



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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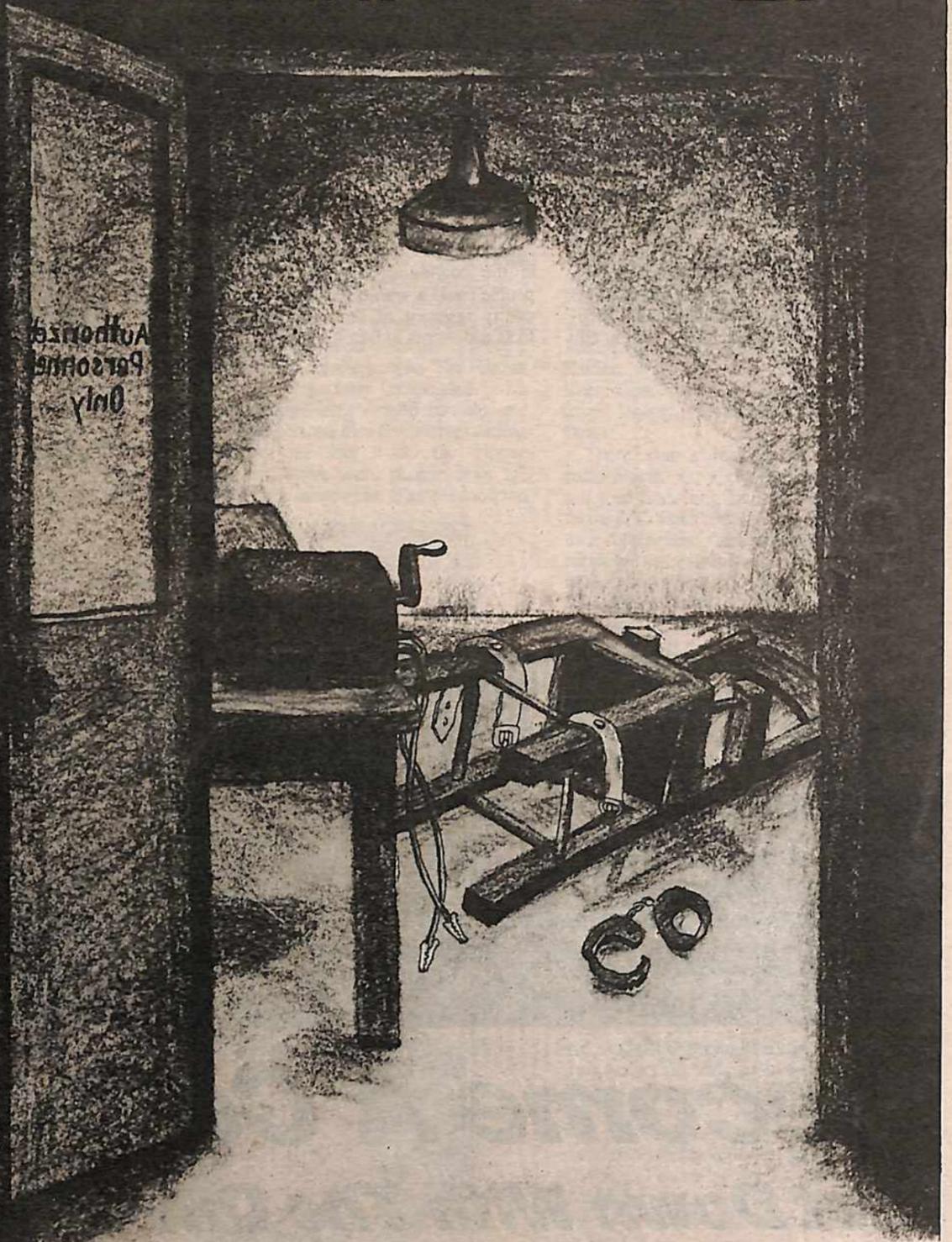
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By Bob Avakian

Communism Is Not a "European" Ideology
It Is the Ideology of the International Proletariat



Black History Ad Reveals Racist Ignorance

There it was. Right on the back page of the *Chicago Tribune's* Black History Month Special Insert (Feb. 9). A full-page Pepsi ad proclaiming "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL."

Say what?! Under the "Separate But Equal" doctrine, the Jim Crow laws maintained separate school systems for Black and white children—*separate* school systems that were supposedly *equal* but where Black children were really denied the most basic education and facilities.

What was Pepsi and the *Chicago Tribune* doing promoting "Separate But Equal" in 1992? Were they calling for a return to segregation? What was "Separate But Equal" doing on the Black History Month Insert?

An official at Pepsi international headquarters explained that Pepsi was holding a Black History Month contest where the prize was a TV docudrama where Sidney Poitier played Thurgood Marshall—who successfully argued against the "Separate But Equal" doctrine before the Supreme Court when he was an NAACP lawyer in 1954. Pepsi's national ads made it clear that "Separate But Equal" was the name of this video.

But in Chicago, the ad firm of a local Pepsi bottler had created their own version of that ad for the *Chicago Tribune*. This version of the ad had run the slogan "Separate But Equal" as a headline without any

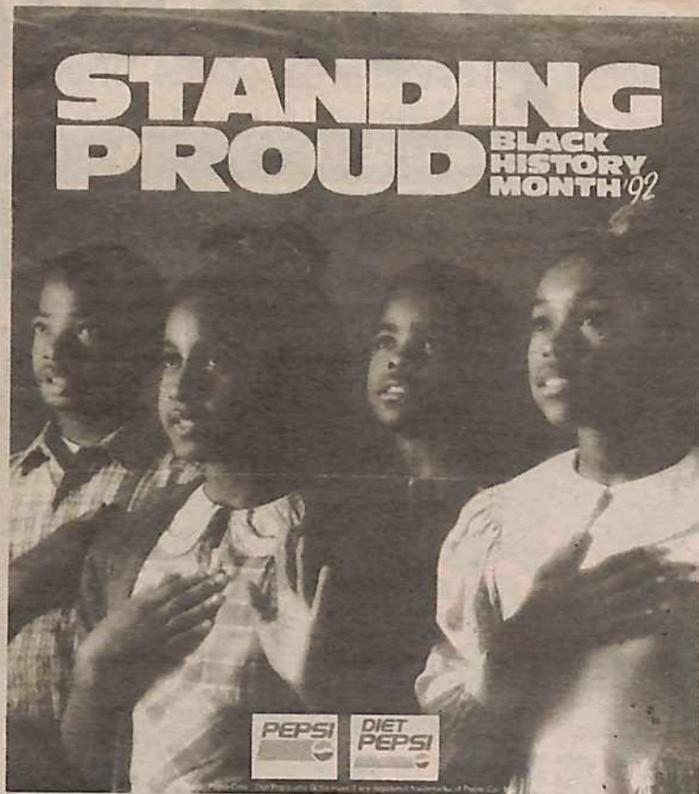
explanation. Part of the mystery solved.

But another mystery presented itself: The ad was handled by a local Pepsi ad agency, the local Pepsi bottlers, the *Trib's* beverage ad salesman, and all kinds of advertising executives at the *Trib's* main office. The ad had been designed, laid out, photographed, inserted into the paper and then printed. Along the way it had been read and handled by *dozens* of people. How had this racist slogan made into a "Black History Month Insert" without *anyone* questioning it?

The answer is this system imposes racist ignorance on the minds it trains.

"Separate But Equal" is a doctrine used to oppress *millions* of African-Americans for almost a hundred years. The overthrow of this doctrine is a watershed event in the history of this filthy country. Yet dozens of employees at all levels of this prestigious bourgeois paper apparently had *no* idea that they were printing a racist pro-segregation slogan prominently in their newspaper. Or worse, perhaps some noticed and didn't care!

Collectively, these dozens of people must have endured *centuries* of education in American schools. Only in a system *rooted* in the continuing oppression of Black people could a whole staff of people be so utterly ignorant of the most elementary facts and events in Black History. □



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Pepsi ad that appeared in Chicago Tribune Black History Month special insert, Feb. 9.

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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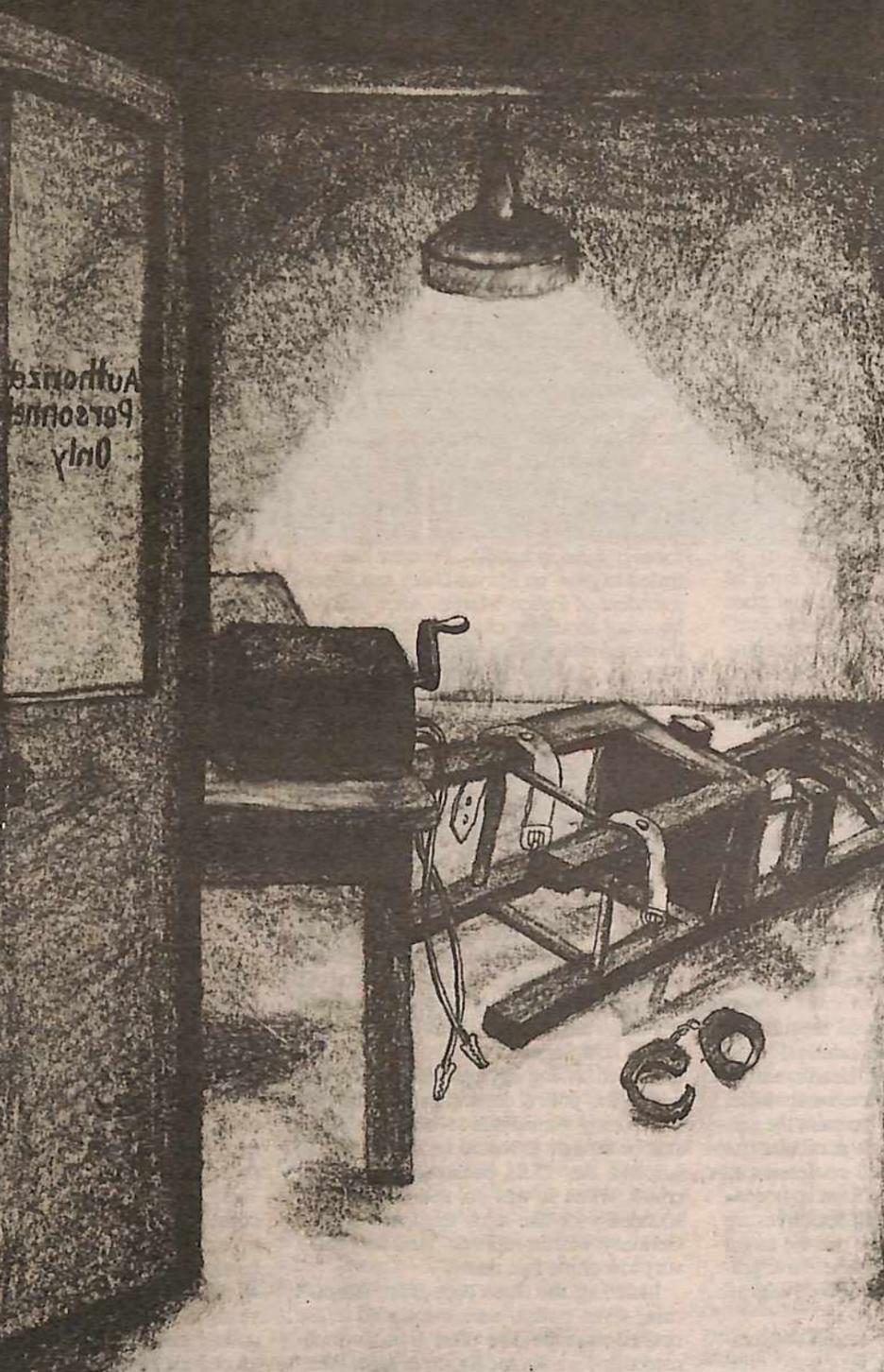
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EXPOSED

Police Torture in Chicago



Several years ago it came out that the Chicago police had brutally tortured a Black suspect. Now a new internal police report has come out. It reveals further facts in this case and implicates Leroy Martin, the Superintendent of Police, in incidents of police torture. It has also come out that the Chicago Police have tortured at least 50 people, using methods that include electroshock. Although the city has not been able to sweep all this under the rug, this story has been downplayed in the press. And the Mayor and other city officials have rushed to the defense of Martin. The following story exposes how this police torture is not a case of "a few bad cops" but an official policy that is even now being defended by the powers-that-be. (This article would not have been possible without information from the Task Force to Confront Police Violence.)

On February 9, 1982, two police officers were shot dead. Police reacted with one of the most massive manhunts in Chicago's history. Under the command of then-Lt. Jon Burge, the home of every Black family on the block was invaded and searched. According to Renault Robinson, then head of the Afro-American Police League, "Police smashed down doors and pointed guns at the heads of children." Widespread outrage erupted in the Black community as police indiscriminately abused numerous young Black men. Nearly 200 complaints of brutality resulted from the dragnet.

One week later, the police arrested Andrew Wilson and his brother Jackie for the crime. Twelve hours of questioning by Jon Burge and detectives Yucatis and O'Hara resulted in a signed confession. This confession was then used in a trial where Wilson was found guilty and sen-

tenced to death.

During the twelve hours of questioning Wilson was beaten and subjected to electroshock by a black box generator with alligator clips applied to his ears, nose and genitals. He was suffocated with a plastic bag, and handcuffed bare-chested to a radiator until he received second degree burns. Hospital records from the night of his arrest detailed more than fifteen separate wounds to his head, torso and right leg.

When Wilson appealed his case it was overturned by the Illinois Supreme Court, which ruled that the confession had been coerced and ordered a retrial.

At this point Wilson brought a civil rights damage case in federal court which went to trial in February 1989. In the inves-

tigation for the case, interviews turned up evidence of systematic torture by Chicago Violence Crimes Detectives.

To date up to 50 different cases of police torture have been found, the similarity between all being white officers torturing Black and Hispanic suspects.

The methods of interrogation have included electroshock, "dry submarino" (suffocation and revival), "Russian Roulette," psychological torture and other torture techniques against suspects. In the ten years since the first reports of torture occurred, not one single officer has been brought to anything remotely resembling justice. The official police response has been that these officers were only following "normal" procedure. Maybe a little

honesty is creeping out.

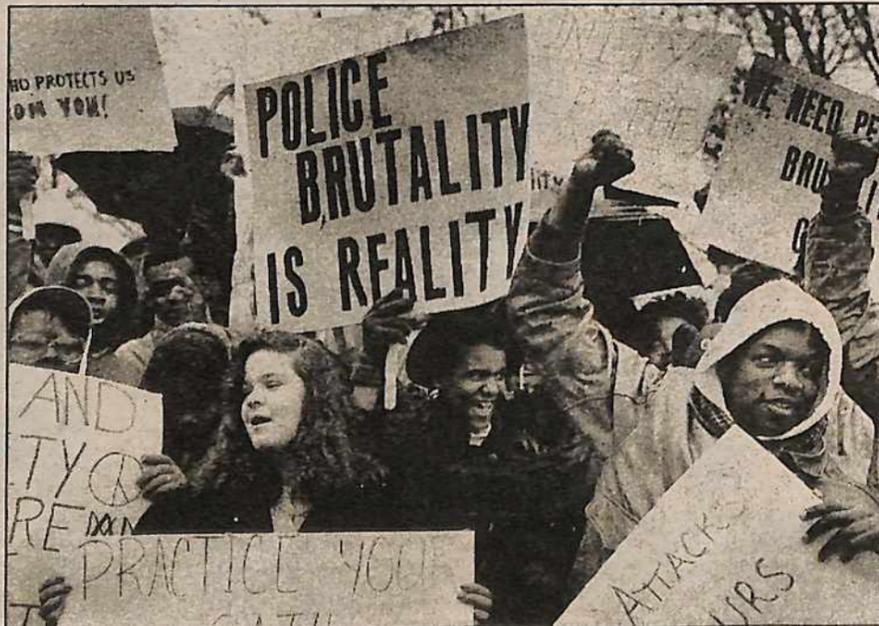
Who are the Torturers?

Jon Burge, the man who presided over virtually all the operations, is "a true American hero." In Vietnam he served as a Military Police Interrogator and in his 21-year history as a Chicago cop has received 13 departmental commendations. Detectives Yucatis and O'Hara have also been repeatedly commended for investigative skill. None of them have, previous to this case, been disciplined for brutality. What kind of system commends torturers? The skills Burge learned in the war against the people of Southeast Asia have been turned against the people of the Southside of Chicago. Until recently, the charges of torture have not hurt Burge's career one bit. In fact he has steadily risen through the ranks until becoming Commander of Detectives of Area 3. The police department and the Mayor have repeatedly said that Burge is a police officer of the highest caliber and they wished to have more like him.

Official Coverup

Throughout the last several years there have been numerous trials to get justice for the victims of police torture. In 1989 two civil rights cases were held in Federal Court on the charges that Andrew Wilson had been tortured. During the trial affidavits from eight other prisoners who said they were tortured while in custody at Area 2 were kept from the jury, according to Wilson's attorney, Jeffrey Haas of the People's Law Office.

Wilson testified that "They started beating on me, threw me to the floor, beating, kicking me...they didn't hit me in the face. Then someone took the plastic bag out of



Youth protesting police brutality at Morgan Park High School, Chicago, March 1990.

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Torture

Continued from page 3

the garbage can and held it over my face, so I bit a hole in it." He went on to say Yucatis returned after the beatings with a small black box. "He handcuffed me to the wall...there were wires coming out of it, and he put one of them on my ear and the other on my nose. Then he started cranking this box. When he cranked, I kned him in the groin between the legs. Then he punched me." In describing what the shocks felt like, Wilson said, "It hurts, but it stays in your head and grinds your teeth, constantly grinding. The pain staying in your head...you got to experience it yourself." He testified that his ankles were bound and that they continued to shock him, including on his genitals.

Deputy Chief Medical Examiner Robert Kirschner, who testified against the officers at both trials, stated, "I really didn't believe the allegations of electrical torture when I first heard them. It was only after I looked at the medical evidence that I said this really did happen in Chicago." Kirschner said that he wasn't convinced just by the medical evidence, but that Wilson's vivid description of what it felt like to be electroshocked: "It is the kind of thing he could have made up only if he had gone through it himself." Kirschner has extensive experience and expertise regarding torture victims, including traveling to Third World countries and witnessing the marks and symptoms of people who have been tortured.

Not surprisingly, both 1989 trials came up with nothing. The first ended up with a hung jury; the second found that the city has a consistent policy of brutalizing suspects accused of killing a cop, but for some reason it was determined that Andrew Wilson's case was not within that policy. The affidavits showing that other suspects were tortured in the same area by the same men was suppressed. This was called "justice."

The media has also towed the official line that Wilson is a "career criminal" who is out to save his own ass. Headline after headline shouted, "Convicted cop killer says 'Police tortured me'" to paint the picture. The *Chicago Tribune* in particular has quoted from the discredited confession to show what a "murderer" Wilson is. In contrast, Burge and his underling detectives are portrayed as good cops who are the target of a witchhunt. And news stories have emphasized how these cops are coping with all the stress of the trials.

The second instance of media cooperation in a whitewash is that they have, until recently, refused to print the full allegations. It has been portrayed as the word solely of Andrew Wilson against three good cops. What is left out is the charges of 40 other people and the strong possibility that

more than just these three cops were involved. Mounting pressure, though, has changed all this.

Even with a biased media, an internal police review which protects its own, and rigged federal trials, the charges have refused to subside.

Task Force

A committed group of activists from the Task Force to Confront Police Violence and the People's Law Office has been hounding the police department since Wilson's second trial. They have won the support of the American Friends Service Committee and gotten Amnesty International involved. AI had members in several different countries write to the Mayor. The torture by Burge and his followers at Area 2 has also led AI to include the United States on its list of countries where torture occurs. City council meetings were held, and 15 alderman signed a petition demanding that police review boards look into the torture. Even within the Chicago Police Department many Black cops were getting pissed that the torture of Blacks were being supported over their objections (this is not to say that Black cops aren't sometimes brutal, but systematic torture of Blacks is hard for even them to handle). Pressure has continued to grow on Mayor Daley and Superintendent of Police Martin. After years of knowing about the charges, Martin finally instituted internal dismissal proceedings on February 10, 1992. But even now the Fraternal Order of Police is holding a fundraiser for Burge, Yucatis and O'Hara.

New Revelations

In an unrelated brutality case, portions of two internal police reports were unsealed on February 8 in federal court. In them it brought the total number of torture victims at the old Brighton Park police headquarters to 50. It said that commanders in charge of area detectives during the period from 1973-1986 knew of the torture and did not take action. One of the commanders in that area was none other than Leroy Martin, who is now Superintendent of Police. Martin denied having any knowledge of torture within the police department. This is the same Leroy Martin that several months ago said he thought it would be a good idea to suspend the U.S. constitution to fight crime. When it was pointed out that this sounded a lot like what happened in Nazi Germany, Martin replied, "And they had a very low crime rate then."

Including the three cops from Wilson's case, seven police were mentioned in the new documents. The other four were unnamed and are not facing any charges. Martin said that he has taken no action against those four officers because he believes the allegations are not substantiated.

Proceedings have been put in motion to have Burge, Yucatis and O'Hara dismissed.



Chicago Housing Authority residents searched in raid on projects, December 1989.

Even though Martin has been aware of the allegations for more than a year, it has not been until widespread outrage has taken off that internal police dismissal proceedings have commenced. Now, in order to save what little respectability the police have, they are offering up some sacrificial pigs. Lose the hand to save the arm. At this moment, hearings are taking place at police HQ. Attorneys and activists are afraid that evidence will again be kept from the hearings to make it seem as if it's just one criminal against three good officers.

What Is the Real Issue?

In the last few months, the evidence of torture has become so overwhelming that the police are moving to contain the damage.

In order to see police torture in its true dark light, we have to step back and see the city as a whole. All the torture takes place in the Black ghetto. If it was "just a few bad cops," it would have been stopped long ago. But the truth is, the power structure does not want it to stop. According to the Task Force, there are over 500 repeater cops. A repeater cop is a cop who has multiple charges of brutality against him. Five hundred repeater cops are on the force. Of all the Office of Professional Standards investigations, only two percent result in upheld charges. This gives the continued green light for terror against the Black community.

Of the ten poorest communities in the U.S., four of them are in Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) Projects. When communists speak of people with nothing to

lose but their chains, they are talking CHA. All these ghettos are right within the heart of power in Chicago—many of the projects are within walking distance of the downtown area. The poorest see every day what they don't have as they walk by downtown. Multimillion-dollar churches of capital exist down the street from the ghetto. The threat of rebellion worries the rulers of America. In order to maintain their rule, open terror is necessary for them to keep the proletariat down and out, and this terror strikes hardest at Black people and other oppressed nationalities.

In the time since these tortures began, all of society has tightened its repressive apparatus. The CHA lockdowns have transformed public housing into public prisons, police now can stop any suspicious character (read Black youth) and search him. Nationwide, the prison population has climbed to over one million—during the 1980s the number of people in U.S. prisons doubled. And more than half a million of the current inmates in U.S. jails are Black males.

In this time period, it is no coincidence that Burge got promoted time and again. In order to keep the masses down, the system must use strongarm tactics that contradict their own supposed "rule of democracy." Democracy for the wealthy and dictatorship for the poor. This is Amerikkka.

In order to end the torture, the beatings, the late-night searches, the lockdowns, the prisonization of the Black community, we will have to do more than weed out a few bad cops. We will have to end the whole system that gives birth to these beasts. □



The crowd of 200 which gathered at the site of the police murder of Leonard Bannister, Chicago, September 1989.



Stanford, 1989.

Correspondence on "Multiculturalism" and Education

The Working Class Will Write the True History

In light of current attacks on ethnic studies curriculums in the schools, there is a lot of discussion and debate about why these attacks are coming down, how to fight them, and the role of "multiculturalism." An RW stringer recently sent the RW a paper with some thoughts on this subject. We are printing excerpts from this and welcome other readers to write to us on this important issue:

The nature and conscious desire of the capitalist class is to maintain the working class and minority nationalities with as little education as possible. Nothing is able to prove this more than the events in education in recent years. They aim to further reduce the quality of education for all working class students, while imposing restrictions on the admission of minority nationalities with tuition hikes virtually impossible to pay at a time of severe economic hardships. But what is very significant on the part of the government is that now many of the concessions made during the 1960s and '70s are being taken away. Multicultural curriculums, a small gain made by minority nationalities, is at the center of attention before New York State educators, under the threat of elimination, having an influence on the survival of multiculturalism in the rest of the country. This will serve as a signal for white racism throughout the field of education to become bold in perpetuating the ideology of imperialism through the complete re-establishment of "Eurocentric" curriculums.

Educational institutions throughout the history of class society have played a very important role in extending the period of survival for all social-economic systems, preserving and further promoting the ideological perspective of the class in political power—a function just as vital as that performed by the military, police, courts and prisons. The purpose of organized education or the lack of it (for the oppressed and exploited masses) has been to assure a continual relative acceptance of the given social-economic order by the exploited class on the one hand and to preserve the traditions of the exploiting classes on the other. Education has been assigned the task of diverting the general intellectuality of society from properly interpreting social questions consistent with reality and preventing the development of

revolutionary conceptions and conclusions, thus maintaining the status quo from one generation of class antagonisms to the next.

For many decades after the inception of this country, public education for children born to the working class and oppressed groups was nonexistent until the demand for it was accompanied with struggle. During the South's Reconstruction years, free and public education became an essential demand of Black Americans in their long struggle for emancipation. This was in response to the many years of enforced laws forbidding Afro-Americans from learning to read and write during their bondage in slavery. As a result of the overthrow of slavery and the revolutionary momentum of the time, free and public education was also extended to poor whites of the region. But when the northern capitalist class found the social progression in the south unfitting to its long-range policies of using Black people as a source of cheap labor, along with compromises made between northern industrialists and southern planters, Reconstruction was defeated and with the introduction of "Jim Crow" the denial of education to Black American children was re-instituted.

In modern times the capitalist class has managed to adopt a similar policy consistent with the traditions of its predecessors by keeping strict control of the education received by the oppressed. Although the educational system of this country is showcased as a great example of a "free" society, the truth of the matter is that quality education is exclusive for the sons and daughters of the wealthy few. And this being the case, so long as the rich remain in power, they will tend by the very nature of their system, not only to deprive the poor of education but to distort truths in the sciences, particularly in that of history. In the same manner in which they are compelled to retard advancements in the technological and scientific fields that may hinder their quest to maximize profits in industrialized production, so too will they find it necessary to suppress curriculums that indicate or suggest how moribund this system is and the course which society must take. By eliminating multicultural studies, the mere mention of the oppression of people of color in this country shall also be sup-

pressed. It will then give the ruling class a freer hand in propagating the ideology of imperialism through their "Eurocentric" approach in education, although it will be very cleverly disguised as representing the "common" heritage, full-blown white-male supremacy will dominate the perspective of that which it is taught in.

The adherents of reaction in the field of education claim that multiculturalism threatens the "common ideals" of what is America, as if polarization between rich and poor, oppressed nationalities and white oppressor nation were not already provided by the "common ideals" that hold together the existing social-economic relations (i.e., that of the capitalist class). Their hypocrisy begins in the denial that every oppressed ethnic group in the U.S. was cruelly exploited to create the enormous wealth of capitalism today, once their first contact with this system was made. To speak of the common is to imply that the oppressed have welcomed oppression. How is it possible for these educators to explain where the "melting pot" and "commonness" exist in a society where the extent of inequality based on racism and chauvinism has prevented the assimilation of nationalities in every aspect? With racial prejudice that prevails in the hiring of minority workers and their extensive level of unemployment, the incredible degree of poverty in minority communities, the unbelievable figures of minority youths in prisons across the country, with the intensity of police brutality, how can anyone in their right mind not be able to see that as long as we have a society that provides economic inequalities, one where certain sections of the population are doubly exploited while working hard creating the wealth of the rich, any talk of a forged culture and using such an approach in education curriculums would be a distortion of reality.

Secondly, one must never forget that prior to the existence of multiculturalism in education, the perspective in which curriculums were taught, the contents of textbooks and so on, were blatantly "Eurocentric." The racist outlook of capitalism, where the oppressed minority nationalities were concerned in American and world history, reflected exactly the social position this system intends to keep in. From their portrayal of the fore-

fathers of U.S. capitalism who "brought civilization" and "Christian values" to Native Americans, the toning down of the horrifying experience of Afro-Americans during slavery, to the glorification of the conquest in the southwest and the subjugation of Mexican Americans, is what they hope to continue perpetuating but without having to do so from a defensive position where such views are met with challenge.

Unfortunately, there are significant weaknesses within the movement for multiculturalism, voiced principally by bourgeois nationalists in the national movements.... They replace "Eurocentrism" with other forms of narrowness. This is the principal weapon now being utilized by the most reactionary proponents of "Eurocentrism" against multicultural studies. The history of all human society is an objective phenomenon, as nature, it pertains to no one. The achievements of humanity in all realms to this point in time was due to long historical processes where all races, nationalities and genders contributed. The problem has been that with the birth of imperialism, systematized theories were developed and established into the curriculums of education in order to give the capitalist exploitation of the working class and the oppression of subject nationalities a form of validity. The struggle for multiculturalism deserves the view and approach of battling a system that justifies the misery it causes on so many.

Only in a system truly administered by the working people, where a genuine socialist economy exists and cooperation among all nationalities is practiced, can we then be guaranteed the basis in which to begin the long process of achieving real commonness among different nationalities. Only with the overthrow of capitalism will minority nationalities be truly free of economic oppression and persecution, since the political basis for keeping the working class divided and at each others' throats will no longer exist. Racism and chauvinism of all forms shall finally be on its way to being a thing of the past. We can then be assured that quality education shall cease to be a privilege. It shall be the working class who will write the texts of history and teach it to future generations.

Another Story of the Dog Who's Trained to Bite When the Master Says "Sit"

Israel Invades Lebanon

On February 20, Israel invaded Lebanon and attacked many Arab villages. The invasion force included dozens of tanks and armored personnel carriers backed by helicopter gunships. This invasion is a major new aggression against the masses of Arab people.

Thousands of Arab inhabitants have been forced to flee for their lives. One U.S. press account said, "There was panic in the streets in the village of Siddiquin. Cars bumped into one another while speeding toward the coast. Men carrying bundles of clothes, suitcases and transistor radios roamed the debris-littered streets trying to find a ride to safety. Women embraced their infants and ran behind their husbands, towing an army of tearful children. On the way to Beirut, the coastal highway was jammed with thousands of cars carrying refugees from villages and cities through-

out the region. Few vehicles drove in the opposite lanes. And those that did were carrying gunmen on their way to fight the Israelis."

The Israeli invaders seized the Shiite villages of Yater and Kafra, blowing up buildings and fortifying two local hills. There was resistance by the people. Zionist troops met with fire as they advanced house-by-house through the villages; some of them were killed.

The Israeli forces pulled out of Yater and Kafra after a day there—but observers doubt that the border confrontation is over.

Negotiations Are a Sham, The Armed Invasion Is Real

After months of empty talk about peace and negotiations, this invasion of southern Lebanon reveals that the Zionist state has

no intention of reaching any "peaceful accord" with the Arab people of this region. They launched this invasion one week before U.S.-sponsored Arab-Israeli negotiations were scheduled to restart in Washington.

Israel has escalated the policy of seizing land from Palestinians throughout the negotiation period—using new Zionist settlements in the Occupied West Bank. Now Israeli fire and invasion troops have driven thousands of more Arab people out of a slice of southern Lebanon.

This invasion of Lebanon was a *major* act of war. Ten years ago, Israel invaded Lebanon and seized the whole southern half of the country. As they withdrew, they kept a southern strip of Lebanon that they turned into a militarized "security zone." This zone has been occupied ever since by a large Israeli force and a pro-Zionist gang of mercenaries called "the South Lebanon Army." Now the Israelis have used this conquered buffer zone as a staging area for a new ground invasion of Lebanese territory. This is the first Israeli ground invasion north of the "security zone" since 1985.

To carry out their attack, the Israeli invaders used bulldozers and tanks to smash through the barricades of a UN peacekeeping force. At least two UN soldiers from Fiji were later seriously wounded by Israelis firing at the local Arab population.

Pushing the UN forces aside to attack Arab villages means that Israel has dissed the supposed "peacekeeper" role of the UN. This is significant because the U.S. has recently built up the UN as an instrument for enforcing the "New World Order." Israel wants to make a bully's point to Arab people—that no one can protect them if they continue to challenge the Zionists.

The Usual Israeli Claims of Self-Defense

Like Hitler blaming Poland before invading that country, the Israeli government claims its troops were acting defensively

against "terrorist nests." But this invasion comes after a week of provocative Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon. Sunday, February 16, Israel helicopters invaded Lebanon to assassinate Sheik Abbas Musawi. This was followed by heavy Israeli shelling and air strikes against border villages in southern Lebanon.

At the same time, guerrillas in southern Lebanon launched rockets into Zionist-occupied territories. According to the U.S. bourgeois press, these rockets landed mainly in the sparsely populated "Israeli security zone." Before the Israeli invasion they caused no injuries.

This chain of events seems to have been deliberately provoked by the Israelis on the eve of talks in Washington. It shows that "recognizing" Israel and entering negotia-



February 20 — Israeli troops broke through UN barricades, injuring four UN soldiers.



Woman flees with her child and the belongings she can carry after Israeli attack on the Lebanese village of Kafra.

The Zionist "Peace Table"

In the weeks leading up to the February 20 invasion of Lebanon, the Zionist state of Israel stepped up brutal assaults against Palestinians and other Arab people. George Bush and the U.S. rulers have claimed that "peace in the Middle East" is one of the valuable products of their New World Order. But the latest actions of Israel—imperialism's attack dog—show that this "new" order is just as vicious as before and based on the blood of oppressed people.

On February 16, Israeli helicopter gunships staged a lightning strike on a motorcade in Lebanon carrying the leader of the Muslim fundamentalist Hezbollah (Party of God). The victims of the Zionist assassination squad were Sheik Abbas Musawi, his wife, their 6-year-old son and at least four bodyguards. It was a coldly calculated attack—but certainly not the first time that the Israelis have murdered political opponents in other countries.

The next day, on February 17, Israel began pounding southern Lebanon with hundreds of rounds of artillery. Lebanese police reported that 30 villages had come under Israeli bombardment and that between 75,000 and 100,000 people were forced to flee the area. According to the first casualty reports, four people were killed and 50 wounded. Hezbollah guerril-

las fired back with Katyusha rockets that mainly landed in the "security zone," the strip of Lebanese territory north of the Israeli border that the Zionists have occupied since they last invaded Lebanon in 1982.

A Clear Line Must Be Drawn Between Aggressor and Victim

The Zionists said that the bombardment was aimed at guerrilla camps controlled by the Hezbollah and that it was in response to a February 15 attack on an Israeli army camp. Three soldiers in training for reserve duty were killed by attackers described as "Arab guerrillas." (Two of the soldiers were recent arrivals to Israel from Russia—the hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from Russia are being turned into cannonfodder and assassins for the Zionist state.) The U.S. powers backed up the Israeli justification. The press reports here talked about the "cycle of violence" which "began with the attack on the Israeli military camp."

It is outrageous for Israel and their U.S. backers to claim that the killing of the Israeli soldiers "started" the violence! Do they expect the decades of Zionist aggression against the Arab people to be simply

forgotten? The very establishment of the state of Israel in 1947 was based on violently uprooting hundreds of thousands of Palestinian people from their homes and stealing their land. Since then Zionists have committed many crimes against the people. They have continued to expand by invading neighboring countries and forcibly occupying more Palestinian land. They have kept Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza under fascist military occupation. Palestinian youth fighting with stones against their occupiers have been met with gunfire and cruel torture. All this and more has been backed up with \$3 billion a year in U.S. aid, because Israel serves as a valuable enforcer for imperialist interests in the Middle East.

The Zionists and their backers try to get over with their lies by playing on the bourgeois-democratic prejudices of people in the West. They picture Israel as a "democratic country" besieged by "religious fanatics" like the Hezbollah out to "destroy a small nation."

These lies do have a certain effect on people who have progressive stands on other questions, because groups like the Hezbollah are based on reactionary politics and religious fundamentalist ideology. For the oppressed people, the real problem with

those like Hezbollah is that they are *not* revolutionary. Their militant rhetoric attempts to play on the righteous hatred of the Arab masses against the Zionists and the big powers. But their forms of political struggle are a way of pulling the tail of the Western powers in order to get concessions—and this inevitably leads to capitulation.

People who stand for justice cannot be taken in by the attempts of the Zionists and imperialists to blur the line between aggressor and victim, between oppressor and oppressed. Israel is a reactionary aggressor in the Middle East, and the Arab people are the victims. The Zionist settler-colonialists commit their crimes with the backing of imperialist oppressors and in service of imperialist interests. And there is a fundamental distinction between the oppressed righteously rising up in arms against their oppression and the violence of the oppressor to keep the masses enslaved.

Israel's Iron Fist

A closer look at the so-called "cycle of violence" leading up to the invasion further exposes Zionist aggression. The assassination of Sheik Abbas Musawi was in no way a "retaliation" for the killing of the three



February 16 — Destroyed homes at Ain Hilwe refugee camp after Israeli air strike in southern Lebanon.

tions with these Zionist occupiers can't in any way serve the interests of the masses of people in this region.

The Old Game of Israel's Amerikkkan Masters

The Washington government did not condemn the Israeli invasion. At the State Department, official spokespeople claimed the invasion was a unimportant event: a limited strike of a "small armored element that went after an alleged Katyusha launching site." The U.S. officials claimed they were "deeply concerned about the renewed cycle of violence in southern Lebanon." And they insist that, despite this brutal attack, Arabs should still meet with Israel in Washington.

This is a very old game: Israel attacks its

neighbors like a savage attack dog, while the U.S. pretends to be neutral or even a little disapproving. Meanwhile, U.S. diplomacy is working overtime to smooth the way for the Israeli aggressors by spreading the Israeli version of events. The U.S. offers itself as the imperialist godfather who can iron out all problems—if only Arab people stop their resistance to Israeli occupation and continue the negotiations.

A basic truth needs to be grasped: The U.S. is not neutral between the Arab people and Israel. The U.S. is not even just the "backer" of Israel. The U.S. has used Israel for over forty years to maintain their imperialist control of the highly strategic Middle East. The U.S. is the master of Israel. The U.S. is the imperialist power that arms, finances, props up and defends its Zionist attack dog. In the U.S.-Israeli relationship it

is the U.S. who holds the leash.

As we say, using the scientific language of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: the contradiction between the Zionist settler state and the masses of Arab people is an expression of the global contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations.

Sometimes it looks like Israel does things that the U.S. opposes. But this deception has been built into their relationship. The U.S. imperialists have trained their attack dog to bite when the master says "Sit!" That way the master doesn't look guilty for all the crimes of the attack dog.

The *New York Times* (Feb. 21), a major mouthpiece for the U.S. ruling class, explained how this game was being played last week: "Washington does not want to interfere with Israel's attacks on Shiite Muslim guerrillas in southern Lebanon,

and it is clear that Israel's assassination on Sunday of Sheik Abbas Musawi, the leader of the fundamentalist Party of God guerrillas, was in American interests.... But the Bush Administration does not want to be seen to be condoning assassination and said it deplored all killings on 'all sides.'"

In short: The attacks on Lebanon are in U.S. interests and Israeli murder is supported from Washington, but the Bush administration does not want to be seen backing Israel's illegal aggressions.

The U.S. government says it is contacting all the governments of that area—Lebanon, Syria and Israel—to prevent an escalation of the fighting. But it is not calling for Israeli withdrawal. Meanwhile Israeli helicopters prowl over the abandoned Arab villages of southern Lebanon, shooting everything that moves. □

Assassination Squad

Israeli soldiers that took place a day before. It is clear that the assassination had to be planned well in advance. The *New York Times* pointed out: "By its very nature, it seemed to have required careful planning, making it unlikely, in the view of some military experts, that it would have been cobbled together in a hurry." The attack on the Israeli military camp was just a convenient event to put a thin cover on this political assassination. And how can the Zionists claim that the shelling of 30 villages in Lebanon, endangering thousands of lives, was a "response" to the death of three soldiers?

There have been many other outrages and crimes by the Zionists in the recent period. These are just some of them:

- On February 2 the Israeli army adopted new regulations allowing soldiers to shoot to kill without warning any Palestinian seen carrying any sort of weapon. The official policy before had been to order to halt and then shoot in the air before shooting into the body. The first victim of this "shoot first, ask questions later" rule was 25-year-old Awwad Ibkhit, who was riding a bus in the Gaza Strip on February 4 when soldiers suddenly opened fire and killed him. The soldiers alleged that the bus had swerved mysteriously.

- On February 4, 36-year-old Mustafa Akkawi died in Hebron Prison in the West Bank after two weeks of interrogation by the Israeli army. Detention rules in the West Bank allow the Israeli army to detain and interrogate "suspects" for 18-day periods renewable up to two months. No lawyers or family members are usually allowed to see the prisoner. Israeli laws openly allow a "moderate measure of physical pressure"—in other words torture—to be used against Palestinian prisoners. On February 3 Akkawi appeared in court and told a judge that he was being tortured. The judge, writing in his note that Akkawi had bruises on his arms and chest, rejected the army's request to detain Akkawi for 30 more days, but he did allow eight days of further interrogation. The next day Akkawi was dead of a heart attack. Doctors said the heart attack was caused by the brutal treatment during interrogation.

- February 5—Twelve-year-old Jalal Taleb Sanallah, who was with a group of youth that confronted Israeli soldiers, was shot and killed by a Zionist bullet at the Ain Beit Elma refugee camp in Nablus, West Bank.

- The Zionist state has continued to build settlements on the West Bank on the land of the Palestinian people. At the beginning of

February the Israeli army announced that it would mobilize groups of Zionist settlers as "quick-reaction" military squads to help in future emergencies. These settlers are already heavily armed and allowed to shoot Palestinians in "self-defense." This is nothing but the creation of settler militia units to escalate the terror against the Palestinian people.

The Peace Talks Conspiracy

As Israeli tanks roared into southern Lebanon, the various negotiators for the next round of Middle East "peace talks" set to begin on February 22 were heading toward Washington, D.C. The fact that the talks are taking place even after what Israel has done in the past few days shows how reactionary they are—as the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement said, these talks are a "conspiracy" against the Palestinian people.

The intentions of the Zionists are clear. One TV commentator said they were "combining the Iron Fist with peace talks." They are declaring that any agreements reached at the talks will be based on the other parties accepting and conceding to the "legitimacy" of Israeli power. The U.S. imperialists, the sponsors of the talks, have also made this the starting point for

negotiations. The lackey regimes of the participating Arab countries have accepted this humiliation willingly because they know it is the price of admission to the New World Order.

The spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation criticized the Israeli bombing of Lebanon, but she said, "The only way [the violence] will stop is to have a peace settlement." This is the capitulationist line of Yasir Arafat and the PLO leadership. They tell the Palestinian people that the only "realist" way to liberation is by relying on the imperialist powers, the reactionary Arab states and "world public opinion"—by which they mean the opinions of the reactionary ruling classes. But the Palestinian people will surely reject such capitulation. And the imperialists expect that the Palestinian "leaders" participating in the talks will serve as policemen over the masses and help "keep the peace." But the peace they want to achieve is an imperialist peace.

Neither the intrigues of the "peace talks" nor the violence of the Zionists will make the contradictions that have given rise to the just struggle of the Palestinian people go away. Only revolution can resolve these contradictions in the interests of the people. □

From *El Diario*

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

Part 2: Planning the People's War in Peru

The following is the second in a series of excerpts from a new English translation of the historic interview with Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru. The first installment of excerpts is in *RW* #643.

The interview originally appeared in July 1988 in the Peruvian newspaper *El Diario*. This was a big blow against the reactionary Peruvian government. The enemies of the revolution in Peru had been spreading lies that Chairman Gonzalo had died and that the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru (known as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the bourgeois press) had been defeated. But the interview, conducted by *El Diario* editors Luis Arce Borja and Janet Talavera, was striking proof that Chairman Gonzalo was alive and well and leading a powerful revolution forward. Two editions of the interview—100,000 copies each—quickly sold out. The government retaliated by confiscating the third edition, destroying *El Diario's* press, and arresting Talavera and other newspaper staff. *El Diario* continues to come out in Peru in the face of severe repression, and a new international edition published by Arce Borja is also available.

Since 1988 there have been some important changes in the situation in Peru. The revolution has further advanced and is winning greater victories. The regime of Alan García Pérez was replaced by a government headed by Alberto Fujimori. The U.S. has stepped up its military intervention against the people's war. But the interview with Chairman Gonzalo continues to be a very relevant and important document for a greater understanding of the revolution in Peru. The new English translation is available in pamphlet form from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.

EL DIARIO: Taking into account that there are two strategies in conflict in this war, could you explain the process of development of your military plans, advances and what problems you've had?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Our starting point is this: each class has its own specific form of war, and therefore its own strategy. The proletariat has developed its strategy, people's war, and it is a superior strategy. The bourgeoisie can never have a strategy superior to this. Moreover, there will never be a strategy more developed than that of the proletariat. It is a question of studying military processes in the world. Each class has always brought forth its own form of waging war, and its own strategy. And always, the superior strategy has defeated the inferior strategy, and the new class always has the superior strategy and that's what people's war is. There is evidence to prove this. There are military analysts who put it like this: communists, when they have applied their principles, have never lost a war; they have only lost wars when they have not applied their principles.

Therefore, our starting point was that we have a superior strategy, a universally proven theory. Our problem was how to wield it to make our revolution. Therein lies the problem—and the possibility of making errors. The first thing that we established was the need to avoid a mechanical application of people's war, because Chairman Mao Tsetung warned us that a mechanical application leads to opportunism and defeat. In 1980, which is when we decided to begin the people's war, we decided in the Party Central Committee to pay strict attention to developing a concrete application, not a dogmatic or a mechanical one. This is how we formulated it. This was our starting point. Well, here we can point out the first problem that we had. The first problem that we had was an antagonistic struggle against a right opportunist line that opposed starting the people's war. This is the first problem that we had. We settled this question fundamentally in the IXth Plenum, and the remnants were swept away completely in the February 1980 Plenum. That was the

first problem we had, and from there we had the struggle to purify the Party that we talked about before. And we had to struggle fiercely to weed out elements from the Central Committee itself. That's the way it is, but that is how we strengthened ourselves and were able to enter the process of initiating the people's war. We already had a plan for waging war in the countryside and the city.

The first plan that we proposed was the Plan to Initiate. The Political Bureau was asked to determine how to develop armed actions, and it was this body that presented the plan, based on detachments as the military form. This plan was brought to its conclusion in 1980, but it is important to note that two weeks after initiating the armed struggle there was a meeting of the expanded Political Bureau in order to analyze how it had gone, and it concluded that a new thing had been born, and this was the people's war, armed actions, detachments. Then we developed the Plan to Unfold. This was a longer plan, comprising two years, but it was accomplished through several campaigns. It was at the end of this plan that the new forms of Power crystallized and the People's Committees arose.

At the end of 1982, the armed forces came in. The CC had anticipated this for more than a year. It had studied the involvement of the armed forces, and concluded that it would increase until the army had substituted for the police, who would then assume a secondary role. This is how it has been, and given the situation it could not have been otherwise. We had prepared ourselves, but nevertheless, we had a second problem. The introduction of the armed forces had its consequences. They came in applying a policy of genocide from the beginning. They formed armed groups, called *mesnadas*,¹ forcing the masses to join and putting them in front, using them as shields. This must be said clearly: here we see not only the policy of using masses against masses, an old reactionary policy already seen by Marx, but also a cowardly

use of the masses, putting the masses in front of them. The armed forces have nothing to boast about—with good reason we have called them experts at defeat, and skilled at attacking the unarmed masses. These are the armed forces of Peru. Faced with this we convened an expanded session of the CC. It was a large meeting and it lasted a long time. It was one of the longest sessions we've ever had. That's when we established the Plan to Conquer Base Areas, and the People's Guerrilla Army was created to respond to a force that was obviously of a higher level than the police. It was there that we also raised, among other things, the problem of Front-State.

Thus arose the second problem, the problem of confronting the genocide, the genocide of 1983 and 1984. It is in the Party documents. It's not necessary to go into it a lot, but we do want to stress the fact that it was a vicious and merciless genocide. They thought that with this genocide "they would wipe us off the map." How real this was is shown by the fact that, by the end of 1984, they began to circulate among their officers documents concerning our annihilation. The struggle was intense, hard, those were complex and difficult times.

In the face of reactionary military actions and the use of *mesnadas*, we responded with a devastating action: Lucanamarca. Neither they nor we have forgotten it, to be sure, because they got an answer that they didn't imagine possible. More than 80 were annihilated, that is the truth. And we say openly that there were excesses, as was analyzed in 1983. But everything in life has two aspects. Our task was to deal a devastating blow in order to put them in check, to make them understand that it was not going to be so easy. On some occasions, like that one, it was the Central Leadership itself that planned the action and gave instructions. That's how it was. In that case, the principal thing is that we dealt them a devastating blow, and we checked them and they understood that they were dealing with a different kind of people's fighters, that we weren't the same as those they had fought before. This is what they understood. The excesses are the negative aspect. Understanding war, and basing ourselves on what Lenin said, taking Clausewitz into account, in war, the masses engaged in combat can go too far and express all their hatred, the deep feelings of class hatred, repudiation and condemnation that they have—that was the root of it. This has been explained by Lenin very clearly. Excesses can be committed. The problem is to go to a certain point and not beyond it, because if

¹ Also known as *ronderos*.



Paintings by prisoners in Lurigancho prison depict town of Vilcashuaman, where guerrillas attacked police barracks and held a mass meeting to establish one of the first People's Committees.

The Myth

A recent article in the *New York Times* openly admits that the U.S. "war on drugs" in Peru is an outright lie. The article by Simon Strong appeared in the February 17 Op-Ed page of the *Times*. Strong is identified by the *Times* as the author of a forthcoming book, *Shining Path: The World's Deadliest Revolutionary Force*.

The powers in the U.S. claim that the U.S. "aid" to the Peruvian government is part of the "war on drugs," and that this war also involves fighting the Communist Party of Peru (referred to as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press) because they are "allied with drug traffickers." But the "war on drugs" in Peru is just a cover for counterrevolutionary war against the Maoist guerrillas.

There are some forces in the U.S. ruling class who feel that the "drug war" cover is not working and that it is in fact getting in the way of their attempts to put down the revolution in Peru. Strong apparently is voicing the concern of these ruling class forces. He brings out some exposures about



Guerrillas led by the Communist Party of Peru.

you go past that point you go off course. It's like an angle; it can be opened up to a certain point and no further. If we were to give the masses a lot of restrictions, requirements and prohibitions, it would mean that deep down we didn't want the waters to overflow. And what we needed was for the waters to overflow, to let the flood rage, because we know that when a river floods its banks it causes devastation, but then it returns to its riverbed. I repeat, this was explained clearly by Lenin, and this is how we understand those excesses. But, I insist, the main point was to make them understand that we were a hard nut to crack, and that we were ready for anything, anything.

Marx taught us: one does not play at insurrection, one does not play at revolution. But when one raises the banner of insurrection, when one takes up arms, there's no taking down the banner, it must be held high and never lowered until victory. This is what he taught us, no matter how much it costs us! Marx has armed us then, as Lenin has, and, principally Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us about the price we have to pay—what it means to annihilate in order to preserve, what it means to hold high the banner, come what may. And we say that in this way, with this determination, we overcame the sinister, vile, cowardly and vicious genocide. And we say this because someone—he who calls himself president—makes insinuations about barbarism, without blushing, when

he is an aspiring Attila the Hun playing with other people's blood.

Have we gone through difficult times? Yes. But what has reality shown us? That if we persist, keep politics in command, follow our political strategy, follow our military strategy, if we have a clear and defined plan, then we will advance, and we are capable of facing any bloodbath. (We began to prepare for the bloodbath in 1981 because it had to come. Thus we were already prepared ideologically, that is principal.) All this brought about an increase in our forces, they multiplied. This was the result. It turned out as the Chairman had said: the reaction is dreaming when it tries to drown the revolution in blood. They should know they are nourishing it, and this is an inexorable law. So this reaffirms for us that we have to be more and more dedicated, firm, and resolute in our principles, and always have unwavering faith in the masses.

Thus we came out of it strengthened, with a larger Army, more People's Committees and Base Areas, and a larger Party, exactly the opposite of what they had imagined. We have already talked, I believe, of the bloody dreams of the reaction. They are nothing but that, bloody dreams that, in the final analysis, end up being nightmares. But I insist: by persisting in our principles and fighting with the support of the masses, mainly the poor peasants, we've been able to confront this situation. It is here that the

heroism of which I have already spoken, the heroism of the masses, has been expressed.

....

EL DIARIO: Chairman, would you accept talks with Alan García Pérez?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The idea of talks is being bandied about, and it is also part of the superpowers' game, especially the social-imperialists. We see the situation this way; there is a time in the development of a people's war when the relations and diplomatic dealings become necessary and do occur. For example, the meeting between Chairman Mao and Chiang Kai-shek.² This is something people are familiar with. We also saw it in the case of Vietnam. It is a facet in the development of a revolutionary war and, even more so, of a people's war. But we must start from the understanding that in diplomatic meetings agreements signed at the table only reflect what has already been established on the battlefield, because no one is going to give up what they have not obviously lost. That is understood. Well, one could ask, has that moment arrived in Peru? That moment has not arrived. So why raise the issue of talks? Such talks are simply aimed at halting or under-

² During the Chinese revolution Chiang Kai-shek was the head of the bourgeoisie in China tied to the imperialist powers.

mining the people's war, that's what they are aimed at and nothing more. So I repeat, the truth is that the time for meetings and diplomatic dealing has not arrived, it makes no sense.

As for the rest, I think it is a demagogic matter that they have been stirring up since the time of Belaúnde's government, when due to a proposal from someone from the United Left that was accepted, the then-president stated that there was no suitable interlocutor. Words! At bottom it was nothing but cheap demagoguery without rhyme or reason, and it's still the same today. And who talks about talks? The revisionists, the opportunists, and those who have hope for APRA, for this demo-bourgeois order, for this reactionary order. They are the ones. But are they not at the same time the ones who are promoting pacification, our destruction? Are they not the same ones who make proposals about how to pacify better, which means how to sweep us away, because such are their sinister dreams to satisfy their appetites? They are the same ones. What a coincidence! So then, these talks are a sinister betrayal. Furthermore, one could ask: how can they talk about dialogue, those who even made an amnesty pact with García Pérez, which he never honored?

So for me all this jabbering about talks is nothing, I repeat, but looking for a way to undermine the people's war, because it doesn't correspond to reality. When the time comes, the people's war will necessarily have to undertake diplomatic dealings. But our diplomacy will be aimed at seizing Power countrywide, fully and completely. We don't want a North Vietnam and a South Vietnam, we don't want a North Korea and a South Korea. We don't want a North Peru and a South Peru, we want only one Peru. This is our condition: full, complete and absolute surrender. Are they ready for that? No. What they are plotting is our destruction, and so talks are nothing but a part of that same plan despite all their demagogic and philistine cackling.

n of the War on Drugs

the drug situation in Peru—his aim is to urge a more effective fight by the U.S. and the Peruvian reactionaries against people's war.

The *Times* article points out that there is "clear evidence that Government authorities, the military and the police profit from protecting every level of the cocaine trade, which is in the hands of Colombian cartels." As an example, the article brings up the recent resignation of Hernando de Soto, an advisor to Peruvian President Fujimori. De Soto wrote in his resignation letter that there is widespread belief that the June 1991 murder of a leader of a coca growers' association was committed by "those in the government's hire" who wanted to preserve their drug protection money. De Soto's requests to go after the killers were ignored by the Fujimori regime. The authorities make large profits by charging drug traffickers for use of airstrips—the protection charge for the airstrip in the town of Uchiza in Upper Huallaga Valley is said to be \$25,000.

The article compares this to the way the Communist Party of Peru operates: "In contrast to the proof linking security forces and officials to the cocaine traffickers, there is hardly any evidence tying traffickers to Shining Path. The Maoist guerrillas show no outer indications of wealth. Their weapons mainly consist of dynamite stolen from mines and munitions 'confiscated' from security forces."

The article continues: "Shining Path is involved with the coca growers themselves, the bottom of the production ladder, not the cocaine traffickers. It claims that it tries to protect the Huallaga Valley's 180,000 growers from efforts to eradicate their crop and from exploitation by traffickers.... Meanwhile, wherever possible in its 'liberated zones,' Shining Path claims it bans drug laboratories and kicks out big-time traffickers. The traffickers look elsewhere—the army, police and civilian authorities—for profit and security." In the Ene River Valley region, south of Upper Huallaga, "Shining Path's dominance has

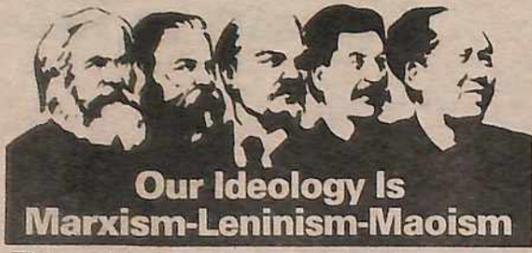
coincided with the death of the coca trade."

Strong worries that this whole situation with the "war on drugs" in Peru only helps the Maoists advance: "Fujimori's hands are tied: lacking the support of a political party and depending on the military to hold off Shining Path, he does not have the strength to fight corruption. And the beneficiaries of these divided interests are the world's strongest Communist revolutionaries."

While the exposures in the *Times* piece are striking, they are also limited because they are meant to serve ruling class goals—to wage a more effective counterrevolutionary war in Peru. But the problem in Peru is not just corruption. The involvement of Peruvian authorities in drugs is an inseparable part of the whole reactionary setup in Peru—a system ruled by semi-feudal landowners and bureaucratic bourgeoisie backed up by imperialism. The Peruvian economy is dependent on millions of dollars it receives from coca production—Peruvian banks, closely tied to U.S. banks and corporations, make daily

flights into the coca-growing region to collect drug profits. And much of these profits in turn go into repaying the foreign debt.

The article also tries to distort the Peruvian revolutionaries' opposition to drugs by saying it reflects their so-called "puritanism." But the Communist Party of Peru's policies on cocaine are part of their whole outlook of fighting a people's war based on self-reliance and their vision of building a new people's power in Peru free of imperialist domination. The revolutionaries say they will abolish the coca trade once they take nationwide power in Peru. Meanwhile they protect and organize the peasants, who have to grow coca in order to survive under the existing economy. And in the base areas crop substitution is being implemented so that peasants can be free from dependence on export agriculture and the revolution can be self-reliant. □



**Our Ideology Is
Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**

This article first appeared in RW #593.

Communism Is Not a "European" Ideology It Is the Ideology of the International Proletariat



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP

by Bob Avakian

It is sometimes claimed, particularly by nationalists of various kinds, that communism is "a European ideology." In fact, recently I was reading a report about a discussion some of our people had with some Black college students who raised this and went on to insist that "Black people cannot follow a European ideology, we have to follow an ideology we create ourselves."

First of all, to get down to basics, communism is not the ideology of any one part of the world, any one people, any one nation (or race). It is the ideology of the proletariat, which includes people of all regions and all nations. In the U.S. itself the proletariat is made up of people of many different nationalities—including Blacks, Latinos, Asians and native peoples, as well as whites. And more than that, the proletariat is an international class—it is made up of people of every country, in every part of the world, of every race—and communism is the ideology of this international proletariat.

But let's get into this whole question more fully.

Historical Development of Communist Ideology

It is true that communist ideology was first developed in Europe, by Karl Marx (together with Frederick Engels), in the middle of the 1800s. Why was this the case?

This was a time when the industrial revolution

associated with the rapid development of capitalist society was in full swing in parts of Europe. Massive technological changes were taking place and major scientific developments were being made and harnessed to this capitalist enterprise. Together with this rapid development of capitalist industrialization, the social relations of capitalism were also becoming more and more obvious. In particular, it was becoming more and more clear that the interests of the two main classes in capitalist society—the bourgeoisie (the capitalist exploiters) and the proletariat (the working class exploited by the capitalists)—were in fundamental conflict with each other.

It was on the basis of all this that Marx founded the ideology of communism. But Marx did not do this in some narrow sense. He drew from a broad range of human experience and knowledge, including philosophy and science as well as economics and politics. He looked back through the history of development of human society and he surveyed the broad field of human experience internationally.

Marx not only exposed that capitalism meant the ruthless exploitation of the workers by the capitalists in Europe itself. He also exposed that from the very beginning capitalism had been founded in the enslavement and even the outright extermination of peoples from Africa to the Americas. He exposed and opposed the colonial powers of that time in their oppression of peoples all over the world, from

Ireland to Egypt to India and China.

It is true that Marx expected the communist revolution would take place first in Europe, where capitalism was most highly developed, and that this would show the way to the rest of the world. But later in his life, as he saw that this revolution had still not come in Europe, Marx changed some of his particular views accordingly. For example, as he himself said, he had taken the position that a revolution by the workers to overthrow capitalism in England would lead to the liberation of Ireland from



Bolshevik Revolution, Russia, 1917.



News of the developments in the Cultural Revolution is distributed throughout China.



Communist Party of Peru guerrillas leading a political meeting.



English domination, but he had come to see that things were really the other way around—that unless the English workers fought for the liberation of British colonies like Ireland, these workers could never carry out a communist revolution. And he took the same kind of position toward slavery in the United States: not only did Marx actively support the struggle to abolish slavery, but he pointed out that the working people in the U.S. could never emancipate themselves from capitalist wage-slavery if half of their number were chained in outright slavery.

The Russian Revolution— A Bridge to the East

Yet, despite Marx's expectations—and his active work, both theoretical and practical—a communist-led revolution did not come first in Europe. It came instead in Russia. Or, rather, it took place in what had been the Russian empire, which covered a huge area, including not only Russia itself but many other nations as well. Most of this area was not in Europe but in Asia. In fact, this Russian empire was a kind of bridge between West and East, and so was the proletarian revolution that occurred there, beginning in October 1917.

This revolution not only brought about the emancipation of the workers from capitalist exploitation. It also brought about the liberation of more than a hundred nations and national minorities who had been cruelly oppressed under the Russian empire. Before the proletarian revolution this empire had been known as "the prison-house of nations." But as a result of the October Revolution this "prison-house of nations" was replaced by the Soviet Union. For several decades, first under the leadership of Lenin and then of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union was a genuine, revolutionary union of the peoples of the country, on the basis of equality and with the proletariat holding political power.

Marxism teaches us that theory develops in relation to, and ultimately on the basis of, practice. The experience of this October Revolution and of the overall situation in which it occurred led to the further development of communist theory. This revolution took place toward the end of the first world war—and this war in turn grew out of the further development of capitalism into a worldwide system of exploitation and oppression, imperialism. It was Lenin, more than anyone else, who led the way in analyzing these new developments and in seizing on the situation to break through the chain of imperialism and carry out the proletarian revolution. Lenin didn't just lead the revolution in the Russian empire—he did everything possible to further this

same revolutionary struggle in other countries, not just in Europe but throughout the world. It was on the basis of all this that Lenin developed Marxism to a new and higher stage—Marxism became Marxism-Leninism.

Although attempts at proletarian revolution in other countries at that time were defeated—either led astray or crushed outright—still the revolution led by Lenin changed the face of the entire world. One of the most important things it did was to spread communism to the East, linking it with the struggles of the colonized peoples for their emancipation from imperialism. As Mao Tsetung so powerfully put it, the salvos of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China, and once the Chinese revolutionaries discovered and took up this ideology they were finally able to take the road leading to complete liberation.

Since that time communism has become even more fully an international movement. More particularly, it has increasingly been linked with and stood at the forefront of the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of (what today is often called) the Third World. When these struggles are led by revolutionary communists, it is possible not only to carry out the first great step—overthrowing the domination of imperialism and the local reactionary forces aligned with imperialism. Beyond that, it is possible to take the next, and even greater step—to carry forward the revolutionary struggle to the stage of socialism. Socialism is itself a political-economic system ruled by the proletariat and a transition to communism, which will mean the elimination of classes altogether and with them the end of all oppression and exploitation.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

It was in China, a Third World country with one-fourth of the world's population, that this revolution reached its highest peak, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Mao Tsetung. In fact, under Mao's leadership the masses of Chinese people not only liberated their country in 1949 and advanced into the socialist stage; they then carried out a further revolution under socialism, The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This revolution was aimed at making further radical changes in the relations between people and in people's thinking. At the same time it was aimed at preventing the rise to power of new capitalist forces, disguising themselves as communists but seeking to bring about capitalist restoration—to bring back the old system of exploitation and oppression. Such a restoration of capitalism had taken place in the Soviet

Union in the mid-1950s. It was on the basis of deeply summing up this negative experience in the Soviet Union, as well as carefully analyzing the world situation, that Mao unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, beginning in the mid-1960s. For 10 years this great revolutionary struggle beat back the attempts of the counterfeit communists to take China back down the road of capitalism. But after Mao's death in 1976, these "capitalist-roaders," led by Deng Xiaoping, finally succeeded in seizing power from the proletariat and reversing the revolution in China.

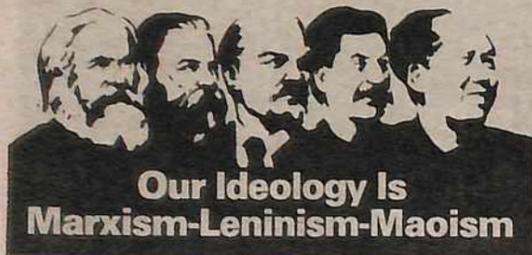
Despite this setback, it remains true that the revolution in China and in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the highest pinnacle that the proletariat—and indeed humanity as a whole—has yet achieved in the advance toward classless communist society. In the course of leading this revolutionary struggle, through many different stages, while at the same time paying close attention to and making great contributions to the revolutionary struggle worldwide, Mao Tsetung raised communist ideology to a new and still higher stage: Marxism-Leninism has been developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Peoples of the World Are Bound Together

From all this it should be very clear that today, more than ever, it is absurd to consider communism some kind of "European ideology." Today communist ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is more than ever an international and internationalist ideology—it is the ideology of the international proletariat in its world-historic struggle to free itself, and all humanity, from the bonds of exploitation, oppression and the very division of society into different classes.

But more than that, it would be impossible for Marxism to be some kind of "European ideology" in any kind of "pure" sense. By this I mean that Europe and peoples of European descent are themselves the product of different mixtures and influences, both biologically and culturally. In fact, peoples from Africa have played a significant role in this development, as many Black intellectuals have helped to make clear, showing how civilizations and empires from the ancient Egyptian to the more recent Moorish have influenced, interacted with, and at times dominated Europe, or parts of it. It would be very difficult, if not simply impossible, to identify any "European" ideas which did not in some way share in these influences from Africa, as well as from

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other parts of the world.

At the same time, there is not, and there cannot be, any "pure African ideology." Africa, too, has been influenced, directly and indirectly, by many different peoples and cultures. Much of this, of course, has come through conquest and domination—by the Islamic empire as well as various European colonizers and others. Both the Christian and the Islamic religions were imposed on African peoples at swordpoint (and gunpoint). Or, to take another example: some of the foods which make up an important part of the diet of African peoples today (such as peanuts, maize corn, and cassava) were actually brought to Africa from the Americas—the European conquerors and colonizers took many foods from the peoples they found in the Americas and carried them not only to Europe but to many other parts of the world, including Asia and Africa. (In turn it seems that those "native" peoples of the Americas are actually peoples originally from Asia who migrated to the Americas thousands of years ago across a stretch of land that has since been covered by ocean.)

What Is the Source of Ideas?

Even if, in isolated areas of Africa (or some other part of the world), peoples could be found who had never encountered outsiders, parts of their way of thinking would be common to all human beings—reflecting human experience in general—and parts would reflect only their local and particular experience. But these local and particular parts, by definition, could not be the basis for some kind of universal ideology—an ideology reflecting the experience of all the people of Africa (or the world) as a whole. The source of all knowledge is experience, direct or indirect—that is, experience a person (or group of people) has themselves or the experience of others they learn about. The more narrow the experience, the more limited the knowledge; and on the other hand, the broader the experience, the richer the source of knowledge.

In today's world especially, any ideology that exerts an influence on large groups of people cannot be "purely" that of any one nation (or race). And if an ideology is meant to reflect the particular experience of a nation (or race) of people, then the fundamental question is: *how* does it reflect that experience—*how accurately and fully* does it reflect that experience and *how correctly* does it relate that experience to the experience of human beings and their society overall, historically and internationally?

In Today's World, All Ideologies Are Class Ideologies

Today, overwhelmingly, the societies African people live in are societies divided into different

classes. (And certainly this was also true of the great civilizations in Africa in the past, such as the ancient Egyptian civilization, which existed on a foundation of slavery.) As Mao Tsetung clearly summarized it, "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." (The "Red Book," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, p. 8) And Mao also made clear that, because the proletariat is the only class in history that can free itself only by emancipating all mankind—because the historic goal of the proletariat is to put an end to the division of society into different classes—for this reason the ideology of the proletariat is the only ideology that both has a definite class stand *and at the same time is scientifically truthful*.

Let's go back to this idea that Black people "have to follow an ideology we create ourselves." This way of thinking is clearly "stamped with the brand of class," but it is not that of the proletariat. It bears the stamp of the middle class (or petty bourgeoisie), and it also bears the stamp of the Black bourgeoisie—which is the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation.

The middle class precisely stands in the middle between the two major contending classes in today's society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie wants to avoid coming under the sway of either of these classes—it tries to carve out an "independent" position between the two. But in reality it ends up swinging back and forth between the bourgeois and the proletarian camp, and it tends to split, with some parts of it ending up in one camp while others end up in the other camp. And, especially in times of the revolutionary rising of the basic masses, some among the petty bourgeoisie actually come over to the side of the proletariat, firmly and wholeheartedly, and are transformed into proletarian revolutionaries.

As a class, the petty bourgeoisie is incapable of ruling society and making its ideas the dominant ideas in society. But it is a common tendency of this class to confuse its own, limited, class position and interests with the general interests of society. Thus, intellectuals from this class repeatedly come up with attempts at creating some kind of "original" or "independent" ideology—which, however, only reflects the same-old, same-old ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, or in some cases the big-time bourgeoisie. This takes different forms among different peoples, depending on their actual situation and role in society.

Among oppressed peoples, such as African-Americans, it often takes the form of some kind of nationalism which is militantly opposed to the ruling structures and ideas but which resists taking up the stand and viewpoint of the group in society that is most fundamentally opposed to these ruling structures and ideas—the proletariat. The notion of creating some kind of "Black" or "African" ideology that is different from and opposed to the ideology of the proletariat—this is an example of such nationalism reflecting the position

and outlook of the petty bourgeoisie among Black people.

But, as noted before, this kind of thinking also reflects the position and outlook of the Black bourgeoisie. One of the main concerns of any bourgeoisie is that it have control over the affairs of "its" nation. Fundamentally this means control of economics but it also means control of politics, culture and ideology. When the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation raises the demand for the independence of its nation, it means independence *under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and serving its class interests*. The idea of creating a kind of "independent national ideology"—including the idea that "Black people have to follow an ideology that we create ourselves"—this is in line with the interests and viewpoint of the Black bourgeoisie as the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation.

Of course, thinking such as this, which bears the stamp of the petty bourgeoisie and of the Black bourgeoisie, can and does exert an influence on people of other classes, including among the proletarians. Nationalism of this kind exerts an influence on African-American proletarians, especially because they are subjected to oppression as Black people and are up against the rampant reactionary nationalism of the dominating European-American nation in the U.S. This reactionary white chauvinism (racism) exerts a significant influence on white people, including white proletarians, in the U.S., and it is by far the greater problem that must be struggled against. And it is necessary to unite with the Black petty bourgeoisie and as far as possible with the Black bourgeoisie in the fight against the common oppressor—the imperialist ruling class. But at the same time it is necessary to struggle against all forms of nationalist ideology and firmly uphold proletarian internationalist ideology.

This is an important part of the all-around ideological struggle that must be waged at the same time as waging the struggle against the ruling class in the practical sphere. It is crucial to win the masses to the ideology of the proletariat, in opposition to the ideology of the ruling class and in opposition to the ideology of all other classes as well. It is only in this way that the proletariat and the masses of people can wage a revolutionary struggle in their own highest interests and finally win their own emancipation.

The conclusion is this: The most basic thing to ask about any way of thinking, any ideology, is *which class does it represent?* There is only one ideology that can lead to all-the-way liberation. Only one ideology that is both *partisan*—openly standing for one side in the struggle—and *true*—capable of correctly reflecting reality and summing up experience in the broadest and deepest way. It is the ideology that represents the most revolutionary class in the world—the class whose interests lie in radically re-making society to get rid of all forms of exploitation and oppression, and all backward ways of thinking, worldwide. That class is the international proletariat, and its ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. □



**Cold
Truth,
Liberating
Truth:**

**How This System Has Always
Oppressed Black People,
And How All Oppression
Can Finally Be Ended**

Anyone who is serious and honest knows that the enslavement and exploitation of Black people has been a big part of building up the wealth and power that the rulers of this country have in their hands—wealth and power that these suckers use to further exploit and oppress people here and all over the world. And anyone who is honest and serious knows that for revolution to have a chance in this country—a revolution to do away with all this oppression and exploitation and to change society from bottom to top—Black people must and will play a big part in this revolution.

COLD TRUTH, LIBERATING TRUTH gets into it deeper, knocking down lies and

bringing out the real facts. We use knowledge of the past to shine a light on the present and point the way toward the future: a future that **does** belong to us—all of us who have been counted as "nothing" but who shall be all—if we **dare** to seize it and **know how** to seize it. Getting it fully clear on how and why Black people have been enslaved, discriminated against, oppressed, and exploited throughout the history of the USA, right down to today, and how all that can finally be ended—this is a key part of knowing and daring. It has everything to do with emancipation that is all-the-way and real, not a sham or half-way deal, not only for Black people but for all exploited and oppressed people, not just in the USA but worldwide.

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JFK meets with the "Big Six" (plus four), organizers of the 1963 March on Washington.

Malcolm X, MLK, and the 1963 March on Washington

Part 2

This is the second part of an article on the occasion of Black History Month to help set the record straight on the myths going round around Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. As we pointed out last week, Malcolm X did not have a fully developed revolutionary program for doing away with all oppression, and he went through a lot of political changes. But one thing is for sure: Malcolm remained firmly opposed to the role played by Martin Luther King, Jr. and all others who tried to collaborate with the system and cover up the reality of the so-called "American Dream"—which is a NIGHTMARE for the oppressed.

Part of the reason that people can get over on the youth with myths about Malcolm X is that the real history has been distorted. Instead of a dialectical and historical materialist history—which makes a class analysis of people and events and shows how they are really connected to each other—the people get a version of history which suits the powers or the political agenda of the capitalist-minded petty bourgeoisie. To clear the air on some important issues, we are presenting the story of the 1963 March on Washington.

The Big Six

"When they found out that this Black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look,

you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.' "

Malcolm X

"We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government...and thought...that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming the young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution."

Robert Kennedy

In the spring of 1963 the idea of a massive march on Washington—with mass civil disobedience, including sit-ins, chain-ins and pickets at the Capitol and the White House being a major aspect of it—captured the imagination of Black people all over the country. For some it was viewed as a way of forcing the federal government to put pressure on local segregationist authorities; for others it was a way of targeting the federal government as a source of oppression.

The powers were worried. That spring Black people battled police and racists in the streets of Birmingham. In the Third World—where the U.S. was running a

game of being the "anti-colonialist" big power—the U.S. image was taking a beating.

On June 22 President John Kennedy held a meeting at the White House with 30 Black and white civil rights leaders. The group included Martin Luther King, Jr. and Roy Wilkins, with whom Kennedy had a private conversation earlier in the day. Kennedy initially urged them not to march on Washington. In response to this, A. Philip Randolph—a Black leader with a long history of working with U.S. presidents to divert the struggle of the Black masses into safe channels—frankly stated that the Black people were already in the streets and it would "very likely be impossible to get them off." "If they are bound to be in the streets in any case," he asked, "is it not better that they be led by organizations dedicated to civil rights and disciplined by struggle rather than to leave them to other leaders who care neither about civil rights nor about non-violence?"

So the Kennedy conference made a plan to take over the March on Washington. The whole march was now geared to help the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill get through Congress. Emerging from the White House conference, King stated, "If there is a filibuster in Congress, we will have a nonviolent, peaceful demonstration in Washington."

All hints of the defiance associated with the vision of the march when it was an "unauthorized" idea among the masses of Black people were cut out of the plans for the official demonstration. Civil disobedience was "outlawed" by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League. The Coalition promised the ruling class that there would be no attempt at all to disrupt, or even picket, the federal government.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—whose members had just been indicted by the federal government for their activities against segregation in Albany, Georgia—proposed that the march include some kind of action at the Justice Department. This proposal was squashed by the rest of the coalition. King was even forced to issue a public self-criticism when a member of the SCLC publicly referred to the possibility of civil disobedience during the march. According to the September 2, 1963 issue of *Newsweek*, King said his man had spoken out of turn on civil disobedience; it wouldn't happen again."

A grouping known as the "Big 6" was pulled together to plan and run the march. Suddenly the whole idea for the march was credited to A. Philip Randolph. Randolph was pulled in as the National Director of

the march. Bayard Rustin, Randolph's chief lieutenant, was made the main coordinator of the march. The group included Martin Luther King, Jr., James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the Urban League, and SNCC chairman John Lewis. This coalition immediately set about to see to it that the march was "orderly" and in line with the Kennedy program.

Hijacking the March

"It was that 'Farce on Washington,' I call it....The morning of the march, any rickety carloads of angry, dusty, sweating small-town Negroes would have gotten lost among the chartered jet planes, railroad cars, and air-conditioned buses. What originally was planned to be an angry rip-tide, one English newspaper aptly described now as 'the gentle flood.'..."

"Yes, I was there. I observed that circus. Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We Shall Overcome...Suum Day...' while tripping and swaying along arm in arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I Have a Dream' speeches?"

"And the Black masses in America were—and still are—having a nightmare...."

Autobiography of Malcolm X

The original vision of the march was for a strong showing of poor rural and urban Black people in the streets. Now the focus shifted toward the more stable and better-off sections of the Black community—people who thought they had more of a stake in the American political system. Four new members were drawn into the "ruling council"—three religious representatives and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. (It is worth noting that while many AFL-CIO affiliated unions participated in the march, the AFL-CIO itself refused to even endorse it.)

Behind the scenes the ruling class was pulling the strategic strings. James Forman, then a leading member of SNCC, stated in his book *The Making of a Black Revolutionary* that in the months before the march some large amounts of money had been spread around at a series of "civil rights breakfasts." A United Civil Rights Leadership Council was formed to more or less run the march and serve as the vehicle for "leadership" of the struggle after the

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Military police mobilized for the demonstration.

Malcolm X, MLK, and the 1963 March on Washington

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march. This Council was under the direction of Stephen Currier, a Kennedy cohort and head of the Taconic Foundation. Under Currier's direction, \$800,000 was distributed among the main civil rights organizations as the plans for the march got underway.

Even with all these factors worked out, the ruling class still feared that a demonstration of large numbers of Black people in Washington, D.C. held great potential for trouble. Big security measures were put in place by the march organizers and the federal and local officials. Four thousand army and marine troops stationed across the Potomac were put on alert, and helicopters were ready to transport them into the city if needed. Every cop in the city was mobilized, and hundreds of firemen were assigned to the march as a sort of auxiliary police force. Two thousand National Guardsmen and 200 park police were also put on march duty. And the march officials themselves developed their own security apparatus—headed up by an off-duty New York City cop and consisting of 1,500 parade marshals, including many off-duty cops from around the country. These parade marshals were directed to work hand-in-hand with the police in the event of any disturbance. In a blatant racist move, D.C. officials banned the sale of alcoholic beverages in the city from midnight of the 28th until the morning after the march was over.

Only signs and banners officially approved by the "ruling council" of the march were allowed to be carried in the march. This was to prevent any radical messages or any mass attempt to divert the focus from Kennedy's civil rights legislation to a protest against the government. This policy flowed straight from the political agenda of the Black bourgeoisie, who saw the march as a way to use the masses of Black people as political capital in their efforts to "get in" and increase their share of the "American way of life." Malcolm X mocked this type of political control in his autobiography: "The marchers had been instructed to bring no signs—signs were provided—they had been told to sing one song: 'We Shall Overcome.' They had been told *how* to arrive, *when*, *where* to arrive, *where* to assemble, when to *start* marching, the *route* to march. First aid stations were

strategically located—even where to *faint*."

After the march one D.C. official summed up that the march had "become too respectable and popular and stuffy to spark an explosion." And *Newsweek* proudly boasted that "The careful months of planning by the 'Big Ten' command coalition of civil rights, church, and union leaders plainly had paid off in the cathedral solemnity on the mall."

Chairman Mao vs. the Uncle Toms

The struggle over the politics of the march took on an international dimension.

Less than a week before the march, Bayard Rustin issued a public statement discounting any involvement of "foreign interests" in the march. Rustin stated that the civil rights struggle was "an American family quarrel." This is a problem within our own family. We Americans, Black and white, can solve it ourselves. There is a foreign influence present, but it is that of Mahatma Gandhi and not of Marx. It is the Gandhi of nonviolence, noninjury and willingness to accept suffering." One day after Rustin's statement Wilkins held a press conference to denounce revolutionary China.

All these denunciations and denials were directed against a statement issued by Mao Tsetung at the beginning of August in support of the struggle of African American people—"Statement Calling on the People of the World To Unite to Oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and Support the American Negroes in Their Struggle Against Racist Discrimination." Mao did not mince words about the problem and the solution: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

On the day of the march itself, a telegram was sent to the marchers by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace. Wilkins and the NAACP promptly and publicly rejected the Chinese telegram. According to the *New York Times* of August 23, 1963, the Chinese telegram stated that the struggle of Black people in the U.S. "has dealt telling blows to U.S. imperialist policy of racial discrimination and ren-

dered powerful support and encouragement to peoples fighting against imperialism headed by the United States." The telegram went on to expose and attack Kennedy, the U.S. ruling class and U.S. imperialism for its attacks on Black people in the U.S. and its aggression throughout the world.

During his press conference Wilkins bent over backwards to defend U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy administration. According to Wilkins: "The gathering of white and Negro American citizens on that date (August 28) has been welcomed by President Kennedy in a public press statement and by many government leaders and legislators of both major political parties, some of who will participate. The demonstration is in support of the civil rights legislation proposed by President Kennedy. It is in opposition to racial practices now in effect in some parts of our country which are contrary to the national government policy of non-discrimination."

Wilkins also went on to add a snide attack on revolutionary China, stating: "We await the opportunity for sending our felicitations to Chinese citizens gathered in a huge demonstration in your nation's capital to protest living conditions under your government and welcomed there by your heads of state." This was an absurd comment in several ways. First, the Chinese people had more mass democracy than the world had ever seen, and millions of peasants and workers were making revolution and tearing up the old oppressive social relations in China. Whereas, the politics of the "Big 6" were specifically designed to channel the anger of Black people so they *wouldn't* really tear up the oppressive social relations in the U.S. And second, Wilkins' own high-handed behavior in censoring the politics at the march was shameful.

The "American Dream"

At the rally itself the SNCC speech was censored outright. SNCC was sort of the odd man out in the coalition organizing the march. The others had been forced to bring SNCC into the march because of SNCC's political influence—without SNCC, the march would have been really discredited among the Black youth. But the coalition leaders also intended to either co-opt SNCC or isolate it in the course of working together on the march.

The speech submitted by SNCC Chairman John Lewis was quickly rejected by the "ruling council." The Catholic Archbishop of Washington threatened that if SNCC did not revise their speech, he would refuse to deliver the invocation at the opening of the rally. The Archbishop's stand was joined by the others "for the sake of unity."

The passages objected to in SNCC's speech were those that declared that SNCC could not support the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill and called for militant demonstrations in the future.

SNCC revised its speech. The revised version said that SNCC could not "wholeheartedly" support the Kennedy legislation and dropped the statement, "We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department nor the Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." Still this was not enough to please the ruling council, and even as the rally was beginning, new objections were raised about the speech.

The other civil rights leaders toyed with the idea of dropping SNCC altogether from the rally program and threatened to repudiate the speech on the spot unless SNCC again revised it. SNCC finally ended up saying they supported the Kennedy legislation "with reservation."

It was onto this carefully prepared stage that Martin Luther King, Jr. stepped to deliver his famous "I Have a Dream Speech." King spoke movingly about Black oppression and the dream of equality and an end to divisions between nationalities—a dream shared by millions and millions of people, Black and white as well. This is the part of the speech that most people remember. He warns that "those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening." In other words, the situation of Black people is serious and the U.S. ruling class better come up with some concessions or they will have a problem. But how was this dream to be achieved? By cashing in the check of the "American dream." King said: "So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice." And getting to the heart



China, 1968 — Demonstration in support of Black people's struggle in the U.S.

of his solution and the most practical part of this message King says, "There is something I must say to my people.... In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds... again and again...we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force...unearned suffering is redemptive." The problem with this point of view is that, in the final analysis, unless the Black masses rise up in revolutionary struggle and overthrow the capitalist system—which has and is systematically keeping them down—the dream of equality can never be realized.

Less than an hour after the march ended, the leaders attended another conference with Kennedy who said, "You did a great job." International coverage, especially in the countries aligned with the U.S., presented the march as a glowing tribute to American democracy. The Kenyan *Daily Nation* ran a portrait of Kennedy with the caption "The Modern Lincoln" and declared that it was "the greatest demonstration in support of racial equality the world has ever known." The *London Herald* stated, "It is clear that this demonstration has not been just a success but a resounding, unprecedented triumph." And the U.S. Information Agency made hundreds of copies of a film of the march and rally in order to distribute them around the world as propaganda for the American system.

Malcolm wrote: "The very fact that millions, Black and white, believed in this monumental farce is another example of how much this country goes in for the surface glossing over, the escape ruse, surfaces, instead of truly dealing with its deep rooted problems."

The euphoria was short lived. The system was indeed working. Less than three weeks after the march, a Birmingham, Alabama church was blown up and four Black children were murdered. By the following year, the politics of the march on Washington had been seriously repudiated in the streets of Harlem, where King was pelted with eggs after he was called in to try to cool out a mass rebellion. As the 1960s saw the development of the civil rights movement into a Black liberation struggle, the revolutionary people delivered an historic and correct verdict on the "American Dream." It is a verdict waiting to be completed. □



Harlem Rebellion, 1964.

Sacramento RCYB says "No Peace 4 Racists"

This is an excerpt from a letter we received:

On January 11 in Sacramento, CA a demonstration was called for by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and No Peace for Racists for people to come out in solidarity with the Pico Union barricade fighters in Los Angeles and to demand that the charges against them be dropped and the police barricades in the Pico Union be brought down.

We planned this demonstration during NP4R meetings, using the RW as an informative tool giving us the latest on what was going down in L.A. There was some debate as to whether we should pull this demonstration off at the State capitol building or in a community in the downtown area called Oak Park. Oak Park is a community of mainly peoples of oppressed nationalities such as Blacks, Latinos and Southeast Asian immigrants. After some

struggle we decided to do it in Oak Park for this main reason: that the issues being raised should be raised in this type of neighborhood and that the most oppressed and exploited should be mobilized and organized to take on and challenge this type of repression coming down on the people, rather than going to the State building and begging for some sort of crumbs off the oppressor's table. We did a lot of canvassing in the area of the demonstration and got a lot of good responses and gained the support of the people. The RW was taken out along with the demonstration leaflets.

On the 11th everyone was very excited as things kicked off. As soon as the march began a group of young Black women ran up enthusiastically to join the demonstration. Some of the slogans raised were: TEAR DOWN THE BARRICADES, TEAR DOWN THE INS CONCENTRA-

TION CAMPS, NO PEACE FOR RACISTS and FUCK THE POLICE. At one point after some agitation around the issue of national oppression, a woman came running out of her apartment, grabbed the bullhorn, and told of her experiences with racist police brutality and how this system has done nothing but put Black people down.

A large crowd of youth marched along with us chanting and engaging in political discussions with Brigaders and supporters of NP4R. Many parents encouraged their children to come along on the march. While we did some agitation the pigs came up in their cars and told us to disperse. This really set things off. The oppressors were telling the people what to do like some sort of Hitlers in blue. The people taunted them and shouted them down. One group of Black youth took turns with the bullhorn

telling the police to fuck off. The pigs were put on the defensive because of the resistance of the people, and they were forced to cower back into their cars and drive off.

The overall outlook on the part of the RCYB and NP4R was that a base was created to go on and do further work. We now look forward to the tasks of uniting our people, the oppressed, to further challenge and take on this shitsdom, to finally do away with all oppression and exploitation. The RCYB encourages others with any type of hatred for this system and a love for the masses to join and support the RCYB and take up its tasks, points of unity and points of orientation.

MAO MORE THAN EVER!!!

Miami: "Evil People Celebrate Genocide, Foolish People Ignore It"

The RW received the following report from Miami:

February 15, 1992. Replicas of Columbus's three ships arrived in Miami and the New World Order called on people to celebrate over 500 years of "discovery." This was outrageous to anyone who knows the real historic meaning of Columbus. Don Ricketts, a Dread Poet and organizer against the Columbus celebration, told the *Miami Herald*, "The serious irony is that this is going on at the same time as what is happening with the Coast Guard and the Haitian boat people. I wonder if the ships might not bump into some boat people along the way." Many people wanted to

expose the Columbus brainwash and many are not willing to be silent at the U.S. deathship repatriation of Haitians. So there was a day of spirited resistance to this celebration of genocide. Various forces had envisioned doing something to oppose the celebration, but the main push came from the Tiyospaya Indian Student Organization which has been, along with many native people's organizations all over the hemisphere, confronting Columbus celebrations. Indian activists and organizers came to demonstrate from all over Florida and as far north as New York.

Locally some activists in the Caribbean cultural scene printed leaflets detailing the extermination of the native peoples of the

Caribbean immediately following Columbus's arrival and the ensuing slave trade of Africans that went on for 350 years. It ended with the slogan, "Evil people celebrate genocide, foolish people ignore it." Refuse & Resist! put out a call to make the ships' arrival day a Day of Resistance—to the celebration of genocide and its implementation right here by the Coast Guard. The response was great and came from very diverse sections of the people. The Haitian community especially responded with people calling Haitian radio stations and some radio personalities themselves calling for people to join with the Native Americans. There were people from the anti-Gulf war movement, Guatemalans and

refugee activists, Pan-Africanists, revolutionary nationalists, revolutionary communists, AFSC people, transport workers, Iranians, and about 80 people from the Haitian community, including activists from Veye Yo. Altogether about 200 people participated. People marched over a major causeway where they were greeted by many who honked and raised their fists. The crowd chanted: "500 years, Genocide! Haitian Refugees, Genocide! Wounded Knee, Genocide! Rodney King, Genocide! Iraqi People, Genocide! New World Order!"

There was a real feeling of "internationalness" in the crowd. The march took a detour from the planned route and went through a major tourist shopping area and then right where the Columbus ships were supposed to land later on. A brief rally was held here where an Indian activist, an African-American anti-repression activist and an RCP supporter spoke. People then formed a large circle and everyone participated in a traditional passing of the pipe ceremony.

After this, about 50 people assembled along the highway in Miami Beach at the entrance to the Coast Guard station. A number of Haitian proletarian women had been insistent that we not go home without confronting these death squad "humanitarians." They were particularly angry about the rape of a 16-year-old Haitian girl by a Marine guard at Guantánamo. After an hour of chanting and receiving much support from passing drivers, people decided to march onto the base. This caught the Coast Guard off guard. The demonstration was over the bridge and on their turf before they could get mobilized to stop it. Eventually they came out with their billy clubs and a couple of shotguns and pushed people back across the bridge. But this was a good beginning in the struggle against what the U.S. government is doing to the Haitian boat people. Plans are now underway for continued weekly actions until the repatriation stops, and a pledge of resistance initiated by Refuse & Resist! is circulating and funds are being raised to print it in the local press. □



Detainees being sent back to Haiti.

New York Protest Against Irish Abortion Travel Ban

In Ireland, a 14-year-old Irish girl, who became pregnant after being raped by a playmate's father, is being prohibited from getting an abortion. Several weeks ago the Irish Attorney General, Harry Whelehan, forced the young woman, who is four months pregnant, and her parents to return from England where they had gone to secure an abortion. Abortion is illegal in Ireland, but thousands of Irish women go to England for abortions each year where it is legal up to 24 weeks of pregnancy.

The case came to the attention of the Irish authorities when the parents asked the Irish police about providing a sample of the aborted fetal tissue for a DNA identification to assist in prosecuting their daughter's attacker. Instead, the authorities went to the High Court where in a secret hearing they obtained an injunction to prevent the girl from obtaining an abortion. According to a

statement issued by the New York Irish Women's Support Group, the parents and their daughter, fearing they would be criminalized, returned to Ireland where they are now fighting the injunction through the Irish courts.

The Irish constitution does not prohibit travel to another country to obtain an abortion, so this case has had implications for Irish women in all countries. The Irish Women's Support Group stated: "If the Irish authorities can prevent a young rape victim from obtaining an abortion in Britain, it means that no Irish woman is safe from the long arm of the Irish church and state."

The girl is reported to be suicidal, but a High Court justice upheld the injunction in a vicious, callous statement that he had "no choice" because of the Irish constitutional amendment giving the fetus equal rights as

the mother. He argued that while it is not certain the girl would survive the pregnancy and birth, it is 100 percent certain the fetus would not survive an abortion.

On Saturday February 22, in response to this case, 5,000 people demonstrated in Ireland against the government's ban on abortion. Singer Sinéad O'Conner was one of those leading the march. In New York City a demonstration of about 300 women and men was held on February 21 at the Irish consulate to protest this outrage. Speakers included representatives from Catholics for a Free Choice; WHAM! (Women's Health Action & Mobilization); a newly formed direct action group, Women's Action Coalition (WAC); and NOW, as well as various progressive Irish groups. A speaker from an Irish legal group said, "This act makes the entire government an accomplice to rape." Messages

from the Irish singer Sinéad O'Conner, who has been active in mass protests in Dublin, and from attorney William Kunstler were read. Filmmaker Michael Moore (*Roger and Me*) also spoke.

Many of the Irish women, who had organized the protest, wore T-shirts which read "Remember Ann Lovett." One of the Irish speakers explained that Ann Lovett was a 14-year-old Irish girl who had been raped by her father and in early 1980 gave birth alone in a churchyard in a rural community in Ireland. The next morning, both she and the baby, still attached to each other by the umbilical cord, were found dead. The speaker commented, "With the challenge to *Roe v. Wade* here, America, this is your nightmare. Prepare to fight!" □



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