



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 678 (Vol. 14, No. 26) October 25, 1992 Editions in English and Spanish published weekly \$1.00

EYEWITNESS FROM PERU

Report from the 1st International Delegation to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán



See page 8

Fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army in the mountains of Peru, 1992.

Photo: "People of the Shining Path" Channel 4

3
Peru President Calls for Death Penalty

4
Fujimori, the CIA, and the Drug Trade

6
Clinton in the White House? False Hopes and Reality



14
Columbus 500 Years: A Day of Resistance



Call to Create an International Emergency Committee To Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán

On September 12th Dr. Abimael Guzmán, known as Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru, was captured by the Fujimori regime of Lima, with the full assistance of the U.S.'s notorious counterinsurgency machine.

There is every reason to fear for the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán at the hands of one of the world's bloodiest governments. The Peruvian state has repeatedly murdered its political prisoners, from the hundreds killed at the El Frontón massacre of 1986 to the 40 women and men gunned down in cold blood at Canto Grande prison in May of this year. The Peruvian Constitution has been suspended, and Fujimori is threatening to impose the death penalty on Dr. Abimael Guzmán.

This must not be allowed to happen.

No knowledgeable and truthful observer of Peru, regardless of their

political beliefs, can deny that Dr. Abimael Guzmán is the recognized leader of millions of peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and others of various walks of life in Peru. In no way can the 12-year-long war he has been leading be dismissed as "acts of terrorism." In no way can Dr. Guzmán be denied the stature of a captured leader of a revolutionary party and army. Dr. Abimael Guzmán merits the broad international support that all imprisoned opponents of imperialism and reactionary regimes have always benefitted from. He should be allowed access to lawyers, journalists and doctors to ensure his health.

It is urgent that many voices be heard to demand that the Peruvian state respect the international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners. That a military tribunal cannot be legally competent. That the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán be saved.

Signators of the Statement of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán (partial list):

Carol Andreas, author of *When Women Rebel*
Mehmet Ali Aybar - Gen. Secretary, Socialist Revolutionary Party, member Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, 1966, Turkey
Dr. Bani-Sadr, ex-president of Iran
Tony Benn - MP, House of Commons, Labour Party, Britain
Francis A. Boyle, Professor of International Law, University of Illinois, Champaign, U.S.
Bill Bowring - Chairman, Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, England
Black Lawyers Association - South Africa
John Cairns - former Deputy Prime Minister of Australia
Victor Carpenter, senior minister, First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, U.S.
John Chandler - Executive Director, Peace Campaign, Seattle
Barbara Christian - professor of African American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, CA
Ron Clark - Director, Whitney Museum Independent Studies Program*, NY
Stanley Cohen - attorney
Raymond Constant - attorney from Martinique (France)
Mary Belvins Cox - attorney, National Conference of Black Lawyers*, News Dimensions*, Washington D.C.
Dr. Massimo de Santi, Coordinator of International FORUM U.N.O. of the Peoples, Italy
A. A. Hadj Seyed Djavadi - Iranian writer, former President of Iranian Human Rights Organization (France)
Hatip Dicle - Member of Parliament, (HEP Party), Turkey
Joe Doem - Mohawk citizen, NY
Rev. Peter H.F. Duncan - Vicar, St. John's Church, North Woolwich (Britain)

Craig Everson, attorney, Aboriginal League, Canberra Legal Services, Australia
Lavarice Gaudin - Haitian activist, VEYEO*, Miami
Prof. John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*
Dr. A. Hassanpour, University of Windsor, Canada
Jon Hendricks - artist, U.S.
Chrissie Hyde - musician, The Pretenders, Britain
Saban Iba - General Secretary of 1968 Institute, Turkey
Linton Kwezi Johnson - musician, Britain
Grace Jones - coordinator, Free South Africa Movement*, Cleveland, Ohio
Farah Juste - Haitian recording artist, "The voice of those without voice"
Ergan Kaner - Chair, Human Rights Org., Istanbul Turkey
Charles Kilduff - Former Chief Justice of the Australian Capital Territory
Maina Wa Kinyatti, former Kenyan political prisoner
Jan Kirech, M.D. - Member, Board of Directors of Physicians for Social Responsibility*
V.R. Krishnaiyye - Justice of the Supreme Court of India (retired)
Ron Kuby - attorney
William Kunstler, attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York City
Mr. and Mrs. La Torre, father- and mother-in-law of Dr. Abimael Guzmán
Erik Larsen - G.I. resister, Persian Gulf War
Raniero La Valle - member of Parliament, Italy
Father Lawrence Lucas, priest, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of NY, author of *Black Priest, White Church*, U.S.
Michael Mansfield Q.C. - Defender of Cardiff 3, Presenter of TV documentaries, Britain
Ludo Martens - General Secretary, Party of Labour, Belgium

Prof. Paul Milliez - M.D., France
Tanvir Mokammel - Film director from Bangladesh
Mr. Moosha, attorney, Convenor of the Revolutionary People's Movement, South Africa
Giovanna Pagani, President WILPF Italy, Section of the International League for Peace and Freedom, Consultant to United Nations ECOSOC, UNCTAD and UNESCO
Jeff Paterson, first U.S. soldier to refuse to serve in Gulf War
La Patria Radical, newspaper of the Puerto Rican MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional)
Siwan Perwer - Kurdish singer
Molefo Pheto - Secretary for Education and Culture, BCMA, Central Committee (Britain)
Elias Salman - Film actor, Turkey
N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)
A. Sivanand, editor *Race and Class*, London
Giovanni Russo Spena
Hugh Stephens, International War Crimes Tribunal, London
Server Tanhill - Prof. of Contemporary Turkish Cultural History, Strasbourg University, Germany
Prof. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab - Dhaka University, Bangladesh (Britain)
George Weber, New York Theological Seminary
John Edgar Wideman, author, U.S.
81 members of Parliament, Nepal

* Organizations listed for identification purposes only

International Emergency Committee Calls for One Day's Wages to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán

The International Emergency Committee has called for a worldwide campaign for people from all walks of life and all countries to donate one day's wages to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán—known to revolutionary people in Peru and worldwide as Chairman Gonzalo. Checks or money orders can be made out to: International Emergency Committee.

Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to the Peruvian authorities addressed to: President Alberto Fujimori/Presidential Palace/Lima, Peru (Send copies to the IEC)

To receive regular EMERGENCY BULLETINS FROM THE IEC: send your FAX number to IEC (along with contribution to cover FAX costs).

The International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán can be reached in the U.S. at:

International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán
c/o Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru
P.O. Box 1246, Berkeley, CA 94701
(415) 252-5786, FAX: (415) 252-7414, Messages: (510) 644-4170

And in London at:

International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán
c/o BCM World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London, WC1N 3XX, U.K.
Phone or FAX: 44-71-482-0853

"An activist from Cochin City, in the Indian state of Kerala, reports that a meeting of a couple of dozen day wage laborers, who earn less than 1 pound per day, pledged to meet the call for One Day's Wages by the IEC. How can people in Germany, the U.S. or the U.K. do less?"

(From IEC Emergency Bulletin No. 9)

GET THIS ISSUE OF THE RW OUT TO THE PEOPLE! To order bundles, contact the RCP Publications Public Relations Office

This office provides a coordinating and organizing center that assists in expanding and giving more national prominence to key fronts of the Revolutionary Communist Party's work and promotion. You should contact this office:

- To arrange a radio or TV interview or a public appearance with one of the RCP Publications national spokespeople.
- To order copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* or other RCP Publications literature for distribution.
- To arrange to contact an *RW* correspondent.

- To send clippings or reports about significant struggles, national conferences, and other developments in your area. We encourage people to contact us about the overall battle against repression and against legal and political attacks on the RCP.
- To volunteer to assist with the office's activities, including media work, literature promotion and distribution, the Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund, Spanish translation, and the design and promotion of materials.

RCP Publications Public Relations Office, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, Phone: (312) 227-4066
FAX: (312) 227-4497

MUCH MONEY IS NEEDED NOW

TO STEP UP RW COVERAGE, DISTRIBUTION AND THE WORK OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE

Send checks or money order marked for "RW Reporters Emergency Travel Fund" or "RCP Publications Public Relations."

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)			
1. Publication Title	2. Issue Date	3. Issue Frequency	4. Issue Period
Revolutionary Worker	10/25/92	Weekly	
5. Number of Copies (Net press run)	6. Total Number of Copies (Gross press run)	7. Paid and Unpaid Distribution	8. Total Paid and Unpaid Distribution
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
9. Paid Distribution	10. Unpaid Distribution	11. Total Distribution	12. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
13. Paid Distribution	14. Unpaid Distribution	15. Total Distribution	16. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
17. Paid Distribution	18. Unpaid Distribution	19. Total Distribution	20. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
21. Paid Distribution	22. Unpaid Distribution	23. Total Distribution	24. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
25. Paid Distribution	26. Unpaid Distribution	27. Total Distribution	28. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
29. Paid Distribution	30. Unpaid Distribution	31. Total Distribution	32. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
33. Paid Distribution	34. Unpaid Distribution	35. Total Distribution	36. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
37. Paid Distribution	38. Unpaid Distribution	39. Total Distribution	40. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
41. Paid Distribution	42. Unpaid Distribution	43. Total Distribution	44. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
45. Paid Distribution	46. Unpaid Distribution	47. Total Distribution	48. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
49. Paid Distribution	50. Unpaid Distribution	51. Total Distribution	52. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
53. Paid Distribution	54. Unpaid Distribution	55. Total Distribution	56. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
57. Paid Distribution	58. Unpaid Distribution	59. Total Distribution	60. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
61. Paid Distribution	62. Unpaid Distribution	63. Total Distribution	64. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
65. Paid Distribution	66. Unpaid Distribution	67. Total Distribution	68. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
69. Paid Distribution	70. Unpaid Distribution	71. Total Distribution	72. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
73. Paid Distribution	74. Unpaid Distribution	75. Total Distribution	76. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
77. Paid Distribution	78. Unpaid Distribution	79. Total Distribution	80. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
81. Paid Distribution	82. Unpaid Distribution	83. Total Distribution	84. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
85. Paid Distribution	86. Unpaid Distribution	87. Total Distribution	88. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
89. Paid Distribution	90. Unpaid Distribution	91. Total Distribution	92. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
93. Paid Distribution	94. Unpaid Distribution	95. Total Distribution	96. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
97. Paid Distribution	98. Unpaid Distribution	99. Total Distribution	100. Copies not Distributed
100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000

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.

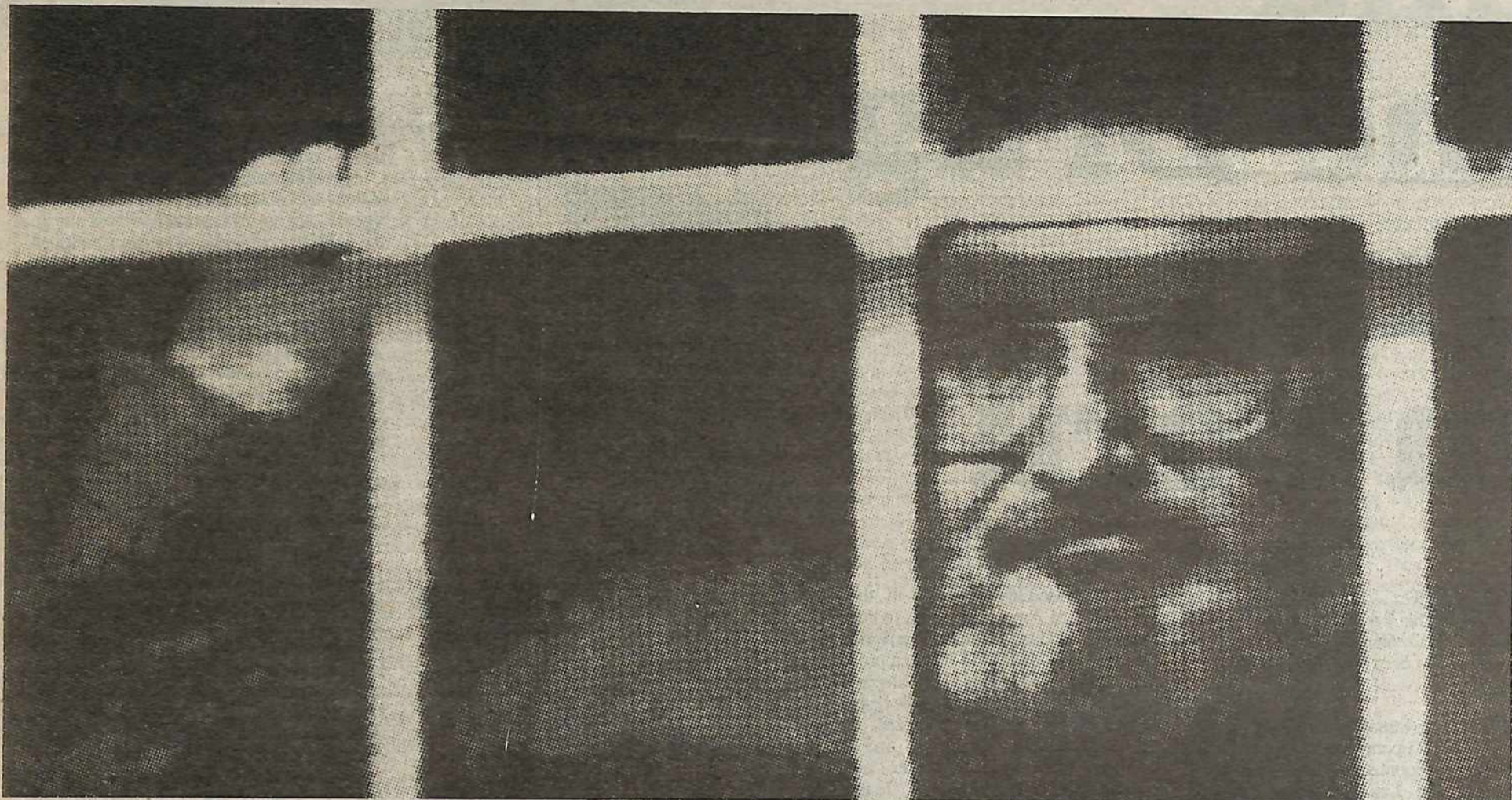
This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the 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.

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, or correspondence regarding subscription problems, can be mailed to RCP Publications, Attention Central Circulation, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, or phoned in to (312)

227-4188. Subscriptions are \$40 a year, \$12 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico (\$52 for institutions). The *Revolutionary Worker* reserves the right to print all or part of any correspondence sent to it, unless the authors of the correspondence specifically request otherwise.
Postmaster: Send all changes of address to *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!

Fujimori Calls for Reinstating Death Penalty Against Chairman Gonzalo and Revolutionary Prisoners



Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán), Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru, in prison in Lima, September 13, 1992.

On October 15 the leader of the Communist Party of Peru, Abimael Guzmán, known as Chairman Gonzalo, began serving a life sentence on the island prison at San Lorenzo naval base, off the coast of Lima, Peru.

On the very day that Gonzalo's sentence began, President Alberto Fujimori of Peru announced new efforts to reinstate the death penalty in Peru. Fujimori announced that Peru would withdraw from the San Jose Convention—the treaty that governs human rights questions for all governments in the Organization of American States (OAS)—in order to re-establish the death penalty. Fujimori stated that Chairman Gonzalo would then face the death penalty, as long as the people's war continues in Peru. He said that Gonzalo and other imprisoned PCP leaders would be held responsible for the actions of all the revolutionary combatants.

An urgent message from the U.S. chapter of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo (IEC) reported on October 16: "This means that Dr. Guzmán and other leaders of the PCP could now be executed in prison for any actions taken or supposedly taken by the PCP. This action by Fujimori and the Peruvian state is a new, very grave threat to the life of Abimael Guzmán and hundreds of other political prisoners in Peru. Human rights workers at Amnesty International have called it a very serious, alarming and dangerous new development."

Chairman Gonzalo was convicted on October 7 of high treason for his role in leading the people's war in Peru and sentenced by a military tribunal to life imprisonment. In a matter of days, two appeals to higher military courts were rejected and the sentence imposed. Gonzalo was sentenced to solitary confinement, with only one visit per month—a condition considered to be torture by international standards of human rights.

Wire services report that the day Fujimori announced he would reimpose the death penalty, the PCP distributed flyers in Lima promising to continue the people's war. Gonzalo's lawyer, Alfredo Crespo, has denounced the trial and appealed to the Supreme Court of Peru, demanding that Gonzalo be treated according to the international agreements for prisoners of war.

Around the world the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo is faced with new challenges.

International Delegates Report

The International Emergency Committee has stressed the importance of mobilizing new delegations to Peru. In a summation of the international campaign, the IEC wrote, "The arrival in Lima on October 1st of the first international delegation upset the regime's plans to carry out this railroad outside of the world's eyes. More delegates are being mobilized right now to go as reinforcements and to represent even more clearly the worldwide character of the opposition to this railroad."

Just returned from the first delegation to Peru, Heriberto Ocasio wrote in a press statement: "I witnessed what will be recorded as one of history's ugliest judicial farces. Abimael Guzmán, leader of a revolutionary movement that has the support of millions of Peruvians, was convicted of 'treason' by a secret military tribunal, in a procedure lasting a mere week, with no press allowed in, with no independent observers, with nameless judges who remained hooded the entire time, and where the accused, Dr. Guzmán, was placed in a cage, like an animal, in the middle of the courtroom. The defense lawyer was not allowed to present any witnesses or verbal arguments and was given only twelve hours to read over the accusation and respond in writing. In this same

period, ten other leaders of the Communist Party of Peru were also tried and convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment by summary military tribunals. The Peruvian government is pushing to establish the death penalty, which could then be applied to Dr. Guzmán and others."

Ocasio emphasized the danger facing Gonzalo in prison, "Peru's government is one of the bloodiest and most dictatorial military regimes in history. Since coming to power in 1990, Fujimori has intensified killings and disappearance of thousands of peasants in the countryside, and since Fujimori's self-engineered April 5 military coup, this repression has intensified. Last May, the Army entered Lima's Canto Grande Prison, massacring 40 imprisoned revolutionaries, including three democratic lawyers, a noted revolutionary journalist, and other prominent leaders and supporters of the revolution. Dr. Guzmán himself is imprisoned on the Island of San Lorenzo, site of the now closed El Frontón Prison, where 300 revolutionary prisoners were killed by the government on June 19, 1986. People must speak out and protests must be heard far and wide so that Dr. Guzmán does not end up killed in an 'accident' like Steven Biko in South Africa was."

Ocasio also told the RW that members of the Association of Democratic Lawyers in Peru told him that the situation for revolutionary prisoners in Peru is severe and much attention is needed in the international press and from human rights organizations right now. "The conditions of the prisoners is very extreme," Ocasio said. "A lot of them are being taken to Puno now, which is in the mountains. Very cold, very harsh, severe conditions, and very little food or medical care. People are dying, people are real sick, with TB, suffering malnutrition. They're being killed slowly, essentially. The Democratic lawyers said that unless media attention and international human rights attention is focused on these prisoners, it's like a death sentence."

**A Just Revolution,
A Desperate Regime**

The courage of Gonzalo—and his con-
Continued on page 10

**Move Heaven and Earth
To Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

Victory to the People's War in Peru!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Fujimori, the CIA, and the Drug Trade in Peru

This article was written by J.K. Marga, a supporter of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán. It has been edited for publication in the RW:

The U.S. government has a long history of using covert operations in drug trafficking to finance counterrevolutionary wars in Indochina and Latin America. Now it seems that the Bush administration is aiding and abetting the Peruvian government and Armed Forces' involvement in the drug trade. But more than that—not only is the drug trade a vital part of how the Peruvian government sustains the war against the revolution in Peru—it appears to be the heart of the mechanism by which the CIA has seized direct control of political and military affairs in Peru.

Fujimori was elected president of Peru in 1990. The call for a boycott by the Communist Party of Peru (often called the Shining Path) was such a success that, in the first round, abstentions, blank and spoiled ballots outdistanced any of the candidates. During Fujimori's first year in office, his regime won the distinction of having "one of the world's most dismal human rights records." (*Current History*, February 1992) On April 5, 1992, beset by dissension within Peru's ruling circles and parliament, he staged what has been described as "a palace coup" ("autogolpe"), taking all power into his own hands with the backing of the military.

At a subsequent meeting of the Organization of American States to consider measures against Fujimori's government, the Bush administration blocked proposals for economic sanctions. The *International Herald Tribune* reported that the resolution passed by the Foreign Ministers of the Latin American countries and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker "avoided condemning or deploring Mr. Fujimori's actions and did not approve any sanctions against his government. The resolution effectively lent the cooperation of the Washington-based organization to Peru's president, despite the disapproval that the regional body has voiced since his coup de force." (*IHT* 20/05/92)

A month after the coup, Fujimori sent his troops storming into the Canto Grande prison, where many suspected PCP members were held. Soldiers carrying lists of names selected out and murdered 40 men and women. Not only did Fujimori refuse a request by a visiting OAS human rights commission delegation to enter the prison, he even refused to meet with them—an act unprecedented in 33 years of OAS history. This time the OAS didn't even issue a formal protest. The U.S. said nothing.

Following the April coup, the U.S. announced the suspension of its Congressionally approved \$320 million in financial and military payments to the Peruvian government. This is considered only a temporary measure. But meanwhile, the use of the narcotics traffic to finance the Peruvian

government's war seems to have become institutionalized as official (though secret) U.S. policy.

The CIA Man in Peru

The man who engineered the coup, sometimes referred to as Fujimori's Rasputin, is Vladimiro Montesinos. The Madrid daily *La Vanguardia* called him the "second most powerful man in Peru, after the president." (11/05/92) This may turn out to be an underestimation.

Montesinos was an Army artillery captain and aide to one of Peru's leading generals when he was recruited by the CIA, according to Peruvian Army Major Jose Fernandez Slavatecci, in his autobiography *Yo Acuso* (I Accuse). At that time Peru was under a military government that had bought weapons from the Soviet Union.

Salvatecci claims that in the 1970s Montesinos met regularly with U.S. intelligence officials working out of the U.S. Embassy. *La Vanguardia* says that Montesinos was sacked from the Army at the end of the



Vladimiro Montesinos

decade, when the Peruvian ambassador happened to spot him at the Pentagon in Washington, where he had traveled on a phony passport.

After a few years in exile to avoid a prison sentence on treason charges as a U.S. spy, Montesinos returned to Peru in 1983. He worked as a lawyer for drug kingpins until 1990, when he successfully intervened to squash tax evasion charges made against presidential candidate Fujimori. He became unofficial "national security advisor" when Fujimori took office. (Officially, his only post is Fujimori's personal lawyer.)

According to Gustavo Gorriti, considered Peru's most internationally prominent journalist, Montesinos had been under investigation by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration for "his connection to the most important Peruvian drug cartel in the 1980s, the Rodriguez-Lopez organization, and also links to some Colombian traffickers." (Interview in *New York Review of Books*, 25/05/92)

Maximo San Roman, formerly Fujimori's vice president—who was removed by the coup, along with the parliament—said that with the ascension of Montesinos, "I fear that my country will fall into the hands of the Mafia." (Spain's *El Pais* 22/05/92) Similar charges were made by Fujimori's main electoral opponent, the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa.

Fujimori and the Drug Trade

The accusation that Fujimori is connected to the highest echelons of narcotics traffic have been repeated in the press the last few months. One of those making this charge is the Peruvian-born international economist Hernando de Soto, who is allied with the U.S. Republican Party. De Soto had negotiated the pact under which the Peruvian government was enlisted in Washington's "war on drugs," and was considered Montesinos' main rival for Fujimori's ear. (*El Pais* 01/02/92) All of these men are now in exile.

Before Fujimori took office, Montesinos had been banned from ever setting foot again on a Peruvian military installation. Now he hand-picked the Armed Forces Joint Command. Montesinos also chose its new Chief of Staff, General Jose Valdivia, who had been accused of covering up the Armed Forces massacre of 28 peasants at a wedding in the Ayacucho village of Cayara in 1988. (A dozen witnesses in that case were murdered—see Simon Strong's *Sendero Luminoso* for another account of that

affair.)

Even more importantly, it was at that point that Montesinos renewed his relationship with the CIA—if it had ever been interrupted. Gorriti says that in addition to reorganizing the Armed Forces and putting "men who owed him favors" in key positions, "in late 1990, Montesinos also began close cooperation with the CIA, and in 1991 the National Intelligence Service he controlled began to organize a secret anti-drug outfit with funding, training and equipment provided by the CIA." The *Miami Herald* (30/05/92) indicates that the CIA invited Montesinos to return to Washington for talks. After that he began to receive secret funding from the CIA and to send men to the U.S. for intelligence training.

Gorriti described Montesinos' National Intelligence Service as a kind of autonomous force answerable only to the U.S. "As far as I know," Gorriti continues, "the secret intelligence unit never carried out anti-drug operations. It was used for other things, such as my arrest."

According to Gorriti, in one of the first actions taken after the coup, "army intelligence officers had ransacked archives in the judiciary and in the prosecutor's offices mainly to get hold of all the cases in which Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's closet advisor, was involved as lawyer for drug traffickers and perhaps other documents that Fujimori does not want the public to know." *La Vanguardia* quotes Peruvian Senator Cesar Barrera as saying they were searching to "destroy evidence that Montesinos maintains close relations with the CIA despite the fact that the CIA knew he was protecting drug traffickers."

U.S. OKs Coup

One factor that precipitated the coup ahead of the date that had been set, apparently, was the public "Fujigate" scandal, when Fujimori's wife, Susana, accused his government of corruption. A few days later the coup shut down the newspapers and TV stations that covered the story. Gorriti and his personal computer (with its data) were seized by the Army and held until the Spanish government intervened to get the Peruvian correspondent for *El Pais* out of the country. All the data on his hard disk were erased.

Gorriti says that it was common knowledge that the coup was coming—it merely caught him off guard by coming earlier than scheduled. There was little attempt to hide it. The Madrid daily *El Observador* reports that ten days before the coup, "a man very close to President Fujimori" confided to the newspaper's Buenos Aires-based correspondent what was about to happen. (07/04/92) At the moment of the coup, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Latin America Bernard Aronson was present in Lima. A few weeks earlier Aronson had issued a strong statement urging all possible aid to Fujimori "to avoid a holocaust comparable to Hitler's gas chambers or Pol Pot's death camps." Such a statement, *El Observador's* correspondent implies, amounted to giving Fujimori carte blanche in advance.

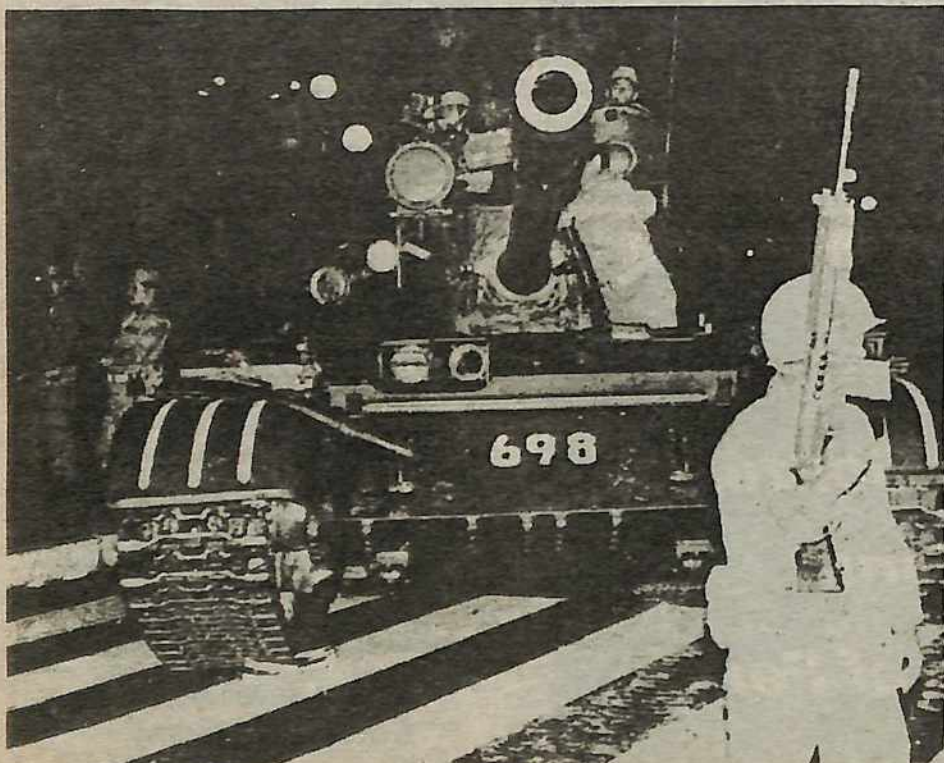
The U.S. Ambassador to Peru is Anthony Quainton, former head "anti-terrorist" specialist in the U.S. State Department and U.S. Ambassador in Managua during the CIA's terrorist bombings and sabotage campaign against the Sandinista government. (Holly Sklar, *Washington's War on Nicaragua*, quoted in the Fall 1992 issue of the U.S. magazine *Covert Action*) Quainton conspicuously made no public statement on the coup preparations, even though Gorriti says it was the main topic at diplomatic cocktail parties, and despite the fact that he must have been aware that Montesinos was meeting all but openly with Armed Forces officers in the days before it was launched.

These events carry grave implications.

Fujimori, the CIA, and the Drugs

• First of all, not only did the U.S. government support Fujimori after the coup, it must have known about the plans and approved them in advance. What is more, if Montesinos is the CIA's man, then the U.S. had at least a hand in actually organizing the coup. The U.S. record for directing coups includes neighboring Chile, where the CIA directed Salvador Allende's overthrow in 1973; Bolivia, 1971; El Salvador repeatedly in the 1980s, etc.

• Second, running the drug trade seems to be part and parcel of Montesinos' current work for the CIA. According to a 1991 U.S.



Peruvian tanks in the streets of Lima during the coup, April 5, 1992.



U.S. base at Santa Lucía in the Upper Huallaga Valley, Peru.

Drug Enforcement Administration internal report quoted in the *Miami Herald* (18/04/92), Montesinos maintains his ties with the drug lords. "Montesinos has gained the president's unconditional confidence, and using that position he arranges the appointment of ministers and advisers as well as transfers of Army officers...always with the aim of supporting narcotics trafficking." Former Vice President San Roman declared that since the coup "the number of airplanes carrying drugs has been increasing steadily." Earlier this year, the U.S. announced it was dismantling its anti-drug flight radars in northern Peru, without giving an explanation; according to San Roman, this was done deliberately to facilitate the drug trade, which he says is now directly organized by Montesino's National Intelligence Service. (*El Pais*, 22/05/92)

It has often been pointed out that if the Peruvian government and banks ceased to buy the dollars that enter the country in return for drug exports, Peru's economy would collapse. Peru's Central Bank buys between \$4 and \$14 million dollars a day in narco-dollars that are deposited in branch



U.S. military advisors in Peru.

banks in Peru's jungles or sold on the streets of Lima. This is the money used to pay U.S. and other banks \$60 million in interest per month and run the country. (See the *Current History* article cited above.) Narco-dollars are an important source of government revenue. But it's not likely that many Armed Forces officers have to live on their government checks.

From all this evidence, it appears that the drug trade is part of the financial and organizational structure that the United States government has erected to serve its interests in Peru. There has never been the slightest pressure against Montesinos by the U.S. government. And given the relationship between Montesinos and the CIA, on the one hand, and Montesinos and Fujimori on the other, it seems that the drug trade is a key part of the mechanism by which the U.S. has usurped Peru's national sovereignty.

• Thirdly, there is the question of the role of Montesinos' U.S.-run secret intelligence unit in the political life of Peru, and especially in the September 12 capture of

Abimael Guzmán.

As Gorriti and others point out, Montesinos has no official role in the military or even in the government, though in effect he runs the Armed Forces and police, and he has an obsession for staying out of the spotlight. (Reportedly he has never been seen in public with Fujimori and has not been photographed in ten years.) So it is not surprising that his name did not come up. The official credit for the arrest was given to Peru's Dincote (the so-called "anti-terrorist police"). Although the foreign press has carried a number of colorful anecdotes concerning the capture, one thing they have never inquired into is the chain of command behind it. Fujimori was on a fishing trip in the remote Amazon at the time, and his Interior Minister was similarly absent.

Who was in charge of the Dincote raid that day? The Dincote is responsible to the Armed Forces Joint Command and the National Intelligence service directly oversees it. Who could possibly have had so much unchallenged authority that the President and Interior Minister were left entirely out of the picture? It seems likely that they were not even informed about the impending event, the biggest in recent Peruvian history.

Gorriti once wrote that in the Fujimori government, "the ministers have no real power." (*La Vanguardia* 11/05/92) The same article quotes a "military chief who asked not to be identified" as saying Montesinos "runs the security forces." San Roman put this way: "I would go so far as to say that he is the one who really runs the government." (*El Pais*, 22/05/92) But Montesinos is not his own man. Just as de Soto's role was to tell Fujimori what the IMF expected of him, so Montesinos has no other reason for political existence than to serve as the CIA's conduit.

After Abimael Guzmán's capture, several reports quoted unnamed U.S. official sources as offering knowing "no comments" to questions about U.S. involvement. A PCP supporter interviewed in Lima stated that the security forces were now using methods such as computerized analysis of electricity and telephone bills—methods far more sophisticated than the Dincote's previously nearly exclusive reliance on brutish torture techniques and which again point to the hand of the CIA. (*The Independent*, 03/10/92)

In the wake of Dr. Guzmán's trial, Fujimori announced that he had decided to award a million dollars to the 50 security officers who actually carried out the capture. This they received not by check in an honors ceremony but in bank notes stuffed into a paper bag. (*The Independent*, 07/10/92) Is this hush money?

Given what is publicly known and admitted, the U.S. government is clearly the main pillar holding up the Fujimori regime—which all serious foreign journalists have described as a very shaky government. But there is also much reason to suspect that the hand of the U.S. reached in to carry out its dirty work directly in the case of the capture of Abimael Guzmán. □

A Criminal Resolution from the U.S. Senate

Last week the U.S. Senate unanimously passed a resolution praising Peru's Fujimori regime and political police for the arrest of Abimael Guzmán—Chairman Gonzalo, the leader of the Communist Party of Peru. The resolution was submitted by Dan Coats, the Republican Senator from Indiana, and it declared:

"Resolved, That the Senate hereby —

"(1) supports the Government of Peru in its determination to fight the violent, anti-democratic terrorist group known as Shining Path;

"(2) commends and congratulates the members of the Peruvian Counter-Terrorism National Directorate of the Technical Police who conceived and executed the plan to capture Abimael Guzmán, the leader of Shining Path, and several of his immediate subordinates;

"(3) encourages the people in all sectors of Peruvian society to commit themselves to the long-term process of overcoming the ravaging social effects of the activities of Shining Path and creating the necessary conditions for the maintenance of a viable constitutional democracy and viable economy in Peru;

"(4) encourages the Government of Peru to hold free and fair elections for a constituent assembly on November 22, 1992, under the international supervision by the Organization of American States; and

"(5) encourages the Government of Peru to continue its efforts to fight terrorism and international narcotics trafficking and to establish the rule of law throughout Peru."

The Senate resolution shows two important things. First, the U.S. government sees Chairman Gonzalo and the people's war he leads as a huge threat to U.S. interests in Latin America. Consider the immense repercussions that a victory of an uncompromising revolution in Peru would have from Chile to Mexico—throughout the strategic area that the U.S. imperialists arrogantly consider their "backyard." Earlier this year Gen. George Joulwan—commander of SouthCom in Panama, the headquarters for U.S. military operations in Latin America—said: "Peru is critical. If it goes down the tubes, I don't think that is in our best interests."

Second, the U.S. is the big power behind the fascist Fujimori regime in Peru. The resolution claims that the Peruvian Counter-Terrorism National Directorate (DINCOTE) "conceived and executed the plan to capture Abimael Guzmán." But there are clear signs that the U.S. had a direct hand in the operation. As the Sept. 28 *Newsweek* magazine revealed, DINCOTE has grown in size and sophistication in the last several years and has "several hundred agents now using U.S.-supplied computers, phones and the latest investigative techniques (some taught by the Central Intelligence Agency)."

In the past few years—as the Maoist

revolution won major victories against a corrupt and shaky regime—the U.S. has greatly stepped up intervention against the people's war. A major U.S.-built counterinsurgency firebase opened in a guerrilla area; Green Berets are training and leading Peruvian troops; military aid to the Peruvian regime has increased. Meanwhile, the poverty and misery of the people have further deepened with the crisis of an economy dominated by the U.S. and other imperialist countries. The "economic shock" carried out by Fujimori—under orders from the International Monetary Fund—has devastated the lives of millions of Peruvians. While the people suffer, Fujimori has earned pats on the head from international bankers for faithfully paying millions of dollars every month in interest on the foreign debt.

In April this year, Fujimori and the military staged a coup to seize absolute control of the state. The main purpose of the coup was to shore up the regime's ability to wage counterrevolution. Troops were ordered into Canto Grande prison in Lima to massacre revolutionary prisoners. A bloody wave of repression swept the vast shantytowns where poor people have been increasingly organizing under the lead of the Communist Party of Peru.

At the time of the coup, the U.S. government made some empty statements about the "need to restore democracy" and temporarily halted some forms of aid to the Peruvian regime. But the U.S. fought against sanctions against Fujimori and have been restoring aid and political legitimacy to the regime step by step. Now, with the arrest of Abimael Guzmán, the U.S. is heaping praise on Fujimori—and the matter of his coup has become a "minor problem," at most. What does it mean for the U.S. Senate to urge Fujimori to "establish the rule of law throughout Peru"? It is a call to squash people's resistance and struggle with bloody repression.

The revolutionaries in Peru have a slogan that has been taken up widely by the people—"Yankee Go Home!" The U.S. is the master criminal propping up the big capitalists and landlords and the fascist state in Peru. The Communist Party of Peru is leading the people in a just war of liberation against these imperialist dominators and their lackeys. The U.S. attacks on Abimael Guzmán and the Communist Party of Peru are attacks on the just struggle of the Peruvian people.

Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, all people of conscience—those whose hearts are with the oppressed and who oppose U.S. intervention and bullying around the world—need to see through and oppose the U.S. plots and schemes in Peru. And this means joining in the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, the leader of millions of revolutionary people in Peru. □



Revolutionary graffiti in Huaráz, Peru.

Clinton in the White House? False Hopes and the Real Deal

As the 1992 Presidential election gets closer, Bill Clinton seems to be wearing the same "teflon" armor that Ronald Reagan used to wear: the official media makes sure that charges and accusations slide off him. Meanwhile, charges against Bush—from blame for the economic recession to the newly "rediscovered" Iran-Contra scandals—are allowed to stick. A year ago Bush was the hero of the Gulf—because it suited the ruling class then. Now, the media instead talks about how the U.S. government built up Saddam Hussein.

It seems the semi-secret debates and struggles within the ruling class have decided that Clinton is the best choice for the system.

False Hopes of the Unhappy Middle Class

The chance of a Clinton victory has gotten some people charged up about voting. This is especially true of liberal-minded folks who *hated* the reactionary official politics of the past ten years.

Many of these forces hate and fear the aggressive right-wing, racist and anti-woman currents in official politics—but they are allowing their discontent to be channeled into support of Clinton. Why? Because of a mix of false hopes and narrow horizons.

It often pisses these folks off when someone says voting for Clinton won't make real change. They know Clinton won't make any *basic* change. "BUT," they say, "it's a *start*." They still have *hope* that the oppressors will have a new leader who may listen to the people more.

"Besides," they continue, "revolution just isn't going to happen. The *only* change in sight is Clinton, so it's worth a try." They do not believe that some deep and radical change can happen—especially from the struggle of the masses of people. And they aren't sure they would like it, if it did happen.

Clinton supporters try to lay a heavy trip on everyone (especially those most alienated from the system, like many young brothers and sisters): "If you don't vote and help Clinton win now," they say, "you will be responsible if bad conditions continue for the people."

If you study these views *scientifically* you can see they are stamped with the outlook of the *middle* classes. They desire change but politically stand in between the oppressor and the oppressed.

The truth is if Clinton gets into the White House, it will be because his program, his plans, and his image suits the ruling class. He comes to bring change—but that change has a class nature. And supporting Clinton will strengthen the system and hurt the people. To understand this, people need to get down with the scientific analysis of the RCP.

Why Would the Ruling Class Want a Facelift for the '90s?

A decade ago, under somewhat different conditions, Chairman Bob Avakian analyzed the changing political face of Frank Sinatra—from the Kennedy bandwagon in the 1960s to Nixon in the '70s and Reagan in the '80s—as "a reflection of the fortunes and postures of U.S. imperialism over the last several decades." Chairman Avakian gave a warning that applies today: "Don't think that Frank Sinatra couldn't get another facelift... don't think that U.S. im-

Don't think that U.S. imperialism couldn't come up with another Kennedy type to meet its needs once again. 'ALL THE BETTER TO EAT YOU WITH.'

Bob Avakian

perialism couldn't come up with another Kennedy type to meet its needs once again. 'ALL THE BETTER TO EAT YOU WITH.'

This system is in a political and economic fix, and it looks like its ruling class has decided a facelift will help their problem.

There is massive discontent among the U.S. population that stretches through almost all classes. Many millions of people—including people who usually believe whatever the government tells them—don't trust the institutions of this society, including the Congress, the White House, and the courts. This was driven home when the Los Angeles Rebellion rocked the system this spring. This rebellion showed that oppressed sections of the people—of many nationalities—are starting to explode after

years of poverty, insult and police occupation. The ruling class was shocked that this rebellion had wide support among the middle classes when it started.

These were the signs of an explosive mix. Especially because the ruling class knows they will have to enforce sharp sacrifices and "dislocations" *within* the United States in the years ahead—to wage their global battle for continuing super-power status.

In the political arena, the ruling class could quickly measure how alienated sections of the middle class had become: The reaction to the Anita Hill situation showed that millions of middle class women were disgusted with the male-dominated status quo. The polarization around the issue of abortion was discussed in terms of "civil war." There was the explosion of support for billionaire Perot among bedrock supporters of the Reagan-Bush government. And, when the Republican convention tried to restart a national campaign under open banners of bigotry, "traditional values," and anti-woman policies—broad sections of the population became angry and afraid.

Sometime this summer, ruling class circles apparently decided that installing the same old regime in November would

Supporting Clinton will strengthen the system and hurt the people.

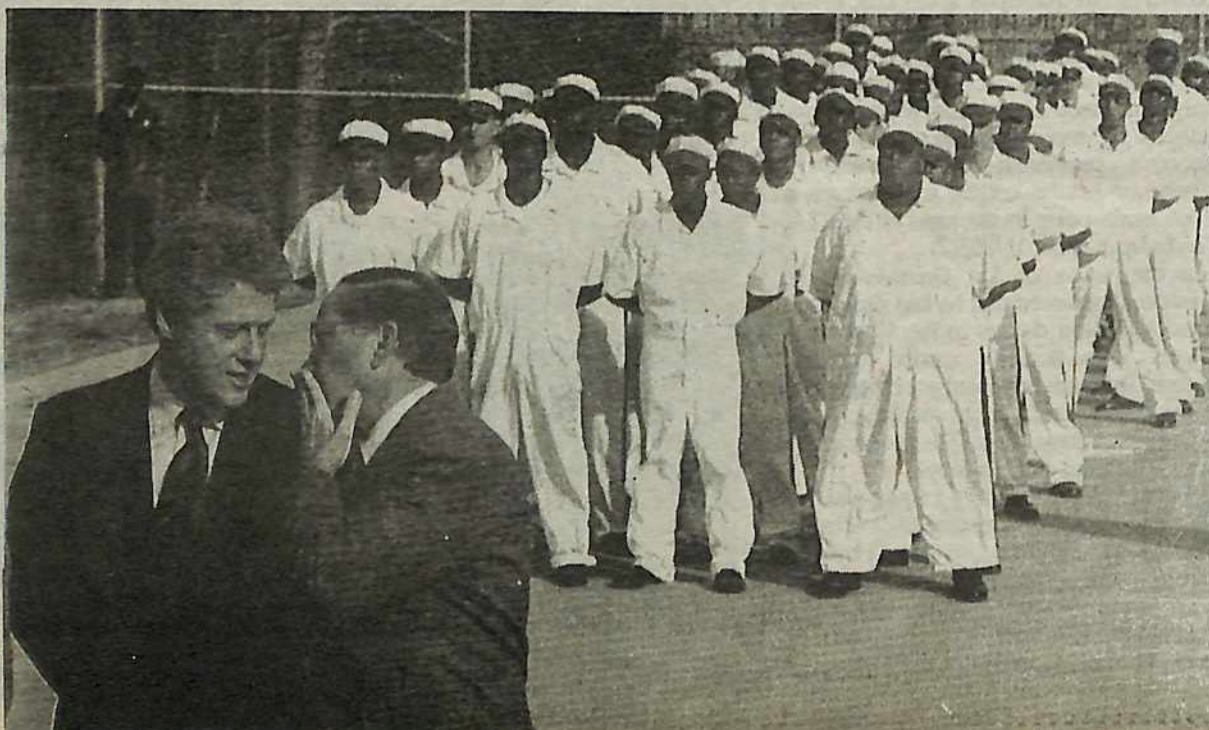
deepen this growing political crisis. Their answer seems to be: Give Clinton a try.

Clinton's plan is to bring key sections of the middle class back to supporting the government. Clinton promises the middle classes there will be more attention to their well-being—while he proposes policies that actually hurt the working classes and the poor:

Example: The New Ruling Class Approach on Abortion Rights

Some people say that abortion rights are "one place there is a clear difference between Clinton and Bush." And they add, "If only the next Supreme Court judge can be picked by a liberal Democrat, that alone would justify voting for Clinton."

This argument completely misses what is *really* happening around abortion politics: There is an emerging consensus in the ruling class to keep abortion legal on the national level, but allow increasing restrictions at the state level. This policy of "permit but discourage" was taken by the recent Supreme Court (spearheaded by several Reagan-Bush court appointees) and it is *also the line represented by the Clinton camp!* This would keep abortion officially legal for women with the money for private doctors and travel. For millions of poor women, teenagers, and women in rural areas, abortion will be more and more unavailable—because of restrictions like



Clinton with Senator Sam Nunn at Stone Mountain Correctional Facility, Georgia, March 2, 1992.



Clinton campaigning in New York, July 1992.

Clinton's plan is to bring key sections of the middle class back to supporting the government—while he proposes policies that hurt the working class and the poor.

waiting periods, parental consent, refusal of government funds and regulations that make abortions expensive.

Clinton and Gore are both long-time supporters of "permit but discourage." They have opposed government funding of abortion. And they both support restrictions like parental notification. And they both claimed that the recent Supreme Court decision on the Pennsylvania state law was a victory for women's rights—because it didn't permit out-front criminalization of abortion, though in fact the decision gutted abortion rights by permitting more state restrictions.

Even while Reagan and Bush supported the mobilization of extreme anti-abortion forces, the direction of the ruling class in practice has for years been to chip away at abortion rights while officially keeping abortion legal. The main "difference" Clinton represents is that now this "permit but discourage" will be the official policy of the White House.

There are significant sections of the women's movement who are willing to embrace that new consensus—because they feel that the Clinton version of "permit but discourage" is OK because it protects the abortion rights of well-to-do women. Unfortunately far too many seem willing to ignore that this new ruling class consensus would deny abortion rights to more and more millions of women who are poor, young or living in rural areas.

Clinton says his approach to abortion rights would "heal" the sharp confrontation over abortion rights. But this new ruling class consensus is really an example of trying to lasso alienated middle class forces into the system, while splitting them off from the oppressed.

Activist Government vs. Trickle-Down?

The economy is another place where middle class forces think that Clinton will "make a difference"—because Bush represented a "hands-off" government approach

to the economy. Clinton wants to involve the government more in economic decisions. He proposes "industrial policy" that will restructure U.S. industry to make it more competitive. He calls for some job training—so that restructuring can be done profitably and so the social disruption does not become politically explosive.

People are fooled by this talk of a change. Here are some facts:

One, the major problems faced by the masses of people, like poverty, unemployment, collapse of some industries, decay of the inner cities, etc., are not caused by Republican "trickle-down" policies. They are caused by the most fundamental workings of the capitalist system, which organizes production for profit. Capitalists shift production around the world in ways that serve their profit best—that is the whole reason that an imperialist power like the U.S. has worked to dominate the world and wages its wars. This will not change with some new bourgeois team in power.

Two, Clinton's plans for an "activist government" are plans for managing economic life in a way that serves the interests of the ruling class better. Clinton's experience with "restructuring": For twelve years, he has headed the state of Arkansas,

Clinton is a baby-boom imperialist—with an antiwar past.

which has built its economic life by attracting capitalists with cheap, union-free labor.

Three, the system is in a profound economic mess—and government debt is a big part of that mess. No new bourgeois figure is going to provide significant new services to the people. One of the attractions Clinton has for the ruling class is that he has not made a public pledge against new taxes. His election will be portrayed as a mandate for taxes. People think that Clinton's activist government will give more to the people. In fact, it will take more from the people, as a way of enforcing "sacrifice" and solving key economic problems of the system.

In fact there is already debate over when Clinton should break the bad news. High-level Democrat Susan Estrich recently wrote in the *New York Times*: "As long as Bill Clinton doesn't admit it, he's already won the elections.... Bill Clinton is being told daily that now is the time to get a mandate, be honest about the sacrifice, be presidential, not just sit on his lead."

This "bad news" is what Clinton is hint-

ing at when he says people will have to be "ready to change." And this is why Clinton offers almost no new social programs. The few programs he proposes (like medical cost control) will not solve any problems of the people.

Four, Clinton's main plan for the inner city is his call for 100,000 new cops. He even suggests that students pay off their college loans by becoming cops in the inner

It is not uncommon to hear people say: "I'm so sick of Bush, I just want to get him out of there." But this is like a slave saying: "I'm so sick of this plantation, I just wish we could get a new slavemaster."

city! He brags about his record of pushing poor people off of welfare, while he endorses the right-wing plans for sweatshop "free enterprise zones" in the inner city. And he supported Bush's recent invasion of L.A.—where the people were suppressed and rounded up at gunpoint.

Hard Global Facts on the "American Dream"

Clinton claims the "American Dream" has faded because the last president cared too much for foreign affairs and not enough for the people within the U.S. These days, it is constantly pointed out that the standard of living of people in the U.S. used to double every generation, but now the next generation will live worse than their parents. Clinton promises to reverse this by putting the U.S. first.

Every part of this rap is political poison.

The oppressed have a saying that everyone should think long and deep about: "Your American Dream has always been a nightmare to us." The standard of living of middle classes grew in the U.S. because of unprecedented robbery and murder on a world scale. A whole continent of land was stolen by killing Indians through the nineteenth century. An industrial base was built on the back of the unpaid labor of Black slaves and the barely paid labor of proletarians of all nationalities. And then, in the twentieth century—through two world wars and countless invasions—the U.S. grabbed a global empire and squeezed wealth from billions of people across the planet.

The "American Dream" of the U.S. mid-

dle classes is another name for the privileges they received in exchange for their loyalty. And that "American Dream" can only continue if the United States maintains and strengthens its international positions and drives down any internal challenges. Bill Clinton's mission is to draw more people into supporting that.

Some people think that because he was against the Vietnam War, he will somehow be against imperialism. But this is exactly wrong. Clinton supported the war for U.S. control of the Persian Gulf, and has a whole list of other places he thinks the U.S. should intervene.

He says that Bush is too locked into "Cold War thinking" and that the current struggle for U.S. dominance requires an updated and more flexible policy. Most important, Clinton said in a major foreign policy address, that the major difference between him and George Bush is that Clinton can "forge the domestic consensus" for an active policy of international interventions. In other words, because he has a record of opposing the Vietnam war, he can lasso more people into supporting coming wars for U.S. control. Clinton is a baby-boom imperialist—with an antiwar past. As Chairman Avakian says, "All the better to eat you with."

A Sinister Deal for Folks with Good Intentions

It is not uncommon to hear people say: "I'm so sick of Bush, I just want to get him out of there." But this is like a slave saying: "I'm so sick of this plantation, I just wish we could get a new slavemaster." The danger of this logic is that you don't find yourself supporting change—you soon find yourself supporting the new slavemaster.

Chairman Bob Avakian writes: "Liberal intentions lead to and serve reactionary ends sooner or later, if they're clung to; if that's as far (forward) as you go, you'll get turned around (backward)." (*Reflections, Sketches and Provocations*, p. 23)

In 1988 George Bush ran the "Willie Horton" campaign: it was designed to take the fears of the middle classes about their own shaky positions and the decline of society and to channel those fears at the masses of Black people.

In 1992 Bill Clinton has run a political campaign to attract alienated sections of the middle class back toward the next government, while preparing the ground for suppressing and isolating the people on the bottom.

Clinton's style and ideology are different from George Bush. There are differences in policy that reflect a changed world situation. But the fundamental class interest is the same: Consolidating a social base for the ruling class in difficult times. Preparing the ground for policies of sacrifice and war. And the class alignment Clinton seeks to create for the ruling class is familiar: Lassoing key sections of the middle classes into the system and splitting them off from the proletarians—in preparation for periods of possible upheaval and revolutionary political challenge.

What difference does it make if you vote for Bill Clinton? The more support Clinton gets from progressive-minded and oppressed people—the better he will be able to carry out sinister plans of the class he represents.

If you want to make a real difference for the people, if you want to fight for change that will liberate—then you have to look at politics a whole different way. The revolutionary communist leader Lenin said: "People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises."

Luckily for humanity, it is not true that revolution is a hopeless dream. Look at Peru, where the masses of people have picked up guns to create a new society. And look at L.A., which proves that there is the potential for a revolutionary people right here in the belly of the beast.

The system is trying to win people back to their control, they are trying to divide the masses and strengthen their future government. We need to take this on. There are many brothers and sisters (especially among the oppressed) who already feel that voting is a waste and who sense Clinton represents the same bullshit as Bush.

These sisters and brothers need to arm themselves with a revolutionary analysis so they can win over those influenced by the middle class line. □

Interview with Heriberto Ocasio

EYEWITNESS FROM PERU

On October 1 Peru's military court began the railroad of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru. As the kangaroo court went into session, the first international delegation to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán arrived in Lima and demanded admission to the trial. The delegates were Leonard Weinglass, an attorney from the U.S. who has defended many political prisoners; Anne-Marie Parodi, Paris attorney for Algerian militants of the National Liberation Front during the war of independence against France and attorney for leaders of the May 1968 revolt in France; Peter Erlinder, President-elect of the National Lawyers Guild of the U.S.; Martin Heiming of the German Association of Republican Lawyers and attorney and defender of political prisoners in Germany; and Heriberto Ocasio, U.S. national spokesperson for the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru. The Fujimori regime took extraordinary steps to threaten and harass members of this delegation and prevented them from observing Chairman Gonzalo's trial. But the delegation succeeded in exposing to the world the blatant violations of international law in the government's prosecution of Chairman Gonzalo and the outrageousness of the life sentence verdict that was handed down.

The *RW* had the opportunity to talk with Heriberto Ocasio when he returned to the United States, and the following is part of this interview:

LIMA PRESS CONFERENCE AS RAILROAD OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO BEGINS

I guess the most significant events happened the day after we got there. We got there on September 30 and October 1 was to be the beginning of the trial. So two members of the delegation went to the pier together with Chairman Gonzalo's lawyer, Mr. Crespo, and asked to be allowed to accompany him to observe the trial. Crespo was planning himself to do a press conference at 4:00 p.m., so he said he could call it at the Palace of Justice and we could join him and break the news about the delegation and what our purpose was. So the delegates who tried to go to the trial were rebuffed and they were told no, they can't do this, and that got on the news. It got press coverage because the press was there to cover Crespo going out to the island of San Lorenzo where the trial was being held. They came back and we prepared the press statement. When the time came for the press conference at 4:00 p.m.—this was Thursday, the day of the trial—some of the delegates got into the Palace of Justice. I believe it was Leonard Weinglass and Anne Marie Parodi. Peter Erlinder, Martin Heiming and I got there a little bit later and by that time they had closed all the entrances to the Palace of Justice and they were pushing everybody out and they weren't letting any more press in. Some of the press had gotten in and when they got wind of what this was about they started some rumor that there was a bomb scare or something like that and they closed it down. They shut all the doors and we couldn't get in. There was all this press that was also trapped outside that couldn't get in. So in the face of this the three of us started talking to the press and called all the press toward us and said, well let's have a press conference here in the street. So we started it there in the street and then at a certain point we felt, why don't we take it over to the Sheraton. So we went across the park to the Sheraton. The Sheraton closed the doors, they didn't want us in there. So we had to fight to get in and convince them. They said you can't have it

here in the lobby so we convinced them to get us a room and they did give us a room for 20 minutes so we had a press conference there in the Sheraton. They said, "We'll give you 20 minutes," because they supposedly had some other thing scheduled. That press conference was the thing that was repeated over and over on subsequent days, particularly the statement, the call from the International Emergency

Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán.

The Peruvian press were dumbfounded, they were incredulous that people would have the nerve to come to Peru and call Fujimori and the government out for what it was doing and take a stand in DEFENSE of Abimael Guzmán. The questions from the press weren't all bad but mainly they focused on repeating the same "25,000 killed by Sendero" lie and "do you support that?" And so we answered that by saying, how did they count these and who are they counting? Are they counting the 300 revolutionary prisoners killed in El Frontón? Are they counting the 40 revolutionaries recently killed in Canto Grande prison? Yes they are, aren't they? Are they counting the whole villages disappeared by the government's army? Yes they are. We made it clear that within the delegation people had differing politics and views but we all agreed that this was a civil war and that the PCP (Communist Party of Peru) had a significant base of support among the people of Peru. Those who defended the system among the press—and overwhelmingly the press there was in the service of Fujimori—were dumbfounded that this could be the case.

The next morning the headlines were "international lawyers come to Peru." Some of them were actually quite fair reports, others just went wild like the *National Enquirer* does in the United States.

This paper *Ojo* is one of them. They printed the story that I was a doctor of Saddam Hussein and that I had brought like a miniature kit that he used to analyze people and control their mind. There were all kinds of really sinister stories, and that was just the first day before they had talked to the U.S. embassy and U.S. intelligence and gotten a full report on us. Also they went through the German Embassy and the French to try to fabricate how we were really just tied into Sendero, were PCP organized, etc. By the next day they had figured out what their line was going to be which was the lie that the RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) is organized by the PCP, led by the PCP, controlled by Sendero internationally—an organizational extension of the PCP and therefore technically we were "terrorists." The next couple of days were actually interesting because they hadn't yet formulated the foreign minister's accusations of us being "apologist for terrorism," they hadn't yet decided how to deal with us.

RESPONSE TO THE DELEGATION ON THE STREET

On Friday and Saturday after the press conference, we had some freedom to get out around the city and walk around and that's when people would come up to us and express their support. This is before we were attacked viciously in the press. People would come up, they would be walking and



Guerrilla column from Sorata, Ayacucho, Peru.



Heriberto Ocasio, spokesman for the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.

we'd pass them on the street and they'd say, "Oh those are Abimael's lawyers." After a while we understood that when people said "Abimael's lawyers" it was generally friendly and when they said, "Those are those terrorists," or "Those are those Sendero lawyers" or "Those are Guzmán's lawyers," it wasn't very friendly. But in the first few days we got a lot of people saying, "Oh that's Abimael's lawyers." People that like Chairman Gonzalo, they'd call him Abimael. We got a lot of people coming up to us and going like this, thumbs up. We met a guy from an area east of Ayacucho, selling books. He said, "Psst, psst, come here" and whispers, "I really am grateful for what you're doing. It's a very important thing you're doing. Don't believe what the government says or what the press says, there is a lot of people who value what you're doing." And you had this older guy, a journalist from Ayacucho, who came to tell us that no one was covering in the press the round-ups that were going on in Ayacucho and that people still disappear and that human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, are not documenting any of this, no one is. His opinion was that "Abimael is a great leader." There are people like democratic lawyers, people who really value Chairman Gonzalo, the party and the revolution even though they themselves cannot express their sentiments openly. It's against the law, so they would say it in private to us that they truly value the role that Chairman Gonzalo is playing and that the PCP plays and have great respect for the party. A couple of people would come up and say, look at the papers, they're reporting all these people have been killed, how could you support that? They would really try to argue and find out what was going on, but the votes at that time were two to one in favor of what we were doing.

On Saturday, the national press was calling us. They all wanted to get interviews, but this time they were much more clear on how they wanted to attack the delegation. And they all had the same questions. We decided to do one major interview. And we got an offer from this guy on Panorama which is like the evening magazine show most widely watched like 20/20 in the United States. And we said, OK, we'll do it under certain conditions. The conditions are that we know the questions beforehand, that you don't do extensive cutting of what we say, and that we get a chance to look at it before it gets aired. It was hard to hold them to that last demand. But they gave us the questions beforehand and they promised they wouldn't hack it—and they kept to it, surprisingly.

They put on a 20-minute interview with us—the only thing they really cut was the statement from Amnesty International criticizing the court procedure and the trial

for being unfair and unjust. They put almost everything else we said in there. BUT it was followed by an interview with the foreign minister that accused us of being "apologist for terrorism." They replayed the press conference where I talk about the Fujimori "genocidal and bloody regime." And then they had a poll conducted on the air that said call this number if you think these people should be expelled and call this other number if you think they shouldn't be expelled...just yet. So we were watching this show and in the middle of the show we got a call that the district attorney of Lima is downstairs and he wants to talk to us. Anne-Marie Parodi went down to deal with him. We wanted to see the results of this poll, although we figured they probably had the results already before the show started. But we wanted to see what they would put out. So about 10 minutes later we got a call in the room from the district attorney. So I pick up the phone and I tell him, "Look, we're not sure what you're coming for but it might be related to this poll they're doing on television and we really want to see the results of it, so can you hold off for a little bit, we'll be down." So we waited about 20 minutes and the show just kept going on and on and we never found out what the results were.

It turns out that while we were watching

the show, they had organized a demonstration outside the hotel, of families of supposed victims of Sendero. This was a new group that had just been organized to protest our presence in the country. We asked how many were there and people said, oh about 8 to 10 people. This was their "mass outpouring" of demonstration against us. We asked the DA, is this why you came, and he said, "Yes, because I saw a program that said that these people had been out there on TV and so I had to come and talk to you about this." Apparently he had got a call from someone saying, go talk to these people. This was part of the beginning of the threats to us. He took down our names, where we were from, etc. The following morning the investigative police showed up in the lobby and called us down. They wanted to see our passports and took careful notes about different places people had been, what kind of visa they got to come into the country, etc. This was DINCOTE.

RW: Which is like the FBI?

Yes. So they took all of that down and that was part of doing further investigation on people as well. That information must have gone to the U.S., French, German embassies and they got information about some of the lawyers, like what political groups the German lawyer had once

defended. They announced that Anne-Marie Parodi was "not registered to practice law in France." The truth is she is registered in a suburb, not the district of Paris. They called Paris and found this out and then said, "Oh she's not registered in Paris so she's not a real lawyer." They tried to challenge people's credentials, etc. They dug up a video of me at the demonstration against Fujimori in Washington, DC when he visited Bush in the White House last September. And they played that on Peruvian national TV.

RW: So they had a little help from their friends in Washington.

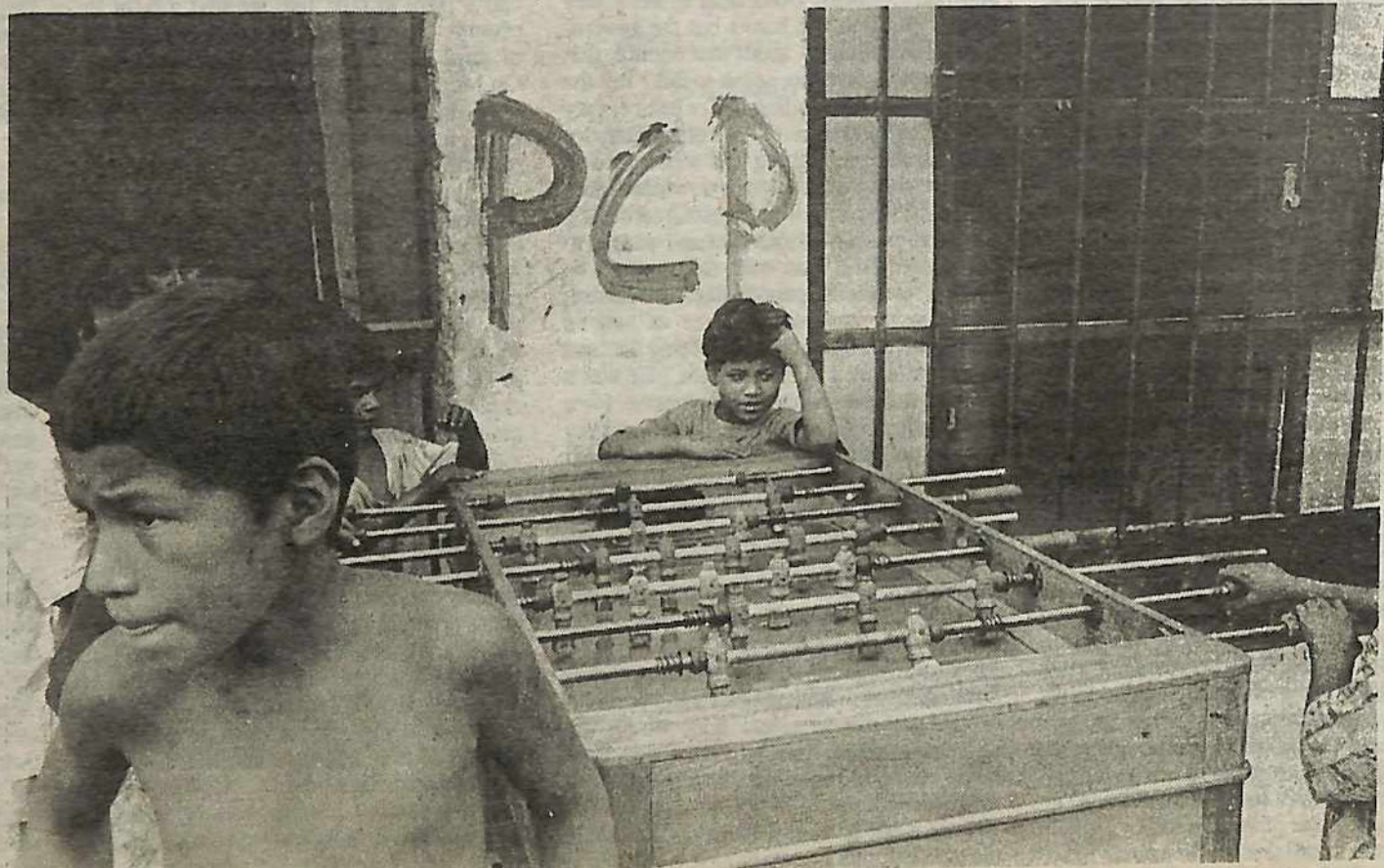
THE RAILROAD OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO

The first procedure for Chairman Gonzalo's trial was Thursday, the first day where he would be read the accusations, and where he would have a chance to respond. The second was on Sunday. Mr. Crespo was called and told that he should come on Monday and see the actual written accusation which was many pages for him to read and that on Monday he would have 12 hours to read it and then respond in writing. And so he was very busy on that day. That was the second formal part of the procedure. The final part of the procedure was just the actual verdict and sentencing which was on October 7, a week after the first part. But Crespo was not to be present for any of that. He was only called to be present in the court on two occasions, the first day and the last day. In between he was just to see the accusation in writing and prepare the answer and that was it.

One thing that was important is that we had decided we wanted to formally request participation as legal observers, international observers of the process. At the Thursday press conference we had submitted in writing to the military tribunal a request to participate, and by Sunday we had gotten an answer in the negative in the form of a statement saying the lawyers on the delegation were not practicing lawyers in Peru and there's no place for observers in the legal or procedural code. We had gotten that answer so we decided to continue pursuing other avenues of requesting participation. We decided to petition the president of the Supreme Court. We asked for an appointment on Friday. By Monday we called back again and he wasn't able to see us and we were getting a lot of bureaucratic runaround so we said let's put in writing these formal requests so they can't say later that we didn't ask to participate formally, that we could have if we had only asked.

On Tuesday, Martin Heiming and I went to the Supreme Court and tried to present a petition or formal request and we couldn't get anyone to accept it. None of the officers would accept it or even take it from us. The press was there and the press covered this and we gave an interview at the courthouse. That was also the second incident where the press acted as provocateurs to incite violence against us. The first incident was on Monday when we were just going out to get something to eat. The press blocked our

Continued on page 10



Graffiti supporting the Communist Party of Peru in a Lima shantytown.

Fujimori Calls for Death Penalty

Continued from page 3

confidence that the Peruvian revolutionaries would carry forward the struggle despite this serious setback—has inspired people around the world. When the Peruvian regime attempted to break down Gonzalo's "aura of invincibility" by parading him in a cage in front of 300 international journalists on September 24, Gonzalo turned the tables on them. The following day, the image of Gonzalo, dressed in black-and-white prison stripes, defiantly addressing the crowd, appeared in newspapers across the world. He was widely quoted: "There are those who see this as a great defeat. They are dreaming. Let them dream.... It is simply a bend in the middle of the road." At a Columbus Day protest at the U.S./Mexico border, a Mexican activist told the *RW*: "I think everybody should wear striped shirts in solidarity with Gonzalo. Gonzalo wants to free the people of Peru, and we will help him in any way we can."

Ocasio told the *RW* about the situation in Peru, where domination of the country by

the imperialist powers has given rise to a situation demanding fundamental change. "Our delegation's experience brought home the social conditions which have given rise to the revolution in Peru. One thing that hits you right away is that Peru is a sharply divided society—definitely a caste system—on the one hand native people, indigenous people, who are treated like little more than animals. On the other hand, the ruling elite, overwhelmingly of European descent, the big capitalists and landlords, backed up by an immense police and military apparatus, and by the U.S., who live in the palatial estates of Miraflores and San Isidro, while the vast majority who are Indian, many Quechua-speaking and poor, mostly from Peru's countryside, live in the vast shantytowns that surround Lima's center.

"Despite claims that it is 'restoring democracy,' the attacks on our delegation serve to highlight the total lack of democracy in Peru and the viciousness of the dictatorship. (See centerfold for the full story on the delegation.) News and information are tightly controlled and the press are almost totally in the service of the military and police. The evening news, two days before I left, carried an official warning to the national press from the Joint Military Command 'advising' them not to report 'rumors of Sendero actions' in Ayacucho (in the countryside) because spreading these rumors was 'irresponsible' and a 'danger to the public order.' No wonder that we get such a distorted view in

the U.S. about what is really happening in Peru.

"Now the government wants to extradite Luis Arce Borja from Belgium and also try him for treason. He is the editor of *El Diario Internacional*, one of the few international sources of alternative news about Peru and its revolution. They have likewise called for the extradition to Peru of any Peruvians abroad who express any kind of support for the revolution."

International Campaign

The call from the IEC has been signed by thousands of people, including prominent international political figures, lawyers, human rights activists and artists. Numerous telegrams have been sent to the Peruvian embassies abroad; delegations have delivered protests to the Embassies; and mass actions have taken place in various countries, including a demonstration of 5,000 in New Delhi. One IPS wire service report—noting the widespread support for Gonzalo in Nepal—wrote: "Those celebrating the death of international communist solidarity may have been rejoicing too soon...the hammer and sickle has become a common sight all over the country. Large painted slogans on the roadside extol the 'struggle of the Peruvian people and the Shining Path against imperialism.'"

Now with the threats of reimposing the death penalty by Fujimori, people of conscience, revolutionary people—and all those who hate what U.S. imperialism does

to countries like Peru—are faced with new urgency to protect and defend the life of Comrade Gonzalo from the vicious regime in Peru.

Ocasio summed up the situation: "The trial and conditions of imprisonment of Dr. Abimael Guzmán are a stark expression of a system that is challenged by a powerful armed revolution with deep roots among those who have been suppressed for 500 years, since the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors. Millions of Peruvian peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and others identify with and politically sympathize with the revolution led by Dr. Guzmán. Hundreds of thousands are actively part of it as fighters or supporters. No one with a sense of justice should accept the travesty which has been carried out against the recognized leader of the revolution in Peru. It is imperative that all who stand for justice in the world speak out and condemn what has transpired in Peru with the trial of Dr. Abimael Guzmán and continue to demand that the government not be allowed to murder him. People are needed to travel to Peru, to observe and report on the situation to people around the world. We should also demand that Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, and other human rights organizations immediately send delegations to monitor the condition of Dr. Guzmán and the other political prisoners in Peru."

The *RW* will continue to report on the situation of Comrade Gonzalo and the international campaign. □

EYEWITNESS FROM PERU

Continued from page 9

way, were all around us, and we had trouble just getting through and had to push them out of the way. They started inciting a couple of these so-called families of disappeared that were out there, saying, "You guys are supporting terror, mass murder," blah, blah, blah. And then some of these other people started to swing at us and push us and it started to get ugly so we pushed our way back into the hotel. That was the first incident where it was clear that the Peruvian press was there not to get a real interview. They were there for one reason, to try to provoke an incident.

Also that night, Fujimori came on television and they asked him, are these people going to be expelled? Are they going to be brought up on charges? And he said, well I know the foreign minister De la Fuente has talked about formal charges, about expulsion. But in Peru we have democracy and people can express their opinions, and besides, what these people want is an international incident to be heroes back home and then further destroy Peru's image abroad, so the government will not move against them but it is up to the people in the streets, the Peruvians, to decide whether they stay or go. Then the evening newscaster said, we take this to mean that mass demonstrations should be organized against them. So Fujimori was calling the shots all the way and the Peruvian press was following very patriotically his orders which was to provoke some kind of incident where the government would wash its hands of it and say, oh, it's just victims of the violence that have attacked these people.

A similar incident happened after we were getting out of the court. Outside the press did a similar thing. They tried to provoke people and at that point rocks were flying toward us and they were actually hitting the newspaper and press people instead of us so we got back to the hotel alright. But this wasn't the case when we were able to get away from the Palace of Justice or the Sheraton. On the following day, I went out with a Mexican lawyer. We were able to get much further away from the Sheraton before the press was able to stop us and block our way. This was where there were basic masses, street vendors, and a crowd gathered and heard us out. And you could see some of their heads nodding affirmatively when we had stuff to say, others, no. It was mixed. Some people really wanted to hear us out and they were taking a stand with us, you could see, in opposition to these provocations.

The press started out the same way, "killers, blah blah blah." So we started out



Troops patrolling Lima streets.

by saying, how can you say we don't care about people dying? Who are the 25,000 who've been killed and who's killed them? What has the government done and what do you really think this means that they're going through this kind of process? And what do you mean about "intervention," that we're intervening? What about what the U.S. does? And the Mexican lawyer said, "Look, I come from a country where the U.S. comes in and steals half of our territory and that's not called intervention. No one criticizes when the U.S. comes in and takes control. And here in Peru they control through the banks but the government is very happy about that control, that intervention, why not speak to that? But the people who are standing up for justice, they say we're intervening." So off of that we finished the press thing and we wanted to have lunch right there in the downtown area in one of these small little restaurants and a couple of people followed us and wanted to talk more. And one man said he felt he needed to talk to people like us because, "You guys understand some of what's going on, what people are fighting for, and this revolution. I think it's right." He was a college student from the countryside, from one of the mountain areas. So it was very intense and there were all these provocateurs. But when you got out to the basic people, if you were able to get away from the hotel, there were people who really wanted to protect us.

We didn't get a chance to visit the university. But it was described as an armed camp, basically, totally filled with military. They had arrested a lot of students at that point. A lot of them had been detained. A lot of the activity that had gone on in the university since the coup has been very much clamped down on. Now the government has announced that its next campaign will be against "Sendero teachers," since the revolution is known to have a large base of support among the teachers of Peru, with

the SUTEP, or teachers union, said by many to be "Sendero controlled."

***RW*: I understand that fairly early on Fujimori got on TV and said, what's the big deal, this delegation can go to the trial if they want. Did that happen?**

I didn't hear his actual statement. The delegation heard about it indirectly from a Swedish journalist who said Fujimori said this on one of the broadcasts. But it was one of these statements that, it seems to me, was probably similar to the statement saying we had a right to talk, like we had a right to observe from a distance. But then a couple of days later Fujimori made it very clear. On Monday night he was on TV saying, no way, no how, no where are these people going to participate in the judicial process that's going on with Abimael Guzmán. This was the day we had tried to present the petition to the Supreme Court and also at the presidential palace to Fujimori's office. And he answered us on the TV that night saying, "no how, no where, no way will they participate." So it was made clear that we were not going to be part of the official process, which was not a big surprise. We expected it, we just mainly wanted to document that this was their firm position.

So then Wednesday was the actual day of the verdict. That morning the street in front of the U.S. Embassy was blockaded so traffic couldn't go in front of it. There were more soldiers, more police out on the streets, and the verdict was supposed to come down at 11 o'clock. Dr. Crespo went out to the island that day and the verdict against Chairman Gonzalo and the others was delayed until 3 p.m. I'm not sure exactly how many others there were. I think it was 10 total including Chairman Gonzalo who were convicted of treason. Two others were tried with him in the same accusation and procedure. Others were being tried not at the island, in the same tribunal, but by other tribunals. They announced the verdict

on those people as well, guilty of treason to the nation and sentenced to life imprisonment. So all of that was announced at what was hailed as a great victory for the government. There were some responses or actions that were attributed to the PCP, whether they were or not I don't know. The press reported that there was an attack in one of the shantytowns, an airforce convoy was in one of the shantytowns and three airforce people were killed. They also reported in Miraflores that a big fancy shopping center was burnt down that night. These were both attributed to the PCP, whether that is true or not I don't know, but these things did happen.

One of the things that incensed the government the most is for someone like me to have the nerve to come into their country and openly be a Maoist. There were these denunciations, editorials denouncing the visa office, customs, for letting me in—how could they let a notorious supporter of the revolution in Peru come into the country like this? It was quite easy because they are so used to being obsequious to North Americans. If they see a U.S. passport, they try to kiss your butt because you're a North American. All the customs guy saw was a U.S. passport and that I was a doctor and said, "OK, welcome to Peru!" I think if they had been sure who I was they might have called me back. But I don't think they were sure when I came in. The government was very upset a Maoist had come into the country and hadn't been kept out, but it was very inspiring to the people in Peru. Certainly to those who stopped us and said, "You guys are courageous for being here." Then they started calling me the head of the delegation, which I wasn't. In a way, I was outspoken in some ways that others weren't. But I wasn't the head of the delegation. Everything was decided collectively. In some ways the delegation was mainly coming at it more as legal observers. It was all lawyers except for me, so it had that character. People on the delegation had different views, but I made it clear that I was a supporter of the revolution. I think the masses were inspired that there were people from other parts of the world that were there speaking for them, and that there was open support of the revolution. There were masses who saw us and came up to us and said we really appreciate what you're doing. An old man from Ayacucho said, "You people are speaking in the way that we can't, that we don't have the freedom to right now. You are able to speak and, in a way, you are speaking for us." Of course, the PCP speaks for them in other ways, through the people's war. But we were there speaking for them also in a different kind of way, a public way, a very open way that the PCP there right now can't do. And we are going to speak internationally and focus attention on what is going on. So I think it is something very much appreciated by the masses and by the revolutionary fighters in Peru. □

THE RISE AND FALL OF ARISTIDE

ONE YEAR SINCE THE COUP IN HAITI

One year ago: September 28, 1991. With little success, Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide had spent months trying to persuade, bribe and cajole the Haitian bourgeoisie into supporting his program of radical reforms and democratization. Now, standing on the steps of the National Palace, he said: "The bourgeoisie must play according to the rules of the democratic game.... Put people to work... for if you don't do it, I am sorry for you!... I've given you seven months to conform, and the seven months are up..." Then, addressing the people, he declared: "Now, whenever you are hungry, turn your eyes in the direction of those people who aren't hungry. Whenever you are out of work, turn your eyes in the direction of those who can put people to work." Later, speaking about "Pere Lebrun," the masses' practice of executing reactionaries with burning tires, he declared: "What a beautiful tool! What a beautiful instrument!... it has a good smell, wherever you go you want to inhale it."

Among the desperately poor in Haiti, this speech was greeted with great enthusiasm. But Aristide and his supporters were about to have a head-on collision with some basic realities of class society. As Mao Tsetung said: "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys." In other words, reactionaries cannot be bribed, persuaded or bullied into going against their fundamental class interests. They must be overthrown by force of arms.

One year ago: Two days after Aristide's speech, the Haitian army unleashed a brutal military coup. Opposition by the masses was met by machine gun fire. Trade unions, neighborhood committees, student and peasant groups were banned, and activists were forced into hiding. Well-known torturers, assassins and Macoutes (armed reactionary thugs in and outside the army) who had been jailed under Aristide were given guns and jeeps and turned loose to hunt down people who had spoken out against them. Over 1,000 people were killed in the first weeks.

The coup came as a great shock to the Haitian masses and their supporters around the world. With 70 percent of the votes, Aristide rode into office with the backing of a huge mass movement, known as Lavalas—"the torrent." After that there were repeated attempts by reactionary for-



1988—Haitian people burn the corpse of a Macoute at the same site where the Macoutes had previously massacred people.

ces in the government to overthrow or undercut Aristide. But these were blocked and Aristide began to implement measures aimed at weakening the reactionaries. Everyone knew that the dark forces still had a lot of power in Haiti, especially in the army. But many people thought with Aristide as president, step by step, the people would get stronger, the situation better, the reactionaries weaker. Instead the reactionaries overthrew Aristide.

The rise and fall of Aristide shows the people an important lesson. All over the world, conditions for the masses are intolerable and the need for radical change is clear. Without revolution, people around the world will continue to be brutalized by the capitalist system. But there are illusions that liberation can be achieved short of armed revolution. People search hopefully, from Jesse Jackson to (even!) Bill Clinton to Nelson Mandela for a more "peaceful" way. But meanwhile the brutality against the people continues. People look to elections, negotiations, and "peace talks." But meanwhile the suffering of the people continues. When Aristide was elected, many were hopeful. They thought this was finally proof that even in the shadow of the U.S., a dedicated and brilliant leader, backed by a united and courageous people, could bring real change without an all-out showdown with imperialism. But the coup only underscored in blood that if the people want liberation they are going to have to wage a people's war to overthrow their oppressors.

Aristide's Strategy

Aristide was a leader of the popular movements in Haiti since 1985. He spoke out passionately against the people's suffering, openly denounced U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in Haiti. There were many attempts on his life, but he could not be silenced and his mass support grew.

In the fall of 1990 the U.S. really wanted to get their lackey, Marc Bazin, elected president. But these plans were ruined when Aristide jumped in as a candidate. Previously Aristide had denounced U.S.-backed elections in Haiti but now his thinking was that getting elected would put him in a position to make real changes.

The U.S. was forced to go along with the election results but immediately began making demands on Aristide. The U.S. agreed to back Aristide but only after he promised to "moderate" his views, protect "foreign investment" and "preserve the army." Aristide told the people to support the Haitian constitution, which guarantees the rights of foreign exploiters and says only the military can possess guns. And this was only the beginning of continuing compromises that went against the interests of the people. To win the backing of the U.S., Aristide had to restrain and block the struggle of the masses. He told people they should love the army and *not* take the law into their own hands. He said people should rely on the army and the courts to set things right. And at the time of the coup, he was



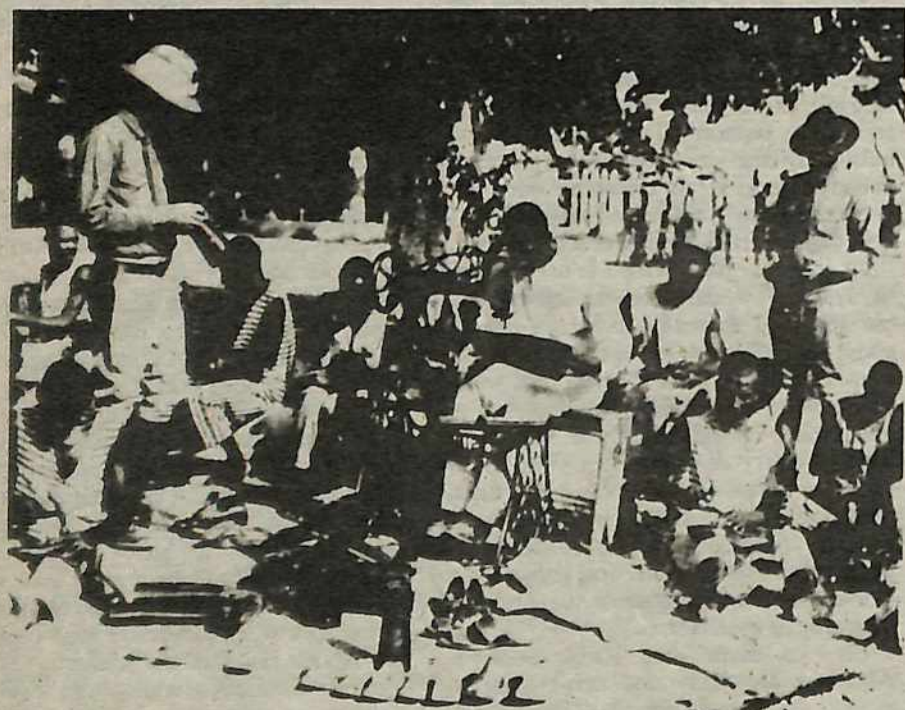
Jean-Bertrand Aristide, after his election as President of Haiti.

negotiating with the International Monetary Fund for a big aid deal in which the IMF was insisting on major cuts in what little social programs existed, layoffs, price increases, etc.

In the seven months he held office, Aristide did implement some reforms. Major

Continued on page 14

HAITI: DECADES OF U.S. DOMINATION



Prisoners at the National Penitentiary, Port-au-Prince, are forced to make footwear for the military—under the direct supervision of U.S. Marine officers.

Since the slaves of Haiti rose up and overthrew the slavemasters in the early 1800s, Haiti has been the victim of foreign bullying and domination. In 1915 the U.S. Marines invaded Haiti and occupied it for 19 years. At the end of the occupation, the U.S. built the Haitian army to hold together the oppressive order. Since that time, U.S. imperialism has been the dominant power in Haiti.

Under the U.S. there were three main classes sucking the blood of the Haitian people. The feudal classes in the countryside oppressed the peasants (80% of the people) through rent, loansharking, taxation and other ways. In the cities, the comprador bourgeoisie ran factories controlled by foreign capital, which enslaved tens of thousands of proletarians, paid \$3 a day. And the bureaucratic bourgeoisie clung like parasites to the whole economy, reaping millions in bribes, taxes and corruption. Every regime in Haiti this century has been an alliance of these three classes.

The government of the Duvaliers (Papa Doc Duvalier, then his son, Baby Doc) ruled from 1957 to 1986, and gave a lot of power to the feudal forces. The Ton-Ton Macoutes acted as a special terror squad under Papa and Baby Doc's personal com-

mands. And extreme terror was used to keep control, not only of the masses, but also of challengers within the ruling class. Papa Doc once ordered the head of a disobedient general brought to him in a bucket; when there was a mutiny of his officers, he had every single member of their families killed.

In 1986 the contradictions in Haiti exploded into a popular uprising. Baby Doc was forced to flee. Claiming to be "anti-Duvalierist," the army jumped in and seized control and for a time fooled a lot of people. But they really just took over for the Macoutes, defending the old order and suppressing the people. So the struggle continued, and the masses forced four more governments out over the next five years. At the same time, there was still no revolutionary change, U.S. imperialism still dominated Haiti, the same reactionary classes dominated the state and the economy, and the people's condition got even worse. All along, more open Duvalierists were regrouping and preparing a comeback, even as Aristide won the presidential election at the beginning of 1991. And seven months after Aristide took office the army carried out a brutal military coup. □

Welfare and Slavefare in Michigan

One year after Michigan eliminated General Assistance and Job Start programs—cold-bloodedly throwing tens of thousands of poor, struggling people adrift to “fend for themselves”—the state has launched another round of cruel attacks on people on welfare. On October 1 Michigan passed a new welfare law called “To Strengthen Michigan’s Families.” The centerpiece of the program is something called “workfare” which forces people receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to take a job or volunteer work assigned to them. If they refuse or are unable to follow the requirements—even if people are unable to take the assigned jobs because of lack of childcare or transportation—their welfare will be cut.

This measure is part of the vicious war on the poor that has been geared up during the Reagan/Bush years. But it also gives an idea of the attacks on basic people that will continue if Clinton gets into the White House. Clinton was one of the main forces behind a 1988 federal law that has paved the way for “workfare” measures in Michigan and other states. The Michigan measure goes several steps beyond the 1988 law—the state got special approval from the Bush administration to go ahead with it since it violates the federal government’s own rules about welfare rights.

The new Michigan welfare rules call for:

- people receiving AFDC to sign “workfare contracts” pledging that they will work, do volunteer labor, or take classes at least 20 hours a week
- those signing the contract to report to the Department of Social Services (DSS) every 3 to 6 months on how they are fulfilling it
- people who refuse to sign a contract to be placed in a mandatory job bank, with a penalty of a 90-day halt or \$100/month cut in benefits for refusal to take an assigned task

Still before the legislature is a “learn-fare” measure to cut parents’ monthly AFDC checks by \$25 per child if their kindergarten or elementary school kids skip classes more than two days a month.

Punishment for the Poor

Michigan officials claim that the new workfare contract is “voluntary.” And the state says that those who do not sign might get their names placed into the Michigan Opportunities and Skills Training (MOST) program and job bank. But MOST, the state’s biggest jobs program for welfare recipients, now has a two-year waiting list and has had its staff cut under Gov. Engler’s administration to only twenty workers trying to serve over 200,000 AFDC recipients. People in the MOST program are required to take any job assigned them, and no childcare or transportation is provided. If an AFDC recipient turns down a MOST job, they can lose their benefits for



November 11, 1991—Homeless activists confront police at Jeffries housing project, Detroit.

90 days or have them reduced by \$100 a month. Clearly, the MOST program will be used mainly as a way to throw people off welfare, not to find them decent jobs.

Some people say that the “workfare” programs should really be called “slavefare.” This summer, President Bush announced proposals that would allow companies to hire welfare recipients at wages below the federal “minimum” of \$4.25 an hour. The state government’s claim that there is “decent work” for those willing to work is nothing but a cruel hoax. Officially there are 415,000 unemployed in Michigan and the number is rising—and this doesn’t even include those who long ago gave up job-hunting as hopeless.

The Welfare Rights Organization has begun advising people in Michigan to refuse to sign the workfare contract. The head of the group told the RW, “It’s punishment for victims of poverty, that’s all it is. The same thing warmed over.”

The Michigan measures come on top of a series of cuts that have already hit people hard. In 1991 alone, Michigan cut AFDC benefits by 12.6 percent, cut crisis payments to AFDC families to stop utility shutoffs by one-third, and eliminated AFDC special needs payments, including for winter heating and pregnant women. The maximum allowed payment to a family of three has fallen to \$459 a month.

Right now more than 230,000 adults and 400,000 children (about 18 percent of all children in the state) depend on AFDC to survive. Some won’t even apply for or renew AFDC because the requirements will be too difficult to meet. Most of those who stop getting AFDC will be taken off of Medicaid, too. Many more families will

become homeless after their benefits are cut or reduced.

“The System Stinks!”

The RW went to a couple of state welfare offices in Detroit to talk to the people who are being victimized by the welfare cuts. Nobody we spoke with had been officially informed of the new measures that took effect on October 1. Those who knew about it got the information through newspapers or word of mouth.

The first woman who spoke up shouted her anger as the office honchoes and security cops scurried around nervously. “The system stinks! They don’t have no jobs here, and the workers don’t know how to talk to nobody. It’s bad, the whole system. They know there ain’t no jobs, and these people out here ain’t attending to peoples’ needs.” She said she was cut off AFDC benefits this year, leaving her and her three children with next to nothing to live on. She is not able to work, yet the DSS refuses to help her.

A young Black woman said about the threat of cuts in payments: “That’s gonna make these people be out on the streets even more...It’s gonna be a riot.” She and her four kids live with her sister and mother, and she receives some welfare to supplement her mother’s pay as a hospital laundry worker.

In a TV speech Gov. Engler had said that “this contract will change welfare from a handout to a helping hand, encouraging independence and self-reliance, while building self-esteem.” These words brought out much bitterness from the people.

Tanya, an 18-year-old who relies on AFDC to support her three sons, replied, “He’s saying it’s a handout—but people who can’t work, who have kids, how will they take care of them? They don’t give you enough to support all the problems and bills. They treat you like dirt, like you ain’t nobody. Heck, it ain’t coming out their pocket, but they’ll cut you off no problem.”

A man angered by Engler’s quote said, “It’s very easy for a person in his position to say what it would do for our self-esteem, but it’s hard to really have self-esteem about yourself when it’s very hard for you to make one day meet the next day, when you have to worry about whether you’re gonna have enough food here, when you have to worry about whether your gas is gonna be turned off. And now it’s so tight, even when you want to get a job they want to check your credit history. And a lot of my people don’t have credit. You know, it’s a whole lot of strikes against you. And this here may be even worse.”

“It’s a myth that Black African-Americans are lazy and don’t want to work,” the man continued. “There’s college graduates coming out here that can’t even get a job, let alone a person that’s unskilled and undereducated. It’s even hard to get a minimum-wage job. They keep

hollerin’ about there are jobs out here. True enough there may be some jobs, but they’re way out in the suburbs, okay? Now if you don’t have a car, you cannot get to that place. Even if it’s public transportation, if you don’t have the money, you cannot get to those places.”

Waiting to be called inside for his welfare appointment, Duane, 35 years old, predicted that the new measures will be used to force people like him into dead-end jobs. People will be set to work on roads and sanitation, but be paid minimum or subminimum wage for it. Others will be forced to do babysitting and other forms of unpaid labor. “If it’s menial work or if it’s work that doesn’t actually prepare you for a ‘90s skill,” he said, “then in effect it’s not work, it’s you being used. Once you do that, you automatically got a substandard class of people that you can get to work for anything.”

Gov. Engler has said that Michigan’s new “workfare” measures represent “a fundamental restructuring of our state’s social services to break the cycle of dependency.” But as Duane pointed out, this new program is actually a sharper way for the welfare system to keep people down: “It’ll be more constrictive and less helpful to people trying to actually get off it. It’ll make it more controlling, more intrusive in people’s lives. For years, welfare for the most part has been a system that basically pays people to stay out of the job market and to maintain a low level of education. Welfare always did serve one purpose, it paid people to basically be docile and dormant.”

The new law in Michigan has not yet been widely publicized or well exposed. A few people we talked with even felt that the workfare plan might do them some good. But what happened after General Assistance and Job Start programs were wiped out last year shows what the system has in store. Over 82,000 unmarried adults—many unable to work due to poor health, addictions or lack of education—were hurled from the “safety net” last October and told to “Get a job or hit the road, Jack.” Many people died as a result, including a grandmother who had to ration her heart medicine when her G.A. was cut. A recent Wayne State University survey of people dropped from G.A. found:

- the number who reported going without food for a day or more was about 50 percent in cities like Detroit and Flint, and 40 percent in rural areas;
- fewer than 10 percent in the big cities had found a job, and only half of those were earning minimum wage or better;
- in some cities, about 40 percent had been evicted from their living quarters, many ending up homeless.

Slavery Days for Women

Tanya said she was angry that the state hasn’t increased child care services as it starts telling thousands of poor single women with children to go to work, go to school or get off welfare. She has just begun daily adult ed classes downtown and has had to scramble to find someone to babysit her youngest child. “My baby can’t go to daycare. He’s 1, but he has breathing problems, and they don’t want to take the responsibility of giving him breathing treatments every two hours. It’s put everybody in a bind. You just not gonna up and leave anybody with your kids.”

Four years ago, Michigan became the 38th state to outlaw Medicaid funding of abortions. The number of unwanted pregnancies has soared. A growing number of doctors—over 80 percent in the Detroit suburbs—refuse to give any care to mothers on Medicaid. And last year, Michigan totally eliminated its contribution to the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). The official infant mortality rate for Black children in Michigan is now 21.6 per thousand, almost three times that for whites.

To Tanya all this feels like the jaws of a vise closing in on women: no abortions, no



Winter 1991-1992—Unemployed welder in Detroit living in makeshift tent.



Woman and her children whose welfare was cut.

child care, poor health care—and now no welfare unless you jump through their hoops. “They cut out paying for abortions,” she said, “there’s many, many kids in foster homes. They’re not getting a doctor, and you’re bringing more unwanted kids into this world. They don’t want to help you take care of them, so how else is that baby gonna get took care of? It’s either gonna be left dead, left in an abandoned house, or something gonna happen to that baby. Even if they did want to keep it, they can’t support it. Now here comes Protective Services and they blame it on the parent, when it really sometimes not be the parent’s fault.”

Tanya also spoke out against the reactionary “family values” offensive coming from Bush, Clinton and other ruling class politicians: “I don’t agree. I do *not* agree. I’m a single parent and my kids are fine. If you have a baby, say the father beat you—so you supposed to stay with him because it’s ‘the law’? They’re male chauvinist, that’s what they is. They used to not do nothing about husbands beating wives. And that’s what they trying to bring back—they trying to bring back slavery days.” Then she added, with a defiant laugh, “But it’s NOT gonna happen!”

An Angry New Generation

Some state politicians in Michigan are for even harsher rules that would cut benefits *immediately* if someone refuses to sign a “contract.” But some liberals worry that the “workfare” rules may push the anger among the people to a breaking point. Speaking about the new law, a state legislator from Detroit warned, “If they are not

careful, we’re going to witness a Los Angeles-style rebellion among the poor right here in Michigan.”

The U.S. government began AFDC in the depths of the Great Depression in the 1930s. As the brother at the Detroit welfare office said, the ruling class has seen welfare as a means to keep people on the bottom “docile and dormant.” But now the government at federal and state levels are waging a massive assault on welfare programs. This is a reflection of the severe economic and political crisis gripping U.S. imperialism. The politicians try to hide their attacks on the poor with fake concern that welfare traps people in poverty and breaks up families. But their “reforms” are not aimed at helping people get out of poverty. They are meant to drastically cut the number of people receiving welfare, reduce the amount of benefits, and to increase the government’s ability to control and keep down the basic people. It has already led to great suffering and will lead to even more. These attacks make clear that there is no future for oppressed people under this system—the only hope is revolution.

The way the oppressed brothers and sisters rose up in L.A. this spring gave people all over a lot to think about. One man in a welfare office on Detroit’s west side—a 42-year-old veteran of the Detroit rebellion of 1967—said, “The signal that they sent out in L.A. when everything came to a head—yes, it’s very possible that it could happen here in Michigan, and anywhere else. It didn’t happen this time but it doesn’t say that it won’t. This generation out here now is more angrier than my generation.” □

Clinton’s War on the Poor

Bill Clinton has made welfare a big issue of his campaign. One of his TV ads says, “It’s time to make welfare what it should be—a second chance, not a way of life.” The ad claims that as governor of Arkansas, Clinton helped move 17,000 poor people off welfare and into productive work. But scratch the surface of these claims and you will find an ugly reality oozing out. Bill Clinton has been a leader of the war on the poor, not only in Arkansas but across the U.S.

Governor Clinton outright eliminated Arkansas’ General Assistance (G.A.) program in 1990. And the AFDC welfare payment in Arkansas for a family of three is now only \$204/month, one of the lowest rates in the country. The maximum state benefit for AFDC plus foodstamps for a family of three is only \$496/month, less than 53 percent of the official poverty level.

In 1983 Gov. Clinton oversaw the enactment of Project Success, a state program that gives AFDC recipients two weeks of job-hunting instruction and then sends them out on their own to seek work. He claims that in four years, 17,000 people found jobs and got off AFDC and food stamps. What he doesn’t mention is that the number of people on welfare increased anyway, and that many of the 17,000 later returned to welfare when their jobs proved temporary or unsuitable. One report found that three years after going through the Project Success program, the average participant was earning only \$1,422 a year compared to \$1,085 for other welfare recipients.

Many of these jobs were dangerous, slave-wage work in road crews, plastics factories, chicken-processing plants, and so forth. Clinton has promoted Arkansas’ “right-to-work” (anti-union) law in order to attract corporations to the state, which has the fifth lowest manufacturing wages in the country. The National Safe Workplace Institute ranks Arkansas worst of the 50 states in accident prevention, health and safety enforcement and workers’ compensation.

Despite all this, Clinton’s Project Success was labeled a “success.” The project helped pave the way for the Family Support Act of 1988, a federal law passed during the Reagan administration. This act—which requires each state to move at least 20 percent of eligible welfare recipients into school or job training by 1995—has

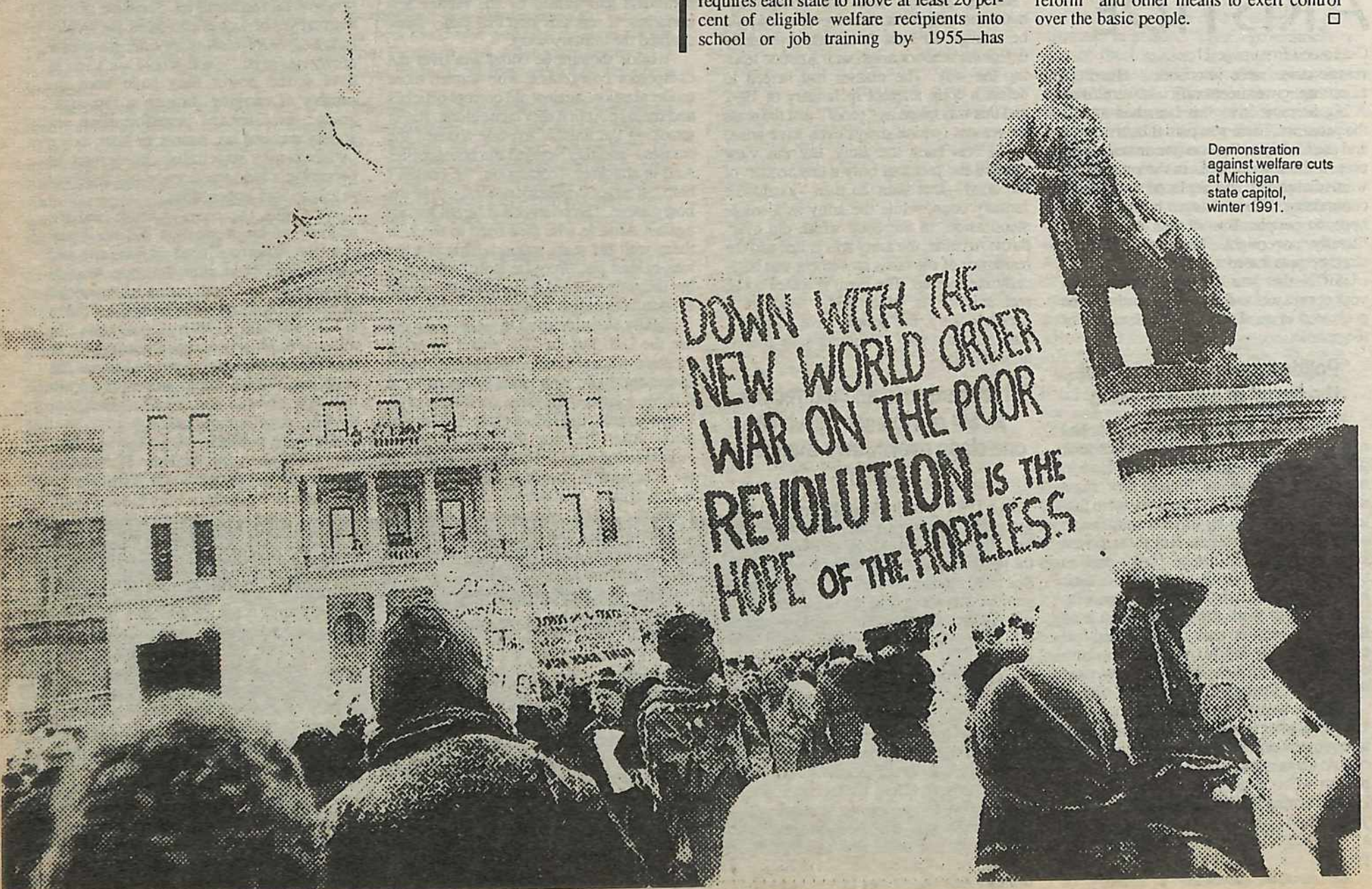
brought about the new “workfare” initiatives in Michigan, New Jersey, Wisconsin, California, and other states.

Clinton was one of the main authors of the 1988 act, along with Democratic New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Then, as head of the National Governors Association, Clinton brokered an alliance between liberal and conservative governors to back him in lobbying for the bill’s passage. The law is one of the chief instruments of what ruling circles call “the new paternalism”—a movement to exert greater control over and repression of what they consider “the dangerous element”—the people at the bottom of society. A key target of this “new paternalism” is “unwed mothers.” Prominent conservatives like Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute are now calling for the outright elimination of AFDC welfare in order to force poor women into traditional marriages and minimum-wage jobs.

Clinton has implemented the 1988 federal law even more harshly in Arkansas than required. Only people with children less than 1 year old are exempted from “workfare,” instead of 3 years old as allowed by the law. (Even George Bush has not advocated this.) And during his presidential campaign, Clinton has called for a *nationwide two-year limit on welfare benefits*. He talks of giving welfare recipients access to education and training programs, childcare and transportation for up to two years—after that “they’ll have to take a job in the private sector, or start earning their way through community service.” (Bush supports the same policy but with a welfare cutoff after four years instead of two years.) Clinton says he eventually wants to see an end to welfare programs altogether.

Clinton has said, “I live in a state where we can fine parents if they won’t show up when their kids are in trouble at school. A lot of people think that’s harsh, but it’s a little statement that there are some things the Government can’t do if people aren’t willing to do for themselves.”

The war on the poor is a “bipartisan” effort. All of the presidential candidates and key politicians from both mainstream parties are trying to prove that they are the ones most capable of using “welfare reform” and other means to exert control over the basic people. □



Demonstration against welfare cuts at Michigan state capitol, winter 1991.

Columbus 500 Years:

During the last year the rulers of the Western world have been building up the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in the New World. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on reenactments, commemorations, monuments and films. This October 12, Columbus Day, was supposed to be the high point of all this celebration. Columbus's voyage marked a starting point of world capitalism and the beginning of European colonial domination of the world. This is what the ruling class wanted people to celebrate.

But throughout the U.S. and Latin America, Columbus Day was mainly a flop. Parades and commemorations were stopped by protests in some places. Indigenous people blocked highways in the Andes and marched by the thousands in Central America. Columbus statues were splattered with paint.

Everywhere, the ruling powers were on the defensive. One sign of this was an article in the *New York Times* titled "Schools Growing Harsher in Scrutiny of Columbus." In contrast to old textbooks that pictured Columbus as a hero, the *Times* noted, "On the 500th anniversary of his landfall in the New World, students across the nation are learning everything from skepticism to contempt for the explorer's exploits." At one school in Scarsdale, N.Y., a jury of seventh-grade students conducting a mock trial voted to declare Columbus a villain.

As the *RW* article "The True Story of the Columbus Invasion" by Mike Ely pointed out, "The proletariat and oppressed people

have nothing to celebrate on October 12. The Columbus anniversary is a celebration of mass murder, slavery, and conquest. More: it exalts the continuing oppression of billions of people today. Columbus is something only oppressors (or fools) could celebrate."

The following are some of the anti-Columbus protests that the *RW* has learned about.

Dominican Republic: Youth Rebel as Pope Praises Columbus

On Sunday, Oct. 11, Pope John Paul II held an open-air mass at the reactionary monument to Columbus built by the Dominican government. Thousands of poor families were evicted and had their homes bulldozed in order to clear the site for this monstrosity. The government spent \$70 million to \$250 million to build this concrete structure designed to project a huge cross high up into the clouds. The government built powerful new generators for the floodlights in the monument—while the masses have little or no electricity. The Dominican people call the monument *La Tumba*—the Tomb. In recent weeks there have been large demonstrations against the Columbus monument. At least two people have been killed when police fired at the protests.

In the mass, the Pope voiced some hypocritical regret about the killing of the protesters and the oppression of indigenous people. But his true views came out when he shamelessly praised Columbus as "the great admiral" who spread Christianity to "all the roads and paths." And he declared, "Let the seeds planted five centuries ago make all the spaces of your life fertile." In reality, what Columbus planted were seeds of capitalist plunder and murder. When Columbus landed on the island of Hispaniola—which is today divided into Haiti on the western half and the Dominican Republic on the east—there were a quarter of a million Native inhabitants. After several years of rule by the Columbus family, half this population was wiped out. By

1548 fewer than 500 Indians remained on the island.

Youth in the capital city of Santo Domingo were not going for this bloodsuckers' talk from the Pope and the government. In defiance of a harsh crackdown by the authorities in preparation for the Pope's visit, the youth fought the police in the streets. In the poor districts, protesters piled up garbage and tires, built burning barricades, and stoned police cars. One youth with a bandanna, interviewed by a radio station as he stood in front of a smoking

utility pole lying across an intersection, said, "We are protesting 500 years of extermination of a race, 500 years of hunger and massacres."

Native People Protest in Latin America

Along the Andes mountains, protests by Native people during the past few weeks have hit the governments of Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia. In Ecuador 5,000 Quechua-speaking Indians rallied at the

Correction

The article in *RW* #667 on the aftermath of Hurricane Andrew refers to the hurricane zone and the area of military occupation as "South Florida." Actually, South Florida is a much larger area, running from Palm Beach down to the Florida Keys, with a population of about 4 million. The hurricane zone is South Dade, about 20 miles south of Miami, with a population of about 300,000 to 400,000.



Indigenous Salvadoran people march through San Salvador to protest Columbus Day celebrations, October 11.

ARISTIDE

Continued from page 11

reactionaries were imprisoned. Hundreds of corrupt government officials were fired. A big literacy drive was launched among the peasants. There was partial land reform, and the Chefs Du Section (the armed enforcers of the big landlords in the rural areas) were disbanded and replaced by elected committees. These changes brought much hope to people. But all this came apart literally overnight because Aristide's strategy was based on the dangerous ILLUSION that you can share power with your oppressors and that they can simply be pressured to go along with the demands of the people.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" — Mao

Aristide came to office, but he never had real power. He won an election which took place under the protection of the Haitian army and the United States. The mass struggle and Aristide's popularity were factors in the decision by the reactionaries to allow him to take office. But these forces kept control of the armed forces and so political power remained firmly in their hands. They let Aristide into the government, tried to work through him and used the time to regroup their own battered forces. When they felt his role was in sharp contradiction to their interests, they used their power, their guns, to get rid of him.

Aristide was a long-time opponent of the army. But after coming to power, he started to compromise with these reactionary forces. At his inauguration he shocked his supporters when he turned to the chief of the Haitian armed forces and declared: "I love you, General Abraham," and then called for a "marriage between the army and the people."

As Aristide promoted a strategy of

"sharing power" with the bourgeoisie, many thought that a mass movement would be enough to beat back and eventually defeat the reactionaries, with Aristide leading the way. The masses had helped to defeat a coup attempt in January of 1992 and this was taken as "proof" that the mass movement (which didn't even have arms) could beat back the army. But this view ignored the fact that only a tiny section of the army—less than 20 men—joined the January coup, while the army as a whole stood aside. In the coup which did overthrow Aristide, the army was united and the resistance of the mass movement was basically ineffective. The coup revealed some real truths: As Mao said, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." And as Lenin said, "Without state power, all is illusion."

"A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another"

—Mao

In a 1985 speech, Aristide said: "In any group of men and women, however good or bad, there are always factions. Factions are the basis of change." Aristide's view here is that the masses must work through, maneuver among, and try to influence the ruling classes, rather than overthrow them. It is a view that treats the masses and their struggle as a "bargaining chip" or "tool" for influencing the ruling class, rather than, as Mao said, "the motive force in making history."

Aristide thought he could get the army to back him up or be neutral, when he went after the feudal and Macoute forces in the government. In return for their support, he called upon the people to stop struggling against the army. When the army remained loyal to the old order which they were an integral part of, Aristide tried to build a new military unit which was under his personal

command and trained by the French imperialists. It was this step that many think sparked the military coup.

Aristide thought he could win over the comprador bourgeoisie, who wanted more modernization, against old corrupt officials and feudals. At first they came along. But in attacking the feudals Aristide aroused the masses—and this terrified the bourgeoisie! And in attacking "corruption" he couldn't help but target the decadent lifestyles of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie began to turn against Aristide who then tried to threaten them with his mass support. This is what was behind his "Pere Le Brun" speech—but this only succeeded in uniting the whole Haitian bourgeoisie behind the coup.

Finally, Aristide tried to unite with and use the U.S. But the U.S. ended up using Aristide in its efforts to weaken the feudal forces and build up a more "modern" and reliable regime. And when Aristide was no longer usable, the U.S. simply tossed him aside. After the coup the U.S. supported Aristide, but once it became clear that all the reactionary classes inside Haiti were united against Aristide, the U.S. shifted its position. They denounced Aristide's "human rights violations" and began looking for a solution to the crisis that would not include a major role for Aristide.

"Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolution"

—Mao

Aristide's intentions were to help the Haitian people, yet in reality he led the people into a devastating defeat. How could this be? The answer is that while Aristide sympathizes with the proletariat and the poor peasants, he politically represents sections of the middle classes in Haiti. These forces hate the oppression brought down on their country by imperialism and feudalism, but their class position makes it difficult for them to fully unleash the mass struggle and they fear an all-out confronta-

tion with the reactionaries. Speaking of representatives of such class forces, the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* says: "Even where such forces have seized power they have been incapable of carrying through a thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later, being overthrown by imperialism or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with imperialists."

Even after the coup, Aristide and the majority of his supporters did not break with the dangerous road of illusions and capitulation. Right after the coup Aristide appealed to the Organization of American States (an organization basically run in the U.S.'s interests) to intervene against this military. In Haiti people were struggling to develop revolutionary resistance to the coup, but Aristide called on people to confine themselves to nonviolent resistance in the face of vicious massacres.

But there is another road for countries like Haiti, the road of New Democratic Revolution and people's war. This is what the Communist Party of Peru is successfully carrying out today in Peru. This Maoist road is to rely on the masses of people, especially the workers and poor peasants, and forge a communist vanguard party that can lead a people's army. The role of a people's army is not to "pressure" the reactionaries, secure a good negotiating position, or ensure free elections. It is to build up the armed strength of the people, starting in the countryside and moving from there to the cities, until there is enough strength to crush the reactionary army and completely overthrow the government. This is a difficult road filled with twists and turns and much sacrifice by the people. But it is based on reality and not on illusions. And it is aimed at really liberating the people from the grip of imperialism and all oppressors. This is the only road which will lead to real liberation for the Haitian people. □

A Day of Resistance

Andean village of Pillaro as part of nationwide protests called "500 Years of Resistance." Indians using tree trunks and rocks have blocked the Pan American Highway.

Thousands of indigenous people from seven countries marched in Mexico City. In San Salvador, Native people marched to commemorate the 1932 massacre when government troops killed 30,000 peasants who had risen up in rebellion. In Guatemala hundreds of Indians staged an all-night vigil.

Marching on the U.S.-Mexico Border

October 10—Over 4,000 marched to the U.S.-Mexico border in San Ysidro, California near San Diego to commemorate "500 Years of Raza Resistance" and to protest oppression of Native and Latino peoples in the U.S. and Latin America. The action was sponsored by the National Chicago Moratorium Committee and the San Diego Raza Rights Coalition. Students came from all over the West—most were part of MECHA and other Chicano organizations. There was a large contingent of *dry-waleros*—immigrant construction workers who have been on a strike in Southern California since June. And there were some people from the San Diego area who felt they had to protest the brutal treatment of immigrants by the border patrol. A contingent to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán was organized by the International Emergency Committee.

There was much anger at police and Migra terror against Latino people. Chants of "Raza sí! Migra no!" and "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us!" rang out. Other signs said: "Columbus Was a Murderer," "U.S. Out of Latin America," "Free Leonard Peltier." Refuse & Resist! activists had a banner reading "Stop the U.S. Government War on Immigrants." There was strong support for the struggle of all Native people.

The contingent to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán created a sensation. Hundreds took up the chant, "Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán." A group of immigrants heard the contingent going by and ran out of a store to shout, "Viva Sendero!" Others shouted "Long Live the Quechua People." Many people signed the call of the International Emergency Committee—including a woman from the Peace and Freedom Party who wrote, "Without endorsing all his politics, I demand humane treatment for Guzmán." A Native activist from Mexico said, "Our people in Peru are as important as the people here. We are the same, whether we are Incas, Aztecs or Chichimecas." A Mexican activist said, "I think everybody should wear striped shirts in solidarity with Gonzalo. They were trying to put him down, but instead he gained more recognition from us. Gonzalo wants to free the people of Peru, and we will help him in any way we can. He's a revolutionary, and he has to be fully respected. He has human rights, and he has revolutionary rights. As a Mexican, I support him and I will protect him as much as I can."

Anti-Columbus Actions Around the U.S.

Here briefly are some of the anti-Columbus protests in other U.S. cities.

Denver: The organizers of the traditional Columbus Day parade had to cancel it because of fears of disruption by protesters. The American Indian Movement led more than 500 people in a march and rally at Civic Center Park where a scene of an Indian village burned down by U.S. soldiers was put up.

San Francisco: On Sunday, Oct. 11, a planned reenactment of the Columbus landing at Aquatic Park had to be canceled when it was blocked by protesters in boats who called themselves the "peace navy." In the afternoon thousands rallied at Civic Center. About 300 people from that rally—radical youth, students, Native people, ac-

tivists with the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru and others—went to North Beach to disrupt the official parade. They climbed on floats and fought with reactionaries. About 40 people were arrested. Earlier in the week a City Hall reenactment of the coronation of Queen Isabella—the Spanish queen who financed the voyage of Columbus—was hit by loud protest. And through the weekend thousands of people attended the "500 Years of Survival of Indigenous People" concerts at Shoreline Theater where Jackson Browne, Carlos Santana, John Lee Hooker and others performed.

Chicago: About 700 people participated in an alternative parade to "Celebrate 500 Years of Resistance." Some of the protesters also went to the official city parade to demonstrate. The Women of All Red Nations conducted a vigil as the parade went by. Two people were arrested for staging a die-in to slow down the parade. An AIM representative said, "There will be no Columbus Day parade in this city next year."

St. Petersburg, Florida: Protesters prevented members of The Sons of Italy and Knights of Columbus from placing a wreath at the base of a Columbus statue.

Nevada: 3,000 protesters from twelve countries came to the Nevada Test Site for an anti-Columbus rally that climaxed eleven days of protest against nuclear testing on the Western Shoshone Reservation. Cancer rates among the Western Shoshone tribe are 42 percent higher than the national average.

Minneapolis: The Columbus statue at the state capitol has been hit with red paint and graffiti reading "murderer" and "slavemaster."

Philadelphia: A new Columbus monu-



Photo: Special to the RWOR

San Diego, October 10



Photo: Special to the RWOR

Contingent to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán in the San Diego march, San Diego, October 10.



Photo: Special to the RWOR

San Diego, October 10

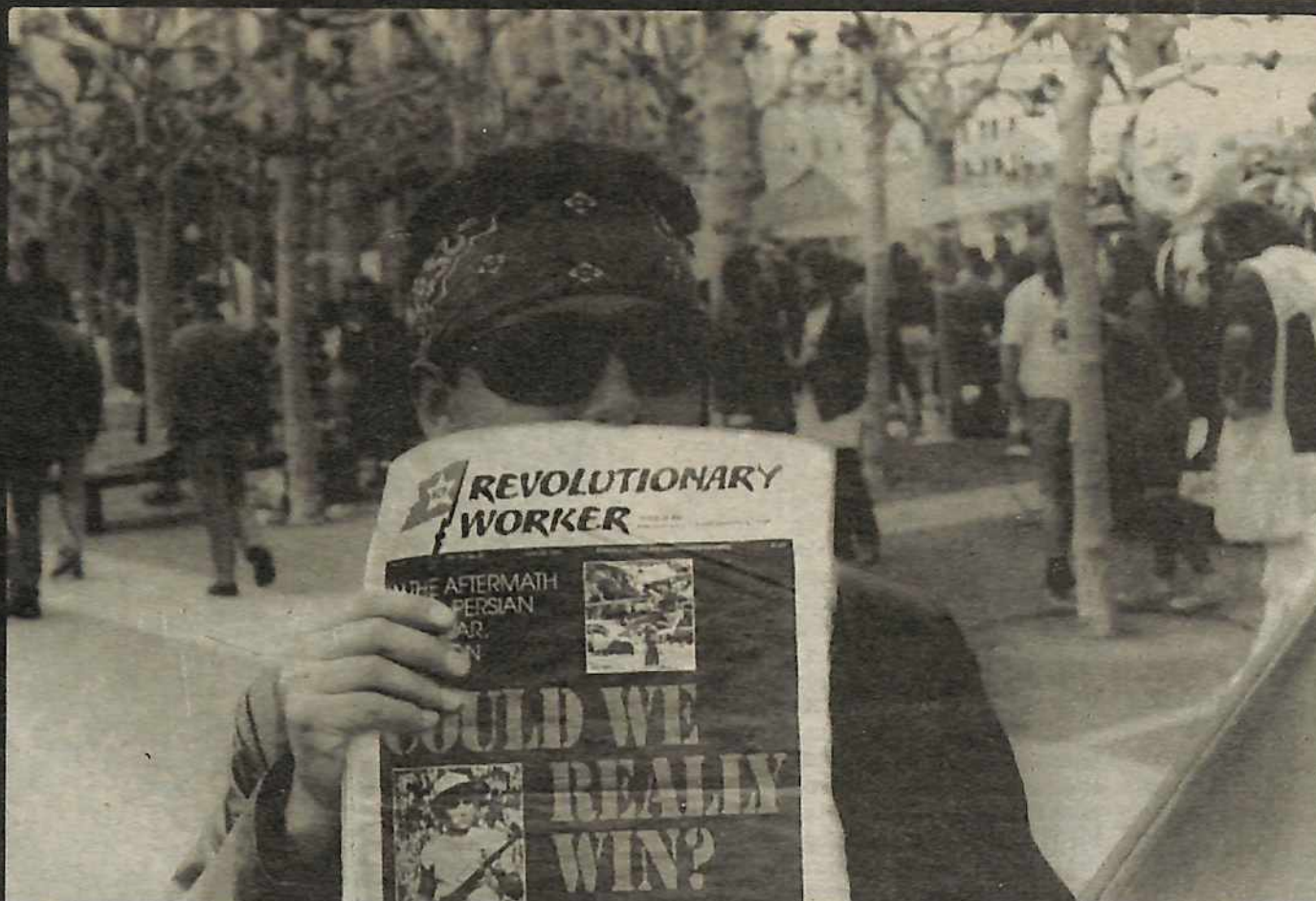


Photo: Mara

Chicago, October 12

ment that was scheduled to be unveiled at the close of Columbus Day festivities was splashed with red paint.

Amherst: University of Massachusetts students staged a week-long sit-in at an administration office to protest Columbus Day. □



INFORMATION AS WEAPONRY!

if you want to know the truth about the People's War in Peru...If you want to get the latest news on the international campaign to "Free Chairman Gonzalo!"...If you want to know how to join the fight to prevent U.S. intervention in Peru...and MORE, then you've got to subscribe to the *Revolutionary Worker*.

READ, SUBSCRIBE, DISTRIBUTE!

WHY SUBSCRIBE? Because you need to get the *RW* every week to make sure you don't miss a single hidden story, secret upsurge, censored exposure, special feature or interview. You've got to know from week to week what's the mood and the actions of the basic people and all those taking on the powers.

Subscriptions strengthen and support the *RW*. This paper is supported *only* by its readers. And this means that readers have to take responsibility for financially supporting the *RW* and building its readership.

Building the subscription base of the *RW* helps to develop the revolutionary movement. By becoming a subscriber, you become part of a network of politically conscious people who know what to do. Regular subscribers means strong lines of communication that can quickly get the word out to many thousands of people.

GET ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TIP!

Now Available: Copies of Special Section of RW #675: SOMETHING NEW IN THE NEW WORLD: A REPORT ON THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU

Today the U.S. government and their allies in the Peruvian regime are celebrating the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, the leader of the Peru revolution and Chairman of the PCP. It is now more important than ever for the people in the U.S. to learn the truth about the revolution in Peru, to defend and support Chairman Gonzalo, and to stand with the oppressed people in that country against the corrupt and vicious Fujimori regime that is backed and guided by the U.S. military and government. This special pull-out section of RW #675 provides people with an informative and exciting picture of the people's war in Peru. Copies of this special section are now available. Read it, discuss it, get bundles of it out where you work, go to school, and in your community.

Orders can be placed at: RCP Publications Public Relations Office, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, Phone: (312) 227-4066, FAX: (312) 227-4497.

- 1-10 50 cents each plus 50 cents shipping
- 10-100 30 cents each plus \$1 shipping
- 100 or more 25 cents each plus \$1 per 100 shipping

Subscribe to the Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario

- English Edition Spanish Edition
- One Year - \$40 3 months - \$12
- One year Library or Institution in the U.S. - \$52
- I want to buy a subscription for a prisoner (\$40 for one year)
- I want to become a monthly sustainer of the *RW/OR*.
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!



SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER:

- 6 issues for \$5 I want to be an *RW/OR* Distributor. Send me my Distributor Kit and _____ copies per week. (____ in English, ____ in Spanish)

Name _____ Phone _____
 Address _____ City, State, Zip _____

Send this to the *RW* at address below.

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 510/848-1196
- District of Columbia: c/o Revolution Books, P.O. Box 21511, 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, P.O. Box 5333, 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 313/276-2235
- 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