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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Report from

JERICHO '98



Washington, D.C., March 27

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RWOR photo



As of March 29, 1998 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for...

5 Years, 166 Days

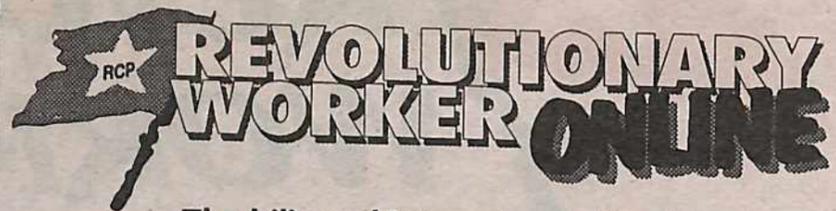
In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and

relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. Fujimori changed Peru's constitution to legalize the death penalty, which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

Fujimori has repeatedly claimed that Chairman Gonzalo has made a call for negotiations from prison. In this situation, what possible excuse can Fujimori now offer for continuing to deny Comrade Gonzalo independent contact with lawyers, doctors and friendly and neutral visitors from outside the prison in a way that meets the basic international standards for treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war? It is vitally important for people in Peru and around the world to hear what Chairman Gonzalo's views are from Chairman Gonzalo himself—directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet and talk directly with him.

Support the People's War in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!
Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo,
Fight to Break the Isolation!

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Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
 Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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Washington, D.C.

Report from Jericho '98

"This is a dream come true for many brothers and sisters who are behind those walls, who for years have struggled to try and get the message out to everyone that this country does in fact have political prisoners and prisoners of war."

Geronimo Ji Jaga, former political prisoner, at the Jericho 98

Their only crime is that they dared to rise up, dared to fight against oppression. They are deprived of their freedom, cut off from their families and comrades, locked up in the punishment cells and sensory deprivation units of this system. And, in an additional outrage, their very existence is denied by the government of the United States. "We have no political prisoners," the U.S. rulers say—while their judges and jailers and parole boards slam the thick steel prison doors on dozens and dozens of men and women who are held for their beliefs and actions in the cause of liberation.

The names of some of these brothers and sisters are known and painted on the walls of the ghettos, barrios and reservations. There is Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Leonard Peltier, Sundiata Acoli, the MOVE 9, the 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters, and many more.

On March 27, the day of Jericho 98, the names and stories of these imprisoned brothers and sisters were raised in the streets of Washington, before the halls of power.

Thousands of people gathered from all over the country to demand that the U.S. government stop its hypocrisy—that this government admit that it holds political prisoners—and to demand that these fighters be freed to walk again in the sunshine among the people.

March 27 was a fine day.

Word about this Jericho movement had spread—through the hard work of many activists, by word of mouth, and over the Internet. Between 5,000 and 7,000 people took part during the course of the day. They came from Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, Kansas, Nebraska, Montreal, Hawaii, Minnesota, Orlando, Florida, Indiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Atlanta and Washington, D.C.

Standing there, looking over the crowd, it was so easy to feel hopeful and proud. Some people say that the fighters in prison are forgotten, some people say that the oppressed of different nationalities and colors can't unite, some people say this generation doesn't care about liberation—but such people shoulda been there with us in DC for Jericho 98. Because on that day, the streets of the system's capital saw a march filled with students and youth of all nationalities, marching together, fast and spirited—



Washington, D.C., March 27

taking in the nods of older activists—taking their stand with the political prisoners and with the liberation struggle. They came from New York's Hunter College and Columbia University in New York; North

Carolina's Appalachia College and the University of Colorado. And there were the high school students of DC—who had ditched their classes that day to stand with the struggle.



Washington, D.C., March 27

Thousands gathered in Malcolm X Park, and when they took off there was no mistaking what this was about. Pictures of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Leonard Peltier were held high for all to see. And with them the faces of the Puerto Rican fighters and the many other political prisoners. And freshly painted on the wall as we passed—*"Free All Political Prisoners!"*

What a mix this day created! Different revolutionary currents and radical trends marched together. A banner demanding freedom for Leonard Peltier was carried by members of a Native American contingent organized by Dennis Banks and Clyde Bellecourt. Youth from the Christian-pacifist Bruderhof dressed in their traditional blues marched next to Puerto Rican independentistas demanding freedom for their jailed comrades and their colonized country. Refuse & Resist! was there, and the Asians for Jericho. A contingent from the Revolutionary Communist Party/Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade was there to support the prisoners. Other contingents included the Nation of Islam, Workers World Party, Anti-Racist Action and a number of anarchist groups. The movement to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal made a strong showing.

Like Joshua at the legendary battle of Jericho, the marchers circled the citadel of their foes—marching around the White House several times blasting their message.

"Jericho is important because the United States government has for decades been able to avoid that issue by saying that they have no political prisoners."

Herman Ferguson,
New Afrikan Liberation Front

In Lafayette Park, Chief Billy Tyac opened the rally, in the name of the Piscataway people who originally inhabited this area. "This is Piscataway Indian land," he said. "I wish to welcome everyone who came here today to fight for the political prisoners."

Esperanza Martel from Pro Libertad declared: "Being a revolutionary is not a crime!" And over the next few hours, people took the platform to read the names of the political prisoners, to perform cultural works in their honor and to denounce the government that unjustly keeps them imprisoned. Many of those who spoke were themselves former political prisoners—and several times, the crowd pressed forward to carefully listen to what they had to say.

The two co-organizers of Jericho 98

Continued on page 4



Washington, D.C., March 27

Report from Jericho '98

Continued from page 3

spoke: Herman Ferguson and Safiyah Bukhari. Other speakers included: Lavina White, elder of the Haida Nation in British Columbia, Canada; Angela Davis; Chokwe Lumumba, Chairperson, New African Peoples Organization; former political prisoner Dr. Alan Berkman; Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement; Rev. Lucius Walker, Pam Africa, International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia; Ali Bey Hassan, Panther 21; Kathleen Cleaver; Ramona Africa of MOVE; Benjamin Mohammed (Ben Chavis) for the Nation of Islam; Julia Wright, journalist; Bob Doyle, lawyer for Dhoruba bin Wahad and other political prisoners; Fred Ho, musician and activist; Imari Obadele, Republic of New Afrika; Attorney Michael Tarif Warren; and newly freed political prisoner Geronimo Ji Jaga. Family members of several political prisoners spoke, and representatives of several prisoner defense committees.

Long-time activist Yuri Kochiyama was honored from the stage. And statements were read from former political prisoners Assata Shakur and Dhoruba bin Wahad, and from Silvia Baraldini, who is still held in U.S. prison.

In a message to the march, RCP spokesperson Carl Dix wrote: "We have to raise public awareness of the situation of these political prisoners to a whole new level. We have to let our oppressors know



Oakland, March 27

that they can't get away with criminalizing and isolating these fighters against the system."

March 27—JERICO 98 in Washington—on this day thousands demanded amnesty for the political prisoners, and sent a message of support to the imprisoned fighters that we have their backs, we are spreading the word about their situation and we are fighting for their freedom. □

Jericho '98 in the City of Angels

LOS ANGELES. Friday March 27, over 100 marched and rallied in solidarity with Jericho '98 at the Criminal Courts Building. The action also focused stopping the state from putting Geronimo Ji Jaga back behind bars. One speaker pointed out, "This is a Hall of Injustice. It is not a Hall of Justice. This is a hall where people came to go to prison." The Criminal Courts Building is where Geronimo Pratt was railroaded—framed up on false murder charges because he was a leader of the Black Panther Party. (L.A. District Attorney Gil Garcetti recently appealed the dismissal of charges against Geronimo.)

An Asian woman who came down from U.C. Santa Barbara with about 20 other students was struck by the diversity of the crowd: "Look at all the different colors here." There were representatives from Peace and Freedom Party, supporters of the RCP, Workers World Party, Refuse & Resist!, United Negro Improvement Association, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Project Islamic Hope, People Against Racist Terror, Kwaanza People of Color, Native Americans from the Redwood Nation, October 22nd Coalition, National Association of Brothers and Sisters In & Out. People told the *RW* that they had been hearing about Jericho '98 for months, and some came from outlying areas. Many signs carried the names of political prisoners, and there was a reading of the names during the rally. Joey Johnson, notorious flagburner and supporter of the RCP read a statement by Carl Dix on Jericho '98



Oakland, March 27

Berkeley Students Walk Out for Jericho

300 people rallied at noon on March 27 at the federal building in downtown Oakland, California in solidarity with the Jericho 98 march in DC. 150 Berkeley High students marched up. They had walked out of school and marched eight miles to the rally. Speakers included Luis Talamantez of the San Quentin 6, and representatives of BAYAN, support organizations for Puerto Rican and Irish prisoners of war, the RCP-Bay Area, Young Comrades, and Workers World.

Jericho '98: Thoughts from Political Prisoners in Leavenworth

The Revolutionary Worker newspaper received this statement from political prisoners at Leavenworth. We are making it available to all participants of Jericho 98.

Jericho 98 Thoughts from Political Prisoners in Leavenworth

JERICO 98—as many people already know and we hope many more soon will know—is the nationwide March 27th rally in Washington DC, calling for the recognition and release of all political prisoners in America. In these remaining weeks before the rally, we'd like to make a specific appeal to all justice and freedom loving people to seriously make the, acknowledgedly costly and significant, effort to come to Washington on March 27.

Here are some of the principal reasons we think this rally is so important. By important we mean not only for us, the political prisoners, but for the Freedom Struggle overall.

1) America's political prisoners have been in captivity a long, long time. The approximately 200 political prisoners, and the fact that there is no complete listing of political prisoners is another sign of the lack of significant public awareness and low priority that many otherwise progressive and revolutionary organizations give to this issue, have all been locked up for 12, 15, 20, 25 and more years. For example, BLA and Black Panther Sundiata Acoli has been in prison for 25 years. Ruchell Magee, close comrade of long-ago assassinated author and revolutionary George Jackson, has been in prison for over 30 years! American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier has been in captivity for over 22 years. The 15 Puerto Rican independentistas have been behind walls for 18 years. North American social justice activist Bill Dunne has 19 years in prison.

Two separate International Tribunals, empanelled under the authority of universally recognized international law and procedure, have heard the specific cases of over 100 American political prisoners and called for the U.S. government to release us. The "Special International Tribunal on the Violation of Human Rights of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in United States Prisons and Jails," convened and heard testimony in New York City in December 1990. The "International Tribunal of Indigenous Peoples' and Oppressed Nationalities in the USA," convened and heard testimony in San Francisco in October of 1992.

From Guatemala to Cuba to South Africa and many other countries, political prisoners are being released and the U.S. government has publicly and positively commented on these moves. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa is even pardoning the confessed police torturers and murderers of leaders like Steve Biko. Yet anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. continue to languish in prison, unseen, locked down and with no

foreseeable release dates for decades to come.

2) JERICO 98 is especially significant because it is the first national demonstration in support of political prisoners in the U.S. in modern history. This rally has the potential to make a major political impact on the government, the media, the public and even the international community. The larger the turnout, the more the impact.

3) The U.S. government pontificates and browbeats countries all over the world about political prisoners. Yet within its own madly expanding prison system, the U.S. denies the very existence of political prisoners. We must and can call the government to account for this.

4) The reality that political prisoners, activists and freedom fighters of the 60s, 70s, and 80s have been locked down for decades has to weigh heavily on the minds of at least some present-day activists. It's only logical for people to speculate and worry that they too could wind up buried and perhaps forgotten in prison for their activism.

5) JERICO 98 will aid all political prisoners held by the U.S. Some more well known cases like Leonard Peltier or the 15 Puerto Rican anti-colonial activists, have active amnesty petitions in front of Clinton. Most of us don't have actual petitions or the public campaigns necessary to launch an amnesty effort, but the JERICO rally will benefit us all.

6) We are women and men, fathers, mothers, spouses, children of aging parents, some of whom have passed in our years of captivity. We are some of the people who opposed colonialism and the war in Vietnam, fought for justice, equality, human and economic rights, and for a peaceful world. It's time to recognize our existence and bring us back to our families and communities.

Come to Washington on March 27
Help blow the JERICO horn for justice and freedom.

February 1998
Leavenworth federal prison

Jaan Karl Laaman, Ohio 7 political prisoner—in captivity since 1984

Tom Manning, Ohio 7 political prisoner—in captivity since 1985

Leonard Peltier, AIM political prisoner—in captivity since 1976

Luis Rosa, Puerto Rican POW—in captivity since 1981

This message is available on the internet, on the RW Online at www.mcs.net/~rwor

Africa: Clinton's Colonial Roadshow

At the end of March, the U.S. presidential road show traveled through one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the world as Bill Clinton toured five African countries south of the Sahara Desert. Eighteen of the world's 20 poorest countries are located here. Excluding South Africa, the total gross national product (GNP) of all countries in sub-Saharan Africa—where 600 million people live—is about the same as the GNP of Belgium, a well-off European country with a population of only 10 million. Every day, 10,000 children die in this region from preventable diseases.

Clinton's trip was advertised as a move toward a "new relationship" between the U.S. and Africa, based on "mutual interest and mutual respect." Clinton said that the U.S. wants to promote investment and trade in order to help these countries become self-reliant, climb out of poverty and undergo a "renaissance." And he performed his trademark "I feel your pain" routine—expressing regret for the U.S. role in the slave trade, apartheid, and the 1994 massacres in Rwanda.

But behind all the talk of a "new relationship" is the reality of imperialist greed and manipulation. While Clinton claims that the African countries are "equal partners," the U.S. is attempting to strengthen the profoundly *unequal* relationship between U.S. imperialist power and the oppressed countries of Africa.

U.S. Extortion Scheme

Take a look at the African Growth and Opportunity Act now being considered by the U.S. Congress. This legislation was highlighted during the trip as a key part of the U.S. plans for Africa. The bill calls on African countries to sell state-owned companies to private investors and take other measures to "liberalize" the economy and get more in line with "free market" capitalism. Governments that follow this economic formula would be rewarded with lower tariffs and higher quotas for exports to the U.S.

This is crude extortion, imperialist style. The U.S. is threatening the sub-Saharan countries: Make it easier for foreign capitalists to come in and buy up the privatized companies, extract mineral resources and exploit labor cheaply—or you'll find it hard to sell your exports in the U.S.

Randall Robinson of TransAfrica put it very sharply: "This bill nakedly and unqualifiedly promotes the interests of American business. It should be called the African Recolonization Act, because the U.S. and Europe have the money and would grab up the assets."

The Truth About the Ugandan "Model"

One of the countries Clinton visited was Uganda. The U.S. praises Ugandan leader Yoweri Museveni for his "free market reforms." Museveni has sold off government-owned industries to private capitalists, laid off workers, raised taxes and taken other measures that have earned the approval of the U.S. government, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The U.S. points to Uganda's high rate of economic growth as proof that Museveni's policies are a success.

But this capitalist growth and development benefits only a small section of the elite in Uganda—while the country overall remains one of the poorest on earth, with per capita income of \$260 a year. In a country ravaged by AIDS, the government's annual spending for health amounts to only \$3 per person. In preparation for Clinton's visit, the police in the Ugandan capital of Kampala kicked out hundreds of beggars, street kids and the disabled from downtown streets.

Museveni says that he wants foreign investment in Uganda, not foreign aid, in

order to make the country more self-reliant. But a major part of Museveni's economic "success" story is actually based on aid from the U.S. and other major powers—who have a stake in upholding Uganda as a "free market model" for other Third World countries. The World Bank and the IMF provide loans, and foreign aid pays for about 46 percent of the national budget of Uganda.



Looking for scraps in a copper mine in the Congo.

How can a country be moving toward self-reliance—when almost half the government budget comes from imperialist pockets? Uganda is indeed a "model"—of imperialist penetration and control.

The Problem with Foreign Investment

Replacing foreign aid with more foreign investment is definitely not a road to self-reliance. Nigeria is a case in point. Huge amounts of foreign investments have poured into this country. But these investments are directed toward the relentless pursuit of oil profit. All other aspects of the economy have been subordinated and sacrificed to the oil industry. Nigeria has built up an external debt of \$35 billion, putting this country's economy at the mercy of foreign lenders. Nigeria serves as a major transportation point for heroin traffic from Southeast Asia to Europe and the U.S.—and this drug trade is a big part of this economy. And pollution has devastated the lives of the Ogoni people who live in the oil production areas.

The problem in sub-Saharan Africa—or in any other oppressed country—is not that more foreign investment is needed, or that foreign investment is not used well. The problem is the investments themselves.

These investments—and the capitalist development they promote—are based on super-exploitation. Investment capital comes covered with blood—the blood of the peasants in Mexico forced off the land through the NAFTA treaty, of the women working for pennies a day in Indonesian sweatshops, of the gold miners digging under deadly conditions in South Africa. Foreign investors do not come into countries like Uganda with the intention of helping the people—they come in search of low-cost labor to exploit and valuable

resources to plunder.

Imperialist investment, trade and aid do promote a certain kind of development in oppressed countries. But imperialism twists and distorts the economy and society of these countries and prevents them from developing in an all-around way that benefits the masses of people. Capitalist development causes severe polarization—between the small top layer of the rich and the vast majority of poor, between the concentrated wealth of the city and the extreme poverty of the countryside.

As Maoist political economist Raymond Lotta points out, "Economic growth is not, in and of itself, good. The question is what kind of development? And who is this development for?" In countries like Uganda, the development taking place is in the interest of the imperialists and the local ruling class of big capitalists.

What U.S. "Engagement" Has Meant for the People of Africa

Clinton claimed during the trip that "perhaps the worst sin America ever committed about Africa was the sin of neglect." He said that the U.S. intends to correct this by "engaging" more closely in Africa. This is a cynical attempt to whitewash the many crimes committed by the U.S. in Africa.

One sharp example of what U.S. "engagement" has *already* meant for Africa is the Congo (Zaire). Under the Democratic Kennedy administration, the CIA was deeply involved in the 1961 assassination of radical nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba. The murder of Lumumba was a key part of U.S. moves to elbow out the old-line European colonial powers in Africa and replace them with U.S. neo-colonialism. Later, the U.S. backed the rise of the Mobutu dictatorship to power. During the '70s and '80s the U.S. sent bil-



Clinton with Janet Museveni, wife of Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, March 24.

lions of dollars in aid to build up Mobutu's military and prop up his regime. Meanwhile, Mobutu looted the economy and maintained his rule through brutal repression. Last year, as the Mobutu regime crumbled, the Clinton administration backed the rise of Laurent Kabila as the new strongman for U.S. interests.

In South Africa, the U.S. supported the racist apartheid regime for many years under the policy of "constructive engagement." In Angola and Mozambique, the U.S. backed counterrevolutionary armies waging reactionary wars. The U.S. sent troops to Somalia in 1994 under the guise of a "humanitarian mission"—but it quickly became clear that these soldiers were a bullying army of occupation. These are only a very few of the numerous ugly deeds the U.S. has carried out in Africa.

During the '70s and '80s, the U.S. moves in sub-Saharan Africa were very much connected to the worldwide contention with the rival imperialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union. After the fall of the Soviet Union, this region became less important strategically for U.S. policy makers. But now, the U.S. is making a new push to tighten its hold over this area of the world—at the expense of other powers like France.

Aside from more deeply exploiting the economies of these countries, the U.S. is also forging new military alliances to protect its interests. The Clinton administration's African Crisis Response Initiative provides standardized military training and equipment to a number of countries in the region. Senegal and Uganda, two of the countries Clinton visited, have already signed on—and Washington is trying to get South Africa to join.

Clinton went to Africa posing as a "contrite" leader of a world power now eager to help the African people. But while Clinton expressed regret for the slave trade, the system he represents has criminalized a whole generation of youth in the U.S. Clinton claimed to sympathize with the survivors of the massacres in Rwanda—but the U.S. government waged a cold-blooded genocidal war on Iraq and continues to kill thousands of Iraqi children each month with economic sanctions. Clinton joined Nelson Mandela to visit Robben Island, where Mandela was held prisoner for two decades under apartheid—as the Jericho '98 march in Washington, D.C. denounced the persecution of political prisoners in the U.S. itself.

Clinton's pledge to get the U.S. more "engaged" in sub-Saharan Africa can bring nothing positive for the masses in these countries. More U.S. involvement only means more imperialist intervention, domination and intrigue—and more oppression for the people. □

Benjamin Spock and the Unruly Generation

"People have said, 'You've turned your back on pediatrics.' I said, 'No. It took me until I was in my 60s to realize that politics was a part of pediatrics.'"

Dr. Benjamin Spock

On March 15, 1998 Dr. Benjamin Spock died at the age of 94. Known as the "baby doctor," Spock wrote the famous book on childcare, now titled, *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care*. It became one of the best sellers of all time—translated into 42 languages, almost 50 million copies have been sold.

Benjamin Spock entered Yale in the early 1920s and after working summers in a home for crippled children, he decided to go to medical school. Later he would reflect, "I guess that's why I became a baby doctor, thinking of those kids. My doctoring was always vaguely humanitarian."

Spock got his medical degree at Columbia University in 1929, did internships in medicine and pediatrics and a residency in psychiatry and psychoanalytic training, and then Spock opened a private pediatric practice in New York in 1933. This in the middle of the Great Depression, millions couldn't afford a private pediatrician and for several years, Spock barely managed to cover his expenses. But he became known as a good and compassionate doctor. And in 1938, he attracted the attention of the Doubleday publishing house, which asked him to write a child-care manual. Spock declined the offer, saying he didn't think he knew enough. But five years later another publisher, Pocket Books, came to him with a proposal for a book to be sold at 25 cents a copy and Spock accepted.

For the next three years, including two years in which he was in the Navy, Spock spent evenings dictating material for his book to his wife, Jane, whom he had married in 1927. The bulk of what he put in the book, he said, "came out of my head"—from years of listening to concerns and worries parents brought to his office.

Breaking with Pediatric Tradition

Spock wanted his book to make parents more comfortable and more effective. He found most of the existing literature on child-rearing to be "condescending, scolding or intimidating." Many parenting books promoted rigid schedules for feeding, weaning, sleeping and toilet training. Some books told parents not to hug, kiss or show affection to children. Spock contradicted both philosophies by advising flexible schedules and plenty of affection.



Dr. Spock arrested at an antiwar demonstration in 1972.

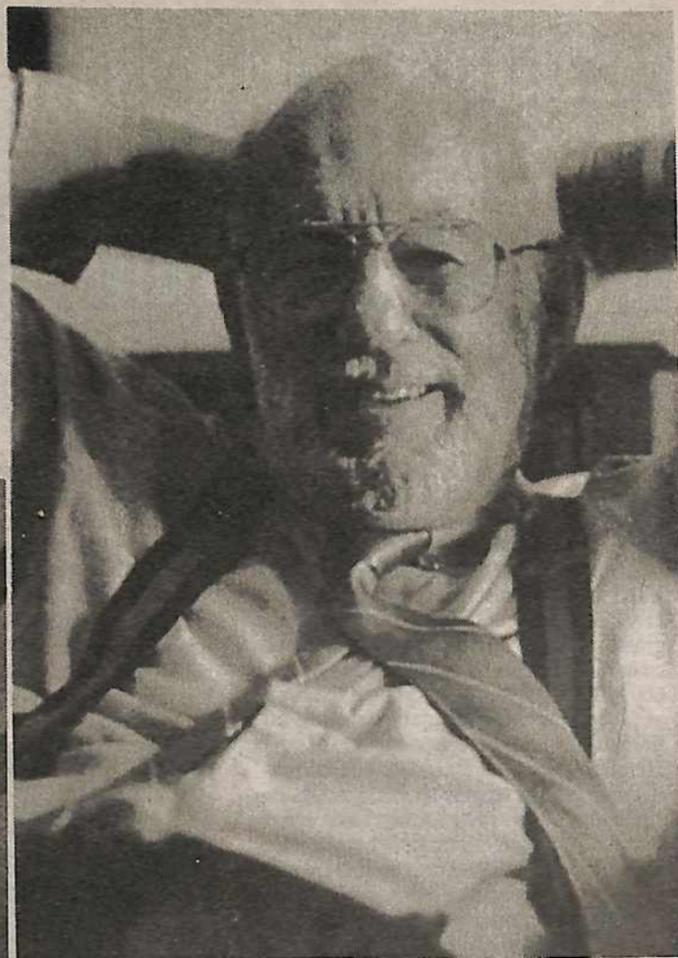
Spock's book, titled *Baby and Child Care* and published in 1946, broke with the conventional authoritarian approach to child-rearing. He avoided medical jargon and, in practical, straightforward, easy-to-understand language, Spock counseled mothers and fathers to take a more "common sense" approach to raising their children. The first words of the book told parents, "You know more than you think you do." And Spock's advice was guided by his faith in parents' instincts and emotions, and his faith in the child. He told parents—listen to

your baby and your baby will tell you what to do; listen to yourself and you will understand what your baby needs.

The response to Spock's book was tremendous. In the first year, it sold 750,000 copies and in its first six years it sold more than four million copies. Many parents turned to Spock's book when they couldn't reach their pediatrician, couldn't afford an office visit or were too embarrassed to ask. They welcomed Spock's down-to-earth advice which deliberately set out to counteract the rigidities of pediatric tradition. Spock said, "There were many parents who were very unhappy with ideas like rigid feeding schedules. It was hard on babies, but it was harder still on mothers."

Spock had never imagined his book would become so popular. But when asked why he thought the book caught on so quickly he said, "One reason is that young parents didn't submit as readily as parents in previous generations to rigidity, which had been the dominant mood up until then—don't feed your baby a minute early or a minute late; see that she takes the whole bottle. There was something different in the spirit of young people—they thought [rigidity] was ridiculous and were looking for somebody to tell them to be human, be natural."

Spock's book emphasized the importance of differences between individual babies—that parents needed to be flexible and not get too anxious over the unknown. When parents found themselves up in the middle of the night, worried and not knowing what to do about their crying baby, they would reach for Spock's book which gave answers and also reassured them that even if they made a mistake, it was not the end of the world, or of the child. Spock's book gave parents confidence, telling them to think for themselves—which he also considered good advice to give their children.



Dr. Benjamin Spock

For Spock, "strictness or permissiveness" was not the key issue in raising children. He said, "Good-hearted parents who aren't afraid to be firm when it is necessary can get good results with either moderate strictness or moderate permissiveness. On the other hand, a strictness that comes from harsh feelings or a permissiveness that is timid or vacillating can each lead to poor results." And he believed that the "natural loving care that kindly parents give their children is a hundred times more valuable than their knowing how to pin a diaper on just right or how to make a formula expertly." Spock urged, "Every baby needs to be smiled at, talked to, played with, fondled—gently and lovingly.... Be natural and comfortable and enjoy your baby."

Spock Against the System

In addition to becoming famous for his advice on babies, Spock became known for his political activism after he joined the protests shaking the country in the 1960s. In 1962, he warned of the possible hazards posed to children and nursing mothers by atmospheric nuclear testing. He was elected co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and joined demonstrations demanding nuclear disarmament. He argued, "What is the use of physicians like myself trying to help parents to bring up children healthy and happy, to have them killed in such numbers for a cause that is ignoble?"

Spock was also an early opponent of the Vietnam War. When U.S. military involvement in Vietnam escalated in 1965, Spock wrote protest letters to the White House. Then, when this proved futile, he joined demonstrators in the streets. He became a noted and conspicuous anti-war demonstrator with his 6'4" height and suit-and-tie dress amidst the tens of thousands of rebellious youth. In 1967 Spock joined a delegation that delivered almost a thousand turned-in draft cards to the Justice Department in Washington. And later that year he was arrested for crossing a police line in an act of civil disobedience at an armed forces induction center in New York.

In 1968, in a highly publicized case, Spock was arrested and tried for conspiring to aid and abet resistance to the draft. He told the jury he considered the war "totally illegal, immoral, unwinnable and detrimental to the best interests of the United States." Spock was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. But a year later, a federal appeals court overturned the conviction.

In 1972 Spock was the Presidential candidate of the People's Party and got more than 75,000 votes with a platform that called for free medical care, the legalization of abortion and marijuana, a guaranteed minimum income for families and the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from foreign countries.

Continued on page 15



Dr. Spock with a patient.

by Virus X

"Leave Jeremiah Mearday alone!"

These have been the words on the lips of many in Chicago over the last week and half. Shouted in meetings and chanted in the streets, after police carried out another vicious attack on the 19-year-old Jeremiah Mearday.

Six months ago Jeremiah was put in a hospital by a police beating. On March 12, after constant protest and demands for justice, the two cops who attacked him were fired from the force. One week later, on the early afternoon of March 19, three Chicago police officers pulled up to Jeremiah's home in an unmarked car, and then got out. By the time they were done, Jeremiah was attacked, arrested, jailed and set up on bogus charges. Payback, police style.

"This is, simply, putting a case on somebody in revenge for the Police Board findings. It's a planted revenge case."

James Epstein, attorney for Jeremiah

When the Chicago police board, in a 6 to 2 vote, threw officers James Comito, Jr. and Matthew Thiel off the police force, many who had been outraged over the beating of Jeremiah Mearday felt that at least some justice had been served. The case couldn't have been more clear-cut or outrageous. A young Black man, walking from his home to the nearby drug store, gets stopped by police at gunpoint, forced to the ground, kicked in the head, his front teeth knocked in with flashlights and—on top of it all—gets charged with resisting arrest and assault on a police officer.

For the last six months—from the time a videotaped image of Jeremiah's battered face was blasted out in print and on TV—there were meetings, rallies, and marches called by the Greater Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality. Jeremiah's supporters packed into the court to demand justice. Despite the usual reluctance of the mayor-appointed police board to even punish brutal police—let alone fire them—the protests came at a time of increased scandals around police brutality, racism and corruption, including the "voluntary" resignation of the previous Superintendent of Police. So instead of the usual seal of approval—the police justification that Jeremiah was the aggressor and that the injuries came from a fall—were dismissed by the Board as "simply incredible." This time, at least, the whitewash wasn't an option.

The outraged reaction from the police was predictable. William Nolan, local Fraternal Order of Police president, called the board's decision "atrocious" and "unjust," and whined that it was now "open season on the police." One would have thought Comito and Thiel had been imprisoned, or even arrested, but they had simply lost the right and authority to legally bust heads in the name of "law and order."

More chilling were the continued efforts to impede justice through police threats and attempts at intimidation. The police took a very aggressive and active role against Jeremiah and all those who stood up to support him. On more than one occasion, a hundred or more cops would show up when

The Police Persecution of Jeremiah Mearday



Jeremiah Mearday after his arrest, March 19.

Jeremiah had to appear in court. Like a lynchmob, they marched outside and packed the court—many of them in uniform—standing and glaring at Jeremiah when his name would be called. As the verdict approached, there was open talk of a police slowdown—a veiled threat to pressure the board's decision. Following the verdict, FOP President Nolan called for a

boycott of the official St. Patrick's day parade.

Then on March 23, the police made their move.

"You got to be a total airhead, living on Mars, to believe that this Jeremiah Mearday was walking down the street in front of his house and a policeman jumped out, arrested him, he resisted arrest, and they found crack cocaine. If you believe that, you'll believe the moon is made out of cheese and we're going to have a sandwich out of it tomorrow."

former Judge R. Eugene Pincham, at rally in support of Jeremiah Mearday

They were merely carrying out a routine canvassing of the neighborhood after two early-morning shooting incidents, one of which wounded a cop: that was the explanation given by the police department as to why they were attempting to question Jeremiah around one o'clock on a Thursday afternoon, March 19. According to police, at one point Jeremiah simply turned and started swinging, injuring all three officers in the ensuing scuffle.

Neighbors and witnesses paint a much different story. They say that when the police pulled up in an unmarked car, Jeremiah was standing on the front steps to his porch, speaking to his girlfriend on a cordless phone. Police ordered Jeremiah to come over. "I live here," he replied and identified himself. The police came out of the car—weapons drawn. "We know who the fuck you are," said the cops. Before they took him away in handcuffs, Jeremiah was sub-

ject to a provoked police attack—forced down, roughed up and at one point, a shotgun pressed up against his head. According to witnesses, he kept yelling, "My name is Jeremiah Mearday, I didn't do nothing." According to one witness, the cops just laughed.

Upon arrival at the police station, Jeremiah was strip-searched. The police found nothing, asked to look at a shoe, and then returned announcing that drugs had been discovered—six packs of crack cocaine. Before the night was over, Jeremiah was slapped with four charges—three counts of assaulting a police officer and one count of drug possession.

"...for many of us in the legal community, it smacks not just of intimidation, but it smells of conspiracy."

Lew Myers, attorney, at rally supporting Jeremiah

In the eyes of many, this new arrest of Jeremiah had all the markings of a setup. The cops tried to claim they had no idea that the young man they stopped to question was Jeremiah—a young man whose face had only been plastered in newspapers and on TV for the last six months. At one point during their evolving story, police claimed that Jeremiah's face was hidden by a hood he was wearing—a hood that somehow failed to appear in any of the news footage of Jeremiah being brought into the police station. Equally suspicious was the presence of FOP head William Nolan at the district station after Jeremiah was arrested. By the time Jeremiah's lawyer arrived, Nolan was already there, having a nice conversation with the watch commander.

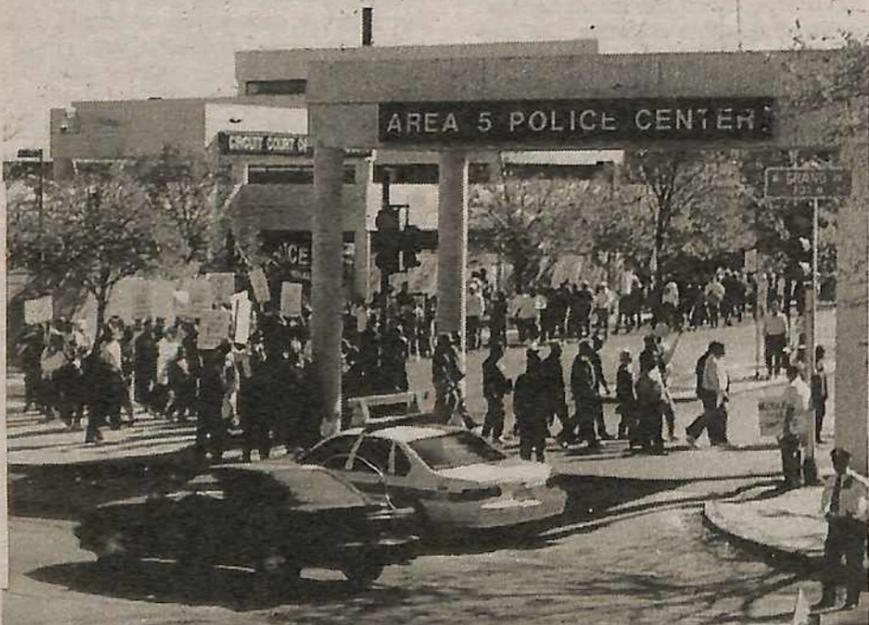
Residents in the area where Jeremiah lives report increased harassment from the police. One target seems to be possible witnesses who could contradict the police version of their arrest of Jeremiah, who were being subjected to what former Judge Pincham described as a "Hitler-like tactics." Community members and potential witnesses reported being served subpoenas by police on Friday afternoon, requiring that they attend court the following Monday morning. Show up or go to jail, police reportedly told people. "The police dropped a subpoena on everybody they could find," explained Pincham. "They were being served to silence." Pincham volunteered to represent all those subpoenaed, and was able to get the subpoenas quashed.

"We are sending a message today that we will not be intimidated. The FOP will not lynch our young men. You will not set them up, beat them up or intimidate them."

Rev. Paul Jakes, Jr., spokesperson for the Greater Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality

The response to these attacks from anti-brutality activists and members of the community was strong and immediate. Contributions were raised to help Jeremiah's family pay the \$2,500 bond—or ransom—to get him out. A number of neighbors bravely spoke publicly about what they saw the police do to Jeremiah. Frequent protest meetings were held—with over a hundred people attending every time. In response to the increasing police harassment in the community around where Jeremiah lives, hundreds turned out for a "human chain." The message being sent was clear, Jeremiah would not stand alone.

It is not surprising then, that activists and supporters of Jeremiah Mearday have also become targets. From all quarters—from a white racist police union head to the new Black police superintendent—those who stand against Jeremiah have attacked those who stand with him. It can be the virulently racist message on Rev. Paul Jakes, Jr.'s answering machine—calling Jeremiah a "drug addict, wanna-be fucking gangster" and Rev. Jakes a "dumb n*gger." It can be the arrogance of the Cook County State's Attorney, Dick Devine—who has refused to even drop the original charges against Jeremiah and derides the protests as "soap opera" claims of injustice. Or it can be the utter hypocrisy of Chicago's Mayor Daley and his new superintendent of police Terry Hilliard who defend the police while urging activists to suspend their judgements. Speaking to reporters, Hilliard urged both community and press to avoid a "rush to judgements based on emotions of the moment," advocating what amounts to a wait-and-see attitude—a view unfortunately echoed by many in the media. Of course Hilliard himself took no time at all to give his seal of approval to the arrest of Jeremiah Mearday—which he defended as "proper police procedure." □



Demonstration outside a court hearing for Jeremiah Mearday, October 1997.

Special to the *RW/OR*

With the New People in the Philippines:

Report from Guerrilla F

Part 1: The NPA Close Up

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Recently, a writer for the *Revolutionary Worker* was invited to the Philippines to spend time with a unit of the New People's Army.

The Philippines is a poor, semifeudal and semicolonial country, with a population of 70 million. Imperialism has dominated and twisted the country's development. The Filipino people have suffered greatly. But the Filipino people also have a proud and blood-stained history of resistance and revolution. In 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was reconstituted as a party that bases itself on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. In 1969, the party initiated people's war.

The New People's Army, or the NPA, as it is popularly known, is the fighting force of the Philippine revolution. The heart of the struggle is the armed agrarian revolution against the rule of the big landlord and imperialist-backed comprador-capitalist classes.

Despite savage onslaughts from the ruling class, and through many twists and turns, the Philippine revolution has continued to develop. In 1992, the CPP, which is not part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, launched a rectification campaign to reaffirm its revolutionary line and strategy, to strengthen the NPA's ties with the masses, and to raise ideological awareness.

The struggle in the Philippines is a very important struggle against imperialism. It deserves the support of all progressive and revolutionary-minded people.

The author wishes to thank the many Filipino comrades who made this trip possible. Names have been changed.

Our van had been climbing a coastal road. Now it came to a sudden stop. My companion and I got out. It was a beautiful night. The sky was clear, the moon and stars were shining. Below me, not far off, I heard the sea washing up against the shoreline. But before I could take in more of the scene, someone nudged me: "Quick, up the hill." We darted off the road onto a path and began heading inland and upland. My heart was pounding with anticipation. Our journey into the guerrilla front was beginning.

The path led to a supporter's house. Inside, my guide Camilo and local contacts made an evaluation of the security situation. After a few minutes we left and started walking again. A little past midnight we arrived at a peasant's hut. I was taken around back. From out of the darkness a voice lifted: "Comrade, welcome, we've been waiting a few days for you." I looked more closely. Two people were squatting and talking in hushed tones—one was lying in a hammock, another was standing, rifle in hand. The moment I had been waiting for: I was finally meeting up with the New People's Army, the NPA. For 10 days, I would be in the company of this unit.

The enemy kept watch on this area, so we had to be careful about our movements. We got a little rest and set off while it was still dark. On the trails, I was only allowed to use my flashlight for quick bursts of assistance. Three hours later we reached another peasant's hut where we would camp for two days.

A Visit to a Peasant Supporter, Getting to Know the Red Fighters

We were staying at the household of Cesar. Cesar allows the NPA unit to use his hut when it passes through the area. He and his wife went about their daily activities, while the NPA fighters went about theirs: washing clothes, doing maintenance on their weapons, cooking (the squad prepared meals both for itself and for the family), and going off on patrols. I wondered what led this peasant to welcome the "red fighters" into his hut. An interview was arranged, with Camilo translating.

Cesar is a middle peasant. He lives a hard life but his conditions are nowhere near as severe as those of the landless poor peasants and agricultural laborers in the region. Cesar told me that he grows coconuts, bananas, and some vegetables on several hectares (a hectare is about 2.5 acres) of land.

"So when did you come in contact with the NPA?" I asked Cesar. "I first met the NPA," he told me, "in 1985. I have many relatives in the mass organizations." What, I asked, impresses you about the NPA? He replied without hesitation: "The NPA is good. They drive out the robbers and help the peasants with production. They help the poor." I asked him if he thought the NPA's vision of putting power in the hands of the oppressed and exploited was realistic. "Yes, the poor can run society." Do the



NPA fighters hiking through a guerrilla campsite.

le's Army

m a Front

government forces harass you? "They have come here several times and questioned me—I tell them nothing."

I wondered whether the party's political campaigns had filtered down to this level of the grass roots. Cesar explained, "I know about rectification, people have explained to me the defeats and errors of the past." As our conversation went on, Cesar told me that he had heard of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolution.

Time was limited, and Cesar had things to do. As Cesar went off to the fields, Camilo, in his humorous, down-to-earth way, quipped, "Cesar is what you might call a 'latter-day saint'...he got involved in the struggle late in life."

I passed the afternoon talking with some members of the unit about their family backgrounds and political history.

Emilia, who is in her early 20's, is from a peasant family in the region. She kept account of the unit's supplies and expenses. Carlo and Lino were two of the unit's newer recruits. They were from the cities. Both had been involved in underground trade union activity, organizing transport workers. Tess is 20. She also came out of the urban movement. Her father, a union leader in Manila, had been murdered by paramilitary thugs in the late 1980s. Tess has done courier work and organized peasant youth. Jose, still in his teens, is the youngest member of the unit. He comes from one of the indigenous peoples of this region.

Then there was Isabel. Isabel is in her early 40's and has spent most of her adult life underground, working mainly in the countryside. Her children have been raised and cared for by relatives living in a town—although, occasionally, secret family visits are arranged. Isabel is a party leader in this region and has held various positions in the political and military commands of this guerrilla front. Isabel had wide knowledge of the situation "on the ground" and radiated enormous energy and optimism. I would have many in-depth discussions with Isabel and learn much from her revolutionary experiences and insights.

Two things already struck me about the people I was getting to know: their dedication to the revolution and the great camaraderie among them. We addressed one another as "ka," short for *kasama*, the Tagalog word for "comrade" (Tagalog is the most widely spoken language in the Philippines). Even Doy, the dog that went everywhere with the unit, was "ka Doy!"

Camilo announced dinner plans to me: "Cesar enjoyed talking with you and has donated a few chickens for dinner." It was a good meal, and good to have...because a difficult hike lay ahead of us the next morning.



NPA fighter stands watch at the home of a peasant supporter.

The Campsite

Where were we headed? Isabel smiled, "We're going to where even the *carabao* won't go" (the *carabao* is the Filipino farmer's trusty water buffalo—cumbersome but versatile). Actually, we were making our way to a remote mountain campsite that was being readied for a month-long study retreat for the NPA fighters.

We hiked through dense thicket. Vast, spreading foliage provided a natural canopy. The air was steamy, the paths were muddy, and the climbs could get quite steep. The squad members, rifles strapped to their backs, moved quietly and steadily in single file. I concentrated on my footing but still had plenty of slips. I laughed to myself. Luis, the squad leader, had told me that NPA fighters are trained to maneuver in jungle and mountains at night...and now I noticed that Tess was wearing sandals.

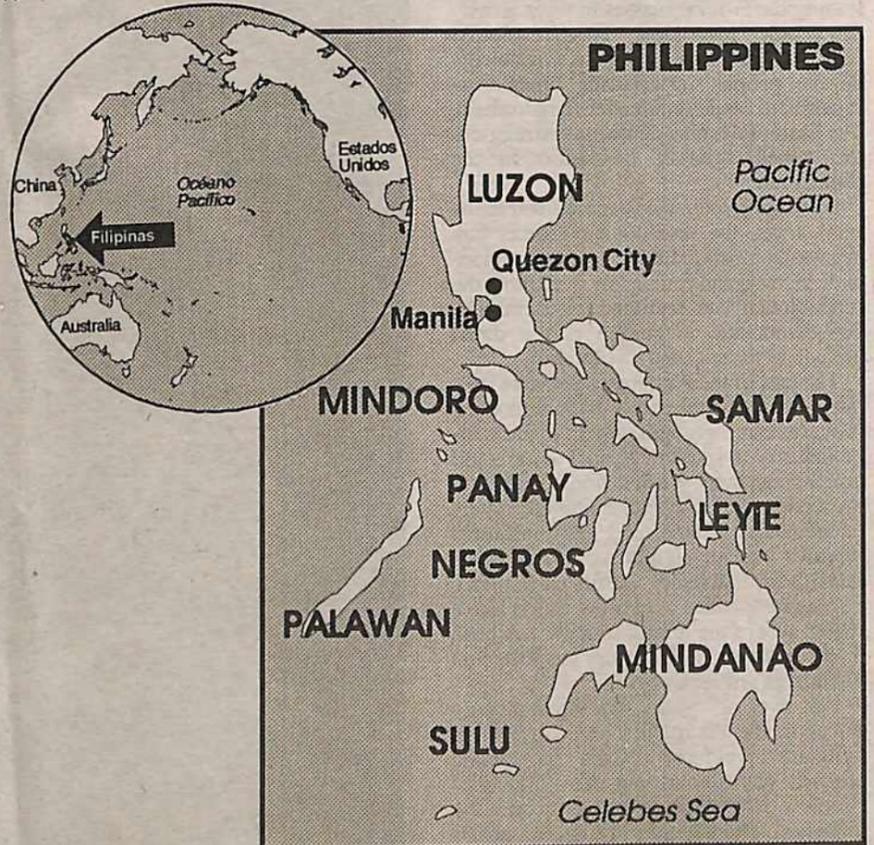
The landscape changed. We entered woodland. Hollowed deep into the slopes were trails down which *carabao* hauled timber and up which they hauled supplies. We crossed several streams. And as the last shafts of sunlight broke through the green forest cover, we reached the campsite.

The camp had two lean-to-like shelters. Bamboo was the basic building material for the roofs, walls, and tables. The larger shelter had a hearth where meals were cooked. During my stay, the camp was busy with activity, even in the most torrential rains. Some fighters had construction tasks;

others gathered wood and vegetables and fruit, some left on assignments. Weapons were always carried, or kept in close reach. As night fell, the fighters would string their hammocks to the supports of the shelters.

Plain living and self-reliance have long been hallmarks of the NPA. But life here, and I spent more than a week in the camp, was anything but grim. I am not just talking

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An NPA fighter

New People's Army in the Philippines

Continued from page 9

about the sense of purpose and commitment that was so palpable. It was also the atmosphere—the lively political discussion, the lighthearted joking, the revolutionary songs. I remember one night someone sang a beautiful ballad about two comrades in love but unable to be with each other because of their political assignments. The song told of longing but also of a deeper closeness that came from the awareness of what their lives are dedicated to.

Getting Some Perspective on the Armed Struggle

The NPA is overwhelmingly a peasant army. But the NPA is led by a vanguard party of the proletariat—the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The CPP is leading the Filipino masses to wage a new-democratic revolution. This revolution confronts the “three mountains” that weigh on the people: imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, and semifeudal landlordism. The heart of the new-democratic struggle is the armed agrarian revolution in the countryside.

By waging protracted people's war in the rural areas, the revolutionary forces can eventually surround the cities, win nationwide victory, and completely overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal system. The new-democratic revolution is the direct prelude to the socialist revolution.

The part of the Philippines we were in—this was southern Luzon—is quite poor. It is overwhelmingly agricultural. There is little industry to speak of besides some small processing plants. It is a region where land-ownership is highly concentrated; where tuberculosis, malaria, and gastrointestinal diseases remain significant health problems; where illiteracy is still widespread. For the same kinds of reasons, this is also a region where the armed struggle has been going on almost continuously since the first organizers arrived in 1971.

For over 25 years, the revolutionary forces in the Philippines have carried out agrarian revolution. Where the armed struggle has been strong, new organs of people's democratic power have been established. By the mid-1980s, the armed struggle in many parts of the Philippine countryside, including the region I was in, reached a fairly high level. But for several years now, the fighting has been at a fairly low level. Why?

Beginning in 1992, the revolutionary

paings of “total war” to wipe out the revolutionary forces and to terrorize the peasants (and many peasants were forced to flee their villages). And at the same time, a wrong political line, a revisionist line, had emerged in the CPP, and it led to serious losses.

In response to this situation, the NPA has worked to regain strength and influence in areas they had to abandon when the government unleashed its “total war” tactics. And the NPA has worked to regain the support and trust of the peasants in those areas where the wrong line had sown confusion in the peasants' minds. These circumstances greatly affected the course and level of the armed struggle.

A leading comrade who was staying in our camp for a few days made a presentation to me. He explained that “armed struggle is the principal form of struggle” in the Philippines and that the people's war has “three indispensable components—land reform, base-building, and armed struggle. Armed struggle is principal, but [for the last few years] we have been paying attention to strengthening our mass base—developing vigorous mass movements and mass organization, addressing the problems of the people, and doing political education among the peasants.... We are strengthening the rear for guerrilla struggle.”

But there can be no mass work without the NPA. Isabel was emphatic: “If there is no NPA there is no revolution. The masses will be terrorized if there is no NPA, and the NPA protects the masses.” The NPA also engages in what are called “tactical offensives”—ambushes, raids, sniping operations, actions against thugs and agents, etc. When I was in Manila I could pick up a daily newspaper and occasionally read of a daring NPA assault on a police station in a small town. In the region I was visiting, a military patrol had recently been ambushed by the NPA guerrillas. The comrade I was talking with explained that the scale of tactical offensives would increase in the near future.

So for several years, the NPA has stressed educational work and grass-roots organizing in the countryside. This was how the revolution's leadership saw the needs of the situation. More recently, the revolution has set out, in the words of a March 1997 message to the NPA from the CPP, to “intensify guerrilla warfare on a wide scale, on the basis of an ever expand-

ing and deepening mass base.”

A statement issued in December 1997 (this was after I had returned from the Philippines) by Armando Liwanag, Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPP, puts what I am describing this way:

“The need for a new-democratic revolution through a protracted people's war is more than ever clear and urgent.... The mass base is most important for sustaining tactical offensives and frustrating enemy retaliation. It arises from painstaking mass work, arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses according to their basic demands in the new-democratic revolution....”

[A]ttention is paid to the correct balance between mass work and tactical offensives. Putting revolutionary politics in command, Party cadres and members and the Red commanders and fighters need to undertake study and train in guerrilla warfare. Tactical offensives must be launched according to capability.”

Two-Line Struggle and Rectification

Every revolution must learn from setbacks and mistakes. Every revolution must wage struggle against incorrect lines and approaches to the tasks and challenges before it. Maoists understand that these struggles temper and educate both the revolutionaries and the masses—the more so as the political and ideological issues are dug into and clarified. The Philippine revolution is no exception.

At this point it might be helpful to discuss the rectification campaign launched by the CPP in 1992. This way the reader can get a better handle on the twists and turns of the Philippine revolution in recent years.

I mentioned that an incorrect line had arisen in the CPP. The people promoting this line argued that the nature of Philippine society had changed, that capitalist development was eliminating semifeudal (landlord-peasant) exploitation in the countryside. They said that the Philippines was becoming a more and more urbanized-industrial society. In their eyes, Maoist protracted people's war, and the doctrine of surrounding the cities from the countryside, was no longer appropriate to Philippine conditions.

They advocated shifting the focus of the revolutionary struggle to the urban areas.

forces initiated what is called “recovery work.” They were “recovering” from difficulties and setbacks suffered in the late 1980s and early 1990s. What kinds of difficulties? The government unleashed cam-



NPA guerrilla

They set out to create larger and more regular military formations in the countryside, the idea being to launch big offensives against government forces in order to help stimulate and support uprisings in the cities.

This wrong line sounded very revolutionary. It claimed that victory could be achieved quickly and that the decisive battles would be fought soon. But it was not a line that could lead to revolution. The people championing it were in fact looking for a short-cut to revolution. They put weapons above politics. Isabel explained: "Political and ideological work among the cadre, in the NPA, and among the masses was sacrificed." They increasingly cut themselves off from the lives and struggles of the peasants. And over time they began to doubt the ability of the peasant masses to make revolution.

In studying some of the writings of these forces, I could also see how they blurred the distinction between socialism and revisionism. They looked at the social-imperialist Soviet Union as a socialist country. Some of them wanted to drop Mao Tsetung Thought.

But during this period, the CFP as a whole had some ideological shortcomings. It had failed to take a stand against the revisionism of Deng Xiaoping. Its understanding of Soviet social-imperialism had weakened; and it saw the Soviet Union as a potential source of support and aid.

As I mentioned, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the government military forces struck hard and viciously at the NPA and its peasant base. This was a brutal onslaught. In areas where political work among the peasants had slackened, the NPA sometimes found itself facing the enemy alone. When the situation in the cities failed to develop as the advocates of this wrong line had hoped, some of them did a flip-flop. They began to see the imperialists and reactionaries as all-powerful and lost faith in the armed struggle.

The proponents of this line were defeated in inner-party struggle. They are no longer in the CPP. Many of them have since gone over to open reformism, and some have even collaborated with the government. But their line caused serious damage—political, organizational, and military.

The leadership of the CPP summed up the experience of this period. It also made self-criticism for having strayed from the Maoist path. In 1992, the party launched a major "rectification campaign."

Rectifying the situation has required the NPA to recover, consolidate, and expand strength and influence among the peasant masses. The CPP decided this should mean a period of "prolonged mass work."

Rectification has also required party and NPA members to raise their ideological and political understanding. The NPA fighters I was with study materials dealing with the issues of this struggle. An important party document calls for "reaffirmation." Isabel explained: "We are reaffirming basic principles—the analysis that we are a semi-colonial and semifeudal country, and that we must wage protracted people's war." During my stay with the guerrilla front, several veteran fighters told me that Mao's teachings had not been as diligently studied in the 1980s as had been the case in the early 1970s. Isabel said, "We are also going back to Mao's materials, back to basic principles of Mao Tsetung."

The fighters I spoke with were enthusiastic about rectification and recovery. They had stories to tell about the revolution sinking deeper roots among the peasant masses.

As mentioned earlier, the leadership is calling for intensified armed struggle. According to the December 1997 statement by Armando Liwanag, "the party leading organs are shaking off the inertia of conservatism induced by prolonged mass work without tactical offensives... We must combat 'Left' and Right opportunist errors. We must intensify the armed struggle as the main form of struggle and coordinate revolutionary struggles in both urban and rural areas... There is no way out of the oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and the local exploiting classes but the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war."

The situation is complex and full of challenges. But this much can be said. The Philippine revolution has struck real blows against imperialism. How the armed struggle for nationwide power in the Philippines further develops and advances, and how the revolution further strengthens itself politically and ideologically, building on its Maoist roots—all this is tremendously important to the people of the world.

A Revolutionary Army Is a People's Army

Through my many discussions, and seeing the NPA up close, I gained a much more living sense of how radically different a revolutionary army is from a bourgeois army. The experience and example of the NPA, like that of the Maoist fighting forces in Peru and Nepal, contains lessons for the oppressed and exploited in the U.S. I say this even though our road to power, and the armed struggle that must eventually be launched, has different features.

The NPA fights the enemy and serves the people. It is an army that is closely integrated with the masses, learning from and relying on the masses. In this region, about 70 percent of the people recruited into the NPA come from the local peasantry. It is an army that puts politics, the politics of revolutionary struggle and transformation, in command. It is an army that is mobilizing the masses to change the world and to change themselves.

Today, as part of the recovery process, the great majority of NPA forces are spread out in small groups engaged in mass work—although there are also some squads which are relatively concentrated in the central areas of the guerrilla fronts. The basic NPA formation is a squad of 7 to 12 members, which functions as, or subdivides into smaller, "armed propaganda units." The average age of the rank and file is about 18 to 21, that of officers about 30 to 33.

I asked about the tasks of a typical squad. It was explained to me that among its main tasks are: ideological training, study, and reproduction of propaganda materials; political organizing, educating, and mobilizing the masses, especially for the agrarian revolution; economic work, helping the masses to improve agricultural production and incomes; organizational work, including communications, personnel and recruitment; and military operations.

Members of the units are trained to become what are called "comprehensive fighters." This means developing the skills to fight, educate, and do propaganda—"so that," as *ka Lino* explained, "if one of us dies, another can take their place." Political training is principal. As Isabel put it, "a guerrilla without ideology is no good."

I was curious about what writings by Mao people might study. Tess told me about the wide use of what they call the "5 Golden Rays"—Mao's famous short essays, like "Serve the People," and "In Memory of Norman Bethune"—which emphasize the principles of serving the people, hard work and self-sacrifice, and internationalism.

Each squad or unit has a concrete plan of activity and engages in regular assessment and criticism.

The squad I was with works among peasants in 15 to 20 barrios in this guerrilla front. A barrio is the basic village unit in the Philippine countryside. The barrios this squad has responsibility for are regularly visited, and some of the squad members will stay in them for a few days. "When we knock on the peasants' doors at midnight," Carlo explained, "they let us in, and we talk to them about the armed struggle. But when the peasants look out their windows and see the enemy coming, they keep their doors shut—or maybe they'll let them in just for water, because they are threatened."

Luis, an NPA officer and leader of this squad, told me more about the work: "We organize against cattle-rustling and protect the peasants against illegal logging and fishing [which harm the peasants' livelihoods and cause environmental damage]. We fight the abuses of merchants and of the military. We help the peasants with planting and agricultural cooperation. We look into the situation of enemy agents and spies in the barrios—and when the time is right they are punished."

I was told that women make up about a quarter of the personnel of the NPA units in this region but that the percentage is higher elsewhere. From my own observation, I found the relations between the men and women fighters to be extremely comradely. People worked together, rotated between cooking, guard, and other tasks, and treated each other as equals. Political and personal problems are collectively discussed out. In talking with the fighters, I also found an awareness of the economic and social issues and problems facing women in the countryside.

Isabel, as I mentioned, is a regional party leader. Yet here she was working and traveling with this squad. I learned that one of the policies adopted as part of rectification has been to link leaders more closely



Political education in a guerrilla front.

with the units doing mass work. The revolution is also trying to cut down the bureaucracy that had grown under the influence of the revisionist line.

Naturally, I was here to find out as much as I could about the struggle in the Philippines. But the Filipino comrades also peppered me with questions about conditions and the struggle in the United States. They knew that I was a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and were keenly interested in hearing me talk about revolutionary strategy and tactics in the "belly of the beast." I was also asked to make a presentation about the people's war in Peru.

What Luis Had To Say

Early on during my stay at the camp, I had the opportunity to talk more with Luis, the squad leader. I wanted to hear his assessment of the situation.

Me: What is the greatest strength of the enemy?

Luis: Its many guns and its intelligence [surveillance, networks of agents, etc.].

Me: What is the enemy's greatest weakness?

Luis: Its lack of support from the people, its blindness and arrogance.

Me: How do you assess the immediate situation in this area?

Luis: We are strong in propaganda work, but our mass base and recruitment have to be strengthened. There are still areas we had to abandon that have to be recovered.

Me: How will the U.S. respond if the situation heats up?

Luis: We are taught that we will face U.S. imperialism.

Me: The NPA has been fighting for almost 30 years. How do you maintain morale?

Luis: We follow principle. We try not to repeat mistakes. We teach people about protracted people's war. When rectification first started, there was some decline in morale. Now things are better overall. But we need to do more political study. I want to raise my political level.

Me: Can the revolution win?

Luis: Yes, there are more people wanting revolution than there are reactionaries.

Me: But what about the enemy's military strength?

Luis: The people are decisive.

Our discussion was winding down. It was time for lunch. Which suited me just fine. Over the last few days I had acquired a taste for the *gabi* (a green whose stem and leaf are cooked in coconut milk), morsels of dried fish, and rice that awaited us. □

PART II: THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION AT THE GRASS ROOTS: LAND REFORM

Detroit Town Meeting Against Police Brutality

A People's Town Meeting Against Police Brutality took place in Detroit on February 28. A special focus of the meeting was, "Protest Budzyn and Nevers Crimes." In 1992 Detroit cops Walter Budzyn and Larry Nevers killed Malice Green, a Black steelworker. The two were convicted in a 1993 trial, only the second time in U.S. history that cops have been convicted of killing anyone. But the courts recently overturned the convictions. Budzyn was recently convicted on an involuntary manslaughter charge in a retrial.

The release of the two killer cops has been accompanied by much rewriting of history by their supporters and the media. For example, the lie that Malice Green was holding a rock of cocaine when the cops killed him has been repeated. In fact, it turned out he was holding a piece of paper. The town meeting was conceived of as a way to get out the truth by exposing the crimes of Budzyn and Nevers—not as "bad apples" but as poster boys for the epidemic of police brutality nationwide.

The Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality and the Criminalization of a Generation plans to contribute all the testimony from the town meeting to the Stolen Lives Project—including testimony from other victims of Budzyn and Nevers collected by coalition members in two trips to the neighborhood where Malice Green was murdered.

The town meeting was held at the Little Rock Baptist Church and sponsored by the Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation. Over 100 people attended—police brutality victims and families of victims, Black nationalists, lawyers, ministers, Refuse & Resist! activists, union activists, NAACP people, students and others who are sick and tired of police brutalizing the people.

Ron Scott—an ex-Detroit Black Panther Party member and host of the long-running TV show "For My People"—was the MC. He opened the meeting by reviewing some of the history of the fight against police brutality in Detroit: the rise and fall of the infamous STRESS (Stop the Robberies,

Enjoy Safe Streets) units that killed close to 20 young Black men in the late '60s and early '70s; the notorious cop Peterson; and the cop August who executed several Black youth at the Algiers Motel during the 1967 Detroit Rebellion.

Arnetta Grable was the first family member to testify. She spoke lovingly of the memory of her eldest son Lamar—and with much anger about the cops Eugene Brown and Vicki Yost who took him away from her. Lamar was active in the Detroit Children's Coalition, was working on starting a photography business, and liked writing poetry. On September 21, 1996 he left the house on his way to his job at K-Mart—and within 15 minutes he had been shot by the police. Witnesses said that after Lamar was shot three times in the back, Brown turned him over and fired five more rounds point blank into Lamar's chest. This killer cop is still on the force—he even received a police medal for wearing a bullet-proof vest during the shooting. Toxicology tests showed no drugs or alcohol in Lamar. The police department refused to turn over Lamar's shirt to an independent coroner hired by the family. Now Arnetta and her family are constantly harassed by the police.

Arnetta said that she attended a national October 22nd Coalition meeting in New York—and gained strength and determination from the many others like herself who had people they loved murdered by the police. She declared, "We can't let them steal one more life!"

Jeff Edison from the National Council of Black Lawyers spoke on where things stand in the Nevers and Budzyn case, and how this case fits into the overall attacks on Black people. He tied the overturning of their convictions to the elimination of the Records Court. Budzyn and Nevers were originally convicted in the Records Court, which was a criminal court for Detroit with Black judges and juries picked from within the city. Since then, this court has been absorbed into the overall county system. Edison also linked the release of Budzyn and Nevers to attacks on affirmative action. The right-wing "Center for

Individual Rights," which is financing the lawsuit attacking affirmative action at the University of Michigan, is also active in fundraising for the Budzyn and Nevers defense.

A young Black man told about what happened to him when he was a student at Eastern Michigan University. One night, he was trying to break up a fight on the campus. The police arrived—and maced *him* and put a gun to his head. About 1,000 people shut down a televised college basketball game to protest his arrest. He said this showed what can happen when people come together.

A family member of Roy Hoskins—a Black 14-year-old who was fatally shot in the back by a Detroit cop—read a poem about Roy. Overcome with grief, she tearfully called on the people at the meeting to help win justice for Roy.

"Crooked cops that control my block, killers protected by a badge and a Glock." This was a line from a piece performed by the Detroit rap group Suspect Establishment. Later, the SE said, "What can we do about police brutality? One of the first steps is like this meeting. Just get involved and create awareness. Until we got involved, we didn't know this coalition existed. We've got to really get out there and push it." Two SE members testified about their own experiences with police brutality.

A National Lawyers Guild representative described their efforts to provide legal assistance to those involved in the struggle against police brutality. A man from Black Cops Against Police Brutality related his experiences in stopping other cops in the act and said, "It's a police state against the people." He exposed how the computer terminals in the patrol cars were used to communicate information about a fundraising event for Budzyn and Nevers.

People from a group called Hood Research pointed out that the prosecutors did not act on some legal methods that could have prevented Budzyn and Nevers from being released. This group has filed a lawsuit against the judge who overturned Nevers' conviction. They described the release of Nevers and Budzyn as a "judi-

cially orchestrated jailbreak."

Some folks from Saginaw—who drove 100 miles to attend the town meeting—told of their experiences with police murder and brutality in their city. Clinton "Kunta" Potter was shot and killed on his front porch in the presence of a suspected police informant. The police refused to even investigate this killing, saying it would "cost \$800."

A woman union activist spoke about the police brutality against the Detroit newspaper strikers while on the picket lines. Many strikers were beaten seriously enough to be sent to the hospital, and some suffered crippling injuries. Other testimonies came from a Black minister from a prominent church; several women whose family members were unjustly imprisoned; a Black woman living in a mostly white suburb who was beaten along with her daughter by the cops, and others.

Minister Malik Shabazz of the New Marcus Garvey Movement and the October 22nd Coalition addressed the need to build the fight against police brutality. A woman from the NAACP police brutality research project also spoke.

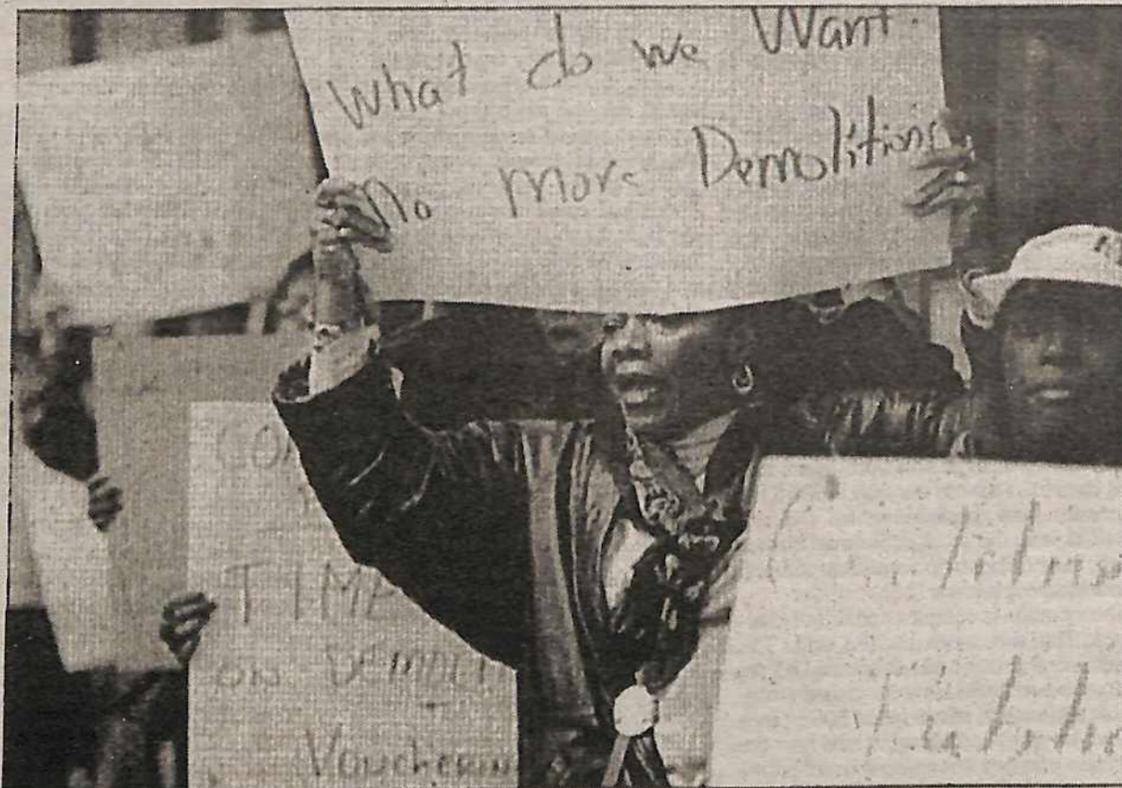
An RCP Detroit Branch spokesperson and October 22nd activist raised the question, "What can we do?" and said a good place to start is the Stolen Lives Project. She asked everyone who had stories of police murder and brutality to fill out forms for the project, and to get the word out to others. She spoke about the need to make this year's October 22 protests even more powerful. And she discussed the connection between resistance against police brutality and revolution.

As the town meeting wrapped up, Ron Scott asked people involved with the October 22nd Coalition to step up to the stage—and it was a very beautiful, diverse group of people up there. The testimonies and exposures offered at this meeting made it very clear that police brutality is an epidemic. But the meeting also showed that a powerful movement against police brutality is growing in Detroit.

Time Out for HUD Attacks on Chicago Public Housing?

On March 25, more than two dozen religious leaders and 65 community groups (including the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) joined in an action called by the Coalition to Protect Public Housing (CPPH) demanding a "Time Out" for public housing in Chicago. Very importantly, at the "Time Out" rally, significant representatives of the gang truce movement from different public housing developments appeared on the stage together in a strong show of peace among the people. Later, as more than 300 people picketed, leaders of the CPPH met with HUD officials in Chicago, refusing to leave until Andrew Cuomo, Secretary of Housing, agreed to meet to discuss the "Time Out" demand.

HUD appears to have agreed to a limited "Time Out," giving a momentary reprieve on their demand that 18,000 units of public housing in Chicago be demolished—an act that would put 42,000 public housing residents in competition with 80,000 homeless in Chicago already looking for housing. While HUD's action is only a reprieve and one question is whether HUD's pronouncement means anything or is just words, getting them to agree to back off—even in words—is a valuable step. □



Anti-Immigrant Platform Pollutes Sierra Club

The Sierra Club, the largest environmental group in the U.S., is holding a vote on whether to support a clampdown on immigration into the U.S.—in the name of protecting the environment. A referendum of the 550,000 Sierra Club members will go on from late February through April 18. The members will be voting on whether to endorse an "Alternative A" that supports reducing immigration into the U.S. Members can oppose "Alternative A" by voting for "Alternative B" which says that the Sierra Club will not take a position on immigration matters. "Alternative B" adds that the organization should "address the root causes of global population problems" by championing "the right of all families to maternal and reproductive health care, and the empowerment and equality of women" and by addressing "the root causes of migration by encouraging sustainability, economic security, health and nutrition, human rights and environmentally responsible consumption."

The Sierra Club is an organization that has lobbied within the system for laws like the Clean Air and Endangered Species Acts. Their membership is largely made up of middle class people who are concerned about protecting the environment and who oppose the destruction of old-growth forests and the damming of rivers.

The passage of "Alternative A" within the Sierra Club would be an outrage. It would offer the endorsement of mainstream environmentalism to all kinds of attacks on immigrants. There is *already* a mean-spirited climate in which immigrants are *falsely* accused of all kinds of things—from draining government resources to "taking American jobs." If the Sierra Club went on record saying that immigrants hurt the environment it will give undeserved respectability to the toxic arguments of anti-immigrant forces. And, for exactly that reason, the internal Sierra Club discussion has spilled out into the public arena, especially in California where there has long been intense struggle over immigration. The issues have been debated on the radio, in newspapers and on different Internet discussion groups.

Progressive organizations of various kinds are supporting forces within the Sierra Club who support "Alternative B." And, at the same time, right-wing and racist groups have come out in support of "Alternative A." "The right-wing has realized they need a centrist anchor to help them out," Michael Dorsey of the Sierra Club Board told the *New Times* weekly. "Their bottom-line objective is to sort of P.C.-ize their rhetoric, so they can go and say, 'Look Mr. Congressman, the Sierra Club agrees with us. If they do, you should too.'"

Approving "Alternative A" would also destroy significant new alliances that have been developing. Recently, activists in several environmental groups have taken up struggle against what is called "environmental racism"—the ways in which oppressed nationalities in the U.S. face special dangers from pollution. For example, an alliance of environmental activists and a largely Latino community defeated plans to place a toxic waste landfill in California's Kettleman City. The San Francisco-based Political Ecology Group (PEG) has joined with farmworkers and rural communities to fight the use of powerful poisons like methyl bromide in the production of strawberries.

Anti-People Logic and Imperialist Chauvinism

There have always been sharp debates within the U.S. environmental movements over what *causes* environmental problems. Some forces correctly point to corporate capitalism as causing the wasteful, destructive and unplanned way human society currently deals with the environment.

Others believe that the key cause of environmental degradation is simply that there are too many people—and that controlling population growth is key to solving environmental problems. There has always been a powerful current within the Sierra Club that promotes this conservative "overpopulation" theory. In fact, the Sierra Club was the original publisher of *The Population Bomb*, a highly influential 1970 book by Paul and Anne Erlich that put forward this idea that "overpopulation"

causes society's problems, including poverty and environmental destruction.

The Sierra Club has never before put forward a position of opposing immigration. But there are forces within the organization who believe that opposing immigration is a "common sense" application of the stand against "overpopulation." If immigration increases the U.S. population by a million people a year, then curbing that immigration, they say, is just a practical way of cutting U.S. population growth and easing the population pressure on natural resources.

This is not the first time reactionary anti-immigrant positions have broken out in the environmental movement. A decade ago, the militant Earth First organization split when some of its original founders, including Dave Foreman, argued that human beings represented the main danger to wilderness areas. Many people within Earth

First, including Judi Bari, argued that this approach let corporate capitalism off the hook. They argued that capitalism's drive for profit lay behind the destruction of the environment and that all kinds of people, including workers within the timber industry, could be won over to opposing corporate environmental destruction. In that earlier debate, Dave Foreman shocked many people by calling for an end to immigration into the U.S.

After losing out within Earth First, this same Dave Foreman got himself a position on the governing board of the Sierra Club, where he promoted the campaign for "Alternative A."

You don't have to dig far into these debates to see the hostility that some supporters of "Alternative A" have for impoverished *people* of the world (and especially the Third World). One writer in this debate, Garrett Hardin, compares the United



Farmworkers in a tomato field near a suburban development north of San Diego.



Homeless immigrant workers camp in the hills outside a Costa, California.

States to a lifeboat with limited room, food and water. In his view, the U.S. is surrounded by countries whose "lifeboats" are overcrowded and undersupplied. Everyone is trying to board "our lifeboat," he says. According to Hardin, the "ethical" thing to do is to defend the U.S. border, beat back the "intruder immigrants" and keep the "lifeboat" from capsizing.

Clearly such politics are not about trying to *solve* (or even understand) the world's environmental problems or the intense problems of world poverty. Hardin's "lifeboat ethics" are about *defending* the existing inequalities of the world and using an eco-veneer to justify it. This is the "ethics" of officers on the sinking *Titanic* who locked working class passengers into the lower decks at gunpoint—so the first class passengers would have more room on the available lifeboats. *For people in a country like the U.S. to take this position is a shameful display of imperialist chauvinism.*

On a fundamental level, the struggle to save the world's environment will never be solved at a national level—by looking at one country as a "lifeboat," and looking at everyone else as a threat. The current global situation of human society is profoundly unequal. The wealthiest 20% of the world's population receive 64% of the world's income while the poorest 20% get just 2%. Much of that inequality is concentrated in the huge gap between a handful of imperialist countries and oppressed countries. U.S. society, in particular, contains 5% of the world's population but produces 72% of the world's hazardous waste and consumes 25% of the fossil fuel.

Those extreme inequalities are part of the environmental *problem*—and defending such inequalities cannot be part of any real environmental *solution*.

The white supremacist leader David Duke now writes on his web page: "I will fight to limit overpopulation and protect

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AIM Protests Exclusion of Native Americans from Clinton Panel



Denver—Two members of AIM at the March 24 hearing of Clinton's advisory board.

On March 24, Native American people disrupted a public hearing of the advisory board of President Clinton's Initiative on Race in Denver. After two hours of speeches on "stereotypes," people in the audience started loudly demanding an open microphone to speak out. One account said that the protest was joined by at least a third of the 500 people who were gathered in this university auditorium. The crowd beat drums and shouted down various government figures, including Denver's mayor. Finally, the panelists gave in, and the microphone was given over to audience members.

People denounced the fact that this presidential panel does not include any Indian people. "How can you have a dialogue on race without one American Indian on your board?" shouted one man. Audience members also spoke out for the Zapatista rebellion, and denounced efforts by the U.S. and Mexican government to suppress the people of Chiapas. One report said that several members of the American Indian Movement also demanded reparations for Native Americans and freedom for political prisoner Leonard Peltier.

This Clinton panel would have been better named the "Smokescreen and Lipservice Commission." Clinton's appointees have been touring the United States promoting a "calm dialogue on the explosive issue of race"—while Clinton himself has pressed forward to gut welfare, cut affirmative action and pack hundreds of thousands of youth off to prison.

The organizers of this tour had hoped to use a new format in Denver to prevent the kinds of disruptions that have plagued their public events—it didn't work. □

Anti-Immigrant Platform Pollutes Sierra Club

Continued from page 13

our environment by stopping all illegal immigration and almost all legal immigration into America." Certainly the members of the Sierra Club do not want to place themselves in that company!

Getting Real

"Restricting immigration will do nothing to protect the environment and blaming immigrants makes our environmental problems worse by ignoring the real problems and real solutions... The U.S. military is the largest polluter in the world. Its generation of toxic waste isn't related to consumer demand, the number of people in the U.S. or in any other country... Poison dumped into rivers, air that makes us sick, wetlands paved over for huge development projects, none of these are caused by immigrants. In fact, blaming immigrants lets transnational corporations and other big polluters off the hook. The way to solve environmental problems is to attack the direct cause. Reining in big business will improve many of our worst environmental problems. Blaming immigrants diverts our attention from the solutions."

PEG's Brad Erickson on KQED radio

Many forces within the Sierra Club and the larger environmental movement have worked to defeat "Alternative A." The

Sierra Club's current Board of Directors (where Foreman no longer has a seat) has unanimously opposed the anti-immigration position and supported "Alternative B." Twenty-six of the Sierra Club's 60 chapters have taken a position on the referendum—and all of those 26 endorsed "Alternative B." Other supporters of "Alternative B" include the Sierra Club's current president, United Farm Workers co-founder Dolores Huerta and Carl Anthony, President of the Earth Island Institute.

A fact sheet put out by "Alternative B" supporters says "destructive agricultural and industrial practices, such as unnecessary pesticide and chemical use, strip mining, timber clearcutting, toxic dumping and wasteful energy use on the part of corporations have a far greater negative impact on the environment than does growth in U.S. population."

A strategy document by the National Network on Immigrant and Refugee Rights and the American Friends Service Committee points out that "Alternative A" actually has things upside down: Immigrants don't cause environmental destruction—but environmental devastation by large capitalist corporations often forces people to emigrate. Their report said, "Millions of people have been forced to move because their land has become toxic or is unable to

support them. Environmental degradation is frequently linked to multinational economic interests which disregard protections or exploit natural resources. Each year 11 million hectares of tropical forest are cut down, 26 billion tons of topsoil are lost, and nearly 6 million acres of arable land is desertified. In addition many 'development' projects force displacement from traditional lands. Mechanized 'agri-business' replaced many traditional small scale farming techniques with toxic farming methods geared at producing cash crops for exports. Other examples of the environmental consequences of development include the flooding of large land areas by dams and projects to develop forest or savanna lands inhabited by indigenous people. An estimated 10 to 25 million people in the world are currently displaced from their homelands for environmental reasons."

A look at the U.S./Mexico border reveals a lot about the *real* relationship between countries and its effect on the environment. Factories called maquiladoras, mainly owned by U.S. firms, crowd the Mexico side of the border. These factories poison the workers and dump huge amounts of toxic waste into the atmosphere and water. In one small community of 800 people near Tijuana, there were 25 cases of anencephaly, a rare and fatal birth defect between

1990 and 1994. On the other end of the border, 16 families sued 80 companies, including General Motors, claiming that their manufacturing plants in Matamoros caused birth defects in their newborn children.

"Of all things in the world, people are the most precious."

Mao Tsetung

The masses of people in the world are suffering from the degradation of the environment—they are not the cause of this destruction. Targeting oppressed people will not stop oil spills in Nigeria or the destruction of the world's remaining rainforests. It won't stop refrigeration chemicals from eating a larger hole in the ozone layer.

It is the modern system of capitalism, in its latest global-imperialist stage, that is savaging the planet. To stop the destruction of the environment and all the suffering that causes, capitalism has to be replaced by a totally different social system. *People* are key to bringing about this kind of revolutionary social change. Activists who want to build a movement that can end the rule of profit and the destruction of the environment should *welcome* immigrants here into the belly of the beast—and work to unite with them and learn from their experiences and consciousness. □



In Mexico, a plane sprays pesticides on farmworkers and fields.

In the Streets with Dr. Spock

The following recollection was written by a comrade who was active in the anti-Vietnam war movement in the '60s:

I have a lasting impression of Dr. Spock from the days when I was a 15-year-old high school student in New York. It was 1967, as the anti-war movement heated up, that the call went out to shut down the draft center on the southern tip of Manhattan. Young men were being ordered to show up for duty in Vietnam—the White Hall Street center was where they got their physicals and got carted off to kill and die for the system.

It was still dark, before dawn, as we started to gather in Battery Park. A few blocks away, hundreds of cops were gathering up too—in a mass of riot police and horses that blocked off many of the tangled streets. A squad of high school kids like me were asked to serve as scouts—smuggle our way around the area, through police lines if possible, to see how they were shifting their forces, and then report to a command post. We took all this very seriously.

Hundreds of people, many armed with poles, marched on the Draft Board, and ran into the police lines. And soon, the whole scene broke into generalized street fighting. The cops would break formation and try to drive us back—chasing, beating and arresting those they could. Red flags and Vietnamese liberation flags were flying in the midst of the fighting.

And it was then, in the middle of one huge melee, as the sky was starting to get

light, that I saw Dr. Spock. You couldn't miss him, we all knew his face—the famous baby doctor. And he was incredibly tall, visible from almost anywhere. And as we were running past, I heard him call out over a megaphone: "All those that want to get arrested, move over to block the street here. All those that don't want to get arrested, please step away. The police are bringing up vans, and they will be taking you in one-by-one."

Spock was with the more pacifist forces, who were always an important part of the New York movement—the "speak truth to power" folks. And for them, influenced as they were by the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King Jr., non-violent civil disobedience was the way to go.

I remember distinctly two thoughts as I kept running from the police horses. First, there was no way I wanted to be arrested! I'd be damned before I'd be peacefully gathered on some assigned "arrest zone" to be carted off like sheep. And second, I remember being impressed that he was there, with his white hair and tidy suit-and-tie, in the middle of this wild scene of tear gas and clubbing—and part of us, forces that shut down the draft in New York that morning.

And those two thoughts captured how I felt about him over the coming years, as I ran into him—in coalition meetings or in the streets—or as I read about his attempt at an antiwar presidential run. On one hand, he was clearly in the more moderate wing



Dr. Spock at an anti-Vietnam War march in the 1960s with Martin Luther King.

of the movement, always hoping to reach and (somehow) soften the cold hearts of those in power, and worried that expressions of radical politics and tactics would "alienate" the millions of people who still had faith in the system. And, yet, on the

other hand, he was *there* in the struggle, alongside us early revolutionary forces as an ally, putting his body (and his considerable reputation) on the line to fight the war and stop the draft.

Benjamin Spock

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After the Vietnam War Spock continued to join protest around issues like nuclear weapons and cuts in social welfare programs. By the time he turned 80, in 1985, he had been arrested a dozen times. In 1978 he was arrested for trespassing at a protest at the Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire. In 1980 he was arrested for blocking an entrance to the Pentagon in an anti-nuclear demonstration. In 1981 he was arrested at the White House protesting proposed budget cuts. In 1987 he was arrested and charged with trespassing after demonstrating at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station against the test launching of a Trident 2 missile.

Dr. Spock came under fire for this political activism. Critics branded him the "father of permissiveness" and said he was responsible for a "Spock-marked generation of hippies." In the 1960s, Vice President Agnew, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, and New York minister Norman Vincent Peale publicly attacked Spock, arguing that his methods of bringing up children had caused a "breakdown in discipline and a collapse of conventional morality." From his pulpit, Peale preached, "And now Spock is out in the mobs, leading the permissive babies raised on his undisciplined teaching."

When Agnew accused Spock of corrupting American youths, Spock shot back: "At least nobody could accuse me of having brought up Spiro Agnew." And Spock upheld the rebellious spirit of the youth—and any part he may have played in promoting this. He said, "Maybe my book helped a generation not to be intimidated by adulthood. When I was young, I was always made to assume that I was wrong, now young people think they might be right and stand up to authority."

Changing with the Times

On Allowance: It shouldn't be used as payment for chores.

On Spanking: It teaches children that the larger, stronger person has the power to get his way, whether or not he is in the right. . . . Some spanked children feel quite justified in beating up on smaller ones.

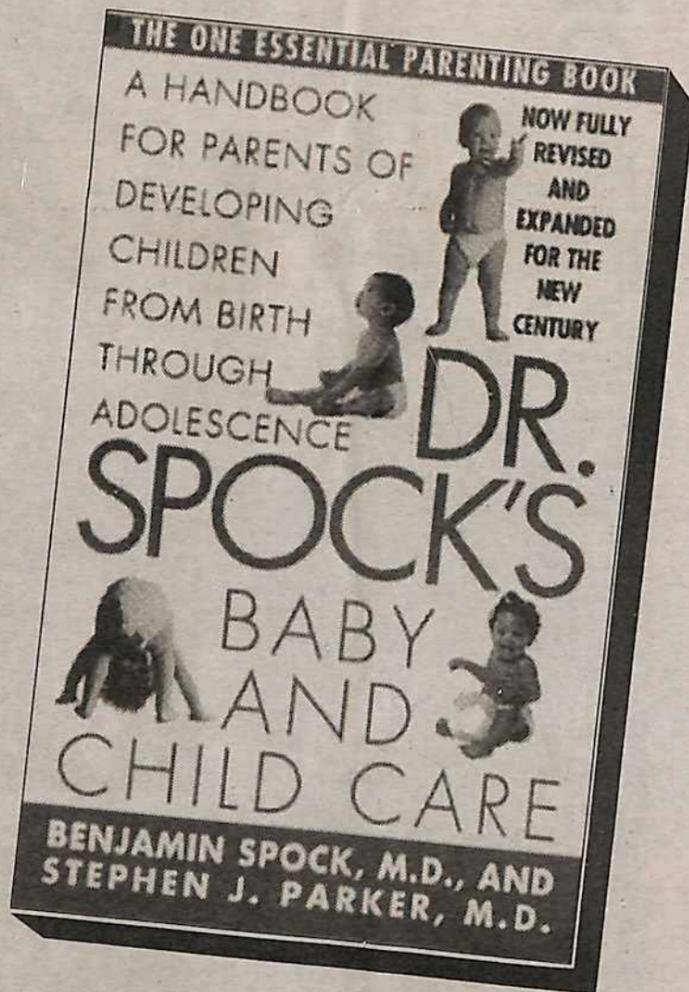
Sex roles: I think it is normal for little boys to want to play with dolls and for little girls to want to play with toy cars, and it's quite all right to let them have them.

On taking advice: Don't take too serious-

ly all that the neighbors say. Don't be overawed by what the experts say. Don't be afraid to trust your own common sense. . . . You should not take too literally what is said in this book.

From *Dr. Spock's Baby Book*

Over the years Spock continued to lecture and write about childcare, the nuclear arms race, or both. Spock and his first wife, Jane, were divorced in 1976. And later that year, Spock married Mary Morgan, whom he collaborated with to write his book, "Spock on Spock—a Memoir of Growing Up with the Century." Spock wrote a dozen other books and numerous magazine columns. And he continually revised his original "baby book"—learning from and keeping up with the times. In 1968 he urged parents to become politically active on behalf of their children. And in the 1970s he confronted the sexism in his book.



The latest edition of Dr. Spock's book.

The women's movement had criticized Spock for sexist passages in the book, one of which objected to women "acting more and more like men." In 1971, noting this criticism, Spock wrote: "I agree today that a man has no business trying to tell women what their characteristics are, which ones are inborn, which are more admirable, which will be best utilized by what occupations." And then in 1976, his book was revised largely, as Spock said in the preface, "to eliminate the sexist biases of the sort that help to create and perpetuate discrimination against girls and women." The baby was referred to as "she" as well as "he" and the description of the parents' roles was also changed. Spock explained, "I always assumed that the parent taking the greater share of young children (and of the home) would be the mother, whether or not she wanted an outside career. Yet it's this most universal assumption that leads to

women feeling a much greater compulsion than men to sacrifice a part of their careers in order that the children will be well cared for. . . . Now I recognize that the father's responsibility is as great as the mother's."

The 1985 edition included sections on divorce, child abuse and children's fear of nuclear war. The 1992 edition added drugs, "blended families," homosexuality, AIDS and environmental awareness. And the new edition which will come out on May 2, 1998, on what would have been Dr. Spock's 95th birthday, supports adoption by gay and lesbian parents, endorses vegetarian diets for children, no longer recommends dairy products after age two, and calls most computer games "a colossal waste of time."

Spock's book continues to provide invaluable advice, guided by what he sees as striving for "the fundamental relationship between you and the kid—that you do the most to guide your child all the way along by a mutually respecting and loving relationship." And through the years, Spock said he never changed his basic philosophy on child care—"respect children because they're human beings and they deserve respect, and they'll grow up to be better people." As one colleague of Spock said, "He was the first person to talk about raising children as potential adults and giving them status as human beings and not merely subjects of their parents' wills."

Spock lived a long and energetic life. His wife, Mary said his good health and longevity stemmed from his life style, which still included rowing—in college he was a member of the 1924 rowing team which won an Olympic Gold Medal—daily meditation, yoga, shiatsu massage, and a macrobiotic diet.

And to the end, Spock continued to be a vocal critic of the system. In 1994 Spock wrote, "When I look at our society and think of the millions of children exposed every day to its harmful effects, I am near despair." He bemoaned the "fact that our present society is simply not working." But he added, "Of course we cannot return to the 'good old days' . . . Our greatest hope is to bring up children inspired by their opportunities for being helpful and loving."

Spock had once told people he would like a New Orleans-style funeral, with a jazz band accompanying the casket. He said, "I love to dance and I'd love to be saying goodbye to my friends while the band was playing and they were dancing. . . . I want them to remember I was a dancing man in my day." □

A World To Win

Revolutionary Internationalist Journal

New Issue (#23) Now available in English,
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Workers of All Countries, Unite! On the International Communist Movement

An AWTW editorial leads off a section on the international communist movement (ICM).

Naxalbari

Thirty years ago the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari ushered in a new chapter for the struggle of the masses in India. Led by Charu Mazumdar and other communist revolutionaries, the Naxalbari struggle constituted a dramatic break that transformed the political landscape in India.

People's Wars in Peru and Nepal

People's Wars are simmering in Peru and Nepal. The Nepal People's War, in its second year, is sinking roots and spreading to new areas, amidst calls from reactionaries to bring in the army. In Peru, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is proving its ability to maintain the 18-year-old War, despite the losses inflicted on its leadership and attacks on its line. Both show the power of Maoism, and are bright new bases for world revolution.

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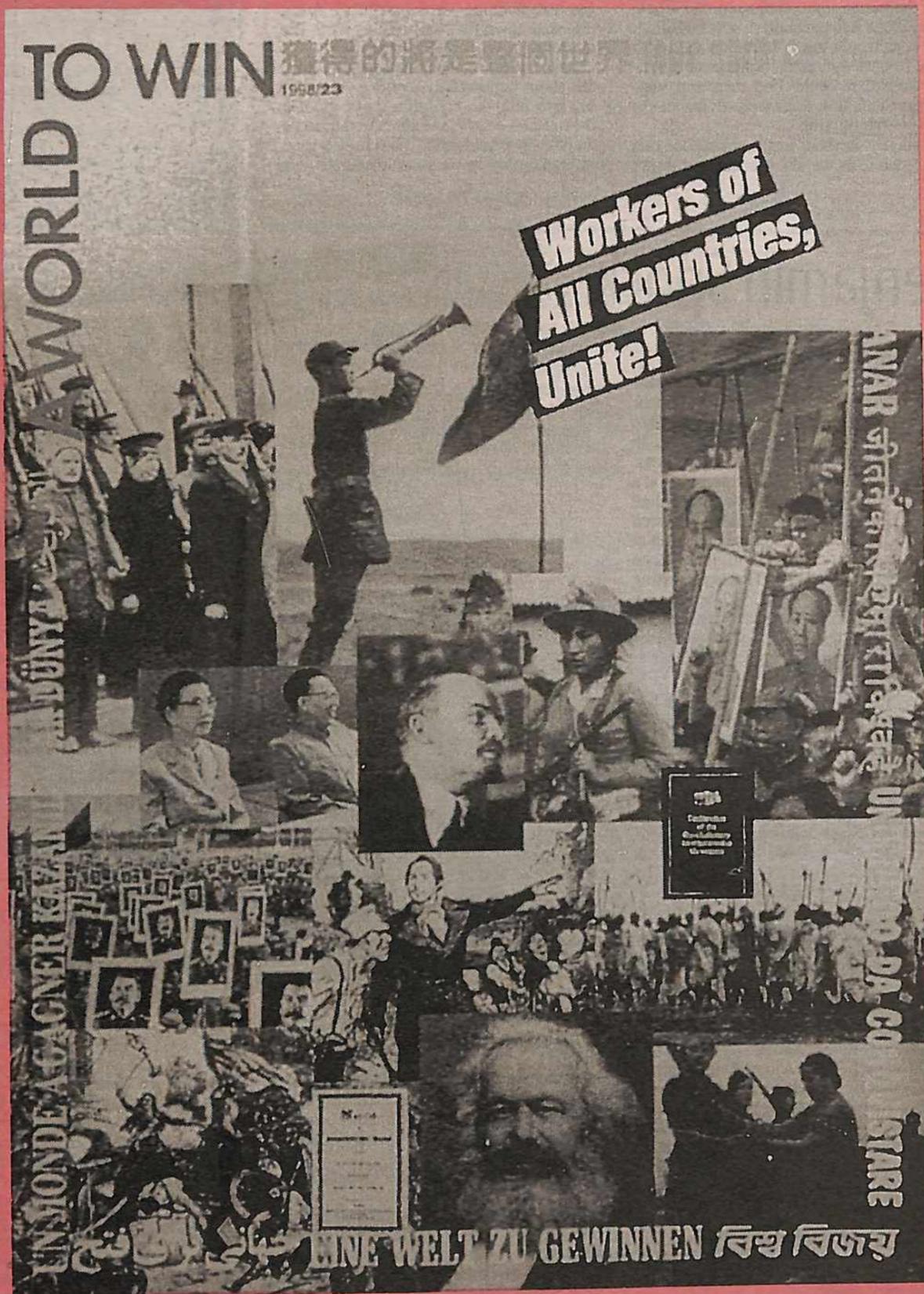
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CPN(M) Document: Strategy and tactics of armed struggle in Nepal

• RIM Committee

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the TKP-ML

Let the Red May Day 1997 thunder around the world!



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