



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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U.S. Bully Threatens Iraq



George Bush

Damage in a Baghdad neighborhood after U.S. bombing, February 1991.

See Page 7

3

RCP FUND DRIVE 1991—SPECIAL POSTER

4

Talkin' 'Bout Real Communism

5

Co-RIM Statement on Coup and Counter-Coups in USSR

12

Point-Counterpoint: Communism and Religion

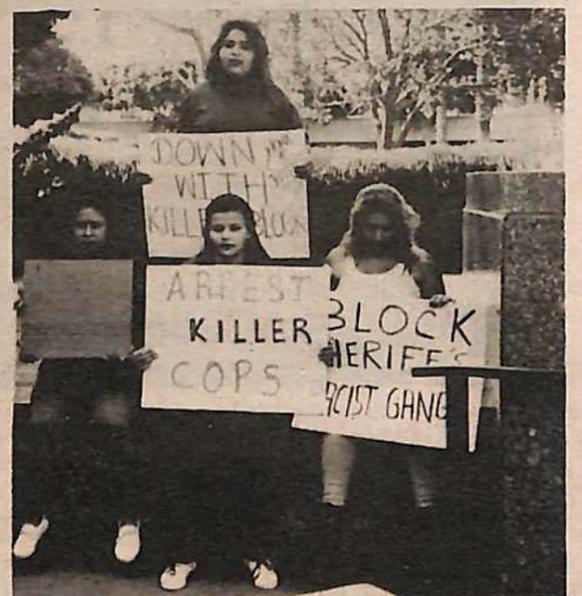
15

China in Mao's Time



8

Manifesto on L.A. Pig Murders



10

Peru: Yankee Godfather Backs Counterrevolution

Indian Government Blocks International Distribution of *A World To Win* Magazine

The international journal *A World to Win* is under attack. In a blatant act of political censorship, customs authorities in India have blocked export of the English edition of the June 1991 issue of *A World to Win*, which is published in that country. The official reason given for this suppression of *A World to Win* by the Indian government—which likes to refer to itself as “the world’s largest democracy”—is that “some of its contents are likely to prejudicially affect India’s friendly relation with other countries.”

A look at the contents of the banned issue reveals who these Indian censors are afraid might be offended. The lead article of the June 1991 issue is on the Gulf War and is entitled “The U.S.-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!” The cover features a striking photo montage of people from around the world, including within the U.S., who protested this brutal war that maimed and killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. Other articles include statements from Maoist parties and organizations around the world condemning the war against Iraq, exposure of the cold-blooded maneuverings of Soviet imperialism in the rape of Iraq, and coverage of the worldwide storm of mass protest against the war.

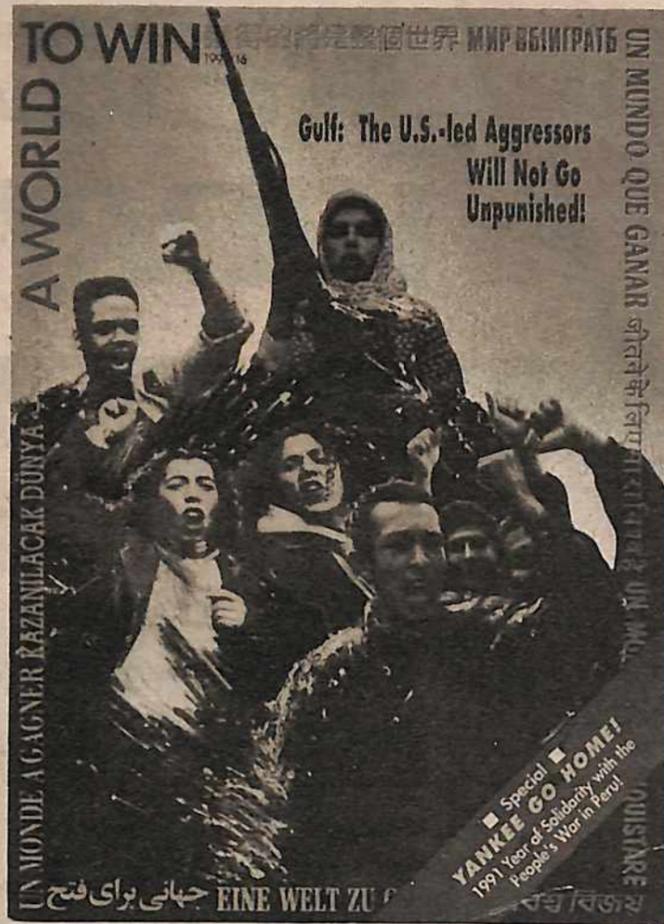
Is the Indian government bowing to pressure from the imperialist governments to suppress the magazine, or have they taken their own initiative in this matter? One can only speculate. In either case, the whole incident is a stunning example of the real workings of Western democracy.

The banned issue also features the article “Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru,” which chronicles the powerful advances in the People’s War led by the Communist Party

of Peru and the establishment of revolutionary base areas in many parts of that country. In stark defiance of the U.S.’s proclaimed “new world order,” the people of Peru are showing the world how the oppressed can successfully fight their enemies and win. The banned issue of *A World to Win* also carries a call by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to make 1991 a Year of International Solidarity with the People’s War in Peru under the slogan “Yankee Go Home!”

A World to Win was inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 1984. It has become well-known around the world for its in-depth analysis of world events and its determined stand with the struggles of the oppressed. Past issues of *A World to Win* have included inspiring coverage of the uprising of the Azanian masses in South Africa in the mid-1980s, an issue featuring the Intifada rocking Palestine, another on the Tiananmen protests in China and condemnation of the Chinese government’s brutal massacre, and more recently an issue focusing on the collapse of revisionism in Eastern Europe featuring a right-on-time appeal to the people of Eastern Europe to “Cast Away Illusions, Revolution All the Way.”

The seizure of *A World to Win* by the Indian government must be opposed and challenged by people around the world, and especially in the U.S. If this blatant suppression of *A World to Win*, which is read by thousands around the world, is allowed to go unchallenged, it will not only be an assault on freedom of the press in India but will also set a dangerous precedent in



which the alleged foreign policy interests of a government are used to ban a publication.

The Editorial Board of *A World to Win* is vigorously protesting this act of political suppression, and other newspapers, journals and prominent individuals in India have joined in the condemnation. *A World to Win* is calling on people throughout the world to oppose this censorship by sending letters of protest, publishing articles exposing this case, spreading word about it broadly, and getting *A World to Win* into the hands of many more people. In a letter addressed to journalists and publications the Editorial Board of *A World to Win* expresses the desire to unite broadly in this effort: “While many will not share our political philosophy or all of our positions, we hope to unite with as many as possible in the struggle against political suppression of the press.”

In the U.S., the North American distributors of *A World To Win* are preparing photocopy copies of the June 1991 issue. The Farsi edition of June 1991 issue is now available and the Spanish edition is soon expected.

Letters of protest demanding that “the political suppression of the journal *A World to Win* be stopped immediately” should be addressed to:

The Ministry of Finance
(Department of Revenue)
Government of India
New Delhi
India

A copy of any letters of protest or articles should also be sent to the North American distributor:

A World to Win --
North American Distributor
c/o Revolution Books
13 East 16th Street
New York, New York 10003

And to the office of *A World to Win* in India:

Janet
House No. 32/1668
Puthukkad Parambil
Vennala
Kochi 682025
India

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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We Dare To Dream!
We Dare To Struggle!
We Dare To Win!

Announcing: The Revolutionary Communist Party Fund Drive 1991

Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog, people-killing, spirit-crushing system. Something much better is possible. There is a REVOLUTIONARY way! Where the people work in common for the common good. We saw this in the high tide of the Cultural Revolution in Mao's China. And we can see it today in the mountains of Peru.

It's a fact: when the common people get connected with revolutionary politics, the New World Order can be brought down. The Revolutionary Communist Party is out to make it happen here.

We are striving to make some very big leaps in the revolutionary

movement, to strengthen the people's side in the battles being waged now and get in position for THE TIME.

We need your financial support to make this happen. Many more party organizers and agitators need to be trained and sent out to wherever people are fighting back—organizing, mobilizing, strategizing and getting ready to lead people in revolutionizing. Networks of readers of the *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* newspaper need to spread everywhere—in the ghettos and barrios, schools, factories, on campuses and among all those fighting the outrages and abuses of this system.

Get behind the RCP's 1991 Fund Drive.

Contribute.

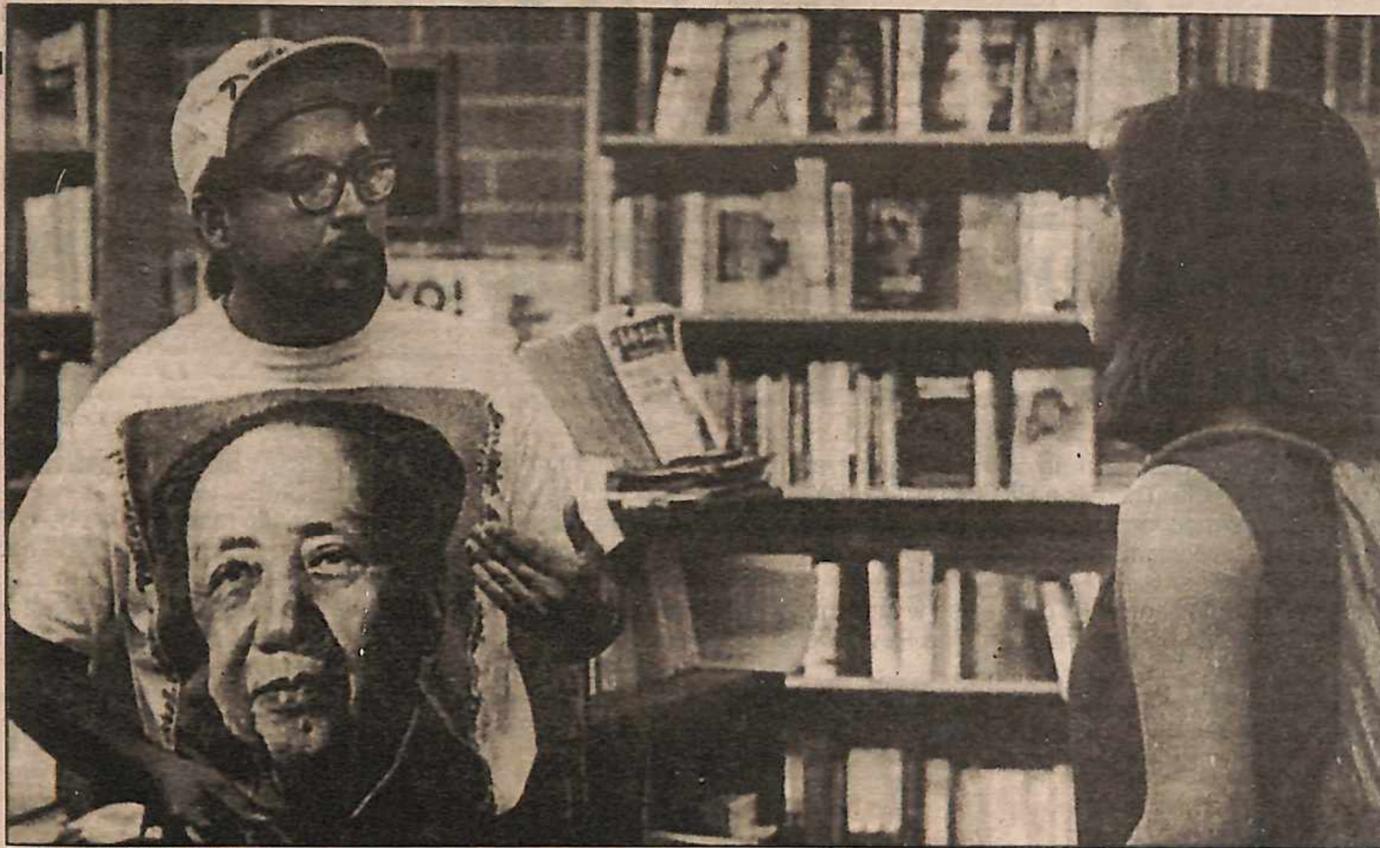
Raise funds from your friends.

Contributions, including anonymous donations, can be sent to: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654.



RCP Talks Real Communism to the People

"Swimming in Stormy Weather"



Revolution Books, Berkeley.

A reporter in the San Francisco Bay Area tried to discover what leftists in Berkeley were thinking about the changes in the Soviet Union. When his article appeared in two local newspapers the headline read: "The Party is not over for Berkeley Communists." The article contrasts the demoralization of the pro-Soviet Communist Party USA with the revolutionary optimism of the Maoists.

"In Berkeley, where leftist ideology is as at home as tie-dyed T-shirts, revolutionary fervor continues to burn. The dramatic breakup of the Soviet Communist Party has stirred debate, tears and socialist slogans...."

"Shock was the first reaction, dismay and incredible sadness," says Berkeley resident Kendra Alexander, chairwoman of the Communist Party of Northern California. "I would not have predicted it. We were extraordinarily saddened by it...The 75-year-old experiment with (communism) appears to not have worked," Alexander says. "But I believe in socialism and it can work."....

"At Revolution Books, the mood is more upbeat. The bookstore...is lined with posters of Chairman Mao, marching peasants carrying AK-47s and red banners, and revolutionary slogans. A spray-painted slogan on the wall reads: 'Outcasts, downcasts, slaves, illegals and rebels. It's right to rebel.' A burned and tattered American flag hangs behind the counter.

"The Revolutionary Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist group...maintains that the Soviet Union was 'phony communism' run by corrupt copycat capitalists. 'People have to cast away illusions and prepare for the struggle, follow the path of Mao,' says Raoul Lagos, a man who speaks in slogans...."

"The whole process of production and wealth are dominated by a capitalist class," Felix Barrett, manager of Revolution Books, says of the Soviet Union. "Whether they call themselves comrade or chairman of the board, they are the same."

"We say revolution is the only solution," Lagos says. "We don't want to sit at the master's table. We want to fight for a socialist system and transform that into communism."

"You look at the world and there's this phenomenon happening," Lagos says. "That should not disillusion people. They should seek the analysis that will uncover the truth of what's happening, and that's the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. We want to bring about a system where there is no racism, no men dominating women, no more oppression, no more classes."

Another visitor pops into the bookstore. "I guess you guys are hanging in there, huh?" "We're not giving up," Barrett says."

At Revolution Books stores across the country, heads are popping in the doors. Some ask, "Are you still here?" And others say, "You're still here, right on!"

In his article, "Radical Ruptures, or Yes, Mao More Than Ever," RCP Chairman Bob Avakian called for a powerful "ideological counteroffensive" to uphold and explain the fundamental goals of communism broadly. The slogan for this counteroffensive has been "*Phony Communism is Dead, Long Live Real Communism! Mao More Than Ever.*" And these past few weeks, as dramatic events in the Soviet Union caught the attention of millions, that Maoist counteroffensive went into gear.

All across the United States, supporters of the RCP have stepped out strongly with their revolutionary communist viewpoint. And their experience shows just how favorable the overall situation is.

A letter from *RW* sellers in Texas mentioned three things that were heard again

and again from around the country: "There is a lot of confusion among people as to what went down in the Soviet Union and what communism is. At the same time, there was a lot of mistrust for the U.S. and its intentions. Many people at a homeless rally echoed a sentiment that Western-style capitalism can't save the people of the Soviet Union because it's fucking the people here."

The staff of Seattle's Revolution Books report that their literature table at the Lollapalooza Tour was "swamped with dozens upon dozens of youth (and they are also busting down the door to the bookstore too!) who wanted to see what the RCP had to say, to discuss the significance of these events and to check out the party's analysis and solution particularly."

What the People Are Saying

The true opinions and debates of the people are a "hidden story"—hidden in the

bourgeois media. The bourgeoisie (quite naturally) chooses to act as if everyone embraces *their* conclusions. But that's not really what's happening. To really *know* what the people are thinking, you have to be out there among them, deep into this ideological struggle.

RW sellers in New York write that the basic proletarian people are very curious: "They want to know more and are exceedingly suspicious of what they are being told in the mainstream press and pressing us on the question of whether or not communism is dead. The sense we get is that people welcome any news they see as alternative to the mainstream and feel hesitant to say what they think—not out of fear but because they feel there is more going on than we are being told, or what we are being told is lies."

An RCP supporter in L.A. writes: "Some advanced basic people, especially Latinos, were not fooled by the media hype and thought that what happened in the Soviet Union was happening in the ranks of power and was not an uprising of the people. There was some confusion about this being a crisis of capitalism, and not a crisis of communism....A few Latino people mentioned that Mao was correct when he analyzed that the Soviet Union was capitalist. Others raised questions about Cuba's support for the coup and did this imply that there really was something worth supporting. One basic, minority youth said: 'They're trying to be just like us. What's so great about that?'"

People have worked hard to understand Soviet events and their significance for oppressed people. An older Black woman in Atlanta said that the events show the "true colors" of the Soviet leadership. Yeltsin, she points out, "wants to be the new Czar." People in their 30s often remark "the same thing could happen here."

A Syrian taxi-driver in Chicago told an *RW* reporter it made him sad to see anyone mess with Lenin's statues or remove his body from its prominent place in Moscow. "Lenin was one leader who really *did* something for the people," he said.

In Houston last month, *RW* sellers went out to a corner where they have been known for years. A lively street corner discussion broke out over what communism really is and whether it could work. Suddenly a dozen cop cars pulled in. An *RW* seller writes: "The crowd tenses. People

grab up *RW/OR* subscription flyers. As they put the cuffs on me, a Latino immigrant rescues seven papers from my hand and starts distributing them. Over 300 people were there. It was a fitting exposure of Western democracy...a lesson not lost on the people."

Putting Their Hardest Questions to the Maoists

When people run into uncompromising revolutionaries these days, they are often startled, then very excited. And they quickly start throwing out all the difficult and vexing questions that *they* have been grappling with.

The letter about Seattle's Lollapalooza Tour said "Many of these youth agreed that 'OK they didn't really have communism there, but doesn't that show that it can't work, because it failed at some point in the past?' Some even posed it that 'I'd be for it if it could work, but you people are dreaming.' Our point about 'what is *real* communism' and 'can it work' is extremely controversial in a really favorable way."

People want to know: Has communism proven to be a failure? Does this mean that people are fundamentally greedy and can't construct a liberated society? What happened to the revolution in Russia? When did it go bad? Are there any forces within the Soviet Union that people should be supporting? What do all these developments mean for the world now—especially for people in the Third World who want to win their national liberation?

A big question among the people, especially immigrants from the Third World is, "Does the collapse of the Soviet Union mean that the U.S. is now going to rampage against the people of the world?" People see that the U.S. global position is being temporarily strengthened, and even those who hated Soviet social-imperialism worry that lack of a strong rival will give the U.S. a freer hand.

RCP supporters remarked how people were grabbed by the statement in an *RW* poster: "Until the people learn to figure out the class interests behind developments and events in society—and organize around our own class interests—the powers are going to keep on playing the people for suckers."

A writer for the *RW/OR*, excited by the debate, said, "This is what we live for. The RCP has always taken Mao's words

Statement on the Coup and Counter-Coup in the USSR

The RW received this statement from the Information Bureau of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

The events in late August in the USSR were a dramatic turning point in the crisis gripping the USSR for the last few years. As Mao Tsetung pointed out, in the 1950s Khrushchev led the Soviet rulers to betray the proletariat and restore capitalism. The New Tsars, as Mao called them, turned the world's first socialist state into a bulwark of reaction, rigged up an empire and set out to challenge the U.S. imperialists for world domination, all under the banner of socialism. Now these New Tsars are reaping what they have sown; the workings of their state capitalist system have plunged the USSR into unprecedented crisis, interpenetrating with the crisis of the whole world imperialist system. The Soviet imperialist rulers are being battered from all sides, and in their desperation to resolve the crisis they are cutting each other's, and their own, throats. Their empire is disintegrating and they have even been forced to abandon their last tattered pretenses to be communists.

Western spokesmen describe all this as the "collapse of communism"—but genuine communists, the revolutionary Maoists united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), rejoice at the growing disintegration of one of the two strongest pillars of world reaction, which certainly is weakening the ability of world imperialism to enforce its rule around the world.

The Western rulers hailed the victory of the "reformists" while decrying the coup plotters. Yazov, Kryuchkov & Co. are certainly criminals. Yet every one of the reformers—Yeltsin, Gorbachev, Shevardnadze and the rest—clawed their way to the top of the ruling reactionary CPSU and for decades have been top managers of the criminal Soviet state capitalist system. All these coups and counter-coups are in-fighting within a Soviet ruling class desperate and divided by the deepening crisis in the USSR.

What will the reformers' programme of Western-style democracy and economic reform and cooperation with the West bring? Already the U.S. and Soviet rulers have shown the world the fruit of their first "joint venture": the corpses of 100-200,000 Iraqis in the U.S.-led colonial Gulf war. As for people in the USSR, the future for many is already visible in the unemployment lines in Poland and the homeless shelters in Budapest, where the "miracle" of "free market reform" enables a handful to drive Mercedes while ever broader numbers are driven to live in the streets.

The reactionary poisons which have dominated life in the USSR since the restoration of capitalism there were given socialist labels, and Marxism-Leninism itself was turned into a state religion, with the CPSU boss its Pope. Now the socialist mask has been dropped. Gone is the flowery fraudulent talk of, for example, "socialist equality between nations": long-standing Russian domination is being displayed in all its ugliness. Yeltsin supporters hurrah "Russia"—the battlecry of the Tsarist troops who carved the Russian empire out of the steppes, wading through rivers of the blood of the so-called savage Eastern peoples. Lenin long struggled against the drive for a "Great Russia." Genuine revolutionaries are happy that the new rulers have had to drop their pretense to uphold the red flag of communism and have reverted to their traditional reactionary flags that stand for their reactionary policies.

In the smaller nations demagogues like Lithuanian President Lansbergis exploit the nationalist resentment against this Russian chauvinism. Their "every-nation-for-itself" mentality has led to the disgusting spectacle of small nations trampling on even smaller ones—while the Soviet rulers manoeuvre behind the scenes.

The unraveling of the Soviet state has renewed the reactionaries' cry that "communism is dead." False communism, that hollow shell held up by the likes of Brezhnev and Deng Xiaoping to cover their crimes, is indeed collapsing with inner rot. But the reactionaries' attempt to bury communism intends to smother any hope of the oppressed that there is an alternative to this world of capitalism with all its horrors, and thus to stifle all resistance to their rule. They will never succeed. As Mao Tsetung analyzed, wherever there is oppression there is resistance. And wherever there are exploited and oppressed on this earth, then the vision of ending all oppression and exploitation, of classless society, communism, will burst forth again and again until the flames of revolution obliterate the old world and forge a new one. RIM calls on the rebellious masses of the far-flung Soviet empire to, as was said in the RIM's Call to the Peoples of Eastern Europe, which we translated and distributed widely in many of these countries: "attack the old order more thoroughly, more radically, and with more determination, to take up the revolutionary weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which your rulers have hidden from you, and to establish contact with the RIM so as to strengthen the ties of those from all parts of the world who are resolved to struggle until all oppression and exploitation under any name are done away with forever."

With the fall of the Berlin wall, the imperialists promised an end to great power rivalry and an era of peace and democracy. Instead, war has burst out in the Gulf, Ethiopia and Yugoslavia, and now fratricidal strife stalks the USSR itself. So long as the world is divided into exploiters and exploited and some nations dominate others, so long as this rapacious social order is held together with violence, there will be no peace, and democracy will only be a disguise to cover the rule of the exploiters. In fact, the disorder sweeping the USSR heralds an unparalleled epoch of upheaval in the world. RIM believes now is the time to march forward boldly and fearlessly amidst the turmoil and struggle, to seize on the weakening of the imperialist in order to prepare and launch revolutionary wars of liberation.

By the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

29 August 1991

seriously: Our movement will only grow by swimming in stormy weather, by daring to go against the tide. This is a great opportunity to create public opinion for the revolution."

Taking the Battle into the System's Own Mass Media

The bourgeoisie wants to use events in the Soviet Union to convince people that revolution is useless and impossible within the United States. And so, not surprisingly, bourgeois newspapers have sent out reporters to find demoralized "leftists" they can use to illustrate their claim.

These reporters have been calling up the Communist Party USA, a revisionist party long tied to Soviet social imperialism. The CPUSA is in deep crisis over Soviet events. One revisionist leader told the *San Jose Mercury News*: "It's been rough. I've gone from tears to being glad it's over."

Despite the class intentions of those who own the media, their interest in "What the U.S. left says about Soviet events" represents an opening for genuine revolutionary communists. And it has also given an opening for honest and progressive reporters to write about views that are usually not allowed in the mainstream press.

The new RCP Publications Public Relations Office has been at the heart of Maoist media activities. This RCP Public Relations Office describes itself as a national "center of coordination and organization, designed to give more national prominence to the RCP, its spokespeople, its publications, and to project the line and influence of the party throughout society." Over and over again throughout the Soviet events, reporters have been calling up looking for communists to interview—even a reporter from Radio Free Europe!

When they discover revolutionaries who are not dismayed by Soviet collapse they are sometimes disappointed. Some even slam down the phone saying "Oh this isn't the story we are looking for." But other times, revolutionaries have gotten an opening—a chance to reach new audiences with the revolutionary optimism and analysis of the RCP.

Jesse Davis, at the press desk of the RCP Publications Public Relations office, described the activities around the office when the coup and counter-coup story broke. "It became a situation where some major media and smaller press were rapidly hooked up with whoever they needed so our side of the story got out. Like the AP reporter. He phoned the bookstore in Boston and they put him in touch with us. We ran down the broad outlines of the coverage in our press, FAXed him some things, and got him to Carl Dix. The result was a story that went over the AP wire and was carried by papers in cities and towns across the country."

In just the last few weeks, RCP spokesperson Carl Dix has done over twenty interviews with the media. The *Chicago Tribune* reported: "This isn't at all disheartening to us," said Carl Dix, national spokesman for the Revolutionary Communist Party. "The events of the past few weeks have not weakened what real communism and real revolution is."

All of this is quite favorable conditions for revolutionary work. This is a time when people are coming to revolutionaries with life-and-death questions. It is a challenge from the people and a serious responsibility. And many supporters of the RCP have been studying hard to raise their own understanding, to meet that responsibility.

As Mao would say, "The situation is excellent." □



Graphic celebrating the 5th anniversary of the RIM painted on the Berlin Wall, 1989.

Real Heroes of the GI Resisters in Jail

During the U.S. war in the Gulf there were over 2,500 GI resisters who refused to fight. According to the War Resisters League, every country that had troops involved with the Gulf War had GIs who said NO to the war. And many of them publicly denounced the war, knowing full well that the military wasn't going to take kindly to their actions. Many of these resisters have already been tried and sentenced.

The RW recently received a copy of a special issue of *StormWarning*, the newsletter put out by Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist. This issue is titled, "Some of the best and bravest—the Real Heroes of the Gulf War are in JAIL!" As the introduction to this says:

"Today in this country, hundreds of GI resisters are still having war waged upon them by the U.S. government and its military. These men and women, who simply refused to participate in Desert Storm, are charged with serious crimes like missing troop movement, refusing orders, and desertion in time of war. Their real 'crimes' are not being blindly obedient, refusing to kill for oil and profit, and not acting cowardly in the face of military 'justice' and intimidation. They put into practice moral and political beliefs which contrast sharply with the horror of what the Allies did to the people of Iraq. Those who are responsible for this heinous war would have us believe that the so-called 'victory' invalidates the actions of these resisters—that the end justifies the means. But the war has not ended in Iraq. As a direct result of the continued U.S. sanctions of food and medical supplies, a projected 170,000 young children and infants will die by the end of this year. The actions these resisters took are correct and should be supported as outright insubordination to the New World Order. . . . Those who uphold the New World Order have no right to judge these people. Those of us who oppose this New World Order have every responsibility to support and defend GI resisters."

The following pictures and descriptions of some of the GI resisters who have already been sentenced/ are taken from this issue of *StormWarning*. (VVAWI can be reached at 206/328-4377.)



Tahan Jones, USMC

Facing Court Martial, originally on charges of desertion in wartime, which carries a possible death penalty
"African Americans are asked to...sacrifice for a nation that refuses to enact a civil rights bill to end employment discrimination."



Yolanda Huet-Vaughn, MD, U.S. Army Doctor

Sentenced to 2-1/2 years in prison
"Where there is no cure, prevention is the only remedy."



Enrique Gonzales

USMC resister, originally from El Salvador.
 Sentenced to 2-1/2 years
"I am furious and outraged at the injustice we have faced."



Demetrio Perez, USMC

Sentenced to 15 months
"It came to the point where I had to choose between my commitment to the government and my religious beliefs."



Jean-Claude Rainey, USMC

Awaits Court Martial
"Since I stated I was a conscientious objector, I've been put in the brig three times."



Lavelle McKinney, USMC

Sentenced to one month in the brig
"The Iraqi kids could have been my cousins. It hit me really hard."



Marcus Blackwell, USMC

Sentenced to 15 months
"War destroys more than just property, it also destroys human beings."



Marquis Leacock, USMC

Sentenced to 12 months
"What is the justice here?"



David Bobbitt, USMC

Sentenced to 14 months
"Are we superior...because we can destroy and maim everything on this planet?"



Doug DeBoer, USMC

Sentenced to 15 months
"...Wake up, comprehend the atrocities we are committing around the world in the name of freedom, and force our government to change its ways."



John Isaac III, USMC

Sentenced to 8 months
"I don't believe anybody should be persecuted for feeling a certain way."



Keith Jones, USMC

Sentenced to 16 months
"The concept of right and wrong has taken on a whole new meaning."

Gulf War:

U.S. Bully Threatens Iraq



Sam Lwin, USMC
Sentenced to 4 months

"The real heroes...are all of the people...who have taken actions to try to stop President Bush... from launching this war."



Colin Bootman, political artist, USMC

Sentenced to 18 months
"They brought me down here [the brig] to beat the shit out of me."



James Summers, USMC
Sentenced to 14 months

"Mankind must put an end to war before war puts an end to mankind."



Kevin Sparrock

Sentenced to 6 months, originally faced a death sentence
"They put us in jail to break us, but if your mental state is there, nothing—no one—can ever, ever break you."



George Ward, USMC
Sentenced to 10 months

"Love your enemies"—I believe that."



Daniel Gillis, USMC

Beaten by white officers, sentenced to one year
"I came into the Marines for the macho image. As I matured, I adopted Islam and the ideology of peace."



Wayne McWhite, USMC
Sentenced to 16 months

"I had God talking to me, that's why I didn't do it."



Sgt. George Morse
Sentenced to 5 months

The U.S. is making new bully threats against Iraq—even as thousands of Iraqis continue to die from the effects of the massive U.S. bombing at the beginning of this year.

On September 18 George Bush, commander-in-chief of the U.S. war machine, declared that he will order U.S. military aircraft into Iraq if Saddam Hussein does not agree to open up the country completely to UN inspection teams. The plan involves jet fighters, combat helicopters and AWAC radar planes "escorting" the helicopters carrying the UN inspectors. Some "military analysts" in the U.S. say that if necessary troops will be ordered to surround and take over certain military or industrial facilities.

During the Gulf war the U.S. military boasted that their "smart bombs" had destroyed much of Iraq's ability to produce nuclear and chemical weapons. But now they are singing a totally different tune. They claim that Iraq still has large numbers of chemical weapons and Scud missiles as well as the material and facilities to produce nuclear weapons. They accuse the Iraqi government of giving the UN inspection teams the run-around. And they say that the UN cease-fire terms ending the Gulf war require Iraq to submit quietly to these foreign weapons police roaming all over the country, poking their noses into military bases, chemical laboratories, industrial sites and power plants.

At the same time, the Western powers are moving to control Iraq's economy. The UN sanctions against Iraq following the destruction of sewage treatment facilities, power plants and other infrastructure elements have caused widespread disease, hunger and death. The Iraqi government has requested that the ban against the sale of Iraqi oil be lifted so that much-needed emergency food and medical supplies can be bought. Last week the UN agreed to let Iraq sell \$1.6 billion of oil—but with strict conditions. Iraq will not be allowed to touch any of the money, which will go into an escrow fund. More than one-third of the money will go to Kuwait and others for "war reparations," and the UN will decide what supplies to buy with the rest of the money. The Western imperialists are cold-bloodedly using the lives of the Iraqi people to gain more leverage over the Saddam Hussein regime.

This is outrageous big-power bullying against an oppressed country and its people! The U.S. and its allies committed gang rape against Iraq in the Gulf war. Now they are threatening to brutalize the victim once again.

The U.S. claims that the weapons inspections are necessary to prevent Iraq from possessing "weapons of mass destruction." But this is a lying excuse — like the way the U.S. used phony justifications such as "liberating Kuwait" to launch the Gulf war, when the real aim was to secure control of the oil resources and strengthen the U.S. imperialist position in the Mideast and on a world scale. What is really behind the

demands about the UN inspection teams? The U.S. imperialists want to show they are the "top gun" in the New World Order, able to trample over small countries at will. They want to humble and humiliate Saddam Hussein even more, to demonstrate that lackeys cannot get away with disobeying their imperialist masters.

These are ruthless calculations of a global criminal. But they also expose the cowardice of the U.S. imperialists. They are desperate to prove "who's the boss"—and the way they are doing it is to beat up some more on a country that has already been ganged up on and viciously beaten.

All the talk by the U.S. about Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction" is complete hypocrisy. During the Gulf war the U.S. imperialists tried to whip up public opinion against Iraq by warning that Hussein had to be stopped before he used nuclear or chemical weapons. Iraq ended up just firing a few conventional Scud missiles. *It was the U.S. and its allies who used their modern weapons to cause mass destruction in Iraq!* They used cruise missiles to destroy bomb shelters and baby milk factories. They deliberately included electric power stations in their target lists, leaving the Iraqis without power to run hospitals and clean the water. In the desert U.S. tanks buried hundreds of Iraqi soldiers alive in the trenches.

And since the war's end the U.S. government has sent billions of dollars in high-tech weapons to repressive regimes in the region: \$7.5 billion to Saudi Arabia, \$1.5 billion in F-16 jet fighters to Egypt, \$760 million in Apache helicopters to United Arab Emirates, and so on. But to the U.S. rulers, *this* huge military buildup is perfectly fine because it is taking place in countries where the ruling regimes are firmly loyal to the Western powers.

As we go to press, it is unclear how the situation around the UN inspection teams will develop. In the past few months Saddam Hussein has backed down and compromised when pressed with demands by the imperialist powers. But the U.S. imperialists could decide they want to "make a point" and launch military action in Iraq, whatever Hussein's response. If this happens, things could escalate quickly. The U.S. still has 36,000 troops in the region, including a "rapid deployment" force in Turkey, units in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and a naval force in the Persian Gulf. There are reports that some military units in the U.S. are being mobilized. The UN secretary general has said that the U.S. already has the "authority" from previous UN resolutions to move against Saddam Hussein. And the Congress is also giving Bush the green light to go into Iraq again.

The oppressed people in the U.S., and all those who have a sense of justice, have *no* interest in siding with the imperialists in their threats and attacks against Iraq. The lies of the government need to be pierced and rejected. The people must demand that the U.S. powers take their bloody hands off Iraq.



U.S. tank like those used to bury Iraqi soldiers alive.

Killings:

Murderers No More! No More Racist Police Brutality!

RIGHT TO REBEL!

What kind of society treats its youth like criminals and animals and declares all-out war against them? What kind of system prepares to put a whole generation of Black, Latino and other oppressed youth behind Nazi ghetto walls, behind bars, or in the grave? A society and a system where a few 'haves' live off the backs of, exploit and super-exploit millions of 'have nots.' A system with nothing to offer us but a life of mistreatment and misery. A system that can only continue to exist by putting us—and the people of the world—in this miserable mess and keeping us there.

No matter what our nationality or the language we speak; no matter if we were driven to "El Norte" by the yanqui death squads and poverty in our homelands or our ancestors dragged to Amerikkka in chains on slave ships—to our rulers we are all the same—modern day slaves, criminals, or cannonfodder for their killing machine. To hell with those who would steal our strength by setting one oppressed nationality against another. It's our sisters and brothers being attacked by these pigs—that's *our* blood down there in the street. The police ain't nothing but the murdering, brutalizing enforcers of this system. For those who run this setup, war on the poor and oppressed is *necessary* to keep their domination over us.

They send their politicians at us, fronting for this system with lies about "freedom and justice." When that shit don't play they try another way—make us feel powerless so we'll keep our mouths shut and just go along. But we don't play that. We know they're just trying to keep control over a society that threatens to fly apart, including in mass outbreaks of protest and rebellion—and in a world situation which itself is full of trouble and turmoil for them. The New World Order ain't all that orderly. All the things they're forced to do to keep their shit going all over the world—to try and beat down the people and beat off their rivals trying to cut in on their game—all this can lead to a situation where things are out of hand and out of control for them. We have to be getting ready for that Time.

This system is organized greed backed up by weapons of mass destruction. And the only solution is all the way revolution. When the Time is ripe, we must be prepared to rise up, snatch power out of the hands of those who rule over this society and their hired killers, and put power in the hands of the masses of people.

Because: **without power in the people's hands, getting free is just illusion.** We need to fight: **To break the power of this system and to create a system where power over every part of society is in the hands of those who have been exploited and oppressed. Power to END all oppression and exploitation.** And when we do this, it will be a blow for oppressed people the world over.

This is what our Party stands for, what we fight for. **This is not a foggy dream**

or a never-gonna-happen ideal; we got the program, leadership and plan that can make it real. To the powers and their parrots who try to tell us this revolution is dead and buried we say: as long as there are masses of people who are exploited and oppressed, this revolution will rise up, again and again—it will be brought to life by these masses—and it will keep on until this imperialist system itself is dead and buried.

OUTCASTS, DOWNCASTS, SLAVES, ILLEGALS & REBELS: IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!

Enough is enough! BASTA YA! We don't have to put up with this pig brutality and this life of misery and mistreatment. Now is the time for us, the people who live on the bottom, to stand up and step out, speak up and speak out everywhere, in the schools and in the streets. Only the people can put an end to this madness. We can break free of this sewer-system and its look-out-for-yourself, dog-eat-dog mentality and violence by rising up politically. Now is the time to take the stage and make them feel our rage. Organize and mobilize; fight the power in mass political actions.

And more, while we're battling them back, politically like that, we got to make this part of getting ready for The Time—and it could come soon—to wage revolutionary war. We got to expose this system as the real enemy and rouse the people to rise up against it. We got to move to liberate ourselves and win the greatest number of people of all races and nationalities including the middle class people who hate and resist the crimes of this system. We have to be building up our strength and our conscious organized force to battle them in a new way—all-out and all-the-way—when the Time comes. We have to relate to and build up our Party—spread and deepen its influence and its organized ties with the masses of people. Get down with the party, Get ready for revolution!

We can't allow them to keep shooting us down in the street. We can't allow them to push ahead with their police-state program. Now is the time to bust a move! We have to politicize and organize, we have to mobilize and fight the power in mass political action!

THE HARDER THEY COME, THE HARDER THEY FALL: OPPRESSORS WILL FALL, ONE AND ALL!

Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Los Angeles Branch



Demonstration against police brutality, March 1991.

! No More Racist Police Brutality!

TO REBEL!

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L.A.: New Revelations in Pig Murder Spree

During the past week, there have been new revelations about the recent murder spree involving Los Angeles County Sheriffs Deputies (See RW No. 622). Five unarmed men were shot and killed between August 3 and September 2. A private pathologist reported that one of the dead, 15-year-old David Ortiz, who was killed August 28 in Artesia, had been shot in the back. The pathologist also noted that the cause of death was not the gunshot wounds. David choked to death on his own blood because the pigs that shot him just handcuffed him and left him to die. This report contradicted the deputies' story that David had reached for his waistband. Eye witnesses said David was running away when he was shot.

After these revelations, the L.A. District Attorney took the extraordinary step of sealing four autopsy reports, including David Ortiz's. They said it was to protect their investigation.

The L.A. Times obtained a copy of the coroner's report on the death of Keith Hamilton, a 33-year-old Black man.

Hamilton was shot and killed by one of seven Sheriffs who had surrounded him as he stood outside his mother's home in Ladera Heights on August 13. The autopsy showed that he had been shot nine times in the back. The ricocheting of some of the bullets within his body, and the angle of penetration of others, indicate that he was lying face down on the pavement when at least some of the shots were fired. Other marks on his body show he was beaten on the head, knee, mouth and elbow and was also shocked repeatedly with an electric stun gun.

Again, the autopsy confirms what witnesses from the neighborhood had said earlier—and shows the Sheriffs' version to be full of lies. The pigs said Keith Hamilton was reaching for a knife. One report said a knife was in a sheath on the body, but a subsequent report said it was found under the body. A neighbor, a 44-year-old retired military officer, said he saw the cops leave briefly, come back wiping off a "metallic object" which was then placed under the body. The D.A. is now trying to explain this away by saying what the witness saw was a pair of rubber gloves! An attorney representing a member of the family said, "It is not new to me that witnesses have alleged police have planted weapons to justify shooting people."

The other cases in which autopsy reports are being withheld are the killing of Steve Clemons and Darryl Stephens, who were both killed on September 2. Stephens' family insist he was in bed, possibly asleep, when the West Covina SWAT team, working with Sheriffs' deputies, burst through his door shooting at 2:00 a.m. Steve Clemons was killed in Willowbrook Park while trying to dispose of a beer bottle, according to literally hundreds of witnesses. The cops said it was a gun. Witnesses say he, too, was shot in the back.

In the midst of these revelations, on September 10 the County Board of Supervisors held a widely publicized hearing with Sheriff Sherman Block present to hear public criticisms of the Sheriffs Department. Hundreds of people showed up. As someone pounded a gavel, a cry went up from the rear of the huge auditorium: "Murderers! Murderers! No More! Basta ya!" Half a dozen youth in Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) T-shirts jumped up and unfurled a banner reading "No Peace for Racists." For over five minutes the youth spoke to the crowd. People responded with applause and cries of "Arriba!" and "Pump it up!" When a pig held up another sign saying "Support Our Sheriff," the hundreds of cops who got the day off to pack the hearing started clapping and the earlier cheers changed to boos. (The boos clearly outnumbered the cheers.) Ten to 15 cops took the RCYBs out.

The first witnesses were elected officials from the 42 cities in L.A. County which contract with the County government to have the Sheriffs be their city police. People who live with police terror every day had to sit through two hours of rabid calls for more executions and more deportations. People had to wait many hours before they heard the mother of David Ortiz, gazing steadily at the Board, say the following words: "A precious part of our lives has been taken away unnecessarily. He was just a boy, unarmed. It could have been handled in a different manner. It should have been handled in a different manner. There is a correct manner, I hope. My son was not a criminal, to be shot and killed in that way. There are a lot of good kids out there. But just because they are Hispanic, and they hang out in the barrio, does not give you the right to shoot and kill them."

Officials are planning more hearings and more commissions. The pigs who killed Keith Hamilton have been relieved of duty, with pay. And the pigs who killed David Ortiz are still on the streets.

**Fujimori
Visits U.S.**

Yankee Godfather Backs Peru Counterrevolution

President Alberto Fujimori of Peru came to Washington, D.C. last week to report to his boss, President George Bush. The state visit was aimed at promoting the new U.S.-Peru agreement signed last May. The agreement provides \$100 million in U.S. aid, including \$34 million in military assistance for such things as the sending of Green Berets to train Peruvian troops. The aid plan is dressed up as a "anti-drug" effort. But the military aid is not about stopping the flow of cocaine. The real target of the plots being hatched by the U.S. and Peruvian rulers is the Maoist people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru.

By inviting Fujimori to the White House for a face-to-face talk, Bush was giving official endorsement of Fujimori as a member of the "New World Order" team. The visit—and the agreement signed by the U.S. and Peruvian governments—opens the door to much greater U.S. military intervention against the revolution in Peru.

Behind the Aid Delay in the Congress

Since the agreement was signed in May, the money has been held up by the U.S. Congress. Human rights organizations like Americas Watch criticize the agreement, pointing out that the Peruvian authorities continue to commit brutal abuses against the people.

But concern for people's lives is *not* what is moving some politicians in the Congress to question the aid agreement. After all, the Congress overwhelmingly backed the brutal Gulf war which killed 200,000 Iraqis. The bourgeois politicians are afraid that the U.S. is getting into a messy counter-insurgency war with an uncertain outcome. They know that fighting the Communist Party of Peru (known as the Sendero Luminoso, or the Shining Path in the bourgeois media) is not like fighting Saddam Hussein—a reactionary created by the imperialists themselves—or various armed revisionist groups around the world who used to be backed up by the Soviet Union.

The ruling class and their media lie that the Peruvian revolutionaries are "terrorists" who are only advancing because of an "alliance with drug traffickers." But when the bourgeois think-tanks advise the U.S. government, they are more upfront. A 1990 report by RAND, a top U.S. think-tank, said that the Communist Party of Peru "enjoys a substantial base of support in the countryside and has begun actively recruiting from among the urban work force" and warned that "Sendero could win."

When some forces in the U.S. ruling class say they are "concerned about the human rights record of the Peruvian government," what they are really worried about is that the Fujimori government is not capable of putting down the advancing people's war. They fear that the U.S. will have to commit much more directly and on a massive scale to back up a corrupt, hated regime. They are afraid that Peru will be another Vietnam. At the same time, the Yankee imperialists are determined to prevent a victorious revolution in Latin America, a strategic area that they claim as their "back yard."

The Truth About Fujimori

By inviting Fujimori for a meeting at the White House, Bush meant to send out a signal that the U.S. government is firmly backing the Peruvian regime and to urge Congress to OK the military aid. As part of this, the Bush administration tried to do an outrageous whitewash of the brutal crimes being committed by the Fujimori regime.

During a meeting at the Oval Office in the White House, Bush called Fujimori a man of "vision and courage" and praised his "progress on curbing human rights abuses" in Peru. Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for Inter-American affairs, said Fujimori "has done more to advance the cause of human rights in its first 13 months in office than in any period in history." The *Washington Post* editors supported him and described him as "a democratic leader operating by the law of

his country and the consent of his people."

All this is a shameless lie. The August 1991 issue of the newspaper *El Diario Internacional* (published in Belgium by the exiled Peruvian editor Luis Arce Borja) exposed Fujimori's true nature: "In his first 12 months in office (July 1990-1991), the armed forces and police, unleashed like never before, have murdered 3,106 people (official version) and have kidnapped and disappeared more than 500 people labeled subversives. In the midst of it all, Fujimori, supported by international organizations who call themselves 'defenders of human rights' (Red Cross, UN, etc.) and by various so-called democratic political organizations, has continued to arm the paramilitary gangs (known as rondas campesinas, civil defense), the very ones who are committing increasingly vicious genocide against entire villages in the Andes of Peru. He is preparing and carrying out plans to commit mass murder against the prisoners of war held in Canto Grande prison. He is extending the areas under a state of emergency, where the army and police are massacring hundreds of peasants. He is militarizing and laying siege to the universities. He is brutally suppressing villages considered to be base areas of the Maoists. He is having social union activists kidnapped and murdered. He is applying reactionary economic measures which are throwing millions of Peruvians into extreme misery. He is steeped in corruption and is lending support to criminals and mafiosos of the previous administrations. He is muzzling and repressing the media that doesn't support him, those that try to expose his crimes and murders. He is imprisoning and murdering respected journalists. It is unimaginable to speak of 'human rights' under a regime that has made terror and crime its preferred method of governing."

The fact that the U.S. imperialists had to come out with such blatant lies about Fujimori shows how urgent and desperate they think the situation in Peru is. The Peruvian revolution is winning important victories—the People's Guerrilla Army is

engaging enemy forces in even bigger battles, while revolutionary political power is being established in base areas all over the country. Meanwhile the Peruvian ruling class is battered with economic crisis and increasingly split by sharp divisions. The Bush administration wants to send the military aid and the Green Berets down to Peru as soon as possible. And the U.S. government may come in with even greater force if they see the situation getting worse for them.

Support the Revolution in Peru

The Peruvian revolution is very precious and inspiring to people around the world who are fighting against oppression and exploitation. Those living here in the belly of the imperialist beast have a responsibility to build strong opposition to the U.S. government's intervention against the people's war and support for the people's war.

In a statement protesting Fujimori's visit, Heriberto Ocasio, national spokesperson for the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, said: "The revolutionaries in Peru today control areas that comprise one-third of Peru's population. In the base areas of the revolution there are now thousands of People's Committees: land is being seized and redistributed among the poorest peasants; women for the first time live free of rape and abuse...."

"Some may claim that communism in the world is a thing of the past, but in the mountains and the shantytowns of Peru Maoism is alive and well, and it's challenging the supposed invincibility of Bush's new world order...."

"All those who take a stand with the rebellions of the oppressed should stand in solidarity with the people's war, and all people of conscience should oppose this criminal military agreement. **YANKEE GO HOME! U.S. OUT OF PERU! INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!**"



A river running through the slums of Iquitos, Peru, carries tons of sewage and refuse through the shantytown.

Peru:

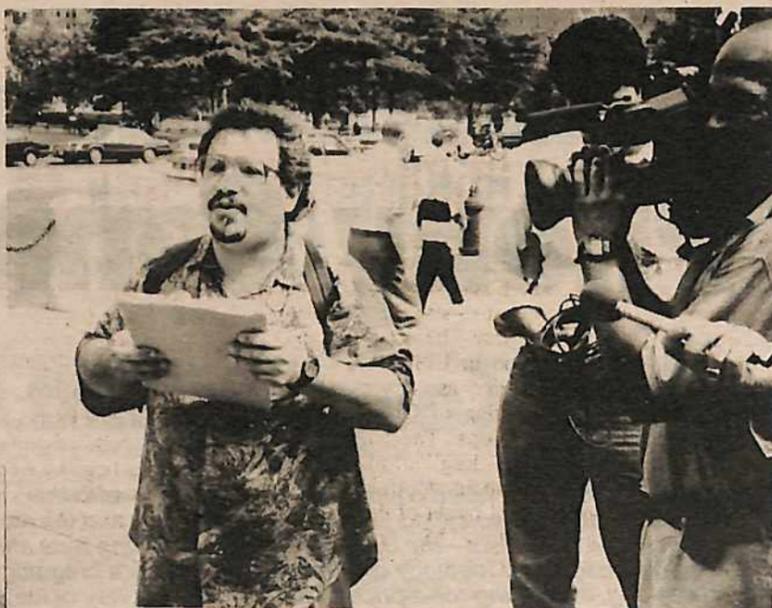
Since the beginning of this year a deadly cholera epidemic has been raging across Peru and other countries of South America. Cholera is an intestinal disease which can kill quickly—but it can also be easily prevented with basic health measures and quickly treated if patients are given inexpensive medicines in time. It has been mostly eliminated in the imperialist countries but still stalks the people of the Third World. In the epidemic this year, there have been a quarter of a million reported cases and over 3,000 deaths in five countries, mostly in Peru.

Health officials say that the epidemic has ebbed for now. But they are also sure that there will be another serious bout with the disease, and they warn that cholera will probably become a common problem in the region, reappearing every few years. This is because cholera is a *symptom* of a system which has built up immense wealth and power in the imperialist countries and deep poverty and misery in the oppressed countries like Peru.

The epidemic began in January in the Peruvian coastal city of Chimbote and spread rapidly down the coast and into the sprawling shantytowns of Lima and other cities, where millions of poor people live. It then appeared in the mountain villages and remote jungle settlements. The disease is spread when bacteria from human wastes get into drinking water and food through direct contact or flies. Most of the areas hit by the epidemic do not have any plumbing or sewage systems, and they draw their drinking water from the same rivers that they must use to wash, bathe, and dispose of their wastes.

The difference between cholera and other diarrheal diseases is that it is much more intense. If untreated, it leads to dehydration, shock and death within as little as ten hours. Caught in time, cholera is easily treated by medicine that costs only

CSRP Denounces Fujimori Visit



Heriberto Ocasio



Special to the RWOR

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru united with others to denounce the Fujimori/Bush meeting. On September 17 the CSRP, together with activists from Washington, D.C. and New York, demonstrated in front of the White House. A number of Peruvians from the D.C. area also came out to voice outrage at the new U.S.-Peru military pact. Fujimori's caravan had to sneak around to the back door of the White House, and the ceremony with Bush had to be moved indoors to avoid the shouts of the protesters who chanted "War on drugs is a sham, Peru is the next Vietnam!", "Yankee go home, U.S. out of Peru!" Heriberto Ocasio, national spokesperson for CSRP, was interviewed by U.S. and international press. The protest was endorsed by Akil Al-Jundi, former Attica Brother; Carlos Baron, San Francisco State University; Black Consciousness Movement of Azania; Black Panther Newspaper Committee; Bloque Socialista/NY; Lenni Brenner, editor of *Anti-War Activist*; Committee in Solidarity with the People of Peru; Coordinadora Latinoamericana; Father Lawrence Lucas; Dr. M.T. Mehdi, Arab American Relations Committee; Pepe Santana (Inkhay).

An Epidemic of Poverty

pennies—all that is needed are rehydration solutions made by mixing salts and sugar with clean water.

But even these simple and inexpensive medical measures are not available to millions of people in Peru and other South American countries. Many people in the rural areas live as much as a week away from medical clinics which are few and far between and often poorly equipped. Almost three-quarters of the population of Peru is below the poverty level and 25 percent are classified as "indigent," meaning they are basically starving. Less than one out of five Peruvians of working age are fully employed. More than half the population lack adequate drinking water and sanitation services.

One result of the cholera epidemic has been a ban on Peruvian exports of fish and agricultural products because of fears they could spread the disease. Peru could lose up

to \$600 million from the ban, and this is making the economic situation even harder for the people.

The Peruvian government has tried to cover up the impact of cholera. Responding to worries by the tourism and fishing industries about declining profits, President Fujimori told the health minister to report the cholera outbreak as "an acute diarrhea of unknown origin." Fujimori and several of his cabinet ministers even went on TV to eat ceviche, a popular traditional dish prepared by marinating raw fish in lemon juice. This totally irresponsible attempt by the government to spread a "what, me worry?" attitude about cholera had an immediate effect. Within days, hospital admissions for cholera soared. Among the patients was Felix Canal, one of the obliging ministers who ate ceviche with Fujimori.

The attitude of the U.S. powers that

dominate Peru has been even more outrageous and cold-hearted. *Time* magazine wrote that providing long-term solutions to cholera in Latin America would cost tens of billions of dollars and was therefore not "practical" because it "would be a staggering sum for countries already deeply in debt." First of all, providing immediate and life-saving help by distributing rehydration salts would cost only pennies a patient. Also, the imperialist countries like the U.S. take tens of billions of dollars each year out of the oppressed countries in profits. Adding up payments and interest on their foreign debt, the oppressed countries wound up sending \$140 billion more to the rich countries between 1984 and 1988 than they received.

The health system in Peru has broken down almost completely. Almost one of every ten children do not live to the age of ten, and the majority are malnourished, leaving them vulnerable to sicknesses. Diseases like tuberculosis, typhoid, Dengue fever, and parasites strike many thousands of adults each year. Dr. Uriel Garcia, a former minister of health in the Peruvian government, said in February, "We are quite rightly alarmed by 100 deaths from cholera, but every year nearly 20,000 children die from other diarrheal diseases, and we hear nothing about it." At the same time as the cholera epidemic, a serious outbreak of malaria may have killed hundreds of people in the department of Cuzco. A young health worker from the Amazon city of Iquitos said, "So many are sick here—we try to teach them to take care of themselves, but where they live is itself a disease."

There are similar conditions all over Latin America. Carlyle Guerra de Macedo, director of the Pan American Health Organization, says, "We just can't hold the epidemic within the present limits. Most likely we are going to have cholera in all of

Latin America." Some health officials predict that in the next three years cholera will spread throughout Latin America, where a fourth of the population of 438 million have no plumbing or sewers. They think cholera might strike more than six million people and kill 40,000. Even without cholera, hundreds of thousands of children die each year from malnutrition and diarrheal diseases in Latin America.

Peru is a country rich in resources. But in the countryside, children die of cholera because they don't have medicine that costs only a few cents; in the slums of Lima, mothers must give their children water to drink that they know might have cholera germs—they don't have the money to buy kerosene or wood to boil the water and kill the germs. This outrageous and irrational situation exists because state power is in the hands of the reactionary Peruvian rulers who are backed up by the Yankee imperialists. Under this system those in power consider it too "expensive" to build sewage systems or provide medicine that could save thousands of lives. At the same time, the banks in New York, Tokyo and Europe take tens of millions of dollars in profits out of Peru every year. And the U.S. sends tens of millions of dollars to help the Peruvian government put down the people who are rising up in armed revolution.

One of the slogans put forward by the Maoist Communist Party of Peru is "Without power, all is illusion." What this means is that the only way for the masses to win a whole new and better life is to overthrow the power of the exploiters and oppressors and seize revolutionary power. The Communist Party of Peru is leading a people's war to do just that—to wipe out not only cholera but the whole diseased system which is responsible for so much suffering of the people. □



Peruvian child in the cholera ward of Iquitos General Hospital.

Phony Communism Is Dead,

Point/Counterpoint #2

In the wake of the failed coup in the Soviet Union—with the de-powerment of the so-called Communist Party there and the move to Western-style capitalism—the U.S. media has been going nuts attacking the whole history and ideology of communism. They are bragging that their dog-eat-dog, everything-for-a-price system is the only way of life possible, and moreover that the masses of people like it this way. The whole situation has unleashed a flood of questions: all kinds of people want to talk to the RCP about what is communism, what happened in the Soviet Union and China, and so on.

In the Point/Counterpoint series the RW will examine the claims of the bourgeois experts and their theories on the so-called “failure of communism.”

First of all, the terms set by the media are bogus because communism did not fail, it was overthrown by coup d’etats in the Soviet Union in 1956 and in China in 1976 after Mao’s death. The amazing thing is not that capitalism came back to power (for the time being) in these countries, but that these first historic experiences of proletarian revolution were able to accomplish so much in a relatively short historical period of time. After all,

It took the bourgeois revolution hundreds of years just to abolish outright human slavery! From an historical viewpoint, the battles for proletarian revolution and communism have just begun.

Secondly, the current crisis in the Soviet Union is a crisis of state-capitalism, not communism. For 35 years, since the coup of Khrushchev in 1956, the Soviet Union has been a state-capitalist system with a phony socialist signboard. Now the signboard has been removed altogether and more Western-style capitalist forms are being adopted. So it is completely upside-down for the Western bourgeoisie to point to the results of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the attitudes of the people there as a “failure of communism.”

Recently the McNeil/Lehrer NewsHour on PBS-TV aired a series of conversations with so-called experts to discuss communism. One of their first discussions was with Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor for U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Last week the RW took on Brzezinski’s argument that there is a fundamental connection between human creativity and the acquisition of goods. This week we take up his arguments on religion.

Point

Brzezinski: Communism or Marxism...underestimated the human being’s need for something spiritual, its emphasis on atheism deprived people of some transcendental belief.

Counterpoint

We counter with edited excerpts from “Radical Ruptures, or Yes, Mao More Than Ever,” by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian:

I recently read an article (I think it was in the Atlantic) about religion. Its title was something like “Can We Be Good Without God?” It wasn’t quite on the same level of gloating that you’ve been getting a lot these days from the more authoritative spokesmen for the system, the powers-that-be, the high-ranking people in the media, and so on—I’m referring specifically to the imperialist system in the West—the gloating

over the “demise of communism” and the “triumph of capitalism...a free society... democracy,” and on and on, *ad nauseam*. This Atlantic article was, in form, a more “agonizing” article, about how basically every attempt at making a better world that’s based on relying on human beings, and the potential or actual good in human beings, has proven to be a dismal failure, and so the only hope for the human species is to have some absolute principles of religion.

This wasn’t necessarily an argument for the Christian religion alone to be the dominant religion, but an argument for a

commonly held idea...that without belief in some god and without the absolute authority of religion and its scriptures, people would turn into beasts. That people are *by nature* potentially bestial, potentially cruel and horrible, and that by themselves people are not capable of creating a good society and a good world.

It is specifically in this context that this article in the Atlantic brings up the “demise” of all attempts at social transformation—in particular of the socialist and communist type—how these have ended up in dismal failure and are always bound to end up in dismal failure because they are



Long Live Real Communism

cold, materialistic, atheistic, and don't recognize the transcendental, absolute necessity of having some Higher Being whose will and commandments have to be invoked to keep human beings and their inherently evil nature in check.

Now this article isn't the most crude argument for this view—it's not Pat Robertson, who in any case draws different conclusions politically. This *Atlantic* piece is actually almost more of a liberal-type argument. It reflects—it seizes on—some objective developments in the world, particularly the setbacks for truly historic attempts at revolutionary transformation, as in China—the fact that since the counter-revolutionary coup by Deng & Co. in 1976, capitalism has been restored in China, although it masquerades as "socialism." This has meant the removal of a tremendously powerful, vibrant, and influential revolutionary base area and beacon.

China was a real beacon to the oppressed—to our people, to our class around the world. Even people who didn't look at it in that way (like liberals), but who maybe had a certain respect for it on a certain level and were attracted to it on a certain level (as many intellectuals were at the height of the Cultural Revolution in particular), have drawn their own conclusions and have been demoralized in various ways. Now there is among straight-up reactionaries some more cynical speculating on these failures as they present them, or setbacks, as we more correctly see them, but there is also some genuine demoralization and disorientation among various classes. Even among our class this has its direct and indirect effects, and certainly among the intellectuals and others there are more powerful negative influences which have come about because of these objective setbacks.

But also what we see here is their class viewpoint coming to the fore very sharply: their utter lack of belief in the ability of the masses to transform the world and to transform themselves in the process. When I say "utter" I don't really mean to say "absolute" because, as we've seen and as the example of the Cultural Revolution shows, such intermediate strata can be influenced to a better attitude and orientation towards the masses. But when our great successes are temporarily turned into great defeats then this has its influence on such people in terms of their losing any sense of the ability of the masses to radically transform the world and themselves in the process....

What this really gets down to is, again, the question of the *two radical ruptures*, as Marx and Engels called them. This means most fundamentally the radical rupture with all traditional property relations, but what is being focused on here, very acutely, is the other radical rupture—the rupture with all traditional ideas. Basically what's being said—in different forms but with a common theme—by those who invoke the specter of totalitarianism and talk in gloomy terms about the innate evil in the human character is that it is *impossible* to make such ruptures, particularly the rupture with all traditional ideas. Here "traditional ideas" must be understood in the broadest sense to include culture and even various notions of "spiritual qualities" deemed to be the thing that essentially makes human beings human and distinguishes them from the rest of "God's creation," or the rest of nature, or however it's viewed. According to this view, there is no way that such a radical rupture could or should be made and therefore no way that the *attempt* should be made, because it's bound to end up in disaster, in horrendous totalitarian excesses, and so on.

I think this comes out in the viewpoint that, again, there are certain inherent qualities of human beings, and there are certain things about human society and its historical development, that are so integral

to what human beings and their societies are all about that any attempt to break with these things is bound to lead to disaster. Included in this are things like religion, various forms of culture, various traditional ideas and customs, and so on. And this is said—for instance the notion that religion is essential for human society—even by people who themselves are not necessarily religious, but who believe that the religious traditions of human society and the religious, and as they see it "spiritual," qualities of people in society are an indispensable part of holding human society together in some sort of decent way. And here I'm giving this the best interpretation that can be given to it.

In this article I wrote, "Religion: Who Needs It?... And Who Doesn't," I spoke to some of this. There is the fact that in general terms, going back through the history of human society, there has been a general consensus among the peoples (as Engels referred to it) that there is some sort of supernatural presence—there has been a general belief in god or gods or supernatural forces among different peoples in different societies in the world throughout history, up to the present time. In other words, there has been a religious element to human existence throughout history going back to the earliest human societies—even societies where class divisions have not developed. Various people have picked up on this religious "general consensus" in history and have insisted on concluding that this is a quintessential or absolutely necessary part of human society and human existence and that any attempt to root out religion is, again, bound to lead to the disasters and the excesses of totalitarianism and utopianism gone wild in the most horrendous sense....

What Mao summed up from history is a fundamental truth: The people and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history.

Certain historical experience, especially the experience of the Soviet Union and China, is distorted by the powers-that-be and their media, their "experts," and so on, and then this distorted "historical experience" is invoked as alleged "proof" of some supposed overriding fact that people's attempts to undertake such transformation of social institutions and relations—and the transformation of people themselves—are bound to end in some kind of disaster. This is one of the things that comes up continually through all the "commentary," particularly from the Western media, about events in Eastern Europe. Of course the way they present it is "the triumph of democracy over communism," and "the free enterprise system and the free enterprise spirit" versus "command economies"—"centralized, bureaucratic economies." (I'm having to laugh because you want to ask these people sometimes: have any of you ever worked in a capitalist corporation? Have any of you ever worked for a so-called "democratic government" bureaucracy? You want to talk about "command" and "centralized" and "top-down authority" and the absolute insistence on blind obedience to authority in the most petty, ruthless, and capricious dictatorial manner. I mean, come on—give us a little bit of a break here. There are few things in the entire world that are less "democratic," I would venture, than a capitalist workplace or a "democratic society" bureaucracy. And let's not even talk about how "democratic" is the *military* in these "democratic societies!" Anyway, that's just an aside.)

But one of the ways in which they are presenting this question—one of the elements that is extremely important to these Western imperialist "experts," media com-

mentators, and so on—is what they call the triumph of Christianity or of religion more generally over atheism. This is *extremely* important to them, for the reasons that I tried to generally speak to in that article "Religion: Who Needs It?... And Who Doesn't." I cited a statement by Napoleon which makes this point very well: when he thinks of the Incarnation he doesn't think about the mystery of religion but about the mystery of the social order. Or we have it from the Shah of Iran. *Revolution* magazine, in an article about Islam and the Iranian Revolution, had a quote from the Shah essentially to the same effect: even though he carried out certain "modernization" reforms, etc., some of which cut into some of the authority of the traditional religious powers, nevertheless the Shah made the statement straight up that religion is very important for social stability (see Larry Everest, "Islamic Revivalism and the Experience of Iran," *Revolution*, Fall/Winter 1989). So even on that basic political level, as well as more generally and in a broader sense ideologically, religion is extremely important to the powers-that-be, particularly of the Western imperialist variety.

And it's also interesting to see what's happening under the baton of Gorbachev (and I mean baton in the double sense—both the conducting baton and also baton in the other sense, a kind of police baton Gorbachev is wielding to beat these Eastern European societies over the head to make them move in a certain way). As they're moving in a certain way in Eastern Europe under Gorbachev's baton, they're also finding religion to be something they have to bring back in its more classical form for the same kind of reasons that Napoleon and the Shah talk about. This is a "fact of life" for the counterfeit "communists" of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union itself, particularly as the bankruptcy of their own distorted and perverted versions of communist ideology, their so-called "Marxism," has become more and more apparent. I also spoke to that in that recent article on religion and I won't go further into that here....

"Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." (Mao Tsetung)

When you look at this history and you look at this question of the two radical ruptures—and specifically when you look at the claims from various quarters that any attempt to carry out this kind of social transformation, these two radical ruptures, is bound to end in the disasters and horrors of totalitarianism—what really comes through on the one hand is the *need* to make these two radical ruptures, but at the same time the need to really dig more deeply into *how* to make them. What stands out is the need to really root ourselves even more firmly in the principle that these ruptures cannot be made *without* relying on the masses. And at the same time they cannot be made without a real grappling with, and a real wielding of, materialist dialectics....

What I mean by this is, fundamentally, the question of relying on the masses versus trying to do it top-down and imposing it on the masses. I think such an attempt is bound to lead to disaster—if not in the almost mythological way that it's presented by the "totalitarianism" theorists, still it's bound to lead to disaster particularly from *our* standpoint—it's bound to lead to defeat for *revolution* and alienation of the masses from the very things you are supposed to be relying on them to carry out.

There is also the question of figuring out how to have a certain—I don't know, I'm not even sure of the terminology, but maybe it should be called a certain "tempo." In other words, actually making these ruptures and breaking with the dead

hand of the past, but doing it in a way that brings people along step by step—or, more to the point, wave upon wave—rather than trying to do it all at one time, or trying to do it constantly in some form of "war communism": straight-line forward in a kind of "forced march" with the same continual high pitch of intensity.

Again, it's this fundamental point from *Harvest of Dragons*: Our firmness of principle and our flexibility...our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor. You have to carry out these radical ruptures, you have to carry them through, and you have to not waver about that—this is a fundamental point of strategic orientation. But on the other hand you also have to *not* be like one of these exploiting class groups or cliques that, as Mao put it at one time, are frightened every time there is a rustle of leaves in the wind. Such people, despite their "woofing" and swaggering, don't have and can't have what we call "strategic double c": strategic confidence in your cause and strategic contempt for the other side and its system and all it represents. It is a fundamental characteristic of exploiters and oppressors that they panic as soon as they get even a vague notion or general sense that the masses of people are no longer awe-struck by the power of these exploiters and oppressors. We, who stand for the final abolition of all exploitation and oppression, of all class division, should never be like such people.

Not too long ago, in preparing to write an article on religion, I went back and read Marx and Engels—some writings of theirs on religion. It struck me that they express a very strong insistence about the folly of attempting to outright suppress religion. There is no better way, they insist, to give life to religion than to drive it underground and to make it illegal or something "subterranean." It is far better to let it out in the open.

Not that Marx and Engels are arguing that religion should be allowed to be used as a cover for exploitation and oppression and counterrevolution and so on, but that the religious sentiments of masses of people are not something that should be outlawed "by decree," that people cannot move beyond religious superstition and prejudice by being ordered to do so. People can't move beyond that by having atheism imposed on them. They have to be led, but they have to be *relied on* fundamentally to cast this off as they carry forward the transformation of society. At the same time, of course, you have to carry out, as Lenin said, a very militant struggle for atheism and, in a more all-around sense, for materialism—dialectical materialism.

There is a strategic confidence in what Marx and Engels write about this: why should we feel any need to drive this underground, why should we be afraid of religion? That's ridiculous. Driving it underground only aids the dead hand of the past. It doesn't help to break with the dead hand of the past.

Strategically this is very important, not only in terms of religion but more generally in terms of the dead hand of the past. We have to move on it, but we have to have strategic confidence in what we are doing and strategic contempt for that dead hand of the past, so that we are not afraid of it and don't seek to suppress it in ways which only help to bring back the past and strengthen that dead hand of the past. □

♦♦♦♦

Also recommended on this subject: "Religion: Who Needs It?... And Who Doesn't" (RW #538 January 8, 1990); "Facing Life As It Is—In Order to Radically Change It," (RW #595 March 3, 1991); and "The Morality We Need...and the Morality We Don't Need," RW#516, July 31, 1989, also published as a separate pamphlet.

The Spirit of Attica Continues

The RW received the following correspondence from a reader inside prison:

Revolutionary Greetings:

Comrades, I am a political prisoner held captive at the Maximum Control Complex in Westville, Indiana, a newly opened Marion-style Control Unit. I am a reader of the *Revolutionary Worker* and also embrace the dialectics and political ideology of Marxism/Leninism and Maoism.

Comrades, my purpose for writing is twofold. In your last edition of the *RW* you highlighted the "Attica Rebellion." We decided to use this rebellion as a theme for a "hunger strike" we have been trying to organize here. We are trying to get as much attention as possible before we initiate this on September 23. Hence you will find an enclosed statement that we are asking the *RW* to publish. In this place, we are locked down tight and not able to be as effective as we would like as far as spreading the word of the strike. Yet a lot of the comrades here and across the state subscribe to the *RW* and will join the struggle of the strike.

Second, we are asking that all revolutionary organizations try to give us some support or at least try to develop a working relationship with us.

Lastly, my final request. Here we are basically denied all personal property. In my particular case, the state conspired to "accidentally" have all my personal property sent home. All my literature, legal materials, etc., was sent out. So I only receive the *RW* and a couple of other periodicals. The state gives us a slave wage of \$13 a month but they froze my account because myself and some other comrades have been destroying their brand new \$12 million control unit, so I am not allowed to send any money. Yet I would like to receive some books from your organization. We are only allowed books that come directly from the publisher or bookstore. Otherwise they will confiscate them. I would like to work out something with your organization where I can receive a couple of books. I can contribute articles, essays, etc., in exchange for a couple of books. If at all possible, I would like Mao's Little Red Book and something by Lenin analyzing the contradictions of a bourgeois capitalist system. Being denied the opportunity to continue my revolutionary studies is killing me in here.

Please keep in contact and let us know if you will be of assistance to us.

FIGHT THE POWER!! "IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE ATTICA REBELLION" SEPT. 9-13

On September 13, 1971, over 250 state and local police stormed the Attica prison, killing ten hostages and 29 prisoners. We have chosen this month, the 20th anniversary of the massacre of those courageous men, who stood up to expose to the world the hypocrisy and contradictions of the U.S. penal colonies and a bourgeois society. We have chosen this month to carry on that spirit of those men.

We want to call attention to the people of the U.S. and the World that even though it has been 20 years, the same barbaric conditions and contradictions of the criminal injustice system still remain, still exist in 1991. The same dehumanizing and often racist policies and conditions of the state that existed then, still exist today, often in a more intense and sophisticated fashion. Thus, we initiate this hunger strike to expose the state of Indiana's genocidal and inhumane practices and policies within its state prison system in general, and particularly at the Marion style Maximum Control Unit in Westville, Indiana.

"WE ARE MEN! WE ARE NOT BEASTS AND WILL NOT BE BEATEN AND DRIVEN AS SUCH!"

The political ramifications of the maximum control complex...the newly constructed control unit is Indiana's debut into the arena of a scientific approach to behavior modification through the use of sensory deprivation, intimidation, psycho-

tropic drugs, and an overall use of the methods of psychological warfare to produce a desired result in the subjects (prisoners) as well as institutionalization and conformity in its most revolutionary or vocal prisoners. Indiana has practiced these methods in the past, but it is the first time that a \$12 million unit has been built strictly for such experiments and oppression. At this time a second control unit triple in size and cost is being built in the southern part of the state, hence as we journey into the decade of the '90s we see the beginning stages of a pattern to crush and silence any demands by prisoners to be treated like human beings. We see Indiana following in the footsteps of the George Bush/ruling class-controlled Supreme Court in denying prisoners even the facade of constitutional and human rights. Therefore, Indiana has joined the ranks of many other states that have launched into behavioral sciences and constructed control units, i.e. modern-day torture chambers to repress the growing resistance and call for human rights in the U.S. prison system. These control units that the state propaganda machine tries to say is to control the unrehabilitative prisoners is in actuality to control those influential and oftentimes revolutionary prisoners who are inside the prisons, organizing and calling for human and democratic rights. Prisoners who refuse to be treated as mere chattel slaves, prisoners who are exposing the hypocrisy and contradictions of a prison system that not only is unable to rehabilitate its prisoners but has no desire to

do so. The 13th amendment* designates all prisoners in the U.S. as slaves and/or indentured servants and this is the essence of the entire relationship of prisoncrats to prisoner. It is a slavemaster to slave relationship based on exploitation of the prisoners' labor and the profit motive of the state.

In Lexington, Kentucky, a Federal judge ruled in the case of the Lexington Women's Control Unit that the state was embarking upon a dangerous path when it begins to segregate prisoners because of their political beliefs, and in Marion, Illinois, the warden stated that the Marion Control Unit, which has been completely locked down for the past 8 years, was designed to control revolutionary ideas/ attitudes.

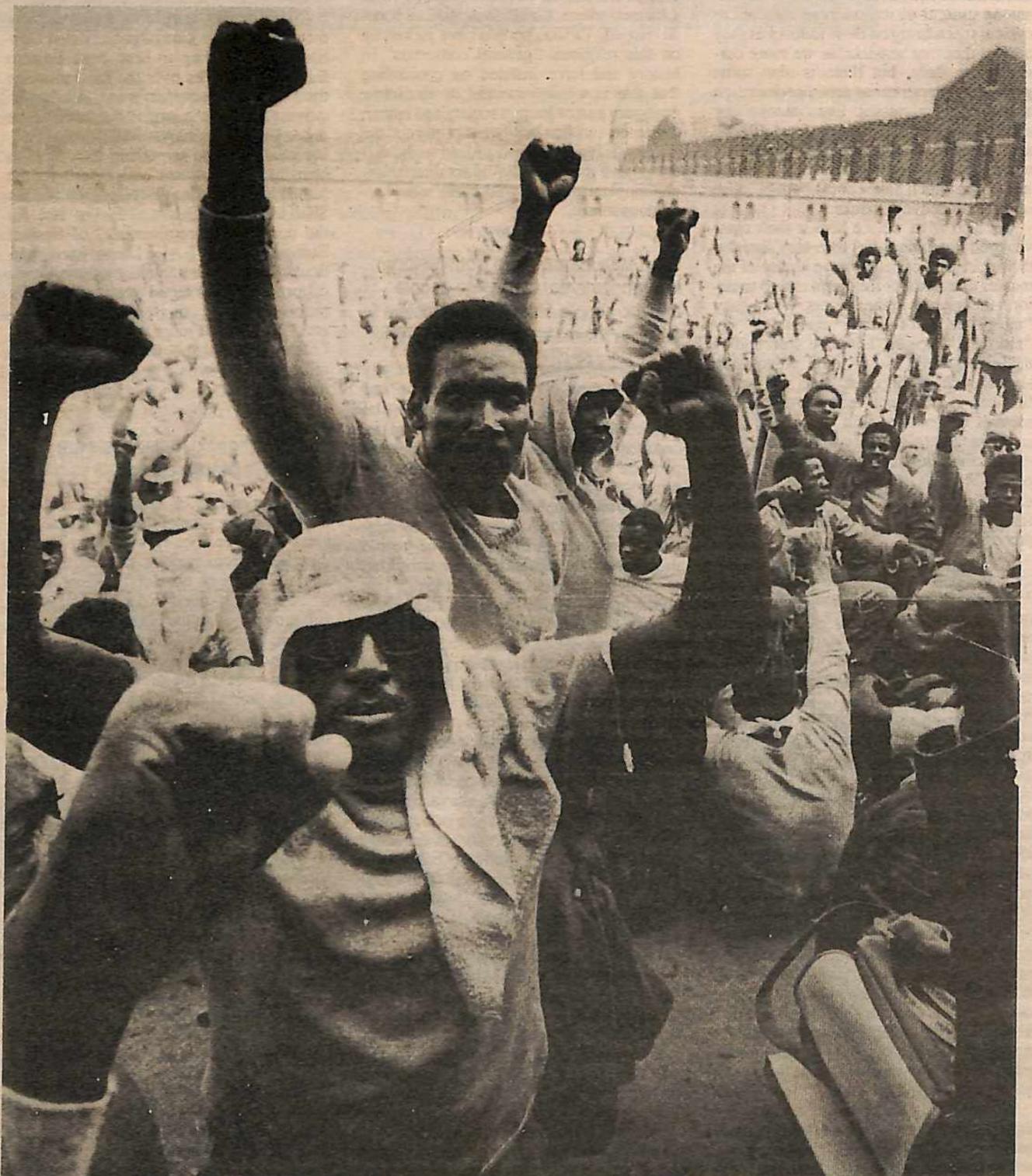
Here at M.C.C., we as prisoners enjoy no rights, constitutional or otherwise. We are locked in stark white cells, with a shining bright light that burns 24 hours a day, which is designed to bring about stress and anxiety in the prisoner, over a period of time. It is also designed to deny you any type of sensory stimuli.

In a 7-day period, we are only allowed at

* Article 1, Section 37 of the State of Indiana Constitution mandates that all prisoners are slaves of the state...Indiana Bill of Rights reads as follows: "...There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within the state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. No indenture of any negro or mulatto made and executed out of bounds of the state shall be valid within the state."

the maximum 2-1/2 hours of recreation and even sometimes this is restricted for months on end. Our incoming and outgoing mail is read and often held up for days, before being processed. We are not even allowed to seal our outgoing mail! There are no checks and balances on the power of the warden, who can order that you be placed in mechanical restraints (handcuffs, shackles and waist chain) in a cold cell without provocation. Who can order a body search and will do it by force without justifiable probable cause, which constitutes rape anywhere else in the world!! Here, bedding, clothing and food are used as tools for punishment and oppression, all in violation of bourgeois U.S. and United Nations law. We are allowed a very limited amount of clothes and yet we are forced to endure the blowing of an air conditioner 24 hours a day, 7 days a week with temperatures sometimes dropping to the 30s and 40s in these cells.

People, this is torture, all designed to ultimately destroy the sanity and stability of the captive prisoners. Thus, we launch this hunger strike til we can no longer endure to call international attention to the systematic torture and developing of a hate factory in the State of Indiana. We also call on all revolutionary prisoners throughout the country in general and throughout Indiana in particular to show revolutionary solidarity with our struggle beginning on September 23. This is a revolutionary plea for unity and solidarity. Let's shake the walls of the beast!!



Attica, 1971.

When the People Really Have the Power

Part 3

Economic Changes in Revolutionary China

There was a time on this planet when revolutionary workers and peasants had real power to dramatically reshape society. They carried out changes in organizing the economic life of the people that the world had never seen before and many bourgeois experts did not believe was possible. The time was 1966-1976. The place—China, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary communists.

This story is the last in a series based on a paper written by RW correspondent C. Clark Kissinger. The paper was presented at a conference at the Union of Radical Political Economists in Washington, D.C., December 1990. In 1972 and 1975 Clark Kissinger visited revolutionary China. He was able to observe firsthand some of the historic transformations being carried out in the economy by ordinary people. In the introduction to the paper Kissinger writes:

"Too often we forget. In the aftermath of the collapse of state-capitalism in Eastern Europe and the restoration of capitalism in China it is especially worthwhile to go back and examine what was actually being attempted in Maoist China. Today when "socialism" has been debased to mean social welfare, regulated markets, and bourgeois democratic norms, it is exhilarating to recount a moment in history when ordinary workers dared to "storm heaven" and take into their own hands the conscious transformation of the economic relations that governed their lives."

This week's story focuses on how the workers and peasants at the Taching oil fields began to deal with the problem of "bourgeois right."

Taking on Bourgeois Right

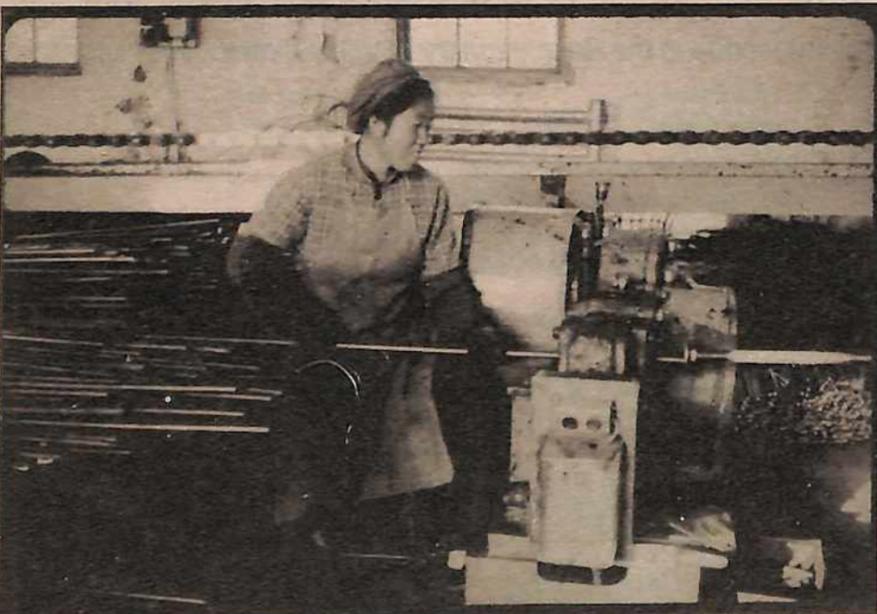
In his criticism of the Gotha Programme of the German Socialist Party, Marx was scathing regarding its failure to get beyond bourgeois concepts of equality which are based on the approach of measurement by a common yardstick (the favored yardstick

being exchange value). As Marx pointed out, quantitative measurements, no matter how equally applied, can never yield true social equality because of the infinite diversity of the human condition and the one-sidedness of the measure chosen. The fight for social equality and the common good must always get beyond narrow formulas like "equal pay for equal work" and the like.

I witnessed a most striking example of this in the Taching Oil Fields, the national model in industry during the Cultural Revolution. The oil field was brought in during the Great Leap Forward and went into production in the early 1960s when China was under simultaneous oil embargo by both the Soviet Union and the United States and their flunkies.

Because of its particular history, Taching had some unusual economic forms. Being both heavy industry and mineral extraction, the Taching enterprise was wholly state-owned. Given the spread-out nature of a large oil field, the enterprise covered an entire county, and the revolutionary committee of the economic enterprise was simultaneously the revolutionary committee of the county government. At the same time, the militia units of the whole enterprise were organized into a full militia division. Thus political, economic, and military leadership of the people were integrated at a very high level.

The oil field workers lived in dispersed villages throughout the oil field, with the villages surrounded by agricultural fields to feed the workers. These fields were originally developed by the wives and dependents of oil workers, and even though the land was state-owned, the agricultural workers were paid like commune members (in cash and kind, through a tally of work points). Finally, there were also a number of small collective industrial enterprises (also originally organized by wives and dependents of oil workers) scattered through the villages. Because industrial workers and peasants working in the fields lived together in the same villages, they were known as "worker-peasant villages."



A worker in a small co-op factory.



Cropland in the Taching oilfield farmed by oil workers' families.

During the Cultural Revolution, oil production in Taching increased fivefold, which was a story in itself. But of particular interest to me were some of the "small" changes taking place within the worker-peasant villages. One aspect of these changes was a dramatic breaking down of the cultural, economic and social distinctions between town and country, and industrial and agricultural workers.

An example of this was an advanced worker-peasant village that I visited. It had 135 families with 536 people. One hundred thirty-five people did industrial work outside the village (which included eight married couples). These included 16 Communist Party members and four Youth League members. The non-industrial workers were divided into eight teams, some doing agricultural work, others doing service work or running a small co-op screw factory.

There were no private plots in the village—a common sign of an advanced political situation. But the agricultural workers

geos right this was "unfair," since the labor of the women doing industrial work was far more productive (producing greater exchange value per hour).

Conclusions

All of these grassroots attempts to undermine the fortress walls of commodity production, the law of value, bourgeois right, and profit in command came to an end with the rightist coup and the arrest of the Communist leadership at the end of 1976. Within a few short years, the people's communes were broken up, wage-labor reintroduced, foreign capitalists readmitted, and the spontaneous forces of domestic capitalism unleashed.

This demonstrated once again the significance of the question of state power. Real freedom for the oppressed classes means the ability to transform the social and economic relations into which they are born, and suppress the forces antagonistic



Fen Hsing-fang, a leader of the battle against bourgeois right.

had until recently been paid in work points. At the same time, the women working in the co-op screw factory were receiving cash wages based on income from the screw sales.

During the Cultural Revolution there was a lot of discussion among the women of the village about their incongruous setup. They all worked equally hard, but the women working in the field were paid in work points (averaging eight points a day, with one point having an approximate cash value of 0.16 yuan) and earned less because of the lower labor productivity of agricultural work.

The women were doing collective study three evenings a week, and the question arose as to why they should remain the slaves of bourgeois right? Soon the whole mentality of "what's mine is mine, I earned it fair and square" went out the window. The women decided to pool the income of the agricultural fields and the co-op enterprises. Under the precepts of bour-

to their interests (both economic and political).

The ten years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represented the furthest advance of the world proletariat in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and trying to solve some of the concrete problems of transforming the very nature of economic production, while struggling to prevent capitalist restoration. Only by the masses themselves, and only with the genuinely revolutionary leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, can such a transformation be effected. Increasing the level of production alone never effects a change in the relations of production.

The Cultural Revolution thus takes a place as a milestone event, along with the Paris Commune and the October Revolution, in bringing to an end the era of capitalist production. It was genuinely a case of ten steps forward, followed by a regretful but impermanent one step back.

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The reason I like the RW is because it's bold and on time and points out the truth behind every event. I don't always agree on some things, but I know I can get information and be challenged every time I read it. I also like and appreciate that I am reading about my people, what they are saying and doing. This is very important to me and is one of the things I always tell people when we talk about events—here is a paper for us.

Black man who promotes the RW in a store where it is sold
.....

To the RW:

During the recent love affair of much of the U.S. media with the appalling tragedy in Iraq, one of the few, if not the only domestically available publication(s)

which gave ample coverage to the serious downside of the war was the *Revolutionary Worker*. While most of the U.S. media was marveling at the alleged super proficiency of U.S. weaponry, the *Revolutionary Worker* was finding sources which gave believable accounts of the horror and devastation those very photogenic weapons were causing Iraq and Kuwait. A most welcome feature of the *Revolutionary Worker's* war coverage were the pithy little boxes which pinpointed key contradictions in what U.S. policy professed to be and what it proved to be in practice.

The *Revolutionary Worker* had both the courage and gumption to publish excerpts from internal communications of the Los Angeles Police Department which revealed the extent to which racist

attitudes had permeated that law enforcement institution; furthermore, the acquiescence of several law enforcement agencies and the higher chain of the police command in the Rodney King beating was uncompromisingly presented in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Where but in the *Revolutionary Worker* would one get any coverage of the incredible effort of the U.S. government to prosecute a couple of war protesters on arson and reckless endangerment charges for engaging in the constitutionally protected free speech act of burning the U.S. flag?

I have used the *Revolutionary Worker* as a quick reference source for giving substance to ideas developed in letters to the editor; also, my own hunger to learn more about a particular issue has been

assuaged by information I have not been able to readily find anywhere else but in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

But perhaps the greatest value of the *Revolutionary Worker* is that it is a journalistic vehicle for political beliefs and ideas which are well outside the present timorous political mainstream in this country. Even though I may, and do, disagree with some of the terminology used in the *Revolutionary Worker* and I may, and do, disagree with aspects of the basic political program set forth in the publication, I nonetheless look forward with anticipation to the next issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Disaffected Democrat

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

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