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VIDEO ON THE REVOLUTION IN PERU!

Shantytowns and Prisons in Peru: The Revolution Advances



Summer 1991—Residents of Raucana defend against police attack with molotovs and rocks.

Produced by the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

Part one of this video is footage of heroic street fighting by shantytown dwellers in Lima who, led by the Communist Party of Peru, wage a determined battle against government attempts to evict them.

The second part of the video has scenes from inside Canto Grande Prison, the target of the May 1992 prison massacre carried out by Fujimori's military government. This remarkable footage shows how the revolutionary prisoners transformed their sections of the prison into bastions of resistance. It shows the prisoners in daily activities: political study, producing their own clothing, preparing their food, growing herbal medicine and resisting all attempts to force them to submit to prison authorities.

Spanish narration with English subtitles

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Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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The Reality Behind the Zoë Baird Scandal

The Nanny Connection:

Class, Borders and Childcare in the U.S.A.

by Li Onesto

The Zoë Baird scandal has gotten a lot of people talking about the "American Family," childcare and the state of working women in this country. When Clinton's nomination for U.S. Attorney General was forced to step down after admitting she had hired two "illegal immigrants" and didn't pay social security taxes for them, many were outraged at the blatant discrimination involved: No high-level corporate *male* lawyer would have been asked questions about his childcare arrangements—and there are surely many "fathers" on Capitol Hill who employ immigrants without papers. Then, to add insult to injury, it came out that cabinet member Ron Brown had not paid taxes on someone he hired to work in his home—yet there was never any question of whether or not he should remain in office. At the same time, there just wasn't a whole lot of sympathy for Zoë. This conservative, bourgeois woman, who made over \$500,000 a year, had refused to pay social security for two poor immigrants who were taking care of her child and driving her car. This only reminded working class women of how unequal this society is and how difficult it is for most families to afford any kind of childcare at all.

This is the kind of talk in the media that's gone on around the Zoë Baird scandal. But this incident made me think about a whole other ugly part of American society that our proletarian people talk about in the barrios and ghettos. It reminded me of a story my mother told me about her growing up. She grew up in an orphanage for young Chinese girls from immigrant families who had lost their parents or been abandoned. When the girls in this orphanage got to be in their late teens, a "ticket" was provided for leaving to the outside world. Rich, white people would come down to the orphanage. The older girls would line up in front of them and they'd "pick out" a girl to come live and work in their home. My mother was one these girls. Like millions of "girls" before and since in this country—she worked to clean someone else's house, took care of someone else's children, and like a good domestic, after serving the family, she ate her meals in the kitchen.

This is the well-known "secret" of American life that's been revealed by the

Zoë Baird scandal: The foundation of the "traditional family" in this country includes a whole class of exploited "domestic workers"—a whole class of "servant women" who run households for wealthy and privileged families.

From Slave Ships to Border Crossings

It's an old story to oppressed people in this country—the reality that a section of people are assigned to "domestic chores." Black women slaves, forced to come to the U.S., were frequently separated from their own children and then given the job of cooking, cleaning and taking care of their white master's children. Mexican women became servants in the homes of Texas and California ranchers who stole their land. To this day millions of Black and Latino women continue to be "domestic servants"—taking hard, low-paying jobs in wealthy homes, cleaning, cooking and taking care of kids. And today they are joined by poor immigrant women from dozens of countries.

Some of the RW readers know firsthand what it's like to be a "domestic worker." All day long you care for kids who have all these privileges and then you come home tired to take care of your kids and clean house—and you can't make ends meet. In urban centers throughout the U.S., there's almost an apartheid-like situation. The cities contain "two cities"—where a majority of modern wage-slaves are at the service of a shrinking core of middle and upper class people. Every morning millions of Black, Latino and immigrant women and men get up and go to work in the service of another family. They cook, clean, drive cars, trim hedges, change diapers and do the grocery shopping. A survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that about seven million households spent money in 1991 for "housekeeping services." The Census Bureau reports about 560,000 household workers in the country while the Bureau of Labor Statistics counts about 875,000. These numbers reflect the fact that many domestic workers are employed in more than one home. But by any account, there is a large and growing section of the working

class who are exploited as "domestic servants" so that the rich and privileged in this country can live a more comfortable life.

As the Zoë Baird scandal revealed, this section of "domestic workers," including nannies, has increasingly been made up of poor immigrants, many who work and live in the U.S. without papers. As more women with young children have entered the workforce, the demand for housekeepers and childcare has continued to increase. And many of the workers hired by these "working mommies" have been so-called "illegal" immigrants from the West Indies, Latin America, the Philippines, Southeast Asia, China, Ireland and Poland.

Demetrios Papademetriou, the Labor Department's immigration policy director during the Bush administration, estimates there are about 3.5 million "illegal immigrants" in the United States. Of these, about 350,000 are domestic workers, concentrated in New York City, northern New Jersey, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami and Houston. (It is interesting to compare these numbers with the official estimate that 500,000 immigrants without papers are farmworkers.)

The hiring of immigrants without papers appears to be so commonplace that licensed employment agencies in places like New York City routinely violate the law by recommending undocumented immigrants for hire, almost always at much lower wages. When the *New York Times* called 18 different agencies who hire out "domestic workers," 13 of them acknowledged without hesitation that they represented both legal and "illegal immigrants," with illegal workers earning as little as \$175 a week and legal ones as much as \$600.

So, it appears, in "free market" America, it's very profitable to go into the business of linking up "illegal" immigrants with upper middle class and wealthy families. These employment agencies provide the logistics for *superexploitation*. And the privileged families are assured that the government will usually look the other way. Mitchell Moss, director of the Urban Research Center at New York University, said, "Illegal immigration provides us with an informal, widespread system of day care." And one

owner of a Manhattan nanny agency said, "It's just a reality of life that without the illegal girls, there wouldn't be any nannies, and the mommies would have to stay home and mind their own kids."

These agencies and their clients actually benefit from the anti-immigrant laws which keep immigrants without papers vulnerable and at the mercy of their employers. The agencies often describe their immigrant workers as "girls looking for sponsorship situations." Some agencies refer the immigrants to employers and immigration lawyers—and then collect fees from both parties! There are some employers who agree to sponsor immigrants for legal residency. But this process now takes up to ten years and the immigrant employees remain in an illegal status during this whole time. As a result, some immigrants without papers being sponsored by their employer say they feel like indentured servants.

Even for those immigrants who can find a sponsor, it's almost impossible to get the green card that allows them to work legally. Immigration lawyers say the number of domestic workers applying for permanent residency has dropped in recent years, largely because the process now takes as much as eight years after the Labor Department certifies there is a shortage of U.S. citizens to fill a particular job. And even when the INS and the Labor Department have formally certified a specific need for immigrants to do work that no qualified citizen or permanent resident wants, the quotas effectively mean a wait of 15 to 20 years. Since 1991 only 10,000 unskilled immigrants a year have been given green cards. And according to the State Department Bureau of Consular Affairs, more than 80,000 immigrants are waiting in line to get legal status. Many immigrants have summed up that applying for legal status is only a trap which gives the INS information to hunt people down for deportation.

Modern-Day Indentured Servants

Nanny jobs are usually low-paying, without benefits, social security, and unemployment insurance. As one Jamaican

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Women at an INS concentration camp in Bayview, Texas.

The Nanny Connection

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nanny told the *New York Times*, "These days, most Americans see it as some kind of slavery."

Middle class families can't afford to pay for a high-priced "legal" nanny. And even wealthy people, like Zoë Baird, try to cut costs by hiring someone who is forced to accept low pay because they don't have legal status. According to Ellen Galinsky, co-president of the Families and Work Institute, only about 3 percent of the employed mothers of children under five use in-home care by a nonrelative because it's the most expensive form of care. But among those who do, it's very common to hire "illegal immigrants" off the books.

These are the jobs no one wants to do. They are not only some of the most low-paying jobs, but they can be demeaning in their demand for subservience. There is a social relation built into these jobs that reeks of class inequality and oppression. In health club locker rooms around the country, conversations go on among white, middle class and rich women about their "help." They trade condescending stories about how their "girls" are just like one of the family. They complain how they can't get anyone good enough to take care of their kids. Or how it's difficult to communicate just how they want their bathroom scrubbed because the "girl" they've hired doesn't speak English. Some of them worry that their kids will be harmed because they are being raised by a nanny that speaks "broken" or "Black" English.

And there's no doubt that this section of workers in the U.S. are among the most exploited and abused. It is difficult to get accurate data on childcare workers: who they are, where they work, how much money they make and who hires them. And this is especially true for those who work in private homes, because much of this is done "off the books," with cash payments and no benefits. But according to statistics available at the end of the 1980s for those whose work is reported: 96.2 percent of domestic workers are women; 28.9 percent are Black and 9.8 percent Hispanic. Among those domestic workers listed as "childcare workers" only 8.9 percent are Black and 4.3 percent Hispanic, but among those listed as "cleaners and servants" (the only other category of domestic workers the U.S. Bureau of the Census reports), the numbers jump to 42.3 percent Black and 13.3 percent Hispanic. And most likely many of these "cleaners and servants" take care of children as part of their duties.

These women are part of the working poor in this country. Among those whose work is reported (and that is probably the better-paid segment of domestic workers) the median annual income for women private household workers was \$1,541 in 1985. For those working full time, year round, the median income was \$5,888. And according to the 1987 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., only 1.7 percent of these women have pension plans, and only 3.4 percent have group health plans.

The ugly side of this whole nanny system of privilege and superexploitation came out in an interview in the *New York Times* with a woman in New York City who was specifically looking to hire a newly arrived, illegal immigrant to care for her newborn triplets. She said, "I want someone who cannot leave the country, who doesn't know anyone in New York, who basically does not have a life. I want someone who is completely dependent on me and loyal to my family."

There are, of course, many middle class women who feel uncomfortable with this whole arrangement. But they need inexpensive childcare, so they try to make the best of it. They try to treat the people they've hired with a little dignity and fairness. They sponsor them, try to help them get a green card so they can live and work in the U.S. legally. And they pay social security taxes on their employees.

But the problem and ugliness of this whole "nanny" situation is much bigger than the guilt of yuppie moms. And it's something that can't be righted by individual women treating their nannies with a little more respect. This problem is built into the whole parasitic nature of class society. And it can only be solved by changing the whole social structure—all the

power and property relations.

When you look beneath the surface, this is a situation that reflects the exploitative relationships between different classes within the United States. And it is a situation that reflects the exploitative relationships between the U.S. and poor countries. Many immigrants come to the U.S. to begin with because they are fleeing poverty and political repression in countries dominated by U.S. imperialism. When they get to the U.S. they face brutal repression and constant economic hardship. And then the government makes them outlaws by branding them "illegal" and refusing to even let them work.

INS Clampdown

The Zoë Baird incident has also been used to discuss and justify further attacks on immigrants in general. Just look at what happened to the two Peruvian immigrants, Victor and Lillian Cordero, who Zoë Baird had employed. The INS immediately declared its intention to deport them, and after Mr. Cordero disappeared the INS sent agents to hunt him down.

Victor Cordero came to the U.S. eight years ago when he was 18 and he tried several times to become a legal resident. In an interview broadcast on CBS-TV, he said, "I don't believe I've committed any crimes. I want to stay in this country." Now, he said, he felt like a "trapped animal." On January 27 Cordero's lawyer announced that Victor had "voluntarily" returned to Peru. And now the INS has said it will continue to investigate Lillian Cordero for possible deportation.

There have been other indications, as well, that the Zoë Baird incident is being used to renew calls for increased repression against immigrants. The *New York Times* reported that in Washington, D.C. rumors are racing through Hispanic neighborhoods that illegal immigrants face deportation or at least widespread dismissals. One Filipino housekeeper reported, "All my friends' employers are asking to see their papers."

So this Zoë Baird thing has provided a new opportunity for the government to get middle class people to become unpaid snitches and work-police. Those who hire "illegal immigrants" are now expected to come clean and turn informer—even if it means the immigrants they've hired getting hunted down and deported.

The increased repression against immigrants is real enough. The Commission on Agricultural Workers, created under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, has now suggested tough new controls on "illegal immigration," including a fraud-proof identification document for immigrants—which reminds me of the apartheid passbook system in South Africa. And brutality against immigrants is only getting worse. From the continuing clampdown on the border, to constant INS sweatshop raids and deportations, to the barricading of immigrant neighborhoods in cities like Los Angeles.

But in all the mainstream news articles, editorials and opinion pieces about the Zoë Baird incident, I found hardly a word about the intolerable way immigrants are treated in this country. And I have to say, I got a bit angry at those in the women's movement complaining about the plight of Zoë Baird. Remember, this was a totally bourgeois woman trying to be U.S. Attorney General—a top post in the government's repressive apparatus. I kept thinking, there

needs to be more outrage at the way immigrants are forced to live in this country. People need to publicly question the fact that a whole section of poor women and men are exploited for the comfort of wealthy families. And people need to stand up and say these immigrants have a right to work here and resist the laws that makes millions of immigrants "outlaws" by saying it's illegal for them to even work!

The masses of people in this country share a common struggle and a common enemy with these immigrant sisters and brothers. And the working class here has no interest whatsoever in supporting repressive immigration laws that have created a whole layer of laborers within the working class in this country who are forced to accept lower wages and terrible working conditions under threat of being deported.

It Doesn't Have to Be Like This!

The Zoë Baird scandal reminded people that lack of childcare in this country is a huge problem. But it also underscored the fact that capitalism can never solve the problem of childcare.

As long as women are stuck in the home with all the household and childcare chores, they will never be free to equally participate in society. It is an emotionally and intellectually repressive thing when women have to spend most of their time and energy doing housework and taking care of kids. And when they must work and still shoulder these responsibilities, it is even worse.

For women to be free, they must be free to participate fully in every aspect of society. They must be free from the confines of housework and childcare—to think, dream, read, work and play.

The question of childcare has always been a major issue in the women's movement—which has always fought for the right of women to be free from the drudgery of housework and childcare. But who would have imagined that some people would construe "women's liberation" to mean a section of middle class and bourgeois "career women" getting free from the home on the basis of a whole other section of women being assigned to be their housekeepers and nannies! This is not liberation! This is a "solution" for a small section of privileged "career women" (and their husbands)—at the expense of a whole section of women and men who are exploited as domestic workers.

By 1995, two-thirds of women with preschool children are expected to be working outside their homes. And meanwhile decent, affordable childcare is basically nonexistent in this country. Why do we have this situation?

The whole structure of family life in this country mirrors the property relations of capitalism. Everything is for sale, everything is a commodity, everything is "private." Every relation is one shaped by the exchange of money. The Zoë Baird scandal itself reveals the many ugly factors that contribute to how childcare and housework is treated in this society: property relations within the family; class relations in society; the oppression of whole nationalities of people; the exploitation of immigrant groups; and the built-in inequalities of class society.

Capitalist society promotes competition, individualism and anti-social attitudes. And this applies to the way things are organized in terms of taking care of children and people's living arrangements. Under



Waiting at an L.A. bus stop—A public bus route, seemingly set up for the sole purpose of transporting women "illegals" from the barrios to the laundry rooms and kitchens of the rich.

capitalism these things are all very privatized. Each separate family is faced with the problem of taking care of children, doing housework, cooking, cleaning, etc. Women, whether they have a job or not, are the ones who have the responsibility for these tasks. And this division of labor has meant real inequality between men and women. This setup is essential to the ongoing functioning of capitalist society.

But why does society have to be structured like this? Why do all these tasks in society—which are problems that the people as a whole face—have to be solved in such a private way? Why can't there be a social, collective approach to solving these problems?

Think about a society where things like childcare and cooking are taken up in a more socialized way. Instead of each individual family dealing with these problems on a one-to-one basis, what if society as a whole took responsibility for providing these kinds of necessary services in a more communal way? What if you had a society that didn't designate women as the people in society that are responsible for solving these problems? But instead said that these problems have to be taken up as part of the overall and common struggle to change society and meet the needs of the people.

We can and should dream about this kind of society. But we are going to have to fight to make it a reality. This kind of approach to solving the problem of women's oppression will never be possible under capitalism because it is not in the interests of the capitalist class. Only when real power is put in the hands of the people—and society is run in the interests of the people and not based on capitalist profit—will it be possible to solve things in this kind of revolutionary way. And this is why it's going to take a revolution to solve these problems and achieve women's liberation. □

The great revolutionary Mao Tsetung said:

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.

From "On Practice," in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung, The Red Book*



Celebrate the Mao Tsetung Centenary

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

SOME COLD TRUTHS FOR BLACK HISTORY MONTH

THE BLACK FAMILY AND THE "TRADITIONAL FAMILY"

The following excerpt is taken from the RW pamphlet, "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth: How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended":

One more "theory"—one more way of covering up for the system and blaming Black people for their own oppression—that we will cut into right here is the claim that the real problem is the breakdown of the Black family and the lack of "male role models" for Black male youth in particular. This "theory" has been put forward by all kinds of mouthpieces of the ruling class, including people like Senator Moynihan of New York, and this should give us a tip that it is bullshit.

There are two things wrong with this "theory." First, it mixes up cause and effect—it deals with certain effects, or symptoms, and covers up the deeper cause and the real problem. It is certainly true that over the past twenty years or so there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Black families headed by women and this has been connected with the high degree of poverty among Black people. But this "theory" doesn't explain why it is that the average (median) wealth of Black households headed by women is only \$700, while for white households headed by women it is over \$22,000—a difference of more than 30 to 1! Poverty among Black people is caused by the whole oppressive situation they are in. One-parent Black families is one symptom of this. And because of this overall situation, Black women who are raising children alone have much less to fall back on and much less opportunity to get a relatively decent-paying job.

The great increase of Black families headed by women is directly related to the great increase of unemployment among

Black males, particularly young Black males. It has been in the last twenty years that there has been a great fall-off in the number of two-parent Black families. This has been a time when unemployment among Black men, especially young men, has become truly drastic. As the book *Families in Peril* points out, "the [falling] rate of marriage formation... among young black males" ran parallel with "the decline of employment prospects of young black males, which resulted in only 29.8 percent of black teens and 61 percent of black twenty- to twenty-four-year-old men being employed by 1978." (page 13) In other words, young Black men are not getting married nearly as much as they used to because huge numbers of them have no jobs—or only very low-paying jobs—to support a family.

The "traditional family" is itself an institution of oppression.

And, despite the hype, not many Black youths can make—let alone hang onto—big-time money doing crime, although much Black youth do big time in jail or are killed on the streets. This, too, is an effect—an effect of not only lack of jobs but the whole stinking oppressive situation these youth have been cast into. It tells you everything you need to know about this system that the government doesn't spend funds to deal with the massive unemployment and rotting conditions in the inner cities, but it does spend funds to build more and more prisons!

Anyway, if the lack of a man in the family is the cause of poverty and all the other suffering of Black people, then what about the period between the Civil War and World War 2, when Black people were mainly poor farmers in the South? During that time, a very clear majority of Black families



did have two parents, but would anybody say that Black people were not poor and oppressed then?! No, the real story is that the "traditional family" most corresponded to the economic, political, and social situation—that is, the particular forms of oppression—that Black people were bound up with at that time. But with all the changes Black people have gone through since then—first migrating in massive numbers into the cities and being segregated and discriminated against there, and finally being trapped in the inner cities as they rot and decay—with all those changes, there is no longer the same basis for this "traditional family."

This gets to the second thing that is wrong with this "theory" that the problem is the "breakdown of the traditional Black family." This "theory" covers up the fact that the "traditional family" is itself an institution of oppression. It is an expression of the fact that society is divided into masters and slaves, and that division into master and slave is built into the "traditional family" itself, where the man is to be the

master, lording it over his wife (and children).

We can get a strong clue to this from the roots of the word "family," which comes from a Latin word used in ancient Rome, *familia*. "Among the Romans, in the beginning, it did not even refer to the married couple and their children, but to the slaves alone. *Famulus* means a household slave and *familia* signifies the totality of slaves

We cannot let our enemy tell us what "role models" we should follow. Youth of today, Black youth and youth in general, don't need male "role models." They need revolutionary "role models"—women and men.

belonging to one individual"; and the head of the family "had under him wife and children and a number of slaves, under Roman paternal power, with power of life and death over them all." (Quoted from Frederick Engels, in his book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.)

Along with all this has gone the idea that A MAN IS STRONG while a woman is weak. This is bullshit. It comes from the enemy—from those who run systems based on enslaving and exploiting. It should be put with the rest of the bullshit from systems like this.

And we cannot let our enemy tell us what "role models" we should follow. Youth of today, Black youth and youth in general, don't need male "role models." They need revolutionary "role models"—women and men. They need "brothers rising up with sisters—strong, proud, and with equality," as our Party says. They need a struggle to end all inequality, all relations of oppression, all divisions into masters and slaves, all ideas of treating other people as something to be dominated and exploited.

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From Pico-Union to Peru: Solidarity from the Heart



Pico-Union, Los Angeles, February 17, 1993.

Special to the RWOR

Pico-Union, Los Angeles, Feb. 17—Immigrant proletarians from various parts of Latin America, joined by youth from the neighborhood, came together to talk about the revolution in Peru and the battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. The setting was a small restaurant in the heart of the Pico-Union barrio—known as Pequeño Centroamerica, or Little Central America, because of the large concentration of people who came from that region. A TV showed a video of Gonzalo speaking from behind bars after his arrest (taped off Spanish-language TV) and other videos of the revolution in Peru.

The people at the gathering discussed and debated important questions raised by the struggle in Peru. They drew on their experiences in their home countries and here in the U.S.

A key theme was the differences between the revolution in Peru and the struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua. The revolutionary leadership of the proletariat through the Communist Party of Peru was contrasted to the different class forces leading the FMLN and Sandinistas who have now made their peace with the U.S. and its allies and abandoned the armed struggle. People felt that the revolution in Peru is the struggle of *our class*—not only for the Peruvians but for the advancement of the worldwide revolution. They brought out how the people's war is not just a struggle to replace government officials but to overthrow and uproot all aspects of the imperialist domination—military, economic and political. A Salvadoran man said that in Peru the ideology of the revolution was the property of the masses, not just the intellectuals fighting "guerras de reformas" (reformist wars). He added that in contrast to the compromising of the FMLN, "In Peru, they are about taking power."

Speaking to the important role of women in the Peruvian revolution, one woman said that the Peruvian revolutionaries "are inviting us to participate as equals. It's a great opportunity for women." A man said that one of the things that had moved him to support the revolution in Peru is the fact that women played a leading role.

Other topics included how to deal with the media lies about the revolution in Peru, the collusion of the so-called "left" and "movement" forces in Peru who attack the people's war and collude with the government, and the international campaign to defend Chairman Gonzalo.

There was special emphasis on the role that people in Los Angeles, including in Pico-Union, can play—especially in the new situation created by the L.A. Rebellion last May. It was pointed out that the masses in L.A. are facing the same Yankee imperialist enemy that is oppressing the masses in Peru. Revolutionary proletarians at the meeting said that as they struggle against that enemy, they bring closer the day when not only Peruvian masses but all those oppressed by imperialism can be free. At the same time, people felt that in the midst of this struggle, it is necessary to raise the banner of defending the life of

Chairman Gonzalo and support for our class brothers and sisters in Peru.

At the end of the meeting, many new people signed up to be part of a Pico-Union committee to support the revolution in Peru. The Pico-Union chapter of the RCYB had made a large red banner to be sent to the IEC Founding Conference in Germany. A picture of Gonzalo behind bars was painted on it, with the statement in Spanish: "Los Angeles, United States. We are immigrant workers of Pico-Union. We salute the International Emergency Committee, and we are part of the struggle to move heaven and earth to defend the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán."

The participants in the meeting added their own statements to it, including one that said, "Our Class, Our Struggle Against Yankee Imperialism—from the Flames of L.A."

In the past few months, proletarians of Pico-Union have raised \$800 from garment workers, day laborers and other low-paid workers for the campaign to defend Gonzalo's life. Statements from proletarians who contributed were read at the program. Here are excerpts from several of those statements:

From a Mexican proletarian who contributed \$50:

My decision to contribute this money is based on a commitment. I'm thinking of a

giant. This giant is strong and powerful, but the giant is paralyzed, unable to move—alive but unconscious. This giant represents the force of a whole continent. Better yet, he represents the force of the whole world. The giant can't make use of his force because he is being controlled from the outside. But there is a part inside this giant that he can control and make use of. That part is called Peru. And Peru says, "Since this is the only part that I have control of, I'm going to become its heart—the driving force—to try to revive this giant"....

When I saw Chairman Gonzalo on TV in the cage, his stand impressed me. There he was in the cage, surrounded by the national guard, journalists, all types of enemies. He was perfectly clear that he was a prisoner of theirs, but he acted with pride. He never lowered his head. He rose to the occasion and was above them all, his eyes were focused on the future, on his people.... In those few minutes one could see what a real leader is.

From a Mexican family "tired of being exploited and humiliated by Yankee imperialism":

For us, Chairman Gonzalo is the cornerstone that can lead the revolution in Latin America. Chairman Gonzalo is key to the party, it's important that he lead the masses to liberation with proletarian ideology—Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Chairman Gon-

zalo and the revolution in Peru are going to drive Yankee imperialism from Peru, just like Mao drove the Japanese imperialists from China.... We want to contribute two days' wages to the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

From two youth:

We are two immigrant proletarians from El Salvador and Mexico who live in the hell called USA. We are exploited and oppressed here in the so-called "land of opportunity." For us the revolution in Peru represents the liberation of the oppressed people of the world. For us Chairman Gonzalo represents the kind of leadership that is capable of leading people like us to our liberation....

The Party in Peru and Chairman Gonzalo is not saying to the people that the capitalist oppressors are too powerful and cannot be defeated. They believe in the masses, they rely on the masses. That is why what they have accomplished is very significant.

We believe any person who understands what we are saying should contribute, because one day's wages is not going to hurt you, but in the long run it can change our lives under the new system. So we are each giving one day of our wages to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo and the revolution in Peru.



As of February 19, Chairman Gonzalo has not been seen by anyone except his sworn enemies for...

131 DAYS

The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people in isolation in a concrete dungeon on an island prison. He is being denied visits by his lawyer or anyone else and deprived of his medicine. People who support the revolution in Peru and anyone who opposes injustice around the world face an urgent task—to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to provide Comrade Gonzalo basic rights as a political prisoner and to prevent the regime from killing him by reinstating the death penalty or by other means.



Graffiti on a bus turned soup kitchen in Peru.

Readers of the *RW* know that the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán (IEC) is holding a Founding Conference in Krefeld, Germany on the weekend of February 27-28. The word from the IEC's London office is that preparations for the Conference are going very well, and the international meeting is expected to be a very exciting and important juncture in the campaign to defend Guzmán—also known as Chairman Gonzalo, the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party of Peru.

IEC's Emergency Bulletin No. 25 reports: "We expect hundreds of people from over 20 countries.... Those attending will include people from Peru, Bangladesh, Australia, Nepal, France, Switzerland, Greece, Mexico, U.S., Netherlands, Turkey, England, Belgium and many other countries. The Host Committee in Germany is made up of over 20 groups including IEC chapters from across Germany, immigrant groups, revolutionary organizations and anti-imperialist groups.

"The meeting promises to be an extraordinary event, one which will put our campaign on a whole new level. It should not be missed."

Read the *RW* for reports from the IEC Founding Conference.

Pentagon Adviser Confronted by Protesters

Gordon McCormick is a so-called "Sendero expert" with the Rand Corporation, a major "think tank" for the Pentagon. Recently McCormick gave a lecture at a multinational corporation complex near Stanford University in California. Two women from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSR) stood up in the middle of McCormick's talk and held up a 12-foot banner saying "Yankee Go Home." In a five-minute statement denouncing McCormick, the two women said that his

News from the Worldwide Campaign to Defend Chairman Gonzalo

career researching the Communist Party of Peru (PCP, often called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path) has provided the U.S. State Department, CIA and Pentagon with information used to devise vicious plans against the revolutionary people's war in Peru. The



Pentagon adviser Gordon McCormick

protesters pointed out that McCormick's talk was held at this obscure corporate office building because the authorities do not want U.S. intervention in Peru to become an issue on campuses like Stanford. Other IEC supporters in the audience also asked questions aimed at "ripping off McCormick's mask as a 'scholarly impartial observer' of the PCP.

McCormick denied that his research plays any role in the fascist repression carried out by the Fujimori regime in Peru. But as the CSR pointed out, McCormick's research on the PCP was used by the regime in their intense operation to take Guzmán prisoner. And over the years RAND has provided the U.S. government with research on how to better wage the counter-insurgency against the war of liberation in Vietnam and on nuclear war strategy.

All African People's Revolutionary Party Salutes the Revolution in Peru

Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael, a Black Liberation Movement

leader in the '60s in the U.S.) recently issued a statement for the Central Committee of the All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) about the revolution in Peru. The statement read in part:

"The All African People's Revolutionary Party on behalf of the masses of African People scattered and suffering world wide sends warm fraternal greetings to the masses of oppressed people of Peru especially the Indigenous Peoples. And to the Shining Path and its courageous leader Abimael Guzmán as they continue to illuminate the path toward justice and liberation.

"The AAPRP recognizes the long and heroic struggle waged by the struggling masses in Peru against imperialist forces led by the United States and its allies. We have watched as victory after victory of the people were met with greater and greater repression. We are convinced more than ever that the noble people of Peru led by their revolutionary fighting leadership will be victorious. This victory will be a nail in the coffin of imperialism.... They can jail

Continued on page 12

CSR Calls for Prisoner Letters to Worldwide Conference

The *RW* received this call from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru:

PRISONERS! PARTICIPATE IN THE IEC FOUNDING CONFERENCE!

A CALL FROM THE CSR FOR SOLIDARITY STATEMENTS

The CSR is calling for solidarity statements from prisoners to the IEC Founding Conference to take place February 27 and 28, 1993 in Krefeld, Germany. It is important that the support from inside the U.S. dungeons for defending Abimael Guzmán and the other political prisoners in Peru be present at the Founding Conference.

Political prisoners worldwide represent a powerful force in defending the life of Abimael Guzmán. Mumia Abu-Jamal signed the International Emergency Committee's Call from Death Row. Former political prisoners from South Africa, Mexico, India, Kenya and Turkey have also signed the Call. Support letters, statements, and actions have come from hundreds

of prisoners on hunger strikes in Buca and Eliazig Prisons in Turkey and from dungeons across the U.S.—Leavenworth, Kansas; Jackson, Michigan; Lompoc, California.

Statements and letters will be collected and sent to the IEC in London even if they arrive after the opening of the Conference.

Send statements to: BCM/IEC, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, U.K. or to: CSR, PO Box 1246, Berkeley CA 94701. Fax: 415/252-7414, Phone: 415/252-5786, Messages: 510/644-4170



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, USA.

Recently, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, sent an important communication to some veteran leading comrades of the Party. Parts of this communication have been made available to the RW, and we are publishing them here. They are running in six parts. The fourth part begins below.

There are masses of people who will follow the line and program we represent—people who are looking for firm leadership. This is especially so among the proletariat. In order to lead the masses, we have to learn from them. And we also have to struggle with them. We have to struggle with them about what we represent and why it's the way forward—the real and only road to complete liberation. This will not be simple and straightforward—it will be a great struggle, to win the masses to our banner—learning from them and leading them through all the twists and turns. But people are demanding leadership, and what we are all about in fact represents the leadership they need.

Not only theoretical knowledge but practical direction, concrete work and, yes, daring are needed to provide such leadership. There is a question of will, a question of daring to do this. If we do this, we will pay a heavy price for it. We have to work to minimize losses, but we can't think we won't suffer losses.

The oppressors like to crush you, but they also like to scare you off. Then they hold you up to the masses—show the masses that you gave in, or turned and ran. We can't do that! We can't say stuff and not mean it.

We shouldn't let these fucking imperialists hit us and just get away with it. They should have to pay a big price (I mean above all a big price in terms of being exposed for what they are and having more people turn against them). They don't get anything free or easy, or without a big price. But, in a different sense, we have to be ready to pay the price ourselves. That's the way it is—that's the nature of the relationship between us and the ruling class—because we stand for the masses of people who are oppressed and exploited by this vicious system.

The question of whether we're really down for this—this is a question that doesn't get answered once and for all time. This question poses itself over and over, and it gets very sharp especially at those times when there's a big turning point—when the possibility of

advancing, or being set back, big-time is right there before you. We really do have to be "down for the whole thing" in the fullest sense—not just once or twice, but all the way through.

We can't go to the masses and say we're going to do this, and then turn around and not do it.

While there is not a revolutionary situation today, some shit has changed—things are going through some big changes. We have to firm up our orientation. That's one of the reasons I'm sending this communication now.

Let's go back to something very profound that Mao said, something that has a lot of meaning in the present situation. Mao said: first, the oppressed fight back and seek a way out, and then they search for a philosophy to guide them in their struggle. This poses challenges: to be together with the masses, uniting and leading, giving them answers—daring to do this, learning more about how to do this as we do it.

As I said, this question will come up over and over—the question of remaining firm in our goals and principles. There are a lot of ways to back down, a lot of excuses for selling out. It may be ironic, but one of the ways to sell out is to do it in the name of the masses! Historically, many people have done that. In a certain sense, it's the easiest way to do it—sell out and excuse yourself by pointing to backwardness among the masses—ignoring the fact that, as a vanguard, you're supposed to *lead* the masses, not tail after backwardness among the masses. After all, where does that backwardness come from? It comes from the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois system—from living in bourgeois society and being bombarded with bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois ideology.

The bourgeoisie tries to get over twice with this—they try to overwhelm the vanguard with backwardness among the masses and then turn around and demoralize the masses by showing them how the vanguard gave up and sold out. The bourgeoisie *loves* to do that! We can't give them that satisfaction—and more fundamentally, we can't sell out the masses just because there is backwardness among the masses. If we are going to do that, then we shouldn't be calling ourselves the vanguard in the first place!

For example, when the enemy sends his police and whatever to lock down a housing project in Chicago and then turns around and brings out some masses to say something in

Communication Bob Avakian Chairman of Revolution

Part 4: Daring to Lead: Learning Leading the Masses

support of this, we can't get thrown off by that. We have to take this into account—we have to understand the problems, the contradictions the masses face that can be played off to get some of them to take backward stands—but we cannot capitulate because of it. No, we have to help the masses see the real deal, to see what the enemy is up to and how this fits into his overall plan for oppressing and repressing the masses of people to keep his exploiting system going, with all the misery and madness it brings. We have to bring forward the *advanced* among the masses—the advanced people among the masses and the aspect of the masses' understanding that is advanced. We have to bring this forward and unite with this to lead people in standing up and fighting back against the enemy. In the course of that, we must struggle with the backwardness among the masses—help them to see this backwardness for what it is and to cast it off.

Let me speak to a particular aspect of this. Sometimes, when I read reports about what some of the masses say about us—about our work, the whole question of what we stand for—it comes out that one of the things that concentrates the way the masses are struggling over all this is their attitude toward the Party Chairman. Some Black people, for example, raise the question whether they can get behind the Party—or, even further, get into the Party—when the Party Chairman is white. This might seem like a "personal" thing—but really it's not that at all—really it's something much deeper, more fundamental.

One way to get at this is to point out that if I were African-American, I still wouldn't be Mexican or Central American, or Native American, and so on. Being male, I wouldn't be female. What I'm getting at is that among the masses there are differences—of race and nationality, of sex, and so on. Or, to put it another way, the proletariat is drawn from many different races and nationalities and of course from men as well as women. So no one individual, no matter who they are, can possibly embody or represent all these different people, in a *personal sense*. But that's just the point—this is not a "personal thing" anyway—it's a political and ideological thing. It's what the Party Chairman and the Party as a whole represent in terms of their vision, stand, and program. It's *what class* they represent. Do they really stand

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from the Masses,

for the proletariat and its revolutionary interests? For *only the proletariat, as a class*, has an interest in putting an end to all relations of exploitation and all inequalities between different groups in society.

To unite in a way to realize their revolutionary interests and to carry out a revolution in their interests, the masses of proletarians and oppressed people have to *overcome* divisions by race, nationality, sex—they have to unite on the basis of their common *revolutionary* interests as a *class*, as the *proletariat*. And, of course, to do this, they must fight against racial, national, and sexual inequality, as a key part of the fight against all oppression. That's what the Party and its leadership are all about—that's their whole purpose and role—to lead the masses in doing this. That is the standard they should be judged by.

We have to understand where people are coming from in raising these questions—what their concerns are—and what is right and wrong about the way they raise it. And we have to understand what is most fundamental in all this. It's not as if there's nothing to what people are raising when they talk about white leaders selling out the interests of Black people and other oppressed peoples. This has happened many times—people have had experience with this. And there has been experience with Black leaders and others selling out as well. To get at the fundamental point in all this—to be a bit provocative in order to make this point sharply—it can be said that anybody can sell out if they want to. A more scientific way to say it is this: whether or not somebody sells out depends fundamentally on their *ideology*.

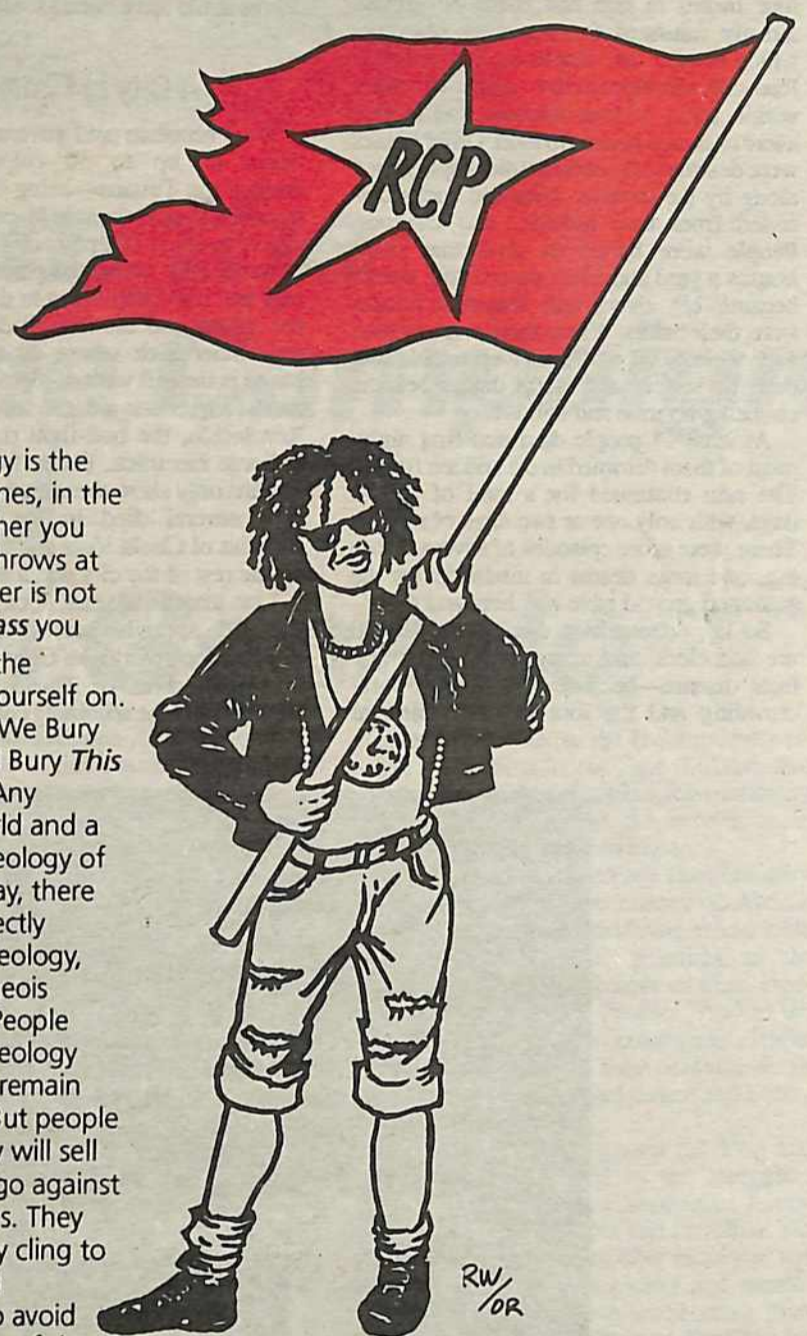
In a major interview in 1988, Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru ("Shining Path") spoke very profoundly to the question of courage. (People saw a powerful demonstration of Chairman Gonzalo's courage after he was captured and then put "on display" in a cage by the government of Peru—Comrade Gonzalo boldly denounced the reactionary rulers of Peru and the imperialists behind them; he called on the Party and the masses in Peru to carry forward with the people's war there; and, in the face of his howling captors, he defiantly upheld proletarian internationalism and sang the *Internationale*.) What Comrade Gonzalo said in that interview about courage applies also to the

question of selling out. He said ideology is the most decisive thing—ideology determines, in the end, whether you have courage, whether you can stand up to whatever the enemy throws at you. Once again, the heart of the matter is not nationality or race, or sex, but *what class* you represent; and that is concentrated in the question of *what ideology* you base yourself on.

In the 1992 May First Manifesto ("We Bury Our Own, Day After Day, But Who Will Bury *This System?*") this crucial point is made: "Any ideology is a way of looking at the world and a system of values. *Everybody* has an ideology of one kind or another." In the world today, there are two basic ideologies, which are directly opposed to each other—communist ideology, representing the proletariat; and bourgeois ideology, representing the exploiters. People who base themselves on communist ideology (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism), and who remain firm in that ideology, will not sell out. But people who operate out of bourgeois ideology will sell out—that is, they will, sooner or later, go against the fundamental interests of the masses. They may not even *mean* to do it, but if they cling to that old bourgeois way of thinking and bourgeois values, they won't be able to avoid going against the fundamental interests of the masses.*

This will be shown in practice. The masses put leaders to the test. They will put us to the test, over and over. They *should* do that. This is a

* Here it is important to keep in mind the difference between the bourgeoisie of an *oppressor* nation and the bourgeoisie of an *oppressed* nation—the difference, for example, between the big-time capitalist imperialists who rule the USA (and belong, overwhelmingly, to the European-American nation) and the smaller-scale capitalists of the African-American nation. Exactly because they are part of an *oppressed* nation, Black capitalists find themselves in opposition to the established order of things, to a certain degree—they suffer, in various ways, because of the oppression of the African-American nation, although not in the same way and not to the same extent as the basic masses of poor Black people. But, because of their position and interests as capitalists, even smaller-scale ones, such bourgeois forces will tend to conciliate with the oppressor and to compromise the fundamental, revolutionary interests of the masses of oppressed people. Only those who make a radical break with the bourgeois outlook and bourgeois aspirations, only those who take up the stand, viewpoint, and method of the proletariat, will be able to fight for the interests of the masses of oppressed people in a consistent and thoroughgoing way.



way to help make sure that we mean what we say, and that we do what we say we are going to do. This is also a way for the masses to learn, and for us to learn. It is a way for the masses, and for us, to learn more deeply about what an MLM vanguard is—what it bases itself on and what its role is in relation to the masses. It is a way for the masses to learn more about MLM and to take up this ideology as their own. It is part of the masses thrashing out what different ideologies and programs represent and learning why *only the proletarian* ideology and program can lead them where they need to go.

We shouldn't be "offended" or feel we need to "defend ourselves" when the masses raise the question of whether we'll sell them out. We should welcome this, but we should give the masses some leadership in this too—help them deepen their understanding of what is fundamentally involved in all this. □

THE TIJUANA FLOOD:

“So Far from God, So Close to the U.S.”

In January the northern Mexico city of Tijuana, Baja California, was hit by a series of Pacific storms that brought floods, mudslides, destruction and death.

The floods began in the middle of the night on January 7. In the two days before, four inches of rain had fallen on ground already saturated from a rainy season—which caused four deaths on December 3. Run-offs developed into walls of water within three or four minutes and carried away or buried houses in mud. Other homes were destroyed by cars and pick-ups carried along by the torrents. Mud and rocks cascaded from bare hillsides and canyons. People were buried in mud that filled houses a yard and a half deep. Little creeks became big rivers that snatched houses from their banks. Where there were streets, they were filled with water up to five feet deep as sewers and storm drains became choked with mud and debris.

At least 14 people died that first night, most of them drowned in the sudden floods. The rain continued for a total of twelve days, with only one or two days of respite. There were more episodes of severe flooding, and more deaths in mudslides as the saturated ground gave way here and there.

So far, dozens have died, about 10,000 are homeless, and many more are at risk from disease—because of increased overcrowding and the loss of even minimal

social services. But the destruction in this city of two million is not simply a tragic act of nature. A 60-year-old grandmother from Grupo Mexico told a reporter, “They know this area has a problem with flooding, but the city has done nothing to solve it. These deaths could have been avoided.”

A City in Distress

Press accounts and government sources talked of up to 50 colonias—out of hundreds in Tijuana—being “hard hit,” but the truth is that the whole city was devastated. The only flat parts of Tijuana are the Zona del Rio, where the government buildings are, and Otay Mesa to the east, where the airport and the maquiladoras are. The only other area where all the roads are paved is the hill west of the river where the tourist attractions are: the shops of Avenida Revolución, the bull-fight ring, and Agua Caliente racetrack. (Most tourist maps of Tijuana only show these areas.) Even in this area, several died in the middle class colonias of Chula Vista and Gavilondo.

The rest of the city was a disaster.

Less than a mile east of city hall, colonia Libertad sprawls across the hills that separate the river from Otay Mesa. One of the oldest areas of Tijuana, the hills of Libertad and the adjoining colonias are now

scarred by huge vertical gashes, unpaved roads that were turned into rivers of mud by the rains. Some of the older houses on top of the hills came through OK. But squatters whose huts cling to the steep sides were killed when their houses tumbled down the canyons. Out east of Otay Mesa, the roads to Tecate and Mexicali were destroyed. West of the river, there were reports of flooding in Playas de Tijuana on the coast.

The impact of the floods was greatest in the southern part of the city, where dozens of new colonias have sprung up, housing many of the new migrants that help add 10,000 new families to Tijuana’s population every year. These areas lack many of the basic utilities, like water, gas and electricity, as well as sewers, drainage and paved roads. They are also on some of the worst terrain for flooding, upstream from the flood control project that includes the Rodriguez Dam and the concrete channel that contains the Tijuana River. Southern Tijuana is basically two huge drainage areas, which were not only flooded but quickly cut off. Vehicles could not pass on the dirt roads filled with mud three yards deep.

Those who survived were faced with the problem of getting the most basic necessities of food and water. Even in areas where people could get in and out, they couldn’t make it to work, because the main roads were blocked. Or they worked in a small business that was itself damaged.

The smaller border towns of Mexicali and Tecate were also hit by floods, though neither has seen the massive migration of Tijuana that produced the shantytowns, and damage was on a smaller scale. Floods destroyed the roads south to Ensenada and east to Tecate. This meant that those living in the rural areas were totally isolated. One area was cut off for a week before they were discovered by a helicopter television crew.

A Disaster Made North of the Border

Residents who searched for a cause all pointed to the total lack of urban planning, especially the helter-skelter growth of shantytowns or colonias with few basic services and no infrastructure—no paved roads, no

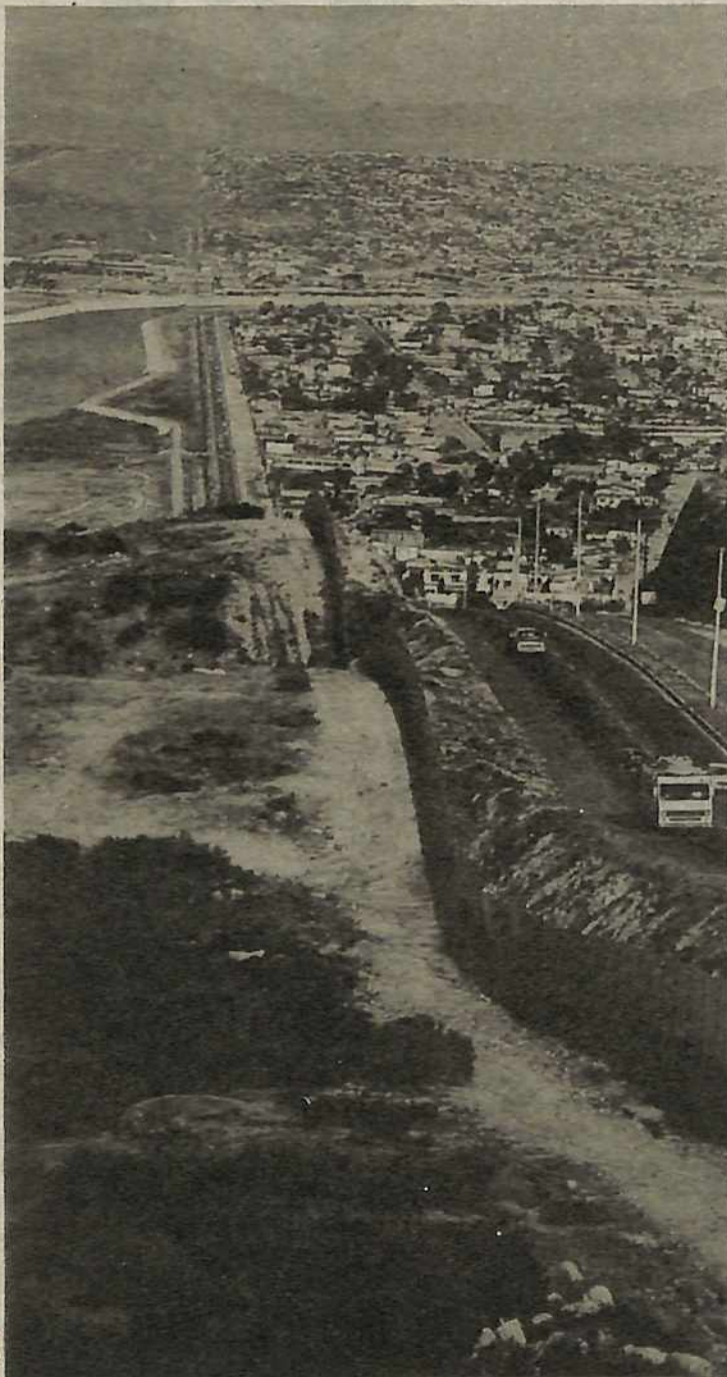
storm drains or other flood control measures. But in another way, the disaster in Tijuana is the direct result of planning—the U.S. plan to rob the Mexican people as they and other imperialists have done for 500 years.

This reality is strikingly confirmed by a look north of the border. Tijuana is part of a large urban area that includes the California cities of San Diego and San Ysidro. Just as much rain fell north of the border, including in Los Angeles, just 100 miles away. There was flooding in a few areas where greedy contractors had built houses in flood plains. There was also extensive flooding in rural areas of San Diego and Riverside counties, where several people died. But it was nothing like the scale of the disaster in Tijuana.

There’s a saying in Mexico, “Poor Mexico, so far from god, and so close to the United States.” The lopsidedness of the damage south of the border was not an act of god. In many ways it was the direct result of a lopsided economic relationship between the two countries—where the U.S. and other imperialist powers dominate Mexico.

Tijuana is a major metropolis because it’s close to the U.S., not because it’s an ideal place to house 2,000,000 people. Policies hatched in the U.S. have caused mass migrations of Mexican people that have doubled the size of Tijuana since 1980, while decreasing the resources available for planned growth and infrastructure. And this combination of overcrowded conditions with no paved roads and storm drains proved disastrous when the rains hit.

U.S. capitalists (with Europe and Japan close behind) have turned the northern border of Mexico, from Matamoros to Tijuana, into a belt of maquiladoras—factories that turn out a wide range of goods, from consumer electronics to clothes, furniture, even automobiles, without paying duties to import the components into Mexico. The maquiladoras are one of the big factors that have turned the “frontier town” of Tijuana into the second-largest metropolis on the Pacific Coast of the Americas—“Mexico’s one big success story,” according to a U.S. capitalist. Here Mexican workers are paid \$40 to \$60 a week to produce for the U.S. and world market, with the profits going to the U.S., since the maquiladoras are 100 percent foreign owned. These corporate



Mexico-U.S. border at Tijuana (U.S. on right).



Special to the RW/CR

Tijuana, January 17



Tijuana—A woman surveys the damage to her home.

bloodsuckers rely on the crisis in all of Mexico—from the collapse of agriculture to unemployment in the cities of the interior—to force people to take these jobs.

The prospect of finding work in the U.S. has also drawn thousands to the border. But they sometimes get stuck in Tijuana—unable to raise the money to pay for a guide across the border. Or they are prevented from crossing by the big buildup of INS patrols on the border.

Not only Tijuana but the whole Mexican economy has been developed to serve the needs of the U.S. capitalists. Many of the foreign plants involve electronics or other high-tech industries, but they have done nothing to raise the overall level of Mexican industry. This is because such industry is totally dependent on foreign inputs and produces to meet foreign requirements. It is industry designed to serve U.S. capitalist interests, not those of the people of Mexico. The same is true of the big public works projects.

As more and more people crowded into the cities of Mexico, "austerity" plans imposed by the imperialists through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) slashed social spending by at least 32 percent in the late 1980s. TV commentators in the U.S. tried to say it was the people's fault they got flooded since they lived on unsafe ground. But the truth is that the workers are forced by near-starvation wages to live in squatter camps on the steep hillsides and canyons below the terraced grounds and paved roads of the maquiladoras—and the government can't afford to build roads to their shacks.

The canal for the Tijuana River is modern and efficient, but it was only 50 percent full during the floods. A few dozen yards from its banks, major intersections were under three feet of water and large stores suffered flood damage. While 30 percent of Mexico's gross domestic product goes to make payments on the foreign and domestic (national) debt, there are no storm drains to carry water downhill to the river.

A relief worker told the *RW* that the rains had not created the crisis, but had simply revealed a crisis that has been building for the last 10 years.

A Poverty of Relief

In the wake of the floods, the poverty and local government corruption—which are the result of imperialist domination of Mexico—impacted on the relief efforts.

The official death toll from the disaster was 40, but residents said it was much higher. Homeless people whose bodies were found were not counted, according to relief workers, because they were picked up by a different department of emergency ser-

vices. The government didn't even have an estimate for the number of missing, including those buried in mud.

Some died because of the effects of the 50 percent cut in health care spending ordered by the IMF. One relief worker said that several infants had died in the colonia Matamoros, because the hospital where they were taken just didn't have the supplies and equipment to treat them.

Ten thousand people were left homeless. Only half of these were in shelters. Many were miles away from the nearest shelters in the central city. Others did not want to leave their few possessions or their little bit of land, even when ordered to evacuate. (Last spring after an explosion of gasoline vapor destroyed part of Guadalajara, the victims were promised new land if they went to temporary camps, and they are still waiting.)

The pounding rains saturated many people's belongings, causing health problems like bronchitis. Every winter many die from exposure in Tijuana in their houses—from lack of heating or improper heating. A dozen died from the cold at the end of December. The floods have made this problem even more desperate. There have been reports of uncontrolled outbreaks of lice and scabies in the isolated colonias.

People stayed up all night listening to the radio, so they could help their neighbors who were in danger to get to safe ground. Tijuana has only 100 fire fighters, and they were restricted to the central part of the city, so people had to help each other with what was at hand. Many areas, especially in the rural zones, were accessible only by helicopter, yet there were only one or two helicopters being used—far fewer than in the skies of Los Angeles on an average night, where police helicopters hound the masses of people from the air.

As word of the tragedy spread through the huge Mexican immigrant communities in Los Angeles and San Diego, people grabbed cans and boxes of food and bags of clothing and dropped them off at churches and Spanish-language media offices. Relief supplies arrived in Tijuana as the government promised "all possible help" for the storm victims, yet there was no way to get the supplies to people who needed them. Much of the food and medicines went to shelters run by the army or religious or social groups. But the homeless who weren't in shelters, and many who were not homeless, were still lacking food and clothing. Relief workers told the *RW* that most of those needing relief were hungry simply because they could not get to work, and it had been a week since their last pay. There were also stories of corruption in some

shelters run by the wives of local politicians who skimmed the relief supplies and gave victims one meal a day.

The government was mainly concerned with maintaining its rule over the people. Afraid to mobilize the masses, they issued appeals to people to stay indoors—when most storm victims were dying from mudslides. When troops were mobilized, they were sent to forcibly evacuate some colonias near the border, in the face of residents who feared they would not be able to return or would lose their possessions. They were also used to direct traffic and guard some of the big stores in the downtown area.

Residents said the chaos in government relief efforts was compounded by political infighting. The crisis in the '80s led to the rise of "official" alternatives, encouraged by the U.S., to the one-party rule of the PRI. In the northern border areas, this development has helped the PAN (National Action Party) win both the mayorship in Tijuana and the governor's office in the state of Baja California. So the PRI-controlled federal government didn't declare a "state of emergency" until a week after the disaster in order to make the PAN look worse.

When a group of people managed to get to the municipal arena where aid was coming in from the north to take supplies back to their isolated neighbors, the authorities demanded proof that they were from the

area they said and that they were homeless. The people organized a demonstration on the spot demanding aid.

In the absence of organized help, people did what they could. Restaurant owners and even street vendors took hot meals to shelters. Small merchants gave away the contents of their stores to help the people. A week after the flooding began, groups of health workers, social workers and others who knew the areas where people were suffering the most organized their own relief efforts, bypassing the government to get aid directly from private sources, bag it and distribute it. These efforts were on a relatively small scale. One center with 70 tired-looking volunteers was responsible for 10 colonias, with tens of thousands of families. Even with more volunteers, they would not have had the supplies or means of distribution to do more. But those involved saw something important in this example of the people themselves taking charge of the relief.

And truly, it is only by taking their future into their own hands that the workers and peasants of Mexico can get free of imperialism.

A Stormy Future

The situation of Tijuana has gotten worse since the early '80s, and worse again in the '90s. With deep, prolonged unemployment in California, more migrants are staying in Tijuana. But since the maquiladoras and many other industries, like tourism, depend on the U.S. market, there's also less work in Tijuana. A shopkeeper pointed out to the *RW* neighboring stores that had gone bankrupt in the past couple of years, and Mexican officials predict 30,000 bankruptcies this year. In the last couple of years, the U.S. has doubled and tripled the fortifications and occupation of the border—preventing many people from crossing to the U.S. for work—and turning Tijuana into even more of a pressure cooker.

The imperialists' "solution" to all this is more of the same. Last year, the governments of the U.S., Mexico and Canada drafted a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has not yet been ratified by the U.S. Congress. Although a discussion of this treaty is beyond the scope of this article, it is clear that NAFTA will open the doors to uncontrolled U.S. exploitation of the Mexican people: doing what they've done in Tijuana throughout Mexico. Even before ratification, the Mexican government is doing away with laws restricting foreign ownership of Mexican corporations. They're also carrying out "modernization" programs that have drastically reduced workforces in heavy industry. And they are in the process of abolishing the peasant's guarantee of land that was initiated by Pancho Villa in the Mexican Revolution. All these measures will increase the flood of people into the cities.

In many ways, for the U.S. imperialists and the rulers of Mexico, Tijuana has acted as a "safety valve" to relieve the suffering and the outrage in the rest of Mexico—a place where people are trapped every hour of the day by dreams of making it. Now the Tijuana flood of 1993 has made the conditions of life more desperate for already desperate people. The disaster could have important reverberations in the near future—in Mexico and beyond. □



Chilpancingo, Mexico—Houses were destroyed by the flooding.

News from the Worldwide Campaign to Defend Chairman Gonzalo

Continued from page 7

Guzmán but they cannot stop the revolutionary forward march of the masses towards the inevitable victory. And as Justice loving people we must fight for liberation and against injustice everywhere we find it."

Other Reports from Around the World

MEXICO: From a report on a January 29 demonstration at the Peruvian embassy, organized by the IEC-Mexico City: "The protest was made up mainly of youth and students but also included workers and teachers, and was pulled together on fairly short notice. It had a spirited combative character. When protesters arrived they found considerable police presence, signaling that the authorities seemed to be expecting something on that day even though the protest had not been widely publicized.... One youth had drawn a picture of 'Presidente Gonzalo' breaking the bars of the 'cage.' This drawing was hung on the doors of the embassy along with lists of revolu-

tionary prisoners unaccounted for following the massacre last May at Canto Grande.... The protest at the embassy ended with the burning of a U.S. flag and denunciation of the role of the U.S. in backing up the Fujimori regime."

SPAIN: IEC-Catalonia organized a demonstration on December 3 outside the Peruvian Consulate in Barcelona. A large police presence guarded the consulate, and cops harassed and detained demonstrators.

AUSTRALIA: Jim Cairns, former deputy prime minister of Australia,

telephoned the Peruvian Consulate in Melbourne to protest the arrest of Dr. Alfredo Crespo—Guzmán's lawyer—and other lawyers who defend political prisoners in Peru. He condemned the banning of the Association of Democratic Lawyers and asked if political prisoners in Peru can be defended by a lawyer of their choice. The Peruvian Ambassador claimed that Peru "didn't have political prisoners," Cairns disputed this outrageous claim and told the Ambassador that many people in Australia were closely watching the events in Peru.

The following day, January 29, a delegation of activists from the IEC campaign protested at the Peruvian Consulate.

FRANCE: *Tamil Osei*, a newspaper for Tamil refugees from South Asia, reported that French lawyer Anne Marie Parodi recently spoke at a meeting of Tamil political exiles in Paris. She talked about her experiences as a member of the first IEC delegation to Peru and the situation with Dr. Abimael Guzmán.

On January 19 a delegation gathered at the Peruvian Embassy in Paris to protest the arrest of Alfredo Crespo and defenders of political prisoners in Peru. They demanded that the International Red Cross be allowed to visit all prisoners and denounced Fujimori's attempts to bring back the death penalty.

U.S.: A letter to Fujimori from the Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake, director of the Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project in Evanston, Illinois, read in part: "...I express our grave concern for the imprisonment and torture of Dr. Abimael Guzmán and also of Dr. Alfredo Crespo, the lawyer for Dr. Guzmán. As an organization in support of the U.S. political prisoners, we are acutely aware of the dangers of violation of human rights by governments for individual's beliefs and associations. We implore you to relate to these leaders with respect and release them immediately...."

Haywood Burns, Dean and Professor of Law at Queens College in New York, wrote a letter to the Peruvian Ambassador in Washington, D.C. which said in part: "As a lawyer who was involved in the civil rights movement in the United States and as the Dean of the City University School of Law at Queens College, a law school with a specific goal of serving human needs, I am particularly outraged at the wholly improper imprisonment of Dr. Crespo. I strongly support Mr. Guzmán's right to be represented by counsel and his right to have private communications with his attorney."

Michael Ray, president of the South Florida Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, was among a number of prominent lawyers who sent letters to Fujimori to express outrage at the arrests of Dr. Crespo and two other attorneys from the Association of Democratic Lawyers. □



Jan. 29, 1993—Despite the bitter cold Chicago day, artists built and set up a cage symbolizing Chairman Gonzalo's cage in front of the Federal building downtown. An activist climbed into the cage and read the speech Gonzalo delivered after he was captured. This action was in solidarity with the International Day of Action called for by the IEC.



Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru in prison.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Punjab, India: The fundraising drive is being thoroughly discussed in big meetings held by the newspaper *Lal Tara* ("Red Star"). In a big meeting of middle and poor peasants in a village, a poor peasant responded enthusiastically for the fundraising call. The peasant worker stood up in the meeting and gave all the money—100 Rupees—he had in his pocket. This example of what peasants and workers are willing to sacrifice in one of the poorest countries in the world should give encouragement to others around the world to do the same.

From IEC Emergency Bulletin No. 15

This call came out shortly after the arrest of Abimael Guzmán. Since then, the International Emergency Committee has mobilized people from all walks of life in many countries around the campaign to defend Guzmán's life. The IEC call was recently

published in the Village Voice, January 12, 1993 edition, and La Opinión, the main Spanish-language paper in Los Angeles. It has recently been translated into Japanese and published in the magazine Patorone in Japan, and it has also appeared in Taiwan.

CALL TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE LIFE OF DR. ABIMAEEL GUZMÁN

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

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

This must not be allowed to happen.

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

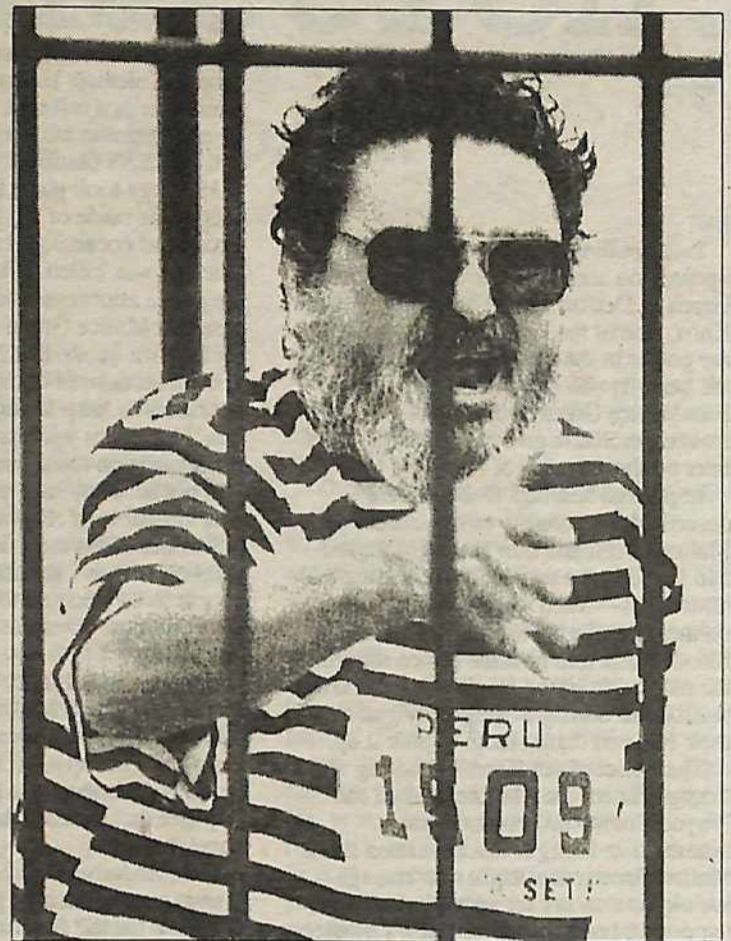
It is urgent that many voices be heard to demand that the Peruvian state respect the international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners. That a military tribunal cannot be legally competent. That the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán be saved.

Contact the IEC at:

In London: FAX/Telephone: (44)(71) 482-0853. Address: BCM-IEC, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, England.

In the U.S., contact the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru at: Phone: (415) 252-5786. Address: P.O. Box 1246, Berkeley, CA 94701

Signators of the Statement of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán. This is only a partial list of thousands of signators around the world.



Yusef Abdullahi - of the Cardiff 3, Britain
 Mumia Abu-Jamal - political prisoner on death row, former Black Panther, U.S.
 Kwame K. Afah - President, Provisional Government of Republic of New Africa, U.S.
 African Cultural Center of Barcelona, Mahana, Spain
 →Gokhan Aktemur - editor, "New Human" magazine, Ankara, Turkey
 Edip Akbayram - singer, Turkey
 Buland Al-Haidari - poet, vice-president of Iraqi Democratic Association
 Reza Allamezadeh - Iranian Film Director
 Dalal Al-Muffli - sculptress, head of Iraqi Artists Association
 Carol Andreas - author of When Women Rebel, U.S.
 Roberto Armijo - Salvadoran poet, (France)
 Stanley Aronowitz - editor, *Social Text*, U.S.
 Iraj Jannati Ataie - Poet, writer, director, Iran
 Aydin Aybay - Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Istanbul, Turkey
 Nina Baehr - author, *Abortion Without Apology*, U. of HI Women's Center*
 Faik Balut - writer/journalist, former political prisoner for 7 years in Israeli prisons, Turkey
 Dr. Abolhassan Bani Sadr - former president of Iran
 Amir Baraka, Amna Baraka - revolutionary artists, Kimako's Blues People, *Unity & Struggle* newspaper, U.S.A.
 Nihet Behram - writer, former collaborator with filmmaker Yilmaz Güney, Turkey
 Dr. Younes Parsa Benab - Iranian Lecturer, Strayer College (U.S.)
 Tony Benn - MP, House of Commons, Labour Party, Britain
 Keith Bennett - Political Editor, Asian Times, Caribbean Times
 Ronan Bennett - journalist, novelist, *The Second Prison, Overthrown by Strangers*, Ireland
 Ismael Besikski - political prisoner for 20 years, doctor of sociology, Turkey
 Dr. Baburam Bhattarai - architect, convenor United Peoples Front, Nepal
 Praful Bidwai - journalist, Times of India, Amherst College, U.S.
 Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, U.S. Branch
 Black Lawyers Association - South Africa
 Bill Bowring - Chairman, Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, England
 Herb Boyd - writer/journalist, Harlem, U.S.
 Francis A. Boyle - Professor of International Law, University of Illinois, Champaign, U.S.
 Elaine Brown - author, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*
 Dennis Brutus - South African activist, former political prisoner, U.S.
 Katherine Bullitt - recipient of United Nations Assoc. Human Rights* Award, 1992, Seattle
 Haywood Burns - attorney, NY
 Dr. Jim Cairns - former Deputy Prime Minister of Australia
 Emilia Callini - member of Parliament, Italy
 Lester Callahan - WBAI, NY
 Victor Carpenter - senior minister, First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, U.S.
 Leo Casino - filmmaker, East of Overtown, Miami, U.S.

Lillan Castillo - President, Committee for Political Prisoners in Chile
 Father Robert W. Castle - St. Mary's Episcopal Church, NY
 Javier Centeno - federal representative, Mexico
 Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
 Barbara Christian - professor of African American Studies, UC Berkeley, U.S.
 Ward Churchill - author, U.S.
 Ramsey Clark - former U.S. Attorney-General, editor of "War Crimes"
 Stanley Cohen - lawyer, U.S.
 Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley, California
 Mary Belvin Cox - lawyer, National Conference of Black Lawyers*, U.S.
 Joe Deom - Mohawk citizen, Kahnawake
 Dr. Massimo de Santi - coordinator of International FORUM U.N.O. of the Peoples, Italy
 Kasthoori Devan - Convenor, Yuva Kerala Munnani, India
 Carl Dix - nat'l spokesperson, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
 Ada Donno - editor, *Iride* magazine, Italy
 Dr. Ernest F. Dube - former political prisoner in South Africa, professor, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA
 Rev. Peter H.F. Duncan - Vicar, St. John's Church, Britain
 Ragıp Duran - journalist, Turkey
 Peter Erlinder - Pres.-elect, National Lawyers Guild*
 Craig Everson - lawyer, Aboriginal Legal Services Ltd., Canberra, Australia
 Patrick Eytchesing - Left Green Network, Wichita, Kansas, U.S.
 Michael Franti - musician, San Francisco, U.S.
 Free University of Ankara, Turkey:
 Kenan Karakas (General-Secretary), Hasan Gul (Assistant Decan), 36 students
 Bishop Monseigneur Jacques Gallot - Evêque d'Evreux, Paris, France
 Lavarice Gaudin - Haitian activist, VEYEO*, Miami
 Prof. John Gerassi - author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*, U.S.
 Professor Haluk Gerger - journalist, daily *Gündem*, Turkey
 Danny Glover - actor, U.S.
 K.P.R. Gopala - member of the first communist group in Kerala, sentenced to death under British rule, later released, India
 Monica Gordon, Jaffer Kassimall, Pedro López-Adorno - professors, in Black and Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, NYC, U.S.
 Bernie Grant - member of Parliament, House of Commons, Britain
 Lester Grinspoon - co-founder, Physicians for Human Rights*, U.S.
 Grup Kizilirmak - musical group, Turkey
 Grup Yorum - Turkish musical group
 Eric Grusdat - former political prisoner, Germany
 Khalid Hamood - political activist/journalist, Awami Jumbhoi Party, Pakistan
 Larry Heinemann - author *Paco's Story*, U.S.
 Jon Hendricks - artist, U.S.
 Rose Hunter, Brenda Proctor - Treasurer/Secretary, North Staffordshire Miners Wives Action Group, England

Chrissie Hynde - musician, The Pretenders, Britain
 Saban Iba, General Secretary of 1968 Institute, Turkey
 International Federation of Iranian Refugees and Immigrants Councils
 R. Jilani - Director, Asian Studies Dept., Toyne Hall, Britain
 Linton Kwezi Johnson - reggae dub poet Britain
 June Jordan - poet, Berkeley, U.S.
 Farah Juste - Haitian recording artist, "The voice of those without voice"
 Ergun Kanar - chair, Human Rights Organization, Istanbul Turkey
 Flo Kennedy - lawyer, New York, U.S.
 Esmal Khole - Poet, Member of the Executive Com. of Iranian Writers Assoc.
 Zenzile Khoisan - South African exile, producer "Africa Report," WBAI Radio, NYC, U.S.
 Charles Kilduff - former Chief Magistrate of the Australian Capital Territory
 Maina Wa Kinyatti - former Kenyan political prisoner
 Frank Kirkland - Professor, Philosophy Dept., Hunter Col., U.S.
 Jan Kirsch, MD - member, Board of Directors of Physicians for Social Responsibility*, U.S.
 Hans Konig - author of *Columbus: His Enterprise, Exploding the Myth*
 Joel Kovel - author, *Age of Desire*, Bard College, U.S.
 V.R. Krishna Iyer - Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India (retired), V.P. I.D.L.A.
 Güner Kuban - author of *Color of Love*, Amsterdam, Holland.
 Ron Kuby - attorney, U.S.
 Kanthalottu Kunjambu - CPI leader, India
 William Kunstler - attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York City
 Carlos and Delia La Torre - father and mother-in-law of Dr. Abimael Guzmán
 James Lafferty - executive director, National Lawyers Guild, Los Angeles Chapter, U.S.
 Ring Lardner Jr. - writer, U.S.
 Erik Larsen - G.I. resister, Gulf War, U.S.
 Latin American Solidarity Committee - Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.
 Raniero La Valle - member of Parliament, Italy
 Father Lawrence Lucas - priest, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of NY, author of *Black Priest, White Church*, U.S.
 La Ligue Anti-Imperialiste - Brussels, Belgium
 K.S. Madhusoodhanan - Vice-President, May Day Workers Centre, India
 Colette Magny - singer, France
 Ludo Maltens - general secretary, Party of Labour, Belgium
 N.C. Mammooty - Gen. Sec., Yuva Kala Sahithi, Kerala, India
 Lucio Manisco - member of Parliament, Italy
 Michael Mansfield Q.C. - defense lawyer of Cardiff 3, Presenter of TV documentaries, Britain
 Dr. Manning Marable - University of Colorado, U.S.
 Bill Martin - professor, Philosophy Dept., DePaul Univ., Chicago
 Francisco Martinez - attorney, Alamosa, CO

Aziz Mesin - Political satirist, writer, Turkey
 Matt Meyer - Nat'l Exec. Board, War Resisters League, NYC
 Andrée Michel - writer, sociologist, Director of Research, National Center of Scientific Research, France
 Antonio Migliore - Professor, University of Palermo, Italy
 Mr. Moosha - attorney, Convenor of the Revolutionary People's Movement, South Africa
 Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD-ML) - Dominican Republic
 Mutabaruka - reggae dub poet, Kingston, Jamaica
 Jan Myrdal - author of books on China, Sweden
 National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK), Melbourne Committee, Australia
 National Union of Workers in Education (SNTE) - Sectional Executive Committee, Section 22, Mexico
 Heriberto Ocasio - Spokesperson, Comm. to Support the Revolution in Peru, U.S.
 Sinead O'Connor - musician, Ireland
 Bertell Ollman - Prof., Dept. of Politics, New York University*
 Mahmut Tali Ongoren - writer/radio and TV publisher, Turkey
 Giovanna Pagani - president WILPF Italy, Section of the International League for Peace and Freedom, Consultant to United Nations ECOSOC, UNCTAD and UNESCO
 Jorge Palacios - ex-Chairman, Philosophy Dept., Univ. of Chile
 Anne-Marie Parodi - attorney, Paris
 Jeff Paterson - first U.S. soldier to refuse to serve in Gulf War
 Path to Unity of Labor (Etehad Rah Zahmatkash) - Afghanistan
 La Patria Radical - newspaper of the Puerto Rican MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional)
 Leslie Perez - ACT-UP* Houston
 Siwan Perwer - Kurdish singer
 Molefo Pheto - secretary for education and culture, BCMA/Azania (Britain)
 Popular Revolutionary Movement - Mexico
 Radio Cooperativa - Veneto, Radio Sherwood, Radio Onda Rossa-Rome, Radio Onda Diretta-Milan, Radio Onda D'Urto, Italy
 Iraj Rahmani - poet, writer, Iran
 Prof. Leonardo Albino Ramos - Mexico
 Michael Rather - Center for Constitutional Rights*
 John Reid - Deputy Director, Institute for Aboriginal Development, Australia
 Revolutionary Workers Movement - Bangladesh
 Enrique Gonzalez Ruls - investigator UNAM, Mexico
 Dr. Ali Sadeghi - professor of nuclear physics, political activist, Iran
 Floyd Salas - author, Buffalo Nickel, Pres. of P.E.N./Oakland, U.S.
 Ricardo Salinas - Culture Clash*, U.S.
 Ilyas Salman - Film actor, Turkey
 N. Sanmugathan - general secretary, Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)
 Arthur Scargill - President, National Union of Mineworkers, Britain
 Turhan Selcuk - political cartoonist, Turkey
 Ilhan Seljuk - journalist from the daily Jomhuriyet, Turkey

Ahmad Shamloo - internationally renowned literary figure (poet), nominated for Nobel prize, Iran
 Sindicato Asambleario Trabajadores Telefonica - (Telephone Workers Union), Barcelona, Spain
 Prof. Jose Maria Sison - Chairman, Board of Directors, International Network of Philippine Studies, founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines
 A. Sivanandan - editor, Race and Class, London
 Socialist Party of Workers - Spain
 Society of Black Lawyers - Brixton, Britain
 Bashir Soomro - Coordinating Secretary, Pakistan Peoples Party (Hyderabad), Pakistan
 Hale Soygazi - film artist, Turkey
 Giovanni Russo Spens - member of Parliament, Italy
 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak - author, Columbia Univ., U.S.
 Vince Steele - Area Coordinator, Amnesty International, Charlotte, NC
 Gloria Steinem - author
 Hugh Stephens - Int'l. War Crimes Tribunals on the Gulf War and Peru, Britain
 Server Tanilli - Prof. of Contemporary Turkish History, Germany
 Giorgio Trentin - film critic, editor Cinema Societa, Italy
 Union Delegation D-II-87 of Telesundarias - Zone 3, Oaxaca, Mexico
 Unity Group for Rebellion of the Poor (Gruh Tawhidi Qeyam Mustazafeen) - Afghanistan
 José García Vidal - attorney, Barcelona, Spain
 Luigi Vincl - Senator, Italy
 Safi Wahab - artist, Afghanistan
 Kild Wainwright - Haitian poet, recording artist (Miami)
 George Webber - New York Theological Seminary
 John Edgar Wideman - author, U.S.
 David L. Williams - American Library Assoc., Chair, Int'l Human Rights Task Force, Chicago
 Rev. Elmer Wilson - former Plowshare activist, Kansas City, U.S.
 Louis Wolf - Co-Editor, Covert Action Information Bulletin, Washington, DC, U.S.
 Donald Woods - journalist from South Africa, author of *Biko*
 Can Yucel, Zihni Anadol and 48 poets from Turkey
 Howard Zinn - historian, author, *People's History of the United States*, U.S.
 Jean Ziegler - parliamentarian Conseiller National, Switzerland
 23 lawyers, Supreme Court of Bangladesh
 90 members of Parliament, Nepal
 10,000 people in Nepal
 10 members of Parliament, (HEP Party), Turkey
 90 political prisoners on hunger strike, Buca Prison, Turkey
 150 political prisoners on hunger strike, Elazig Prison, Turkey
 64 autoworkers - Ford plant, Detroit Michigan, U.S.

* Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

Detroit: Key Witness Murdered in Malice Green Case

We received this correspondence from Detroit:

RW:

I was pulling this letter together to update you about the murder of Malice Green in Detroit when I heard that Robert Knox, one of the key witnesses against the police in the Green case, was shot in the head five blocks from where police beat Malice Green to death last November. Knox died less than two days later on the morning of February 11.

In pretrial hearings Robert Knox described the brutality of the murder of Malice Green and how the pigs laughed and joked in the course of the beating and afterwards—when they poured peroxide on their flashlights to wash off Green's blood. Knox told how the police mocked the masses from the neighborhood who watched in horror, tossing a toy gun at their feet and daring them to pick it up.

The police claim Knox's shooting was "drug-related," and before he died the Wayne County prosecutor made a statement insisting it wasn't related to the Malice Green case. Right now enough isn't known to say for sure what happened, but like Robert Knox's mother told the news, "All I know is this happened right in the same place. I want to know who wanted my son dead." Robert Knox was one of several witnesses from Malice Green's neighborhood who stood firm on their testimony despite the fact that they were accused by defense attorneys of being natural liars because they admitted that they were struggling with crack habits. This shooting, if it was pulled off or set up by police, would be a chilling reminder to them that they are especially vulnerable to police attacks disguised as "street crime."

Officially, the powers-that-be have done their best to maintain an illusion that justice will be done in the Green case. There have been no police department statements supporting the accused pigs. In December the four cops charged with second degree murder were fired (with their pensions untouched!) after defense lawyers insisted on an immediate decision on their disciplinary status, demanding that their pay be reinstated.

However, unofficial support for these pigs has been quietly building. In December a dinner organized by fellow police raised over \$20,000, and it was revealed that there continues to be a fraternity of the former STRESS members. This group raised "thousands" of dollars for ex-STRESS member Larry Nevers, one of the two cops who delivered most of the blows to Malice Green. (STRESS was a decoy operation of the Detroit Police Department in the 1970s which was responsible for

numerous murders, mainly of Black people. Coleman Young won his reputation as a militant, pro-Black mayor by campaigning his way into office on an anti-STRESS platform.)

Hearings took place in December. Much was made of the fact that Malice Green had cocaine and alcohol in his body when he was killed. Like Rodney King, the police attorneys were trying to make a case that Malice Green was responsible for his own death, that he was out of control because of cocaine, and that it was necessary to keep hitting him to subdue him. Numerous witnesses, including EMS technicians on the scene, testified that this was not so. They said that Malice Green was incapable of resisting, that he was pulled out of his car "in a stunned state, semi-conscious" and that "he didn't appear to be oriented to his surroundings." Despite this, the blows continued.

And beyond all that, the fact remains that this man was beaten to death in an effort to make him open up his clenched hand and give up what shocked EMS workers described as a bloodsoaked piece of paper that looked like the end of an envelope!

Like Rodney King, Malice Green was beaten just because he pissed the cops off! (And not for the first time. The *Detroit Free Press* reported that in the past Malice Green had "provoked" his own assault by Chicago police intent on prying 2 dollar bills out of his hand!)

The results of the hearings were an outrage. First of all, three of the cops on the scene were never charged. The judge bound over two cops (Nevers and Budzyn) for trial on charges of second degree murder. But pig Lessnau had his charges reduced to assault. Lessnau began his blows to Malice Green after he had been pulled out of the car, dazed and beaten so badly that part of his scalp was torn away from his forehead! And Sgt. Freddie Douglas, the commanding officer on the scene and the only Black cop present, had his charges dismissed. This widely angered the masses of people, and I have yet to meet or hear about a single person who bought Douglas' appeal for sympathy claiming that he had been singled out for "racial reasons."

In January police sources leaked to the papers that intensive riot training had been ordered for the westside precincts. This training was supposed to be top secret. It was feared that word of it alone would inflame the situation. Mayor Coleman Young and police chief Stanley Knox angrily denounced the report as being untrue, and insisted no such training was going on. A couple of days later, a news station tipped off to the location of the "non-training" broadcast pictures of police vehicles fleeing from cameras.

At the time of Green's murder, there was widespread sentiment, especially



The memorial art at the site where Malice Green was murdered by police. Sign on the wall reads "Jail the Killers, Avenge Malice."

among older and more middle class people, that there would definitely be a conviction because L.A. has made the authorities too afraid of a rebellion. Now the news of this training raised suspicions among people broadly, Black and white, that the pigs would get off. And among the people I've been able to talk to since Robert Knox's murder—who have been more respectable, stable people—there is an increasing feeling, even here, that if there is not justice for Malice Green, the response of the people should match up. And there is active debate about not just the need to act, but what it would mean to act if there is an acquittal. The fact that this kind of debate is going on among this section of the people is part of the minefield that the bourgeoisie is tiptoeing through.

The Detroit administration has long banked on its ability to portray itself as being different than other major cities—a Black city with "Black power." It is run by a Black mayor who is known for "trash talking" about the suburbs (although the bulk of his massive campaign fund comes from large corporations and suburban interests). The police department is 50 percent Black, and it is not unusual for Black people to personally know people who have become cops or even to have family members who are cops. Community policing has long been in place here, along with "neighborhood watch" networks (a.k.a. snitches). Partly because of this, increasingly repressive police operations focussed on the Black youth in the devastated, depressed neighborhoods of the city have been tolerated or even supported. Coleman Young and his backers have been among the best defenders of the Amerikkkan system, including especially the oppression of Black people.

All of this threatens to come unravelled as the case develops. Coleman Young tried to claim that the problem is limited to a few racist holdovers from STRESS. But murders by both white and Black Detroit police have increased dramatically over the past five or more years. Recently a Black cop was acquitted for killing a Black man who was shot in the back as he drove away from a house. No order was given for him to stop his car before he was killed. Yearly payments for police brutality cases in Detroit are higher than even Los Angeles. And the city

government and police department are wracked with contradictions, beset by drug scandals and federal investigations, including one that now involves relatives of Coleman Young and Councilman Gil Hill (former police commander made famous for his role in Beverly Hills Cop).

Coming up is a hearing regarding change of venue in the Malice Green case, and the people are watching this closely. The newspapers have over and over raised doubts about whether "the police can get justice in Detroit" and cited the fear of people seeing a change of venue as another "Simi Valley" as a reason why a judge would "unjustly" decide to keep the case in Detroit. A change of venue may not be granted now, but the openings are being prepared for raising it in the future, even in appeals.

Meanwhile, we can say absolutely—there is no justice for a Black man or woman, certainly not for Malice Green, in Detroit or anywhere else in this country. Instead, what they are preparing for is more police. On the same day the papers carried the news of Robert Knox's shooting, Coleman Young announced a proposal—under the guise of responding to the recent robbery and shooting of a youth—to find a constitutional way to cordon off selected neighborhoods for the purpose of stopping all cars and going house-to-house to search for guns.

As the leaflet put out by the RCP said, "What does it say about a society that a whole section of people are criminalized and can expect to be beaten and jailed, even killed, at any time? We don't need to get sucked into their schemes to wait on the courts for justice, or for the police to reform themselves. We have to take on the system through our struggle—that is the only way the people have ever gotten justice anywhere. And while we're battling them back, like that, we need to get ready for the day when we can get rid of this system through revolutionary people's war."

**Justice for Malice Green!
Murdering Pigs—
Straight to Jail, No Bail!
Lock them up. All of them, for life!
It's Right to Rebel!
Revolution Is the
Hope of the Hopeless!
The System Is Guilty,
Let's Bury the System!**



People gather at memorial for Malice Green at the spot where he was murdered.

Photo: Daymon J. Hartley/Detroit Free Press

New York: Police Preparations for More Rebellions

The following tiny article, reprinted here in its entirety, recently appeared in the back pages of the New York paper *Newsday*:

"City dwellers needn't be frightened by the sight of hundreds of riot-gear clad cops racing through the five boroughs by land and air, police said yesterday.

"The initiative, called Disorder Control Training Mobilization, are [sic] simply drills designed to teach the Police Department's seven task forces to quickly respond to civil disorders in boroughs other than [sic] their own, Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly said. The drills began last month with the convergence of some 300 cops upon Yankee Stadium."

What a casual tone to take in reporting about deadly serious preparations for massive, coordinated state violence against certain "city dwellers"—as if to say, "Easy folks, it's not a real riot, it's not the gestapo. It's only a drill"! But the offhand tone can't cover the very real fears of the ruling class that are the source of such "initiatives."

In the past year and a half, the dispossessed of three volatile New York City neighborhoods—Crown Heights, Bushwick, and Washington Heights—have risen up in rebellion and taken the streets. They have disturbed the rotten "normal" order and strained the old-style organizational methods of the repressive apparatus. Almost tasting the smoke from L.A.'s fires, those in charge of New York's law and order are haunted by terrible questions: How can they effectively respond to rebel-

lions that can break out in any number of hot spots, when the police precincts in those neighborhoods are relatively small? What if more than one neighborhood goes up at once? What if alienated middle class youth and others show more sympathy for the uprising(s) than for the system, and the tumult spreads? The Disorder Control Training Initiative is one avenue the pigs are racing down as they attempt to develop new tactics for such scenes.

Faced with worldwide economic and political instability and a "belt-tightening" national agenda, the enemy is training its enforcers to put down the rebellions and outbreaks they fear are ahead. The *Newsday* item courts common middle class fears of the rage of basic masses and at the same time tries to reassure them that the system is in effect and back-handedly prepares public opinion for the brutal force the police will wield.

But all who want to be done with this system can read a radically different mes-

sage between the lines: The bourgeoisie is very worried, and they have much reason to fear the people. The time is ripe for bringing together proletarian science (MLM),

proletarian organization (the Party), and proletarian people, along with their allies, in stepped-up preparation for the soonest revolutionary opportunity. □



Crown Heights, Brooklyn, August 1991.



Rebellion in Washington Heights, NY, July 1992.

El Salvador: Ex-Rebel Commanders Go to Capitalism School

A recent report on U.S. wire services reveals how some former guerrilla leaders in El Salvador have sunk into the most shameful betrayal of the people. For months, the commanders of the FMLN movement have carried out a U.S.-backed agreement—disarming their own guerrilla forces and leaving the people still facing the brutal military of the pro-U.S. government. Now some of these FMLN commanders are lining up to study capitalist methods. Do they hope that this training will help them become partners in Yankee exploitation of the Salvadoran people?

The following is excerpted from the *United Press International* article (February 4):

"SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (UPI)—Former leftist guerrilla leaders began learning the basics of capitalism in a seminar funded by the U.S. government—their enemy during El Salvador's 12-year war.

"The three-day course being offered to mid- and high-level leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN, was part of an effort to 'put a human face on capitalism,' said Peter Romero, charge d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in San Salvador. 'For our part, we have no hidden agenda,' Romero told more than 20 former guerrilla commanders Wednesday at the opening of a series of ten

mini-courses being offered to FMLN leaders at a total cost of \$378,000.

"The courses in macroeconomics, market economics, municipal government, public administration and project evaluation are being conducted by the Costa Rica-based Central American Institute for Business Administration.

"The United States backed the various Salvadoran governments throughout the recently ended conflict, helping to train troops and supplying arms and money in the fight against the rebels....

"Romero told the FMLN leaders: 'You should understand that the themes that will be treated in this mini-course are not topics that divide. They are topics that you will be living and debating during the coming future of this country.' FMLN leader Alberto Enríquez said the courses 'underline the FMLN's resolve to incorporate fully into civilian society.' " □



FMLN commanders

Houston: Outrageous Courtroom Arrest of RCP Supporter

On February 20 in Harris County Criminal Court, sheriffs jumped on and beat a supporter of the RCP. The attack happened in a courtroom where an RW seller was to go on trial. The brother, who is working on the legal case of the RW seller, was walking over to talk to the lawyer for the defendant when he was attacked by the sheriffs. He was arrested and bail was set at \$500. The official charge is "interfering with court procedures," a Class A misdemeanor that could result in jail time.

The incident caused outrage among other people who were in the courtroom and

anyone who heard about it. The attack is only one of a series of outrageous developments in the series of trials of Houston revolutionaries going on now. The week before this, this same trial of the RW seller was postponed when sheriffs beat and arrested a member of the jury panel from which the jury was to be selected! In contrast to the usual situation, the panel was made up overwhelmingly of proletarians and people from the oppressed nationalities. The panel was dismissed.

The authorities are trying to put some revolutionaries away for serious time. The

RW seller faces a year in jail, Travis Morales (a well-known supporter of the RCP in Houston) and a member of La Resistencia face 20 to 30 years in prison and another La Resistencia member faces six months. But the powers are confronted with difficult problems. The defendants are waging a political battle in these cases and filing discovery motions to uncover the work of the political police in Houston. The ruling class does not want the dirty secrets of their political police to be exposed, and with it the true face of their "democracy." That's why they are staging these attacks on

the revolutionaries and trying to prevent them from mounting a legal defense.

The revolutionaries in Houston are undaunted by this. As the arrested brother said, "These are desperate acts that reveal the enemy's weakness. All we are facing is time...they are facing political extinction." □

GET ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TIP!

A powerful war of liberation is raging in Peru—in the Andes highlands, the Amazon rain forests and the shanty-towns of Lima. This **people's** war is rooted among poor Indian peasants and led by an uncompromising Maoist communist party. The revolution has taken a third of the country out of government control. The U.S. is sending Green Beret "advisers" and millions of dollars to prop up their lackey regime, and has set up a Vietnam-style counter-insurgency firebase.

On September 12, 1992 Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru, was taken prisoner by the Peruvian security police operating under CIA direction. The fascist rulers of Peru claimed that the revolution would be defeated soon. But when they tried to humiliate Gonzalo by displaying him in an iron cage, he defiantly declared that the arrest was only "a bend in the road" and urged his comrades to go forward with the struggle. The people's war continues to deliver blows against the reactionary regime and its U.S. backers. And in a few short months, an unprecedented international campaign—involving people from many countries and all walks of life—has gathered force to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo.

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- "Running with the People's Guerrilla Army"—first-hand report from inside a guerrilla base area in the countryside
- "The Yankee Hand Behind the Crisis in Peru"—four-part series by Raymond Lotta exposing how imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, dominates Peru and how this domination has brought suffering and misery to the people in Peru
- "Something New in the New World: A Report on the People's War in Peru"—special magazine section that gives an all-around, informative picture of the Peruvian revolution
- News from around the world on the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo
- Statements by Mumia Abu-Jamal and other political prisoners in support of Chairman Gonzalo and the people's war
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A political education session conducted by guerrillas led by the Communist Party of Peru.

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