The Hidden Story of the L.A. Quake

See Page 3

U.S. Helicopters in Chiapas Warzone

Picture History of Mao Tsetung: Part 2: How the Chinese Revolution Started

Deep Roots of Peasant Uprising
Three Main Points
by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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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, 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 revolutionary struggle develop into a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to do! to bring about a completely new and better world. Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and organize strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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Bulk rates and consignment arrangements available. Proceeds from poster sales will be donated to popularizing Mao Tsetung Centenary.

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The Hidden Story of the L.A. Quake

Along the western coast of North America, the Pacific Plate—one of the huge plates that fit like a jigsaw puzzle and make up the surface of the earth—is moving past and under the North American plate. The tremendous pressure and friction at this collision has produced a complex system of cracks that extends deep into the surface of the earth. Those cracks are the earthquake faults of California.

On Monday, January 17, at 4:31 in the morning, one of these faults under the city of Los Angeles suddenly thrust upward. For ten seconds the earth shook violently. The quake caused much damage on the surface. People were killed, and many homes and other buildings were destroyed or severely damaged.

The earthquake exposed deep faults and divisions in society—between the haves and have-nots, between those who control the politics and economics in this system and those who are victims of this system.

The movement of the fault deep in the earth's crust temporarily exposed deep faults and divisions in society—between the haves and have-nots, between those who control the politics and economics in this system and those who are victims of this system. The mainstream media concentrated on stories of collapsed highways and the "communists' nightmare" for those living outside L.A. But the hidden story is the devastating impact on the lives of many thousands of people—especially the working and poor people, many of them Latino immigrants. And this impact came not only from the shaking of the earth but also from the actions of the oppressors' system.

The Quake's Devastation

As the earthquake hit, an apartment building collapsed in Northridge in the San Fernando Valley area of L.A.—the center of the earthquake. Sixteen people were killed instantly. Broken gas pipes caused explosions and fires, and homes and other buildings burned in many parts of the city. A 65-unit trailer park in Sylmar burned down in a few minutes when a propane tank exploded.

In the San Fernando Valley, which for many years was thought of as a "white enclave," the Valley has become the home of thousands of Latino families. The Latino workers have jobs in construction, garment and other light manufacturing, cleaning houses, and so forth. One Salvadoran worker rescued from a rubble of concrete was sweeping the floors of a shopping mall parking lot when the quake hit.

Many poor people lost most of their meager possessions in the quake. A 30-year-old Latina, who had crossed the border when she was 12 years old, was forced into a shelter set up at a high school. She told reporters that her family in Mexico was urging her to return. "Here, if you don't have money you're nothing—you're a dog in the street."

Tens of thousands cannot return to their homes. Some people are unsure whether the buildings are safe, especially with the large number of aftershocks. In other cases, the buildings—already in bad shape before the quake—are in obvious danger of collapse. Many people told the RW that they had just paid rent on the 15th and had no money for another place, or even to replace the food that had been lost. With no place to go, people have taken over parks, schoolyards and vacant lots. They are sleeping in cars and tents. Others are camping out in the front yards and parking lots of their damaged homes. People helped each other make shelters from sticks, string and bed sheets. Extension cords strung together are bringing electricity from nearby stores or apartments.

At least 20,000 damnificados—people made homeless by the quake—are staying in squatter camps in San Fernando Valley.

In the San Fernando Valley where the quake damage is the greatest, you can go to any park, rec center or junior high school on the map and find 100 to 500 or more damnificados (homeless). At least 20,000 people are staying in these squatter camps. Thousands more are crowded in the Pico-Union area closer to central L.A. In this neighborhood, low-paid Mexican and Central American workers are crowded into hotels and apartment buildings, often living eight adults in an apartment so they can afford the rent. There are many older brick buildings, as well as newer structures, that suffered much damage. Other smaller concentrations of newly homeless people are in Canoga Park, Hollywood and Mid-Wilshire.

There are over 20,000 damnificados in the Valley, but there are shelters for only 4,000. In other places there are none. Conditions for those forced to stay outside are difficult. The people's biggest needs are food and blankets. They also need bottled water, diapers, sanitation facilities and health care. Some were able to take a little food from their homes after the quake. But that was gone in a few days, and with no money they can't go shopping. Many who used to live day-by-day have been unable to work since the quake. One family in Pico Union lived by selling fruit at freeway gas stations. But quake damage has now closed those stands.

People Organize to Help Themselves

The people have received very little from the system. Most of the help they get comes from people who have organized themselves to being relief to friends or strangers. At Lanark Park, a large encampment in the Latino area of Canoga Park, the RW found three panaderos (Mexican bakers) who were giving away a san full of lemons they had just baked. One of the panaderos said his own family had problems, but it made him very happy to be able to help people.

Down the street a grass-roots organization of low-wage workers was distributing donated water and making plans to fill other needs. People from areas not damaged by the earthquake have been bringing food and other necessary items to the camps.

Continued on page 14
An Official Policy of Brutal Atrocities and Empty Promises

When the Mexican army entered Chiapas, the scene was like a death squad. Rebels who fell into their hands were executed. Villages were mercilessly bombed from the air. Soldiers went house to house. Soldiers in an armored car down the main street of a small town of 10,000, and seized people pointed at random as “guerrillas.” Rebels were taken out of a clinic and executed for false information. Eyewitness reports describe convoys of soldiers in armored personnel carriers and military helicopters moving in at night to round up young men.

For years we have been like this, treated like trash. The peasants have nothing, they are dying of hunger, disease. Many peasants are in constant debt and beyond these towns and the main highways—and especially in the countless peasant villages, dotted with small huts and rain forests. Several reports say that peasants complain of continuing artillery shelling and aerial bombing of their mountain villages. And there is a great deal of evidence that army convoys are moving into one town after another—to round up people suspected of supporting the rebels. Reporters say that local people are afraid to be seen talking to journalists. This suggests that soldiers may be killing peasants for telling what is being done to them.

The Truth on the Ground

Meanwhile, the masses of peasants tell reporters and other observers that the army attacks on them are continuing. Salinas has stationed 10,000 to 15,000 troops in the region—including an armored battalion, two to three infantry regiments and an armed brigade flown in from Mexico City. The Mexican Defense Ministry says their troops have taken up positions occupying the larger towns and defending the Rancho Nuevo base. Some reports suggest that solid military control does not extend beyond these towns and the main highways.
The Deep Roots of Peasant Uprising

forced to do unpaid labor for the landlords in an oppressive arrangement called "peonage." The average income in Chiapas, $230 a year, doesn't feed a family. Food is grown on tiny patches. And that farmland must be divided up again for each new generation. Most land is owned by the few. Among the Mexican peasants, the hunger for land is as intense as the constant hunger for food. In short, the land question remains at the heart of the oppression in Mexico's countryside. The landed enemies of the people are the rich landowners, their corrupt and corruptive political henchmen, and their paid armies of thugs, police and soldiers. And right behind these local semifeudal oppressors are the bureaucratic-capitalist rulers of Mexico and the big imperialism of the world. The Constitution of 1917 and the Promise of Article 27

The Constitution of 1917 and the Promise of Article 27

Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution has long promised land for each peasant. But today, the rich 2 percent of all agricultural holders still own 44 percent of the land—usually the best land. When the government gives land to peasants, it is usually too dry or steep for a prosperous farm. And 3 to 4 million adult peasants are still today waiting for their land. Government officials in Mexico City turn away countless delegations of poor peasants every day, who just came seeking the land their grandparents were promised. This Constitution also upholds the right of peasants to communally work state-owned ejidal lands. But the best ejidal land is also usually controlled by large agricultural interests, including imperialist agribusinesses which control food processing. For over 75 years, the empty promise of Article 27 has been an important way that the system has continued the bitter struggles of the people. That is why it is so significant that today's Salvadoran government is carrying out a "modernization" plan that starts with "modifying" the legal guarantees of Article 27.

A Brutal "Reform" of an Already Oppressive Land System

A pamphlet, Imperialist Modernization of Revolution, has come to our attention. It was written in Mexico from a Marxist perspective. One section of this pamphlet describes the government's plans for Article 27:

The key to this new modernization project is the reform of Article 27 of the Constitution. This legalizes the buying and selling of ejidos and communal lands. It puts an end to land distribution. It promotes the 'association' of ejidos and communal lands.

Continued on page 6
The rebellion in Chiapas has received active support throughout the world, including cities in the United States, Latin America, and Europe. The German Press Agency (dpa) reported that 15 young farmers occupied the Mexican Consulate in Paris, France, for several hours on January 18 to express their solidarity with the struggle of Indian peasants in Chiapas. News of such actions is widely suppressed in the mainstream press. We urge our readers to forward information and reports to the RW, so that we can help break through the blackout. The following is a January 10 press release the RW received from students in Ukiah, California.

**Ukiah High Schoolers Support Chiapas Rebels**

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**Peasant Uprising**

Continued from page 5 lands with private capital. And it legalizes big landholdings—25 times larger than those allowed by the old law. . . . The draft of Article 911 in the Mexican government's proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is even clearer on this. It embraces "the promotion of concentration of the land."

The new law now allows estates in large as 38,750 acres for fruit plantations and 1,250,000 acres for northern cattle ranches. And it also allows foreign corporations to buy into the new big landed. The government is legalizing the robbery of peasant land and justifying it all as an "economic necessity" for the nation.

In addition, the Salinas government has announced that the price paid for corn and other grains will drop 50 percent in Mexico over the next decade—to match the price of cheap corn grown in the U.S. Midwest. This alone will drive millions of peasants to run.

The pamphlet Imperialism, Modernization or Revolution written: "According to this regime, all this will make the modernization of agriculture possible—creating a modern, large-scale, technologically advanced agriculture, like the one the U.S. has. But why would we want an agriculture like that? It is the imperialists who poison people, land and air, which mini small farmers and PNG explore a poverty paid, often Mexican workforce."

Besides, as the pamphlet points out, the Salinas "reforms" can't create a U.S-style agriculture in Mexico anyway. In the current international economic crisis, it is highly unlikely that enough capital will enter Mexico to transform the vast countryside in such a fundamental way. What the "Salinas reforms" will create is an even larger pool of poor people forced to work for the most miserable wages.

The Problem and the Solution

Imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semifeudalism are the three great mountains that oppress the masses of people in Mexico. The point of the government's reactionary "reforms" is to develop bureaucratic capitalism in the countryside—and in the process transform some of the semifeudalism that now exists, while conserving those feudal relations that remain useful to the system.

Whether or not these changes stimulate some agricultural production, the most important results of this plan will be the ruination of millions of peasants and their expulsion from the land. These people are already asking themselves, "Where will we go? How will we survive?" And in Chiapas people have once again picked up the gun to fight their oppression.

When you look at what the imperialists and the Mexican government have in store for the people, it becomes clearer why we say that for the masses of peasants to be free—and for the Mexican people to be free—the "three mountains" must be dealt with in a thorough and serious way. And the hope of finding a real way out lies with the Zapatist revolution. Because only the Marxist path can show the way to make a revolution in Mexico that can overthrow the Mexican state and the bureaucratic capitalists, uproot the semi-feudal oppression in the countryside, and cut the chains of imperialism that reach deep into the jungles of Chiapas.

Until these chains are completely broken, the people will always be at the mercy of the oppressors.
An Immigrant Family's Story

Chicago cops
joking up students
at Hinsdale High
School, 1961.

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Community Police Cooperation = Snitching = Bad News
For the People

CHICAGO—"Community policing" is becoming the rage in America now, as having Mr. "100,000-police patrol" programs. The official story goes like this: Police will spend less time in their cars and more time on the streets—walking beats, talking with residents, getting to know the community much better, having meetings to discuss problems the resident face in order to develop solutions. Then, the fairy tale continues, over a period of time the community will start to look up at the police as their friends and partners, and more people will be willing to provide information to the cops—in other words to SNITCH. This plan is being sold by the power structures as the newest thing that will make the streets safer, homes secure, and have everybody feeling snug as a bug in a rug—"We guarantee it! And like everything having to do with the brutal enforce­ment in here, it's more likely to kill you than cure you.

Already, "community police" has been put into effect in five Chicago police districts—the 20 remaining districts being slated to have "community policing" programs implement­ed by mid-1994. As the hope for this program gets louder, it is useful to take a look at the real meaning of a "close relationship" between police and community. This is not the fairy tale version, but the one that comes down on the people like a ton of bricks. What follows is a story told by an immigrant policeman in the "street" for president.

His life read like the kind of immigrant success story that American newspapers love to write about. Coming from Mexico to Los Angeles in 1962, he spent his teenage years hanging out, drinking beer and smoking marijuana with his friends, and going to the mass demonstrations and protests that broke out in Los Angeles during that time. On New Year's Day, 1970, he arrived in Chicago, spending years working in tough jobs like the city's meat markets. Twenty-three years after coming to this city, he thought he was finally doing all right—three kids, a house, and a job as a professional handicapper. But then he had a happy American dream ending to this tale—just a police nightmare that tore apart his family.

Ironically, Ramon began the conversa­tion by saying that maybe community policing would be a good thing, maybe if police were out in the community more it would help stop all the violence and killing among the youth. But when asked about how the police actually treat the youth from his own experiences, the picture was any­thing but hopeful. He described a typical scenario: You've stopped the police, their reason being "somebody told me you got a gun" or some similar remark. You don't even know who they're talking about—you don't know who the accuser is—but you are busted and taken to the station. Then they swear you, claiming that "we know you" and that one of your friends said that you belong to a gang. Then they try to mix you up, getting you to suspect who said what about you—until you're relaxed with rumors that you snitched to the police fol­lowing you around. Ramon put it this way, "What the police want to do is get you into trouble so they can make some arrests, no matter what you're doing." Then he began to tell the story of his son.

It was back around the spring of 1993, toward the end of the school year. His son was in the seventh grade at the time. He was also in police custody. The principal had called the cops because some student or students had reported that Ramon's son had a gun. As Ramon pointed out, he had no idea what was going on, and only after the police were called did he receive a phone call to come to school. When Ramon and Maria arrived there, the police were getting set to put his son in handcuffs in front of all the other students in the lunchroom. Ramon talked with one of the cops—a Latino woman. "This cop was telling me what the hell was going on with my kid," Ramon told the police. "It's only 12 years old." The cop was lecturing Ramon and Maria. "The principal couldn't speak enough Spanish for my wife to understand. So she was talking loud to her. "You don't take care of your kid. In other words, we were re­sponsible. She was telling me that I wasn't hard enough on my kid for him to understand that he had to be good." Ramon refused to take this kind of talk from the cop. "I said, 'I watch him. I never go to sleep without him in his bed. Everyone knows me in the neighborhood—that I always go out and look for him about eight o'clock. Sometimes he goes out with his friends, and I cannot keep track of him all the time. I get home and I get tired, but I never go to sleep without his being there. And you're telling me that...?" She got me pissed off, so I had to explode."

The police were showing such complete lack of respect—it was so blatant that Ramon found some unexpected support. "Shit, the principal, she was on my side now, because the officers were doing that. So we called down and talked to the prin­cipal, politely, intelligently, like we should communicate to each other, so we can take care of problems." But the police arrested his son anyway. "They finally cuff him and they took him out in front of all the kids after we talked. They didn't give a shit. That was an example for the other kids that were there." Ramon described his feelings. "They humiliated me, personally, you know. They humiliated me and my kid in front of everybody—all the kids in the school." Maria was also badly hurt by the situation. "She was almost crying. Because they handcuffed him. Really he wasn't gonna run away. He wasn't scared or anything. He was like, 'OK, let's go.' He don't care. But he spanked white people, and that's their reaction against the police, because of the way they were talking to me."

This story of police officers enjoying a bad taste in Ramon's mouth "I respected the law, but once they started at me, I don't care at all. And that's what they did. It's ridiculous, everybody was just watching my son with his hands in the back. And that's wrong, that really wrong."

Then the cops went to Ramon's house with his son in tow. They had found no gun, and were at the house demanding the gun his son supposedly had. "They said that if I didn't give them the gun, I was going to be in trouble too." They had no warrant, but threatened to search the house if Ramon's son did not bring them the weapon. "They asked my kid where was the gun. He said he didn't know, that he didn't know anything about it. I asked my kid, 'Did you have a gun over there?' and he said, 'No.' Ramon was fed up—he turned to the cops and said, 'Shit, I got a gun, you want a gun?' It was just some old gun Ramon had, but the cops took it anyway.

The charges against Ramon's son were thrown out of court for lack of evidence. The people who had supposedly fingered his son never surfaced, and it turned out that the whole incident was supposed to have happened when Ramon was out of town. From the principal, "They didn't have a gun, in the sense that the cops were calling it. But we had some old rumor, Ramon's son was hassled off in the hood, and...

Ramon was ready to see the school prin­cipal over the incident. As he talked, his opinion of community policing grew dimmer. "You're gonna get people against each other, neighbors against neighbors," he said. But from then on, the police wouldn't let Ramon's son alone. "I went to court and everything, and they let him go because they didn't have enough evidence. The police, everytime they see him in the street, they stop him or whatever. So I finally got tired." Ramon decided to stop being so nice to the cops. "I said, 'Go to Mexico for a while, stay there and go to school.' In other words, you have to send your kids back to Mexico so the police won't bother them. You have to split the kids from the schools, so they don't have to go to the police station, so they don't have to go to the schools, because the school system or the police system don't work out well with kids like that. They deserve a chance."
Mao Tsetung stood with the poor people of the world and showed them the path to real liberation. As RCP Chairman Bob Avakian said, "Mao Tsetung was the greatest revolutionary of our time."

Before 1949 China was dominated and exploited by foreign powers and peasants starved under brutal landlords. Some people tried to "reform" China, but Mao was not about begging exploiters to make things a little better. And he didn’t want to make peace with the system of feudalism and imperialism responsible for the suffering of the people. Mao was a TOTAL revolutionary. A real communist—who fought for a world without classes and without oppressors. And gave his whole life to the people.

Mao led the people to continue the revolution under socialism and launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which spread this truth to every corner of the world: It is right to rebel against reaction! With Mao's leadership, people on the bottom in China became conscious revolutionizers of society. And all kinds of new things were accomplished—things impossible under capitalism. Never before in history did the masses of working people have so much power to change the world. Mao provides the oppressed with the guide to take matters into their own hands.

And in honor of the Mao Tsetung Centenary, the RW is presenting a special series: A picture history of Mao's life.

1. July 1921, after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao returns to Hunan and founds the first Communist trade union for workers. He becomes secretary of the Hunan Party branch and sets out to recruit workers into the Party. He goes to the coal mines of Anyuan in southern Hunan where there is a history of militant strikes. Here the miners worked 14 to 15 hours, for eight cents a day. Mao sets up a revolutionary school for the miners, and the Anyuan mines became a source of party cadre for many years. Down in the pits, Mao talks to the workers about their conditions of life and the need for revolution. He crawls through the narrow tunnels where young children push coal carts, and sits in the miners' hovels, taking notes on what they have to say about their lives. He tells the workers to become masters of their own destiny. He says: "History is in your hands. History is yours to make."

Mao also travels throughout Hunan Province organizing unions and party cells in key industries. By November 1922, more than 20 unions have been formed into an association of labor unions and Mao becomes chairman of the new Hunan branch of the All-China Labor Federation. Workers organize revolutionary committees for militia, security, welfare, education and cultural activities. "Power to the working class" becomes a popular slogan. In 1924 the Party had only 500 members. By 1927, its membership grew to 58,000. In 1925, the All-China Labor Federation had 540,000 members. By 1927 there were 2.6 million members.


4. March 20, 1926: Chiang sowed and imploited the Academy. In Canton, labor union headqu

"Workers' Strike Committee and its pickets, police and special armed guards patrol was declared. At this crucial point, the Party kept pushing the line of "unity at all cost" and labor leaders were told to "restrain" the workers. The workers remained disarmed. In the country, murder peasant union leaders.

On May 15, Chiang introduced a special resolution to the KMT. He demanded a complete list of all CCP members. Instructions issued by the CCP to its own men on party membership, Mao argued this was impractical. He insisted that the workers remain disarmed. In the country, murder peasant union leaders.

July 1926, the Nationalist Army, under the command of Chiang, was in the process of conquering the countryside. Many communists fought in this conflict, especially in the countryside. Peasants in the countryside seized the landlords' property and killed the landlords. Within two months, a large number of landlords were killed.
The Life of Mao Tsetung, the Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

Part 2: How the Chinese Revolution Started

February 1926: Mao walks from village to village in Hunan Province, staying with peasants and working with them for his meals and lodging. He sits and listens to them, investigating firsthand what their life is like. He continues to travel, establishing peasant unions and recruiting peasants into the Party. Strikes and demonstrations break out in the cities against foreign domination. In the countryside, peasant struggles were also on the rise. In many areas tenants refused to pay exorbitant rents and beat up tax collectors. Peasants converted their own houses into attics of the Mao farmhouse in Shaoshan, above his parents' bedroom, Mao formed the first peasant Party branch.

Mao took charge of the party's work among peasants. He insisted that the center of the revolutionary movement was "in the countryside" where 70 percent of the people were poor peasants. By June 1925, there were nearly one million peasants organized in associations throughout China. A year later, there were ten million. But some party leaders were really against organizing the peasants. Chen Tu-hsiu, representing a "right wing" in the party, argued the peasants were "too backward and conservative" to accept communism. And Chang Kuo-tao and Li U-san, with an ultra "left" view, argued that the working class was strong enough to make revolution alone and the party should just organize workers in the cities and forget the peasants. But Mao recognized that the overwhelming majority of people in China were peasants and that the working class needed allies and friends in order to make revolution. Mao understood the central role of the peasantry and the peasant movement in the Chinese Revolution and said: "Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution." This struggle in the party over the role of the peasantry and the importance of the agrarian revolution would continue for a long time.

June 1923, at the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Mao is elected to the Central Committee. The Party decides to form a united front with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang (KMT) government and help the nationalists organize an army to fight the warlords and imperialist powers. The Soviet Union helps the KMT to set up the Whampoa Military Academy to train soldiers and military leaders. While some people like Chen Tu-hsiu in the Party say the united front policy means "unity above all else," Mao stresses that within the united front the Party must keep its independence and leadership of the working class and the peasant movement in the Chinese Revolution.

In 1925 Sun Yat-sen dies and the KMT is left in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, a staunch anti-communist. In May the KMT Central Executive Committee announces plans for a Northern Expedition—a military campaign to defeat China's warlords and unify China. Chiang wanted to defeat the warlords, but not in order to end the oppression and exploitation of the workers and peasants. Chiang was backed by powerful imperialist countries that wanted to keep China in a semi-colonial status. Chiang said he supported the united front with the communists and even mouthed the words, "Long live the world revolution" and "Down with the imperialists." But meanwhile he was organizing a bloody attack against the communist movement.

How the Chinese Revolution Started
5

December 1926, Mao is back in Changsha for the first time. He visits peasants and workers' congresses in Hunan of which he had been an elected chairman. He sets up the Peasant Department of the CCP and writes down in detail the situation in the various counties he visited. He relates how the landlords oppress the farmers. He points to the spontaneous rebellion of the peasants against the landlords and the need for communist leadership. He says: “The movement was suppressed...the reason being that the masses did not fully organize themselves and they did not have the proper leadership...so that the movement failed when it was starting.” The KMT started suppressing the peasants' associations in September of 1926. But still, from November to December, membership went from one million to two million families. And by the beginning of 1927, 54 counties out of 75 had peasant associations. On their own, peasants were confiscating land and punishing, and sometimes killing, bullies and corrupt officials. When news of these peasant rebellions reached the cities, it caused a great uproar. And even quite revolutionary-minded people thought it was “terrible.” But Mao said it was “just fine.” He said: “If your revolutionary viewpoint is firmly established and if you have the proper leadership, then your revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.” Where peasant associations were formed they became the sole authority. And people who had been nothing in the past now stood up and took power into their hands. They set out to make his famous statement: “A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasants overthrow the power of the landlord class. Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years.”

Mao said: “No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.”

6

March 1927, Mao delivers a “Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.” This report is based on a five-week tour of the countryside and would prove to be a model of revolutionary analysis: of applying Marxism to concrete conditions and making a concrete analysis in order to come up with correct strategy and tactics for leading the revolution. Mao's report speaks to those in the party who moaned about the “excesses” of the peasant rebellions. He said: “In a very short time...several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the Imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and soil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.” Where peasant associations were formed they became the sole authority. And people who had been nothing in the past now stood up and took power into their hands. They set out to not only destroy the old feudal order but reorganize village life and establish something new. Mao's report pointed out that where peasant associations were powerful, gambling, banditry and opium smoking had vanished and consumer cooperatives and new distribution networks had been formed. The peasants also organized their own self-defense, started movements for education and built roads and embankments. All this they did through their own associations and organization—killing the landlords politically and economically overthrowing feudal rule.
After the bloody anti-communist campaign launched by Chiang Kai-shek, the Party was decimated. By 1928 four-fifths of the CCP had been extirpated. In the urban areas, the party was forced underground. But out of defeat a new revolutionary strategy is born. The Party begins to organize the workers and peasants to wage armed struggle. On July 15, 1927, an uprising is launched in Nanchang. It is not successful but out of this a new Red Army is formed. For the first time, the party has its own independent army. In August, Chen Tu-hsiu and his line of capitulation to the KMT is condemned and he is deposed from his leadership position.

To resist the KMT massacres, the Party leads workers and soldiers in Canton to stage an uprising on December 11, 1927. A democratic government of workers and peasants known as the Canton Commune is established and a revolutionary programme proclaimed. But the revolutionaries are up against overwhelming odds. The KMT troops, which outnumbered the revolutionary forces by five or six times, were aided by U.S., British and Japanese imperialist gunboats. And the uprising was drowned in blood. The Chinese revolution could not be won, as other Party leaders argued, with a strategy of quick victory based on starting out with insurrectionary forces. As Mao argued, this episode revealed a hard lesson: The counter-revolution was too strong in the cities and, no matter how heroic, attempts by the workers to seize and hold cities were bound to fail. The Chinese revolution could not be won, as other Party leaders argued, with a strategy of quick victory based on starting out with insurrection in the cities.

**Autumn Harvest Uprising**

—To the tune of "Hi! Chiang Hye!
Mao Tsetung, 1927

"We call our army 'workers and peasants, revolutionary.'
On our flag, the hammer and sickle.
Not shogging at Hanghai and Lushan,
We march straight to Soo-liang.

With one heart, the peasants strike back,
Throwing off the weight of landlord oppression.
In this Autumn harvest time,
Breaking the sad gray of dusk,
Like a clap of thunder.
The rebellion begins!

Mao designed a new flag for this army with communist symbols. The hammer and sickle in a red star. Hongkong and Liehnan are the names of two mountain ranges in Chiang-te Province. Soo-liang means the Soo River and the Sioh River. Soo-liang is the name of two rivers in Hunan Province. The poem was first formally published in 1957, the July issue of the magazine Liberation Army's Art & Literature—in a letter discussing Mao's poems. The translation here is by the Revolutionary Worker.
WE NEED A REVOLUTION. That requires a party leading an organized revolutionary movement. The Revolutionary Communist Party has the political leadership and organization to do just that. A proletarian from Central America who grew up in the '60s, I saw Black people being beaten by white racists, attacked by dogs and tear gas. I saw Malcolm X assassinated. I saw Black Panther Panthers fed up and fighting back. I saw my generation rising up. The Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party were struggling to build a new China. They were struggling to build a new China and people. A China free of oppression and exploitation. They were building a new China. People free of selfish individualism, a people who put the good of the collective first. I was asked why I make donations to the RCP. The preceding says it all: complex things. They are things worse than in the '60s. And the RCP is the only real revolutionary party on the scene today. Their ideology is MLM, and they stand for all-the-way revolution. I am far from being well off and I have to budget myself, but I always put something aside to give the RCP. We need a party based on the power of money. The Party has bills to pay too. Every little bit helps. I give in memory of all the teachers and terrors who fell in the struggle for liberation. It is in support of the revolution I know is coming....

We have been sustaining the Party for some time now, and it is in part due to the Party that represents the interests of the majority of the poor. In my opinion, it is an essential part of the Party's duty to help and support its members. I have told friends of mine about Marxism-Leninism, and I think that in this world it is a precious thing to have a philosophy that represents the masses of people. I feel that the Party is a party that we can have our admiration because they were representative of great philosophers of the majority. And one of the things that attracts me, and for which I have some admiration, is the fact that Mao carried out a revolution in a country so enormous as China. There are smaller countries that have not won. I admire him, because the revolution brought about such major transformations of the whole society. Mao had to have been very intelligent to have raised the consciousness of such a large population. I realize that I need to learn a lot more. Although it takes time, and often there is no time, I must read and study more to achieve clarity. Now, I am not clear enough about Marxism because I have read more about other things, including Cuba. Three years ago I knew nothing about Marxism, in El Salvador we never heard anything about it. But I admire the Marxists in Perú who have continued their struggle despite the fall of the Soviet Union.

A proletarian from Central America....

Reading the RW and supporting the Party financially are the least one can do for bringing about a completely new and better world. I have been doing so for a while and I am proud of it.

Recently, someone asked me why I supported the Party. The first thing I like to say about the RCP is that for the oppressed people outside the U.S.A., the very existence of such a party in the belly of the beast is inspiring. I felt heartened by the Party during the hostage crisis in Iran. In that time we (citizens from cities) heard of a white guy who was saying something like, "It is not our business." For us this was hard to believe, but it was true. And he was Bob Avakian. Now, if this does not convince you why I should be supporting the Party, I put down some more reasons: I come from an oppressed nation, so I am in complete agreement with the first point that is printed on page two of the RW every week: "THE WHOLE SYSTEM WE NOW LIVE UNDER IS BASED ON EXPLOITATION—HERE AND ALL OVER THE WORLD." I have experienced oppression and quite honestly I don't like it. You see, the CIA made coup in Iran in 1953 which prepared the ground for the big corporations to make billions of dollars off the people and natural resources of Iran. But it also shaped the nature of millions of people: a future that brought nothing but a miserable life for the majority of the population of Iran. I have seen peasants in the cities of Iran with a pack of Marlboro in their hand hoping to sell it so that they can make enough money to buy a piece of bread (only bread) to feed their family that lives in the shantytown. This is the end of life that resulted from the coup in 1953. Now, do you expect me to support the theoretical bullshit that the ruling class puts out there that there is something wrong with the genes of the majority of the population of Iran? Or, do you expect me to support the second part of the first main point on page two of the RW: "IT'S COMPLETELY WORTHLESS AND NO BASIC CHANGE FOR THE BETTER CAN COME ABOUT UNTIL THIS SYSTEM IS OVERTHROWN?"

Here is another reason. You don't go around the world and make bloody coups in countries and then call those places "islands of tranquility" and lie to your own people about what a great system you are leading.... The Iranian revolution was a punch in the face of people like Jimmy Carter who dared to call Iran an island of tranquility. We made Iran the worst nightmare of the powers-that-be, and I am proud of it. I have heard the laws of social development speak via people. Yes, I have! They don't speak very often, but when they do, they do it very loudly. And if you happened to hear it once in your life, you will never forget it. Oppressed people they sound sweeter than any tone you have ever heard.

Now, with this little background in mind, do you expect me to support the bullshit the ruling class is promoting that revolution being nothing but misery for people? That no matter who gets to lead they all will end up promoting their own personal interests and (this is human nature? Or, do you expect me to support the third point printed on page two of the RW: "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 world!" Yes, "those who must be united" are gathered under one roof by the system itself. This is a sad thing for the people like Clinton who try so hard to save the system; those monsters can't realize that they sink in shit deeper and deeper by their own actions. It is not surprising that NAFTA amid the bloodsuckers in favor of the big bloodsuckers, the iron wall at the Mexican border is intended to divide the oppressed people... I'd like to end my letter with a part of a song by Lou Cohen (without imposing any intended meaning on this song):

THAT DAY I'LL BURN THIS WHOLE PLACE DOWN WHEN THE CIRCUS COMES TO TOWN

A reader of the RW from Iran

FINANCIALLY SUPPORT THE RCP — YOUR PARTY!

SUBSCRIBE TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER — YOUR PAPER!
A Letter from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán!
End His Isolation Now!

We received the following letter from the U.S. chapter of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán:

Dear Friends,

The immediate situation demands urgent and energetic efforts to make an important breakthrough in the IEC campaign. The IEC in London has assessed that there is an opening at this time to finally win Abimael Guzmán access to sympathetic lawyers and others—to end his continued isolation.

The precedent-setting treatment of Abimael Guzmán, the revolutionary leader of millions in Peru, particularly his continued isolation, remains intolerable. He is still being denied visits by lawyers, doctors, and relatives. Fujimori has not backed down from his threat to execute him and now boasts of having applied psychological torture.

Efforts are urgently needed to create an international climate that compels the Fujimori regime and its U.S. backers to grant access to Dr. Guzmán by his legal representatives and others who can meet and talk to him directly. We need to organize a powerful effort to demand: “Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán—End His Isolation Now!”

The need for this effort is heightened by recent major moves by the regime and its U.S. backers. The regime is struggling to keep itself afloat and intensify its crimes against the people.

During Fujimori’s October trip to New York, he met with President Clinton, who praised Peru’s “moves toward democracy.” On returning to Peru, Fujimori announced an intensification of brutal military actions in the Amazon jungle against the Ashéninka people who are organized in bases around the area of the revolution. Speaking at the inauguration of a newly built airport that is to be the launching area for these new assaults, Fujimori shamelessly proclaimed: “We are going to have a little Vietnam war here.”

Fujimori’s recent New York trip also heralded a new sellout of the Peruvian economy to foreign investors. This sellout of mines, hydroelectric companies, and other Peruvian assets will bring in revenues that will be used to try to keep the regime afloat and repay Peru’s $23 billion foreign debt to international banks. Of course U.S. capitalists claim that all this is for the good of the people, but the sellout go hand in hand with IMF austerity measures that cut government spending, on human needs, and raise the cost of things like food and medical care.

The regime is attempting to clear its image and attract international support presents an opening. It is now increasingly difficult to justify Abimael Guzmán’s continued isolation. The response in Peru to the IEC delegation showed that the government is having to confront dissent, even in its own ranks, about not granting Dr. Guzmán access to his lawyers and friends despite announcements that “his one-year period of isolation is over.” IEC lawyers were able to speak to 15 lawyers at the meeting of the Lima Bar Association. Fujimori was forced to come on television and mention the IEC lawyers by name, saying that he alone would decide who and when someone could visit Dr. Guzmán. This shows the defensiveness of the regime and is an indication of the basis that currently exists for pushing the regime to concede to visits from his lawyers and others.

The unresolved disappearances and murder by the military of nine students and a professor at La Casa is a major scandal that is also helping focus attention internationally on the continued crimes of the regime. Meanwhile, the new “detention without penalty” constitution, that was supposed to finally give the 1992 military coup legitimacy, was barely passed by a slim majority of those who voted.

Abstentionism and protest votes came to well over 1/3 of registered voters, and the “no” vote actually won in 14 of Peru’s 24 departments. It revealed intense social divisions and a shaky base of support for the regime, even among Peru’s ruling circles.

It is critical that we push harder than ever at this time to secure regular visits by Dr. Guzmán’s lawyers, family and friends. This concession can go a long way to prevent Dr. Guzmán and others from being submitted to further physical and psychological torture and life-threatening conditions. Fujimori recently released videos and letters purporting to show Abimael Guzmán requesting “peace talks.” Given all this, what possible excuse can Fujimori give for not ending Dr. Guzmán’s isolation from friendly visitors?

The IEC campaign is at an important juncture. We must build a broad and powerful effort to demand that Dr. Guzmán be allowed to meet with sympathetic lawyers and others who can talk to him directly. The IEC campaign is building on the international interest in this struggle and we must intensify our efforts to win the support of the international community.

As of January 21, Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for:

1 YEAR 102 DAYS

As an indication of the basis that currently exists for pushing the regime to concede to visits from his lawyers and others, the IEC campaign is building on the international interest in this struggle and we must intensify our efforts to win the support of the international community.

The IEC campaign is at an important juncture. We must build a broad and powerful effort to demand that Dr. Guzmán be allowed to meet with sympathetic lawyers and others who can talk to him directly. The IEC campaign is building on the international interest in this struggle and we must intensify our efforts to win the support of the international community.

Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán—End His Isolation Now!

All donations to support the IEC campaign must be made out to the International Emergency Committee, 2440 16th Street, No. 217, San Francisco, CA 94103 (tel: (415) 252-7414, fax: (415) 252-1653). To contact the IEC on matters related to the campaign, phone: (415) 252-7414. To contact the IEC on matters related to the campaign, phone: (415) 252-7414. To sign the IEC statement and join the IEC as an organization, send letter to: The IEC, 2440 16th Street, No. 217, San Francisco, CA 94103.

Thank you for your interest and support.

Herberto Ocasio and Janet Casilla, U.S. IEC Steering Committee Members

For copies of the IEC statement and leaflet, contact the IEC.
The Hidden Story of the L.A. Quake

Continued from page 3

The quake have come to help their relatives and friends. Many of those helping are other Latino immigrants, but there are also others. A Korean businessman heard that a friend needed water, so he took 150 gallons to give to him and his neighbors. A local DJ went to some of the encampments to bring food and water and urged his listeners to do the same. A video store in the Santa Monica area, which also suffered damage, is collecting food and blankets for the more heavily hit San Fernando area.

The bourgeoisie—the class of capitalists that rule the U.S.—say that masses of people are selfish and that dog-eat-dog competition is “human nature.” And that’s why their dog-eat-dog system is so great, they say, because it reflects this supposed “human nature.” But the earthquake broke the everyday routine of capitalism and brought out into the open a glimpse of the tremendous self-sacrifice and spirit of “serve the people” that the proletariat is capable of.

The System Shows Its Ugly Nature

By contrast, the power structure’s reaction to the quake showed the system’s ugly nature. The ruling class immediately launched a major military mobilization—to protect capitalist property and clamp down on the people. People faced urgent needs after the quake. But what they got from the system was the LAPD and other police agencies patrolling the streets on 12-hour shifts. National Guard troops were brought in to point M-16s at people—including at people waiting in long lines at federal relief agencies. As one immigrant angrily told the RW, “They are more interested in controlling than in helping the people.”

The evening of the 17th, just about everybody in the city had been up since 4:30 a.m. That night the LAPD rode through the streets announcing a dusk-to-dawn curfew. They claimed it was to prevent “looting”—that is, to make sure hungry and thirsty people didn’t take food or water from stores. The response of the authorities show the viciousness of the rulers—but also their fear of the people. Ever since the 1992 L.A. Rebellion, their fear has become even more apparent.

The quake also brought out just how capitalism is like a vampire that survives by sucking blood out of the people. Most of the heavily damaged buildings—including the apartment in Northridge where 16 people were killed—were built to standards that existed before the 1971 San Fernando quake, which was slightly smaller than the Northridge quake. Since then, capitalist real estate profiteers have made billions—yet no effort was made to reinforce the older structures.

There are reports that the overall vacancy rate for rental units in L.A. County is over 10 percent—meaning that more than a million apartment units are empty. There should be plenty of housing for people made homeless by the quake. What prevents these apartments from being used to house the damnificados are the cold-hearted social relations of capitalism.

After the first night, the curfew was extended for two more days, although the beginning time was pushed back to 11 p.m. The first night there were few arrests for curfew violations, and the police generally kept a low profile. By the second night, people in Pico-Union noticed a lot more cops on the streets, riding four-deep with shotguns in their hands.

In the poorer neighborhoods, especially around the larger homeless encampments, the general police presence has been heavy. The National Guard is stationed in Lanark Park, where 2,500 damnificados are staying. Heavily-armed soldiers in full combat gear walk through the camp, in a scene that looks like Central America or Chiapas, Mexico. Other encampments are patrolled by L.A. County Park Rangers or the LAPD. Government spokespeople say the purpose of all these occupying forces is to provide “security” for the damnificados. But in smaller parks not occupied by troops or police, there is no crime or other problems among the people. The fact that the military is in the streets to protect capitalist property—and not people or their possessions—was underlined when some white middle class people were arrested for trying to check on stuff they had left in their apartments. The National Guard had declared the area a closed security zone.

Government Repairs Freeways as People Suffer

President Clinton spent a day in L.A. on Wednesday, the 19th. He promised to speed up aid and hold a “town meeting” of politicians. They talked about all the ways they could get around their own laws to facilitate aid—which only showed how their system is not set up to help people in case of disasters like this quake. Clinton, California Governor Wilson and Senators Feinstein and Boxer talked about their “concern” for the people affected by the quake. But these politicians have also called for stepping up the clampdown on immigrants.

The next day, the people found out what Clinton and other officials meant when they promised to speed up relief. Repairs to collapsed freeway bridges began the day after the quake. But people who waited in block-long lines at federal disaster offices were told to come back in a week! News accounts described a scene at a relief center in Northridge where people who had been waiting since dawn showed anger at the Federal Emergency Management Agency officials who told them they could not be helped that day.

Many immigrants avoided these offices anyway because they might be asked for immigration papers. Many of the people hit by the Northridge quake are from Mexico, where there are also severe earthquakes. But one immigrant told the RW he would rather face the earthquakes in Mexico. He said in Mexico he could count on help because he knew everyone. But here in the U.S. he felt alone. He brought home $22 a week for heavy construction work. And if he couldn’t pay rent, he and his family would be on the street. Like others who spoke to us, he mentioned the war on immigrants spearheaded by Governor Wilson and said the government “doesn’t like immigrants.” He was grateful to the people who had come to help. But he wished he, his wife and two children could go somewhere safer.

He said he was taking one day at a time. The Northridge quake placed people whose conditions of life were hard into an even more desperate position. People are organizing to meet their basic needs as best they can. But they wonder what the future will hold for themselves and their children.
In Memory of Audrey Sheppard

On December 19 in Washington, D.C., 50 people gathered to celebrate the life of Audrey L. Sheppard, a long-time friend and supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party who recently died of AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). The room was awash with color from the sculptures and paintings on exhibit at the local art center which donated their space and from the bouquets of red carnations delivered by friends.

People spoke to what they remembered and loved most about Audrey, drawing the common thread of a long life spent searching to understand and change the world. Audrey was a strong, fiercely independent and thoroughly principled woman who voiced her commercial opinions loud and clear, whether among co-workers, friends or family.

Audrey's many years in social work brought her into the lives of many protesters, and though at times she wanted to turn away from reform or revolution, she stood firmly with the oppressed, especially when they rose up. She was never a condescending savior.

In the 1940s and '50s, she worked with several different grassroots groups and professional organizations in what she described as reformist struggles. In the 1960s she worked with the poorest in society in an anti-poverty program which she later saw as "the incrimination of the revolution." She stood firmly with the oppressed, especially when they rose up. She was never a condescending savior. In the 1960s she worked with several different grassroots groups and professional organizations in what she described as reformist struggles. In the 1960s.

She moved in groups which were "looters, scruffy panhandlers, and peddlers" after they bad surrendered and were "at peace with the people running the programs really meant what they said about ending poverty." But she found out differently, and discrimination, coupled with the revolutionary upsurge in society in 1968, made it more difficult for her to understand and change the world.

According to Police Chief Mercury, "It was everybody, punks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics, blacks, Jews, everybody. We got 171 isle11er came from a reader in San Jacinto: "I fought the police. We were ten against one cop. We were beaten up, and we announced the government's moves as 'such bullshit.'" She came to feel that the RCP's role was to change the shared values and who, unlike others she knew, had a sense of humor.

When she retired five years ago, she followed her belief that "you must act on the things you believe in" and joined the volunteer staff of Revolution Books. She loved meeting the wide variety of people who came into the bookstore, most who were of a generation or two younger than she was. She said, "You must act on the things you believe in, and if you don't you're never going to be a whole person and never understand other people. Understand what you believe in and stand up for it.... Fear is not something you can see for a guideline for your life."

It was this daring to speak out and to act that made Audrey such an attractive ally of the poor and oppressed of this world. As the local RCP spokesperson said at her memorial, "She was loved and respected by her friends and acquaintances, but her life was hard. Her work was a truly a life that mattered and she will be greatly missed."
NOW AVAILABLE!

The Special Mao Tsetung Centenary Issue of A World To Win!

December 26, 1993 marks 100 years since the birth of Mao Tsetung, the great leader and teacher of the international proletariat and oppressed masses the world over.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has issued a call: "...to celebrate Mao Tsetung Centenary in a grand and unforgettable way. We must use this Centenary to wage a powerful ideological counter-offensive against the imperialists and reactionaries of the world...we must carry the truth of Mao Tsetung and spread it among millions and millions of people. In the process we can train new contingents of proletarian revolutionaries in different countries."

An important weapon in this Mao Tsetung Centenary is the special Mao Tsetung Centenary issue of the revolutionary internationalist journal A World to Win (#19).

The new issue includes:

TALK BY PCP CHAIRMAN GONZALO
Speech given at a meeting held in conjunction with the rectification campaign carried out in 1991 by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). Here Comrade Gonzalo addresses questions of philosophy, China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the current political situation in Peru and the world, and the rectification campaign itself.

IEC DELEGATES CONVENE SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE
With a bold internationalist spirit and surmounting many obstacles, the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo) successfully held its Founding Conference and forged a structure. AWTW analyzes various questions of debate within the IEC, as well as the activities and future of the worldwide campaign.

CHIANG CHING
Chiang Ching’s little-told story is one of daring to go against the tide to make revolution—as a woman Communist leader and as the wife of Mao Tsetung. In a pathbreaking new survey of her remarkable life and contributions, AWTW explores the trajectory of the Chinese revolution, retracing the steps of one of its outstanding leaders.

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