Yeltsin started out as a protege of Gorbachev, who promoted him from a local party official to a national position. He was part of the "team" in the Soviet bourgeoisie that started down the road of *perestroika*. But Yeltsin wanted a faster pace of changes—more market-oriented reforms in the economy, a decisive casting off of revisionist rhetoric and political structures, and more power for the republics at the expense of the central Soviet government. He told Gorbachev, "The time for half measures is over. We are sitting on top of a volcano." Yeltsin's clashes with Gorbachev have been a struggle between competing centers of power *within* the bourgeoisie.

Now, Yeltsin has used the power base in the Russian republic to propel his forces to a dominant position in the Soviet Union. This can mean nothing good for the people in the Soviet Union.



The Coup Makers

The eight members of the "emergency committee" that engineered the coup attempt were top officials of the government, especially those controlling police and military powers. The Western media describes them as the "old guard" or even "Stalinists" and opponents of Gorbachev's reforms. But these thugs had nothing to do

with the revolutionary Stalin who led the Soviet Union when it was still really socialist. They were all appointed to their posts by Gorbachev, and they endorsed the general direction of his policies.

But as the crisis deepened and threats of mass upheavals began to rise, the coup makers became increasingly upset at some aspects of Gorbachev's policies. They were afraid that the Soviet Union was plunging

into uncontrollable economic and political divisions and chaos. The coup makers represented bourgeois forces whose power is based on positions in the central party, government and military. And they feared that their power and privileges were in danger. They particularly opposed the new Union Treaty which would further loosen central hold over the republics. And the coup makers felt that the Soviet Union was making too much concessions to the West and not acting enough like a dominator power. They said in their statement: "Whereas only yesterday a Soviet person finding himself abroad felt himself a worthy citizen of an influential and respected state, now he is often a second-rate foreigner."

But the coup makers did not have a radically different program to deal with the crisis. Their answer to the problems facing the ruling class was to clamp down on the people. Coup member Yanayev, during his two-day career as Gorbachev's replacement, said: "We are determined without further delay to restore law and order."

"The cops are working for the government. The government is no good. All the government do is send drugs in the country and stuff like that. There was a riot! The cops was losing! Black people was winning. That's the part I like about it."

Crown Heights is a community of 300,000 people in central Brooklyn, New York. Eighty percent of the residents are Black. Many are recent immigrants from the Caribbean: from Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, Haiti, Grenada and other countries. In this neighborhood there are also about 30,000 whites who are members of the Lubavitcher Hasidic Jewish sect which has been built up by the powers as a thoroughly reactionary force. For years there has been tension between Hasidic Jews and Black people in this neighborhood. Many of these Hasidim are petty bourgeois small shop owners. They have been given preferential treatment by the police and other city authorities. And armed Hasidic security units patrol the neighborhood, keeping Black people out of their section of the community. These patrols are backed up by the police.

Deadly Accident in Apartheid, USA

Monday, August 20 tensions came to a head. Two seven-year-old cousins, Gavin and Angela Cato, were riding Gavin's bicycle on the sidewalk near the intersection of Utica and President Streets. The two cousins' families had come to the U.S. from Guyana seeking a better life. A station wagon driven by an Hasidic Jewish man ran a red light at the intersection, side-swiped another car, rammed onto the

10-year-old Black youth in Crown Heights

sidewalk and into the building. Gavin and Angela were crushed underneath it.

The car that hit Gavin and Angela was part of a caravan of vehicles escorting Hasidic leader Rabbi Menachem Schneerson to and from a cemetery. The driver of the station wagon was busy talking on a cellular phone and had fallen behind the other cars in the caravan. When he saw the light changing to red he sped up to catch up.

According to many eyewitnesses, after the crash the driver got out of the car and tried to leave the scene. He was grabbed and beaten by outraged people. A man from Trinidad who was quoted in the *Amsterdam News* explained: "If this man had acted like a man, we would have held him until the police came; but instead he ran, and the police came in no time and escorted this 70-year-old man while the kids laid there."

Within minutes dozens of police were brought in from the nearby 71st precinct. People demanded that the driver of the station wagon be arrested. But the cops were more worried about the safety of the Jewish men and the angry mood of Black people on the street than they were about the two children trapped under the car. They attacked the people holding the driver including Gavin's father, Carmel Cato. A Black man told the *Amsterdam News*, "We are not going to take this. It's murder! I pulled the little girl from under the car, I held her in my arms, and the police punched me. She kept asking for Gavin."



Protesters confront police.

The Anger in

A private Jewish ambulance operated by Hatzoloh arrived on the scene moments later. Instead of freeing the children from the wreckage and treating them, the ambulance took the Jewish men out under protection of the police. Police Commissioner Lee Brown was quoted in the *New York Times* saying that the police told the Hatzoloh ambulance to get out of the area "in the interests of preserving the peace there." By the time the city ambulance came, Gavin was dead. Angela was rushed to the hospital in critical condition.

According to the press more than 100 police, some in riot gear, surrounded the

scene. They set up barricades to keep people away from the site of the crash. A Black woman told the *RW*, "The little girl, I didn't see when they took her away. But I saw when they were working on the little boy. And I believe he was dead before they took him away. And after that, that's when all the violence started. Because when the truck that drags the cars and stuff like that to the pound came to pick up the station wagon, they had pulled out a bike, a child's bike, from under the station wagon. The police had hustled them across the street. But when the crowd saw the bike, that's when everybody broke."

It's Right to Rebel!

From that point on, for three solid days, thousands of Black people, most of them under twenty, fought running battles with the police. Police cars were smashed, overturned and some torched. Close to one hundred cops were treated for injuries. Some stores were looted. Fuck tha Police was a favorite chant. The people also chanted "Murderers!", "War!", "Whose Streets? Our Streets!" and the Zulu war cry "Zoom!"

The media was a real target of the youths' anger. The media pumped out all kinds of lies, parroting the police story which failed to even mention that the car had run a red light and denied that the Hatzoloh ambulance had picked the Jewish men up and left the scene before the children were treated. Almost every major local paper had front page stories about the murder, allegedly by Black youth, of Yankel Rosenbaum, an Hasidic who was stabbed to death shortly after Gavin was killed. But there was little mention of Gavin's death, except to use it to attack the rebellious youth.

The youth were righteously outraged by all this. Television vans were stoned and reporters were attacked and beaten. The youth refused to allow any white, mainstream media into their neighborhood. When they did come in they had to set up their equipment behind lines of hundreds of police or on the rooftops of buildings. Those reporters who did actually try to get



Gavin Cato



A woman places flowers at the spot where Gavin Cato died.

Photo: Street



Crown Heights

the story of the police attacking the youth and residents of the community were attacked by the police!

In running battles Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday night, the police were forced to retreat again and again. In part this was because of the fearlessness of the youth and their numbers. But it was also because the powers were afraid that if they made a big move on the youth, things would explode even more. The ranking police officer at the scene, was quoted in *Newsday* saying "We felt it would defuse the tension." City officials described the situation as the most serious racial conflict in Crown Heights in memory. Despite daily visits by Mayor Dinkins, the presence on the scene of Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch and hundreds of police, the authorities admitted the situation was "out of control." Authorities worried aloud that the rebellion could spread to other areas of the city that are already tense from a series of racist attacks on Blacks and other oppressed people.

Powers Strike Back

But the police did viciously beat anyone they could isolate from the crowd. They also beat up press people who witnessed police brutality. By Tuesday night the police had set up a Brooklyn South Task Force that, according to the *Amsterdam News*, "was set up for the sole purpose of accommodating 'prisoners' from Crown Heights." Reporters from the *NY Times*, *Newsday* and *Daily News* were attacked by police. Black news reporters were beaten as well, including Vinette Pryce and Chris Griffith, both from the Black weekly, *Amsterdam News*. Chris is the brother of Michael Griffith, the Black youth who was murdered in a racial attack in Howard Beach four years ago.

Newsday reported that one man said police laughed while they punched him and hit him with nightsticks. Another man who was chased and beaten by police told *Newsday*, "I tried to come off the street. I ran in the building. I ran into the basement, the closest place off the street, and five cops followed me. They beat me up, busted my head. I said, 'All right. I didn't do any-

thing,' but they keep on lashing me. They said, 'We got one,' and they were laughing."

A Black woman resident told the *Amsterdam News*: "Police beat my kids; they beat up plenty kids. My kid was in a store; he walked out and a cop grabbed him and took him to the 71st precinct. I was there for four hours before I could even see him. While I was waiting, I saw at least four teenagers go out the back, bloody and they looked as if they could hardly walk; it was a disgrace."

When Dinkins came into the community for a meeting on Wednesday evening he was surrounded by about 50 cops. As the mayor and police commissioner entered the school where the meeting was to be held, they were pelted with rocks and bottles. The *Daily News* reported, "Brown was caught in a crossfire of stones and bottles outside the Lubavitcher headquarters on Eastern Parkway as hundreds of black marchers arrived at the building.... As Brown ducked into the building to escape the fusillade, his driver frantically radioed for help." Dinkins was shouted down in the meeting by angry youths who demanded the arrest of the driver who was responsible for the death of Gavin Cato. Next the Mayor went to visit the family. When he

Continued on page 11

The following excerpt is from a leaflet by the New York Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party on the situation in Crown Heights:

JUSTICE FOR GAVIN CATO! IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!

Is this an isolated incident in Crown Heights? Or for Black people anywhere in Amerikkka? No. This is daily life for Black people in apartheid-Amerikkka.

Over and over again, in this country, Black people have been murdered, raped and beaten by lynch mobs, gangs of jocks, pigs, the KKK and nothing has been done. All the Black mayors and Black police chiefs don't amount to doing shit about this because this is systemic, and it will keep happening as long as this system is in existence. This imperialist system exploits and destroys whole countries around the world, like Guyana and Jamaica and Haiti, and forces people here, then subjects them to a life of exploitation and casual murder. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The problem is they have the guns to back up their power. The solution is a mass armed revolution to take their power away, to put an end to the oppression of Black people, and all oppression once and for all.

The powers-that-be say that the rebellion in Crown Heights has been "senseless violence of thugs." That this is senseless division between Black and Jewish people. The reality of Crown Heights is this: Those in power in this country have built up a highly organized, disciplined and thoroughly reactionary sect of Jewish people in the middle of a Black community. These reactionaries have been given license to act as enforcers for the system. The organized Hassids of Crown Heights are part of the white-supremacist power structure in NYC. That's not anti-semitism, that's truth. (Anti-semitism is wack). Those Hassids have their own militia, and work hand in glove with the police. And they are rewarded and protected for this role.

Two years ago, after the Bensonhurst lynching, our Chairman, Bob Avakian, said, "Black people suffer oppression, as Black people, everywhere they turn in this society.... For Black people to have gut feelings against whites is not the same thing as the other way around. This is a male supremacist, white supremacist system we live under. Men who are chauvinists, whites who are racists, have this whole system behind them, and in turn they help to prop up this system, with all its brutal oppression. Our fire must be aimed at this male chauvinism and white racism—and the system they serve."

The powers can't stop this racist inequality without tearing away at what's keeping them in power. That's why the driver that killed Gavin Cato wasn't arrested. That's why Dinkins just wants to cool the people out.

It's Right to Rebel! And let's not let anyone tell us it's not. We got to get rid of this system. Viewed that way, this rebellion has accomplished some things. In the midst of the declarations of the "New World Order," this rebellion blew a hole in the idea that everybody just has to get used to an eternity of living like slaves and animals in a world run by the likes of George Bush, Gorbachev and their kind. It has freaked the powers out and put them on the run. Just one section of the basic people in one neighborhood in Brooklyn, fighting the authorities, has thrown these dogs in a frenzy because it raises the specter of mass revolution among the people they enslave. A new generation of youth have been in the forefront, and the sisters have been refusing to "stay in their place" too. Brothers and sisters rising up together, with equality, is our way—part of how we all get free.

There IS a solution! Mass armed revolution! We need to take things further—to the day when we can get rid of this system once and for all. Our fight has to be part of getting ready for the TIME. We need to prepare the people and ourselves. We need to fight this battle through, and spread the contagion of rebellion against oppression among the people. We need to join, build and support our vanguard party for revolution, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and its youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, to be in position to lead the people from rebellion to all-the-way revolution when the conditions for that ripen. We need to build unity among the basic people of all nationalities, and among our allies, to be able to unite all the forces needed to give this system its death blow. Our battles today can get us ready.

JUSTICE FOR GAVIN CATO! ARREST THE DRIVER! PIGS OUT OF THE COMMUNITY!

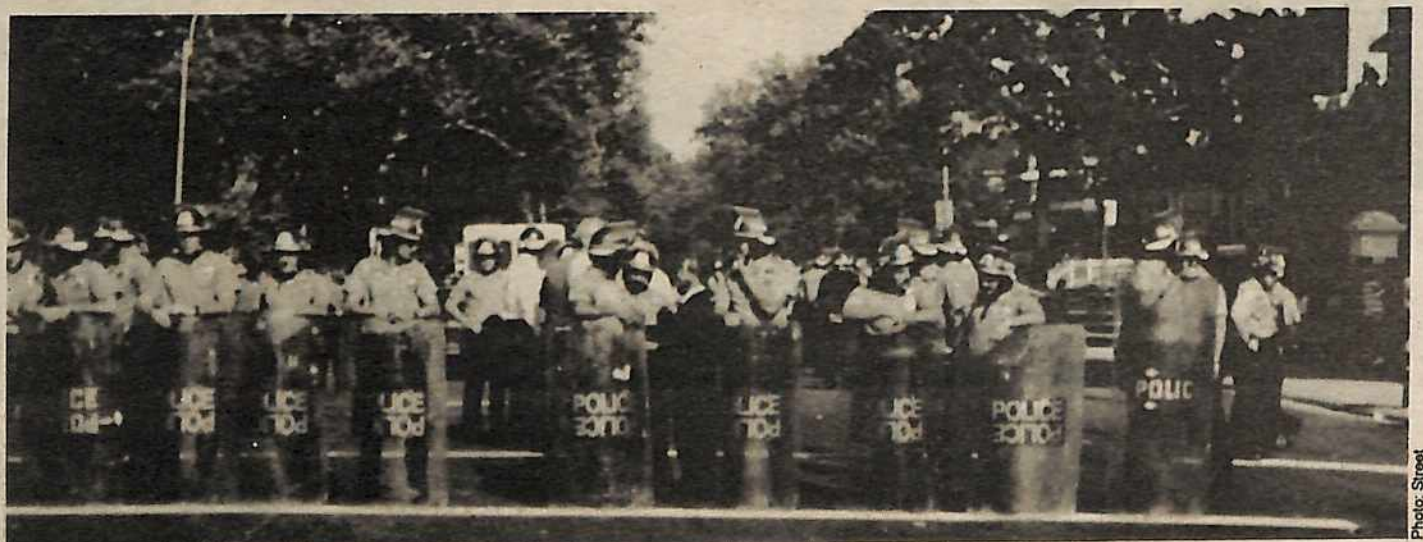
NO PEACE FOR RACISTS!

IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!

END THE OPPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE!

THERE IS A SOLUTION—MASS ARMED REVOLUTION!

Revolutionary Communist Party, New York Branch



Riot cops in Brooklyn, August 24.

Special to the RW

WAR STORIES

RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA

by Michael Slate

Part 7

In the mid-1980s a ferocious rebellion rocked the apartheid regime of South Africa—called Azania by the revolutionary people there. As the uprisings grew and intensified they drew in Black people from every part of the country and all walks of life. The South African government tried to bury the rebellions in prisons and in blood. And they failed. While the repression continued, the regime was forced to embark on a path that seemed unimaginable at the beginning of the decade. Many apartheid laws were formally repealed. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released from jail. Long banned political opposition groups were legalized and allowed to operate openly inside the country. And the apartheid regime began to carry out negotiations with its long-time opponents in the African National Congress and other Black opposition groups.

In the face of all this, the Azanian people continued to struggle for liberation. By mid-1989 the situation in the country was compared to the height of the nationwide uprisings in 1985. But the Western press continued to white-out the struggle in South Africa. They presented a sanitized and wildly distorted picture of what was happening—a rosy picture of negotiations leading to fundamental change. Reports on the struggle of the Azanian people were limited to sensationalized stories of “black on black violence.”

In late 1990 Michael Slate, correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker, traveled to South Africa. This was his second trip to bring back the truth of what was happening in that country—his first trip in 1987 resulted in the RW series “War Stories: A Report from South Africa.” The stories Slate has brought back—and the voices that tell them—are never heard in the mainstream press. They are the voices of the youth on the frontlines of battle and of the peasants with revolution in their hearts in the countryside. In the coming weeks the RW will continue this new series—in the hope that it will hasten the day when the racist South African regime is brought down and genuine liberation for the Azanian people from apartheid and imperialism is achieved.

In Part 7 Slate continues to discuss the reality behind the so-called “black on black violence” in South Africa, which has resulted in the death of some ten thousand people.

Truth in the Valley of Death

The young comrade threw a rock across the railroad tracks and out into the water. We had just finished talking about the scene in the townships around Johannesburg. For the last couple of months gangs of black men had been brutally attacking other black people on commuter trains, at train and bus stations, at taxi ranks and even in their homes. The attacks were seemingly random and very, very brutal. The world press described the scene as insane explosions of “black on black violence” triggered by tribal or political differences. The comrade was angry about what was happening. “They are just killing us and even getting our people to kill one another. I know how they operate. Here in Natal they call our townships the Valley of Death. But they never tell you who and what is behind all of the killings here. They don’t tell you about the terror of Inkatha. They don’t tell of the amabutho, the vigilantes, organized by chiefs who are Inkatha officials and how these amabutho terrorize and murder the people in the townships. Sometimes this terror is against ANC, sometimes it is against the militant and revolutionary youth and other times it is part of how Inkatha recruits people into their ranks—the people say that the only way to stop the attacks is to join Inkatha yourself. They don’t talk of the township councilors who have been ordered by KwaZulu government to kill revolutionary youth and liquidate organizations seen as being against Inkatha. And how many know of the askaris—the former activists and guerrillas who have been captured and become traitors to the people and work with the police to point out other activists and attack the people. And still, here in Natal they don’t talk of the terrorist black army units they brought in from Namibia, the Buffalo battalion and those Koevet people who have been stationed in our townships and attack our people. All of this is part of what they call the black on black violence here in Natal.

“What will they call the Jo’burg townships? When we write about this we must say what it is. Did you see the *Weekly Mail*? They have confessions from Inkatha youth who became sickened by what they were to do. So these youth ran away from Inkatha and they must now hide so that they are not killed by Inkatha or the security forces. But they told their story to the *Weekly Mail*. They say that they were recruited from Inkatha to go and receive training. They say that they were taken by night and woke to find themselves in another country. Some say that their descriptions indicate that they were taken to Zaire. These Inkatha youth say that they were trained by blacks who spoke Portuguese and they say they were trained to carry out attacks in cities and against the people. Then they were taken back into northern Natal. They were taken to bases that were run by white men and they continued training until they were given assignments to go and attack buses, trains and what not. People who have spoken to these youth say that the description of the training sounds like they were being trained by forces from RENAMO,



Youth who have organized to fight the vigilantes.



Crossroads woman whose squatter home was burned down by Inkatha vigilantes.

the South African-backed terrorist group in Mozambique that has committed horrible crimes against the people and murdered millions of people."

Battle at Uitenhage

An old cow grazing on some weeds by the side of the road begrudgingly moved out of the way as we pulled up to park the car. We were on a hillside in one of the so-called Colored townships of Uitenhage. Below us there was a complex of empty buildings. Many of the buildings were burnt out, some had walls scarred with bullet holes. The comrade with me swept his arm across the horizon as he spoke. "I'm sure you heard about the Port Elizabeth [PE] uprisings. They started in PE but spread up and down the whole line of townships from PE to Uitenhage. This whole location was on fire whilst our young comrades fought with the police and the local collaborators. Just there, down in those empty buildings, there was a major shopping complex called Hyper Valley. This was a place of intense battle. The battle had many sides. We started fighting the state and symbols of the state. As we fought we sometimes found ourselves even having to fight those who say they are on the side of the people. In some areas we had to fight the local representatives of the ANC as well as the police and the collaborators. I'll take you to the other areas and tell you the battle stories soon, but first I wanted to show you this area because I think there is a lot to learn here. They always talk of black on black violence and in our situation it was the same. But here we saw firsthand what the police and the SADF, the army, have to do with this so-called black on black violence.

"This rebellion, it started against the state and the collaborators but it very quickly became a battle of the have-nots against the haves. People who identified with the system more than they identified with the people found themselves scared of the people. After the first battles where the comrades attacked and destroyed the government offices—the rent office and the bottle stores—the next targets were the shops. To be a shopowner in these locations usually means that one is a supporter of the Colored Labor Party and that party is one of the main collaborators with the racist regime. Not all shopowners are like this but many are and in some of the areas you must be a big Labor Party supporter to even get a license to run a shop. So these people and their shops became targets. And in all of this the police assisted them to fight the comrades and then the press would go and talk about the struggle degenerating into black on black violence.

"This complex here is owned by the Desai family. They were attacked because of their collaboration with Pretoria and because of their relationship with the people—they are seen to be exploiters and oppressors of the people in the area. This complex became a center for continuous battle be-

tween the people and this particular family and forces they brought in to protect their properties. This family made it clear that they were against the masses from day one, from even way before the rebellions started. Now this family went all out. They moved into the shopping complex and positioned themselves in and on the roof of this complex. They were armed with semi-automatic rifles and pistols. They hired people to come down and fight with machine guns mounted on tripods. Now, it is not only suspect where they got these weapons but it is known for sure that the police and the army supplied them with very large amounts of ammunition for all of these weapons. This complex became a focal point after the people saw how the family was fighting against the people and when the involvement of the police was clear. The people were determined that this place would no longer exist and the state was determined that they would keep this operation going. Many of our young comrades died in the battles at this complex. The battles here went round the clock even when the scene in other areas started to die down."

We got back into the car and started to drive through the township. At one point we passed by a township bus terminal used by commuters going into the city to work. We stopped a short distance from the bus terminal and walked into one of the few shops that remained open. As we stood outside the shop drinking sodas and talking, young Azanians passing by the shop shouted greetings to the comrade. After a while the comrade explained that the youth in this area had been especially ferocious in

the uprisings. "You saw that bus terminal back there? That was another major battle site. The road that the bus terminal sits on is one of the main roads running from Uitenhage to PE. It was a strategically important road—if you could cut it off you could actually block the progress of the security forces. Youth in many of the locations along this road fought to cut it off at various points. The bus terminal was the key point here. These bus terminals are made of steel with corrugated iron surrounds and are embedded in concrete and tarmac. The steel pillars on the terminus are very heavy. Now, this area is in such a position that there is a hill behind the area and on top of this hill you have a very middle class area, professionals and people who are better off than most. The bus terminus sits below this and below the bus terminus and to the sides of it you have the poorer squatter camps and township locations. The youth from these areas knew that to stop the security forces they must blockade the road. So they uprooted the bus terminuses, literally uprooted them. It was amazing to see but our people were able to uproot them and use them to blockade the road."

The comrade laughed as he recalled the scene. "It took our militant youth five minutes to uproot these terminuses and blockade the road and then it would take the security forces more than an hour to clear the road. The youth would barricade the road and then retreat and wait for the cops to come. And when the cops came to clear the road the youth would attack and battle with them while they tried to clear the road. The security forces would send in one armored vehicle and then when things got too

tough for this vehicle they would send in mass numbers of security forces and then the youth would retreat. This was a scene of battle for days. This was a very important battle because it actually cut off the security forces' access to the areas where the battles were very intense.

"Now, there were some important developments here that we must learn from for our revolutionary movement. This area was also a place where the police were able to instigate more of the so-called black on black violence. This was one of the first areas where vigilante forces began to appear during these rebellions. And these vigilante forces came from the areas of the middle class. These are people who have reasons to hate the racist regime but they are also people who have some little things—a good job, a house, some cars and what not. Because they hate the system we can bring them to the side of the people. But they are people who are also scared of the rest of our people. They hate the system but they fear the people and sometimes can be convinced to rely on the system to protect them from the people.

"Now, this better-off area sits on top of the hill, above the bus terminus and the intense fighting that was going on here. The police began to go into this neighborhood and spread the story that all of the battles below were just skollies, that is what they call criminal elements among the youth, who were only out to rob and steal. So the police together with the Labor Party supporters organized these people into Neighborhood Watches which very quickly became vigilantes at the urgings of the police

Continued on page 10



Crossroads residents defending against Inkatha and police attacks.

Get the Truth About the People's War in Peru!

It's 1991 and people's war resounds throughout Peru. From the highest mountains to the coastal cities, the people on the bottom are making history. But the world's media have tried to surround the guerrillas with a wall of lies about their actions and a wall of silence about their aims. They say the rebels are supporting the cocaine traffic and that they terrorize people from all walks of life. They call them shadowy and mysterious, and even refuse to call the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) by its real name—hiding its true character behind pseudonyms like "Shining Path" or "Sendero Luminoso."

Break through these walls! Subscribe to *El Diario Internacional!*

El Diario is the only Peruvian periodical that has printed the truth about the people's war and that has aired the true views and goals of the Maoist PCP. For this, the paper has been hounded by the Peruvian authorities, its presses smashed, its editors imprisoned and driven into exile. Now Luis Arce Borja, the editor, is publishing a new international edition, *El Diario Internacional*, from exile. Recent articles include: "Open Doors for U.S. Entry," "U.S. Prepares Intervention in Peru," "The Bloody Months of Fujimori," "Where Do the MRTA's Arms Come From?" and "1990 Victoriously Concludes 10 Years of People's War."

As the U.S. gears up for a full-scale invasion of Peru and the people's war surges forward, the in-depth coverage in *El Diario Internacional* is indispensable for keeping up to date on this rapidly developing conflict.



Guerrillas led by the Communist Party of Peru.

el diario

Now available in English and Spanish!

For subscription information:

U.S.:
Committee to Support the
Revolution in Peru
P.O. Box 1246
Berkeley, CA 94701

International:
Publicación de Actualidad
Peruana y Latinoamericana
BP 1668
1000 Bruxelles 1
BELGIUM

War Stories

Continued from page 9
who kept telling people to arm themselves because the battles raging at the bus terminus were going to come up the hill. In all of these areas where they organized these Neighborhood Watch groups the police offered training and ammunition to the groups. They even pulled out all stops—in many of these areas they had people who were police reservists who were not known by the people and they even pulled these reservists out into the open and used them to help organize these so-called Watch groups. And then when these groups started to fight the youth the whole scene would be described as black on black violence."

Durban Fiction

"Here's something you won't believe." The Azanian comrade pointed off in the direction of a large crowd of black and white people surrounding a small yellow police truck. The truck had a wire cage on the back to hold prisoners. It was Friday night on the Durban beachfront and, as usual, the boardwalk and the beachfront disco bars were jam-packed with young and often-drunk whites. As we made our way to the front of the crowd surrounding the police truck, the young comrade explained the situation. "This is something that happens all of the time. The whites, they come and drink and then around eleven, twelve o'clock they start fighting with each other. Soon the police come and chase them away. This time I heard that they started to pull guns on one another and so the cops are making arrests. I want you to see the very different ways that our people and the whites look at things, especially at the police." A few minutes after we got to the front of the crowd a couple of South African cops walked up to their truck with one of the whites they had arrested. They put the white man into the back of the truck and then took off to search for others involved in the fight.

Some Azanian youths who had been

standing close to the truck noticed that there was no lock on the cage door. They started yelling to the white prisoner to just get up and leave. Finally, exasperated by the prisoner's refusal to do anything, one of the youths walked up to the truck and swung the cage door wide open. The white prisoner looked startled but after a few minutes he got up and moved towards the door. The black youths in the crowd started to shout encouragement to the prisoner and virtually everyone assumed the man would make his escape. After a few scared glances at the crowd the white prisoner reached out and closed the cage door before moving back to his seat. The black youths in the crowd shook their heads and laughed in disbelief.

When the crowd dispersed we set off to find some cheap food on the boardwalk. As we passed by one of the trendy outdoor restaurants a group of yuppie-looking white diners asked us what had happened. Before anyone could say anything else one of the Azanian comrades turned and, struggling hard to maintain a straight face, announced that "it was another incident of white-on-white violence." The diners exploded in laughter.

Later, as we sat down to eat some burgers, the comrades started to talk about the news of the last week. In the beginning of the week a large group of black youths from a nearby squatter camp had come to the beachfront area and began attacking white people on the streets. The press immediately labeled the youths as possible members of the Pan African Congress. Later, when this claim proved false, the press went on to describe the youths as crazed members of a religious sect. When the real story was uncovered, it turned out that the youths were members of a black group that had its origins in the early part of the century. This group was based in the townships and squatter camps and was known as an organization dedicated to the protection of black people. The group became infamous for taking revenge on whites who were

identified as enemies of the black people. The police came down hard on this group and eventually it existed only in South Africa's black prisons. The beachfront attacks marked an attempt to revive the group in the squatter camps surrounding Durban. In the cauldron of the black townships all kinds of groups opposed to the racist regime and dedicated to fighting back against oppression spring up and die out all of the time.

From the beachfront attacks the conversation shifted to the brutal ambush of a black commuter bus a day or so after the beach attacks. Unlike Johannesburg, there are no black commuter trains between the townships and the city in the Durban area. Most black people have to rely on the combi taxis or the black bus system to get them back and forth from the city each day. Every morning and evening, hundreds of thousands of Azanians cram into the commuter buses for the bone-jarring rides in and out of the city. Earlier in the week one of these buses was attacked by three men in a van. The van had pulled up alongside the bus on one of the local highways and the men sprayed the bus with automatic rifle fire. Everyone on the bus was hit by a bullet, some worse than others, and many of the passengers died in the attack. The press immediately began to pump out stories of how the attack was another example of insane "black on black violence." Depending on what paper you read, it was either the ANC attacking Inkatha supporters or Inkatha attacking ANC supporters. The townships around Durban were once again brought to the edge of open warfare.

The comrade who had joked about the white-on-white violence had a few things to say. "You saw how those whites reacted. They knew I was joking, they could not believe that white people are capable of such things. But they have no trouble believing that we blacks will just slaughter one another. This is easy for them to believe—it's what they are told all of the time and they see it as a reason that we

would not be able to govern ourselves.

"Look at this bus attack. They are only saying that it is ANC and Inkatha again. No one among the whites can say that maybe there are police or whites involved in this ambush. I think that whites have done it. They could say it was revenge for the attacks on the beach. And if you see the type of rifles used to shoot the bus, some of those rifles are the same as those used by the SAP and the SADF. And even if the rifles were AKs, it is still easy for the police to get AKs. They take them all of the time from the ANC cadre they capture. You know, in Jo'burg there have been many accounts of the attacks on the trains, on the streets and the bus and taxi queues that say that white men—sometimes with faces painted black and sometimes not—have been involved in these attacks. A white woman who died in one of the attacks in Jo'burg said before she died that it was a white man who shot her. But no one says any more about this. They have no interest in finding out what is the cause of these attacks. They only want to use them to cause more suffering for our people."

A few days later the South African police arrested three members of the white paramilitary Nazi organization AWB—African Resistance Movement—for the attack on the commuter bus. One of the main Durban newspapers had received a communique from the AWB immediately after the bus ambush. The AWB communique claimed responsibility for the bus attack. But the newspaper went on to run stories that never even mentioned receiving the communique but instead ran out daily stories of how the bus attack was most likely the product of ANC/Inkatha attacks on one another. It was only after the arrest of the AWB members that the newspaper finally announced that they had received the communique right after the ambush. Many of the local townships had been brought to the edge of a very bloody confrontation. □



Protesters overturn police car in Crown Heights.

Crown Heights

Continued from page 7

came out on the steps of their building with a bullhorn and tried to get the crowd to chant "Increase the Peace" (from the movie *Boyz N the Hood*), he was shouted down with cries of "Traitor! Traitor!" He left under a rain of debris thrown from the crowd.

No Justice for Black People

Many people in the neighborhood pointed out that if the driver were Black and the children were white things would have gone down a lot different. Black people spoke bitterly of the way they are treated by the Hasidim and the way the police support the Hasidim in every confrontation with Black people.

During the rebellion dozens of Black people were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and inciting to riot. Police helicopters flew low over rooftops taking people's picture for later prosecution. Yet armed patrols of the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the Hasidim were left to roam the streets! The press reported that these patrols sought out Black youth, cornered them and beat them up. According to many witnesses on the scene and the *Amsterdam News*, over and over again the police protected the Hasidim while they threw rocks and bottles at the Black youth!

On top of this there is the widespread belief that there is no justice for Black people under this system, especially after the St. John's verdict, racist firebombings in Canarsie, pigs never charged for murdering Black and Latino youth, and on and on. One Black youth from the neighborhood who was involved in the rebellion explained: "It was the straw that broke the camel's back. Look at all this stuff. Bensonhurst and all this other stuff that's been happening, the Canarsie stuff that's going on right now. People are just fed up with it. They're walking all over us. They're letting these (white) people get away with shit. So

it's time for everybody to take a stand and not let them get away with it."

These sentiments were reflected in a memorial the people built on the site where Gavin was killed. Bouquets of flowers, a picture of Gavin, candles burning in Gavin's memory, along with slogans against the JDL, including "This is not Palestine! We want justice!" A Black woman supporter of the RCP who is an internationalist taped a copy of the cover and two inside pages of the *RW* magazine, "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth, How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended" to the wall at the memorial for Gavin. Many people stopped to read it and liked what they saw.

Unfortunately there has been some anti-semitism among some of the Black youth. But others have correctly called this out as totally wack. One youth who took part in the rebellion told the *RW*, "I see other brothers walking down the street taunting them (Jewish people), they like Heil Hitler! Heil Hitler. They be saying that stupid shit. I be like hey. Hitler wanted to kill us too, remember? So they're just doing stupid shit. It's messed up. The Jewish people have been persecuted. Hitler killed six million of their people. Black people, they can't even account for how many Black people they've killed in this country. They've still got unsolved murders from 1856, lynchings and shit like that...The white man's not listening to us and they're the ones running the show. They're the ones running the city, running the system. They're not listening to us. And people are tired of that shit. They want something DONE NOW."

The youth who have been rebelling in Crown Heights are seeking out solutions in a way they never had before and when they met up with revolutionaries from the RCP and the RCYB who are preparing for the time when the system can be brought down through mass armed revolution, they

wanted to know how do we get ready for that? What do we do next? When a multinational posse from the RCYB went into Crown Heights some youth tried to attack the white RCYBers. But other Black youth stopped this, arguing that it was a good thing that youth of all nationalities were standing side by side with them in the fight against these racist attacks. Things also got a lot clearer when a jump-out squad of plainclothes pigs forced the RCYB posse (including a youth from the neighborhood who was running with them) up against the wall at gunpoint. These pigs were trying to retaliate for some spraypainted slogans on a wall that said "Revolution is the hope of the hopeless. It's right to rebel!" signed by the RCYB.

Clampdown Escalates

By Thursday, the powers decided to institute an even more vicious clampdown to try and stop the rebellion. *Three thousand* police in riot gear on horseback, foot and on motorcycles swarmed into an area seven blocks by six blocks. Pigs on all levels were mobilized from across the city, including many who had been working at desk jobs. The head of the police union released a memo that read in part: "if police officers are placed under a life-threatening attack, they should use their nightsticks or firearms to fend against such attacks." FBI agents crawled around the neighborhood, according to *Newsday* "preparing to make arrests for civil rights violations and inciting riots." State Senator Alfonse D'Amato called for a full-scale investigation to find out who "instigated" the riots. Authorities were considering imposing a curfew and even calling in the National Guard.

Facilities were set up so that mass arrests could be conducted and hearings held on the spot. There were calls in the media for "outside agitators" to be arrested. The *New York Post* wrote in its editorial, "It must now be understood...that anyone who

engages in divisive rhetoric is guilty of incitement to violence—nothing less." The authorities have been appealing for "peace" and for people to rely on the system for justice. At the same time they are already setting the stage for the driver to get away with his crime. A Grand Jury has been called up to hear evidence, but the press is already reporting that "legally" the driver can't be charged with vehicular homicide because of some kind of technicality.

There will never be any justice for Black people under this system. *Not one* pig who murdered a Black or Latino person in NYC has ever done any time. All but one of the racists who have beaten, raped and murdered Black and Latino people in the past five years have either gone completely free or have received very light sentences. Most were never even charged for their crimes! And the only racist who's doing any serious time, Joey Fama, one of the thugs who murdered Yusuf Hawkins, is only doing it because there was so much outrage among the Black community that the powers were afraid that the city would explode if he wasn't given time.

As we go to press the situation is still very tense and there continue to be sporadic battles between Black youth and the police. On Saturday, August 24, hundreds of people marched through Crown Heights demanding justice for Gavin Cato. No one has been arrested and charged with any crime in connection with Gavin's death. The police who beat Gavin's father, Carmel, as his son lay dying have not been charged. The Hatzolah ambulance corps has not been held responsible. Yet two Black youth have been arrested for the murder of the Jewish student. And as of Saturday, 180 Black people had been arrested, beaten and brutalized in Crown Heights.

This system is being exposed for what it really is by the actions of the courageous youths in the streets of Crown Heights—a vicious, murdering system of white supremacy that needs to be overthrown. □

Union Treaty: Trigger for the Coup

On Thursday, August 22 Soviet President Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin were supposed to sign a treaty which they said would preserve the core of the Soviet empire. The proposed treaty called for shifting power from the central Soviet government to the different republics that make up the Soviet Union.

When opponents within Gorbachev's own government and military staged their coup on Monday, August 19, one of their goals was to stop this treaty. In their view, the only way to preserve the Soviet empire was to preserve the central government and to use force to crush the independence moves of various republics.

The Soviet Union Is a Multinational State with a Dominator Russian Nationality

The Soviet Union is a multinational state with over a hundred different nationalities. The largest of these nations is Russia. Over half of the people in the Soviet Union are Russians.

After the Socialist Revolution of 1917, the old Russian empire was abolished. A revolutionary new socialist federation of nations was established. This federation was made up of 15 republics. The largest of these was the huge Russian republic—which contains the bulk of the land in the Soviet Union. All the nationalities were equal; Russian capitalist interests no longer dominated the rest.

But when capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union, in the mid-fifties, the old national oppression came back full force. The new capitalist rulers kept the old federal framework of the Soviet Union; but, in reality, the peoples of all nationalities in

the Soviet Union were exploited by a single centralized state-monopoly capitalist class, dominated by ethnic Russians.

Some of these nations are relatively developed European nations, like the Baltic republics. Others are poor, Third World nations, like the republics of Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus. For these nations the situation was similar to the way Puerto Rico is dominated by the United States. They were ripped off economically and their cultures were attacked.

Crisis and National Changes

After 1985, ever-deepening crisis swept over the Soviet bloc. When the Soviet Union did not respond to major changes in Eastern Europe by armed force, the republics *inside* the Soviet Union started to make demands too. Governments in several Soviet republics along the Baltic Sea and in the Caucasus demanded the right to secede from the Soviet Union.

These governments are bourgeois nationalist governments—that want control over their own capitalist national economies. They no longer want economic and political decisions in their republics to be made in the interests of the overall central ruling class, and some don't want to be tightly tied into the market of the Soviet Union. These forces are gambling that they will be more prosperous if they develop close and direct ties to Western imperialist countries.

Virtually *all* of the republican governments have declared themselves "sovereign" in the last two years. This means they no longer follow most orders from Moscow: they treat factories and raw materials in their republics as property of *their* republican governments and they reject



laws made at the center. Several have seized control of key national resources. In Kazakhstan, for example, the republican government stopped permitting nuclear testing by the central military and started negotiating oil deals directly with Western oil monopolies. In the past, almost all means of production and raw materials were legally owned by the central government.

Alarms Ring in the Central Russian Ruling Class

These developments caused panic and

conflict within the central, mainly Russian, ruling class of the Soviet Union. After all, an imperialist ruling class needs human beings to exploit—and it needs a large unified economic market that operates according to *its* interests.

In the sixties and seventies two strengths enabled the Soviet Union to maintain a bloc of allied countries and act as an imperialist superpower: its massive size and its huge nuclear military. In the nineties, the great size of the Soviet Union was now in danger. If the minority republics left the Soviet Union, the remaining Russian republic would still be large—but it would be much

U.S.S.R.

Continued from page 5
political base than a major outpouring of the basic people. In the rest of Moscow, the people mainly conducted business as usual.



Tuesday, August 20—Soviet military tanks roll into Moscow.

The gathering of civilians and troops around the White House meant that the coup-makers would have had to stage a massacre in order to seize Yeltsin. But the leaders of the coup backed away from this.

What then defeated the coup? And why didn't they seize the Russian "White House"? Though the details are not clear, these coup-makers were defeated in back-room struggles *within the ruling class* of the Soviet Union.

The coup-makers successfully seized some institutions of the central government. But what quickly became clear—in the next hours—is that the central government of the Kremlin no longer was the only important power center in the Soviet Union. Over the last several years, new power centers of the ruling class have emerged—especially in the republican governments. Moscow is no longer just the headquarters of the central Soviet government, it is also the capital of another powerful government—the government of the Russian Republic, headed by Boris Yeltsin.

The republican governments refused to support the coup: Two Baltic states responded to the coup by declaring independence. The Russian republican government of Yeltsin responded by directly mobilizing the ranks of the Soviet big bourgeoisie to *its* banner. Yeltsin has said he constantly phoned military commanders and even key coup leaders—wheeling, dealing and threatening in order to win support.

From the beginning, most of the Soviet military seems to have refused to take sides. Yeltsin had been touring regional military bases in the last months, and when the coup broke out, there were guns on both sides. This greatly weakened the momentum and the resolve of the coup-makers.

One of the key reasons for the failure of this coup is that the coup-makers had no program that was basically different from the failed one Gorbachev was pursuing. They called for rejecting the Union Treaty and for the military suppression of the seceding Baltic states. And they gave themselves emergency powers to deal with food and fuel. But no one believed that these emergency powers alone would actually resolve the crisis. The Western imperialist powers (except Germany) quickly announced that they were suspending any emergency aid packages.

It was clear that the coup forces were not gathering the support of the Soviet ruling

class. They lost the will to continue. They fled. And they were busted.

Baker was wrong. Guns had a lot to do with it—the Soviet military refused to support them. The "will of the people" did not decide the issue.

The Counter-Coup

What followed was a counter-coup by the Russian Republican forces headed by Yeltsin. Within hours of the coup's failure, Yeltsin was signing decree after decree changing the power structure of the country.

Returning to Moscow, the freed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had started to appoint new men to replace the coup-makers. These appointments were reversed by Russian President Yeltsin. Although he is president of the *Russian* government—he simply announced the names of new figures to key posts in the *central Soviet* government, where Gorbachev is supposedly still president. Yeltsin loyalists are now heading the military, the internal police and the KGB. In his counter-coup, Yeltsin is moving quickly to tightening his control of the gun.

The revisionist party (officially called "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union") was banned in Russia and several Baltic republics. The Moscow offices of the party's central committee were closed. Its key newspapers were banned. Its cells were forbidden to operate on Russian territory and in the Baltics. On Saturday August 24, Gorbachev resigned as General Secretary of the Party, recommended that the Central Committee disband, stripped the Party of all government powers, and ordered the Soviet parliament to seize all Party property.

This does not represent the "end of communism" because this revisionist ruling party had long since stopped being communist. Its leaders and members no longer even claim to uphold Marxism or Leninism. The top committees of this party served as the key "board of directors" for the central Soviet government and economy. And the lower levels of this party tied all the republics together into the Soviet Union.

Dissolving and banning this party completes the shift of power from the old central government to the new republican governments. The Russian republican forces around Yeltsin are now emerging in

control of a new central government.

It also means that the top Soviet powers have stopped pretending to be "communist." They have become even more *openly* bourgeois through this week of coup and counter-coup—they seem to have completely and officially dropped any claims that their system is "socialist" or that their ideology is "communist." This gives genuine communists, the Maoists, an opportunity to clarify the confusion caused by phony Soviet-style communism for decades.

What Does This Week Mean for the People of the Soviet Union and the World?

The Western media is going nuts with celebration and exaggeration. Some of them have even declared that this was "the most wonderful week of the twentieth century"—and "far more significant than the Russian Revolution of 1917." First of all this is absurd. The Russian Revolution brought a whole new social system onto the stage of history—one where the proletariat and peasants took power from the bourgeoisie. What is Yeltsin's counter-coup compared to that!

For the basic people of the Soviet Union and the world, this week did not represent a major turning point. Boris Yeltsin replaced Gorbachev as the main leader. For now, a *Russian* bourgeois democratic republic seems to be replacing a federated, revisionist republic. But no one is ever liberated by the power plays of bourgeois bigshots. The place was run by capitalist exploiters before this week, and it is run by capitalist exploiters now. There was no fundamental change in the social system in the Soviet Union.

To understand the excitement of the U.S. rulers, you have to look at their class interests. Their most powerful imperialist adversary of the last forty years is in tremendous inner turmoil. A decisive victory by the republican governments means that the Soviet turmoil has not erupted into civil war (at least for now)—and this pleases the Western powers because civil war would rock the boat far outside Soviet borders. The forces who won are firmly associated with opening up the Soviet Union to Western exploitation. And finally, the Western propagandists are opportunistical-

poorer and much weaker. Chances of reemerging as a world-class superpower would be small. Without the Ukrainian Republic, Russia would lose major sources of grain, coal and iron.

So the central Soviet ruling class, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, tried to suppress secessionist forces several times using threats and force. In April 1989, central troops used poison gas to kill demonstrators in the Georgian republic. In two Baltic states, Lithuania and Latvia, 22 were killed by central troops in January 1991. None of these moves worked.

A second strategy was developed by a rival power center in the ruling class, led by Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin advocated building a new federation that accepted the growing power of republican governments. Yeltsin had himself elected president of the Russian republic, which is headquartered in Moscow, where the central government is also headquartered. He demanded that power shift to the republics—and especially to the Russian republic.

After negotiations, Yeltsin and Gorbachev agreed to a new Union treaty which would be the framework of a new form of federation. It represented a major power shift away from the central government that Gorbachev headed:

- Republics would own the land, water and mineral resources in the boundaries. They could suspend federal laws within their own territories, pending appeals. The central government would only maintain control over the nuclear power industry and the arms industry, energy policy and transportation.
- The central government would no longer raise its own funds. It would be financed through a percentage of the money raised

by these republics.

- The central government would control the armed forces—but use of troops *inside* the country would be forbidden except during extreme emergencies.
- The republics could openly proclaim their capitalist social system. The federation would no longer be the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it would now be called the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics. And the treaty stated that republics could secede if they wanted to be independent.

This program accepted a serious weakening of the core Soviet empire. However, Yeltsin and Gorbachev argued that it was a necessary compromise needed to preserve at least some of the empire. Only three republics agreed to sign this treaty. Yeltsin showed his imperialist nature by threatening seceding states and demanding that they pay huge cash reparations for Soviet-owned properties they were nationalizing.

Although Yeltsin and Gorbachev were trying to preserve the Russian empire, their Union Treaty went too far for other forces within Gorbachev's own central government.

This dispute inside the imperialist ruling class triggered the coup. □

ly seizing on this crisis to spread their lie that communism has proven to be a utopian dream, and that Western-style capitalism is the best that people anywhere can hope for.

So for the big exploiters of the West (and for the media who express their worldview) this week was filled with good news. But they may end up with a case of "after the party, comes the hangover." This deep crisis will bring much disorder to the "New World Order."

Future Openings and Important Lessons

This crisis will not go away. As we go to press, the Ukrainian parliament announced a December referendum on independence from the Soviet Union. This would be a major threat to the class interests of the ruling Soviet bourgeoisie—and could provoke yet another national crisis. None of the problems that led to the coup have been resolved. Food will get scarcer in the months ahead. Coal and oil shortages will lead to suffering in the Russian winter.

This crisis was *not* a crisis of socialism or communism. Socialism has not existed for almost 40 years in the Soviet Union. The current crisis was caused by *capitalism* and specific problems of the Soviet capitalist system—in large part the fact that its world empire was smaller than that of the Western capitalists. None of this has changed with these bourgeois power plays. Crisis will continue.

Despite the suffering such crisis causes, it contains possibilities for the oppressed people of that region and the world to make some major gains in their struggle against their oppressors. And that is a good thing. Whatever bourgeois political forces now get control in the various parts of the former Soviet Union, they face a great likelihood of being discredited themselves by the continuing crisis. They face the possibility of massive uprisings of the people.

These events show that modern class society moves in sudden leaps and unexpected crisis. Only four or five years ago, few people would have foreseen such events and opportunities for the people. And yet, the potential is suddenly there, as the ruling powers tumble in deeper crisis and conflict. The problem is that there is no revolutionary communist party anywhere in the Soviet Union to lead such an upsurge.

If mass uprisings are not led by forces representing the revolutionary proletariat,



Thursday, August 22—the tanks leave Moscow.

they will be seized by other bourgeois and reactionary forces. On every hand, different bourgeois forces are sure to maneuver and intrigue in new gambles and power grabs. In the smaller republics, bourgeois nationalist forces are seizing the crisis to set themselves up as exploiters in their own independent countries. At the center, forces like Yeltsin are fanning great Russian chauvinism and raising the ugly flag of the old Tsarist empire. In the wings, the forces of military dictatorship will also be waiting.

It's a cold truth: Different classes have their own interests and programs. Until the people learn to figure out the class interests behind the events in society—and organize around our own class interests—the powers are going to keep on playing the people for suckers. □

Excerpt from

Communism: Imagine... In Living Color

With the crisis in the Soviet Union, the U.S. ruling class and press have launched a big attack on communism. They never admit the truth—that the rulers of the Soviet Union are phony communists and that Soviet society has been just another form of oppressive imperialist society for 40 years. And the U.S. rulers are taking advantage of this crisis and confusion about the nature of Soviet society to spread the lie that their dog-eat-dog capitalist system is the only way that people can live. They are bragging about how their bourgeois values and social system is the "best of all possible worlds." They want the people to stop dreaming and fighting for a world without oppression.

But Maoist revolutionaries know otherwise. We know that this imperialist society has to be overthrown, and we know that through much struggle a whole different world is possible. This excerpt from a recent article by Bob Avakian (RW No. 592 2/10/91) gives a picture of what a real communist society would be like:

Imagine people are not divided into different classes—into rich and poor, or those who are educated and those who are denied an education.

Imagine nobody slaves for anybody else but everybody works in cooperation to contribute the most they can to society, and everybody gets back from society what they need to live a decent life. Imagine further that nobody is stuck doing one job all the time but everybody learns to do all different kinds of things. Imagine: everybody spends part of their time doing work (of different kinds), part of their time in recreation, art, entertainment and relaxation, part of their time thinking and discussing and debating about questions of society and the world, part of their time helping to take care of the administration of society.

Imagine if education really taught people about the true history of the world and its people and really helped people learn about how nature and society actually work and how people can interact with nature and with each other in the interests of humanity as a whole, not just for the present but for future generations. Imagine if education and work were both productive and creative and helped people develop in an all-around way, physically as well as mentally.

Imagine if art and culture were not something used to dull and degrade the people but instead something that uplifted them, fired their imaginations, helped them to see to further horizons and to see old things in new ways, and at the same time inspired them to act to change the world in the interests of the people. Imagine if this sphere of art and culture were not restricted to a small number of professionals but the masses of people took part in creating as well as appreciating art and culture.

Imagine if there were no countries—no borders and border guards. Imagine if people did not live just in one area or part of the world their whole lives but were able to live in many different parts of the world during their lifetime.

Imagine if you lived in a world where there were no racist assaults, or racist insults. A world that was not divided into different nations, with some lording it over the others. A world without racism or anything like that—no ridiculous notions of one group of people being superior to another—a world where people, for the first time, really saw themselves and acted as part of the world community of human beings.

Imagine if women no less than men could walk anywhere they wanted, at any time, without any fear of being attacked. Imagine a world where such things as sexual abuse, rape and everything like that were unknown. A world where the words "men" and "women" did not raise any ridiculous notions of one being strong and the other weak, one made to run things and the other made merely to support him. A world without domination, discrimination, inequality, oppression, and degradation for women at the hands of men and a male-supremacist society. A world where these things no longer existed.

Imagine a situation where, when people get sick, those responsible for health care really do treat them with caring and respect. A world where science and technology are developed and applied according to the principle of serving the people—and where the people, collectively and cooperatively, take responsibility for science and technology, along with everything else in society.

Imagine a world without hunger. Without superstition. Without war, without armies and weapons that people use against other people. A world where the fate of humanity was not in the grasp of a handful of reactionary and murderous oppressors but was in the hands of the world's people, striving and struggling with each other to serve the highest interests of humanity.

Yes, imagine! But the most important and most powerful thing is not that we can imagine a world like this. *The most powerful, the most liberating thing is that a world like this can actually be brought into being.*

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism makes it possible for us to go beyond just imagining, dreaming and hoping for a better world, someday—it shows the road to this future and the means and methods of fighting for it... □

Excerpt from

Cast Away Illusions! Revolution All the Way!

An Appeal to the People of Eastern Europe from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The Western media has declared the recent events in the Soviet Union to be a big victory for democracy. Following are excerpts from "An Appeal to the People of Eastern Europe" by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which deal with this question of "democracy" and what it really means for the people. This appeal was issued on February 20, 1990, shortly after the big upheaval in East Germany. It has been translated into Polish, Czechoslovakian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, German and several other languages. Tens of thousands of copies have been distributed throughout Eastern Europe. This appeal was reprinted in RW No. 548. The full text of the appeal appears in A World to Win magazine, issue No. 15, 1990.

Today, the entire Soviet social-imperialist bloc is in such deep crisis that its most powerful rulers, Gorbachev and the Soviet bourgeoisie themselves, have undertaken a program of unprecedented change. This has unleashed decades of pent-up fury, resulting in an explosion of anger and protest from below. The ruling classes are divided and in disarray; the masses of people have awakened to political life. Unparalleled opportunity exists to intensify the struggle of the people, but in developed capitalist countries like E. Europe, such moments are rare and short-lived. By common consent, the ruling classes of East and West are deploying their considerable forces to establish a new stability. Either you will advance the people's struggle in the face of this, or you will be defeated by the masters old and new.

Stabilisation is now the common programme of all the ruling classes. One of the chief weapons in their arsenal is the introduction of the parliamentary democracy that so many of you look to. They say that because you now have parliamentary democracy you can cease your fight, that this democracy is the guarantee that you can solve your problems and better your lives. This is a lie. Look at Poland: why is it that despite the collapse of the vicious martial law regime, despite the introduction of multiparty elections, free press, free speech, and even the electoral victory of the pro-Western opposition, the suffering of the masses has become even worse?

Parliamentary democracy has never brought freedom to the broad masses. Everyone is free and equal, it is said, "one man, one vote"; but one class controls the wealth and power—the means of production, the mass media, the army and police—and is free to use all this to exploit, suppress and manipulate the people. Parliamentary democracy is a means by which capitalist rule is disguised as the rule of the people; the masses' hopes are pinned to illusions that one or another representative of the ruling class will bestow changes upon them, instead of relying on the only force for real change: the revolutionary struggle of the people themselves.

Parliamentary democracy is democracy for the privileged. They now have more competition in their own ranks over who will have what share of the rights to rule and exploit and live leisured lives. New sections of the elite previously out of power are being let into the privileged ranks. "Comrade" party bosses will give way to modern Western-style executives, collective farm managers will be replaced by big farm owners—but often it is the old party managers who will become the new owners, since they have the money, connections and know-how to profit from the new opportunities. But the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a small minority, and the propertyless and powerless condition of the broad masses, will remain unaltered, for this is the essence of capitalism in both its Eastern and Western forms.

It is not democratic reforms from above but the people's struggle from below

together with the disarray of the rulers that has brought forth any truly fresh and vital change. Look at the seizure and destruction of the Stasi headquarters in E. Berlin. Imagine what would happen if youth in democratic W. Germany were to try to storm the secret police headquarters there—how many would be gunned down, how many imprisoned? Look at Romania, where across the country workers have gone on strike, held mass meetings, forced out hated factory administrators and chosen new ones themselves. Such things rarely happen in the "democratic" West, and if they do they are quickly and viciously suppressed. As soon as your ruling regimes get back on their feet, then they too are sure to crush any such fruits of popular power—undoubtedly under the banner of protecting the new-born democratic power!

As for the grand promises of change to be wrought by free enterprise and Western investment: a few privileged will benefit, the basic masses won't. Look at what Western technology is bringing Poland: some get computers, others get laid off. Competition is intensifying, as is polarisation; the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. But make no mistake: all these measures chiefly serve to accelerate processes already going on. Profit has been the driving force of the E. European economies for years; the gap between the rich and poor was already enormous; total debt to Western banks already stands at near \$100 billion—every year they suck

billions in interest payments out of E. Europe.

The change in E. Europe is not from stagnant socialist economies to dynamic capitalist ones, but from disguised to undisguised capitalism. What is new is a desperate attempt by your rulers to replace inefficient capital with efficient capital, to streamline the mechanisms of exploitation and make the wheels of capital accumulation turn even faster, including by expanding the share of the Western imperialists in this process.

Look at what's already going on in Poland and Hungary, where Western penetration and Western-style reforms have gone farthest. How many more soup kitchens will Poland need, as hundreds of thousands are laid off because factories and mines are "not profitable"? How many more homeless will join the thousands already huddling on Budapest's streets, because new housing is "not profitable"? The regimes are now freed up from the compromises made by the state capitalists to maintain the facade of socialism; like people in the West, you are free not only to vote, but to be unemployed and homeless.

Western propagandists tell you to forget the evidence from Poland and Hungary of what more Western penetration will mean for you; look instead to Germany, Scandinavia or France—if you adopt democracy and join Europe, someday you too will live like this, they claim. What poison pours from their lips! Of course the West is

richer—it has been more successful than its Soviet-bloc rivals in building a worldwide empire. Their exploitation fields stretch from Chile's copper mines to South Africa's gold mines up through the Middle East oil fields through South Asia and into the Far East, where tens of millions produce textiles and electronics for pennies an hour. Because the West is richer and has a relatively large middle class, it can allow some of its people to say what they want (some of the time) and go abroad (if they can afford it). The West is not rich because it is democratic, it is democratic because it is rich and it is democracy for the rich; the secret of its riches, and hence of its democracy, lies in its empire built on bloody conquest and maintained through savage wars like Vietnam, continual invasions of little countries like Panama, Grenada or the Malvinas, and perpetual misery and suffering for hundreds and hundreds of millions under apartheid regimes and military juntas and including within the borders of the imperialist countries themselves. If you want to know what Western democracy is really about, turn off Radio Free Europe and find the way to ask South Africa's blacks, or Palestinians in the Gaza strip, ask Arab dustmen in Paris or Turks in Hamburg, ask England's coal miners or Chicago's ghetto inhabitants—get them to tell you about the "marvels" of Western democracy. Or you can just wait to find out for yourselves...." □

A WORLD

TO WIN 1990/15

獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

To the People of the East:

Cast Away Illusions, Revolution All the Way!

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

Inside: Speech by PCP Chairman Gonzalo

WORLD TO WIN
Issue No. 15
featuring analysis of
**COLLAPSE OF
REVISIONISM
IN THE EAST**

On sale at
Revolution Books
stores and outlets.
Send prepaid mail or-
ders (\$6.00 plus \$1.00
shipping) and inquiries
on bulk rates inside
the U.S. to:
Revolution Books
13 East 16th St.
New York, NY 10003.

SUBSCRIBE!
A World to Win
Published Quarterly
Subscriptions: four
issues for \$20.
Air mail, Institution
and trade rates avail-
able upon request.

For subscriptions:
Revolution Books,
13 East 16th Street
New York, NY 10003.

On August 3, Los Angeles County sheriffs deputies murdered Arturo Jimenez, a 19 year-old Chicano youth, in the East L.A. housing project of Ramona Gardens. (See "The Killing of Smokey Jimenez," RW 618, for the full story.) The unprovoked killing of Smokey, as his friends called him, produced an angry response and a continued determination by the people of Ramona Gardens to "not let it go," as one said—to fight for Justice for Smokey. The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) and correspondents for the RW went to Ramona Gardens after the killing of Smokey to stand with the masses of people against this police murder. The RCYB brought banners which were signed by 50 youth in the projects. The appearance of revolutionaries on the scene at Ramona Gardens—and the positive reaction from the people—freaked out the Los Angeles Times and the Times ran a big article attacking the RCP. The following press release is the response of the RCYB and staff members of Revolution Books to the L.A. Times article:

Response to L.A. Times Article

It's Right to Rebel! In Memory of Smokey

The article "Revolutionaries at Work in Project" (August 7) said that in the wake of the shooting of Arturo (Smokey) Jimenez "among the least welcome" at the Ramona Gardens housing project were the supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). This article seriously distorts the views of the revolutionaries, and what went down in the project.

The Times reported that the residents have been "besieged" by "news crews, police, bureaucrats, social workers and politicians." So the issue is not whether the revolutionaries are "outsiders" but whether they spoke the truth, since the truth is welcome no matter where those who tell it live.

The RCP and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the youth group of the RCP, condemn the killing of Smokey by the L.A. County sheriffs. These organizations upheld the rebellion that took place after Smokey was killed, exposed the nature of a system for whom the lives of millions of Smokeys from Mexico to Iraq to the U.S. mean nothing, and put forward revolution as the solution. Banners were brought to the projects: "No Peace 4 Racist Pig System" and "It's Right to Rebel in Memory of Smokey," signed by 50 youth the L.A. Times labeled "gang members." Yes, the RCP and RCYB refuse to join in the chorus of those telling our people to chill out and place their faith in the political



Frame from videotape shows the body of Arturo Jimenez with police standing around.

power structure. Instead of shouting "outside agitators" and "communists!" those like the Times who tell people to rely on the powers-that-be for justice need to explain why we should.

Why should people rely on Councilman Alatorre, who voted to overturn the Police Commission's attempt to suspend Chief Gates after the Rodney King video exposed to the whole world the brutality of the LAPD officers? Why should people place their faith in the police, whose chief has spoken of our people as "Salvadoran drunks," said casual drug users should be "taken out and shot," and Black people choke to death more easily than "normal" people? Why should we put our faith in a sheriff's department that transferred to the Latin barrio of E.L.A. a deputy the Times said was alleged to have been in the "Vikings," a clique of officers the Times admits took pride in violently attacking minorities? Why should people look for justice from sheriffs who hunted down and arrested one of the residents of Ramona Gardens after the killing just to confiscate his videotape? If they cared for our lives, why did they detain the ambulance that was dispatched to take Smokey to the hospital?

Moreover, the problem we face goes far beyond a hundred or a thousand brutal police. The capitalist system (much as it brags of its so-called success) can provide no jobs, no education, no hope and no future for our youth. A recent L.A. Times ar-

ticle on the Nickerson Gardens housing project in Watts stated that less than 1% of the residents had jobs! And it is widely known there are far more Black men in jail than in college. While the state budget funds a new jail in East L.A., the police turf our housing projects, ghettos and barrios into virtual jails under cover of their so-called "war on drugs." On August 6, the LAPD began installing permanent barricades around Pico-Union. This is the second community of Black and Latino people in L.A. to have Nazi-style enclosures erected under "Operation Cul-de-Sac," which our people call "Operation Police State." We say this system has a program to lock us up, beat us down and kill us off. And that's about all it's got to offer our youth. The Persian Gulf war showed the one thing America counts on its youth for is slaving, killing and dying upon command to bring yet more wealth and global power.

We took that banner "It's Right to Rebel in Memory of Smokey" to Ramona Gardens and no, we didn't ask our people for green cards, IDs and rap sheets before they could sign. Membership in a gang is not illegal, and our youth are not criminals and they are not subhuman. We don't buy into the hype that racism, brutality and killing is fine as long as someone in authority says "gangs" or "drugs" are involved. Isn't that being said now to justify the killing of Smokey? As for how to uplift our youth out of a

A wooden cross marks the spot where Smokey was killed.

dog-eat-dog existence—the RCP and RCYB believe that only in fighting against what this system and its police-state terror does to them can the youth radically change themselves.

The Times article quotes police sources to say the revolutionaries are "inciting" violence and "creating anti-police sentiment." What nerve! The source of people's hatred for police brutality is the brutality of the police and the way of life they enforce on us, not the "incitement" of revolutionaries. The violence of Ramona Gardens on August 3rd was the violence of the oppressor directed at the oppressed. Where are the police and the powers they "serve and protect" coming from when they accuse their victims of "violence"?

The Times article repeats a false accusation that revolutionaries urged someone to throw a bottle. This allegation forms part of a pattern of the authorities, particularly LAPD Chief Gates, trying to brand the Revolutionary Communist Party as advocating individual retaliation against authorities. Such actions do not really solve the problem and are not the RCP's strategy for change. Charges like this seek to make political opposition to this system a criminal act.

In August 1970, tens of thousands of Chicanos rebelled when their demonstration in E.L.A. against the bloody Vietnam war and constant racist brutality against Chicano people here in the U.S. was attacked by sheriffs deputies. Two decades (and thousands of "promises") later the sheriffs are still killing our Chicano and Black youth, and America's "new world order" has destroyed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi people. The RCP and RCYB see the real problem is that this system is nothing but organized greed, backed up by weapons of mass destruction. That is why they say a revolution of the masses of people, when the time is right, is the only solution. The truth of all this may be "unwelcome" to those who are committed to defend this "American Way." But it is a cold and liberating truth to our people.

Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade,
Los Angeles
Staff members of Libros Revolución

REVOLUTION

The End of a Stage – The Beginning of a New Stage Mao More Than Ever!

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

"...The so-called 'demise of communism' is really just revisionism becoming more openly bourgeois. This does not constitute a 'crisis' for genuine communism and it is not a bad thing for us—for the international proletariat and the international communist movement, as represented specifically by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the parties and organizations affiliated with it. Strategically, it is a fine thing for us. . ."

"In these days when the imperialists are trying to make something fashionable and 'trend-setting' out of 'commodity-fetishism' (the outlook that treats everything and everybody as something to be bought and sold and used to make a profit); when they are on an offensive to declare their outmoded system and its corrupting, degrading values the 'wave of the future'(!); it is all the more important that we wage a bold ideological counteroffensive—indicting their system and its values and putting forth our communist principles in opposition—as part of taking them on in a determined and militant way overall. We should instill in the victims of this system an attitude of despising this system and all it stands for—of recognizing that this system represents not the 'wave of the future' but the dregs of the past—that it is the thing standing in the way of a much brighter future. As Mao said, 'Unless we despise the old system and the old reactionary productive relationships, what do we think we are doing? If we do not have faith in socialism and communism, what do we think we are doing?'"

In an explosive issue of *Revolution* magazine, Bob Avakian takes up an historic challenge posed by the events of the day. Scorn is heaped on Marxism by its enemies and phony Marxism is in crisis. But at this very same time, the conditions of the world starkly pose the fact that nothing less than REAL communism will do. Bob Avakian's approach: strategic confidence in revolution, combined with (and founded on) an understanding that it is crucial to sum up the lessons and historical experience of communist revolution—exactly in order to advance that process.

And he takes up this problem as Bob Avakian always does it—in new ways, from unexpected and fresh angles, wrangling deeply for answers...and always from the stand of revolution, the stand of the oppressed.

Issue Number 60 discusses:

- The positive role of unresolved contradictions under socialism
- Religion and "human nature"
- The achievements, mistakes and revolutionary legacy of proletarian rule
- Once again on Stalin and "Stalinism"
- Diversity, dissent, and why revolutionary communists must be "wrangling motherfuckers no less when they are in power than when they are not"
- The problem with intellectuals and the positive role of intellectuals in socialist society
- Should socialist states have nuclear weapons?
- More on youth and age in the revolutionary process and more . . .

Available in English and Spanish from Revolution Books stores and outlets.

Or order from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

\$4 + \$1 postage; Spanish \$2.50 + \$1 postage.

Write for bulk rates. Specify Issue Number 60 when ordering.



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP.