



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Immigrant Bashing and Resistance in California

# SOS and the War on Immigrants



On the U.S./Mexico border.

### See page 4

**3** Haiti's Aristide: Liberator or Pawn?



Bob Avakian: Communism Is Not a "European" Ideology

**8**

**2**

New U.S. War Threats Against Iraq



As of October 11, Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for...

## 2 YEARS

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. And a new Constitution, made official last year, reinstates the death penalty which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

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



# New U.S. War Threats Against Iraq

**AS WE GO TO PRESS**—October 8, the Pentagon has announced large movements of troops, combat planes and warships to threaten the country of Iraq. The U.S. imperialists already have warships and thousands of troops permanently stationed within striking distance of the Gulf oil fields. Now more warships carrying jets and cruise missiles, 4,000 U.S. Army troops and two anti-missile batteries are being rushed to the Persian Gulf. Floating warehouses full of tanks and other invasion weapons are moving from the Indian Ocean into the Gulf itself. The decision for even more troop deployment is waiting for the heads of the Pentagon, Defense Secretary Perry and Gen. Shalikashvili, to return from

U.S.-occupied Haiti.

U.S. threats in the Persian Gulf have nothing to do with *preventing* aggression. The U.S. troops and ship movements are new acts of aggression by *U.S. imperialism* in a region it considers strategically vital. With these war threats, the U.S. ruling class shows again that it *demand*s the right to control other countries throughout the world, especially in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. In 1991 the U.S. government did not hesitate to kill more than a hundred thousand Iraqi people to enforce this domination.

The excuse for this new round of U.S. threats is full of hypocrisy: The U.S. government accuses the Iraqi military of

massing troops in a threatening way near Kuwait's northern border. However, it is the U.S. (not Iraq) that has just *invaded and occupied* a neighboring country, Haiti! The U.S. militarily threatens and isolates other countries constantly. In just the last few months the U.S. has bullied North Korea, Cuba, Haiti, and now Iraq again.

Iraq's people are suffering terribly from an embargo imposed on them by the U.S. and the United Nations—an embargo energetically reinforced by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Iraq has been prevented from selling oil internationally, and from buying many necessary goods on the world market—including machinery and supplies to restore sanitation, electricity, bridges,

highways and other key structures destroyed by the U.S. military almost four years ago during the 1990 Gulf war. Many reports document the suffering caused by this embargo, including heightened death rates among Iraqi children. In recent weeks, Iraq was forced to even further cut the food rations of the people.

The U.S. government and military have no right to bully other countries. It has no right to dictate and dominate in the Persian Gulf.

**U.S. HANDS OFF IRAQ!  
U.S. TROOPS OUT OF  
THE PERSIAN GULF!**

## 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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# Haiti's Aristide: Liberator or Pawn?



U.S. occupiers in Haiti.

On September 19, 1994, the U.S. invaded Haiti with massive force, saying its goal was to restore Jean Bertrand Aristide to the office of president and force out the top military leaders that led a coup three years ago. With 18,000 U.S. troops now occupying Haiti, Aristide is scheduled to return to Haiti in mid-October and be part of what the U.S. calls Haiti's "transition to democracy."

Most Haitians are—with good reason—suspicious of the United States. The U.S. has dominated and oppressed Haiti for 80 years and the Haitian people remember that U.S. troops brutally occupied their country for 19 years between 1915 and 1934. The hated Duvalier regime was backed by the U.S. for 27 years. And many Haitians believe the U.S. (or at least a section of the U.S. ruling class) were actually behind the coup against Aristide. But the U.S. invasion promised to force General Cedras and other top military leaders to step down and it promised to restore Aristide to office. And this has led many people to support and even welcome the U.S. occupation.

But as the RW has said: The oppressors of the people cannot be their liberators and NOTHING about this U.S. occupation of Haiti will benefit the Haitian people. The Haitian people need to get rid of all illusions that the U.S. can contribute in any way to their struggle for liberation. And they need to get clear on what role Aristide has and may continue to play—in helping the U.S. to strengthen its imperialist control and domination over Haiti.

There is widespread love and support for Aristide among the Haitian people. This is because of his history of courageous struggle against the forces of reaction in Haiti and because he has become such a hated target of the vicious military government.

Aristide became prominent in the mid-'80s as a courageous opponent of the military governments that took power after a popular uprising forced Baby Doc Duvalier to flee in 1986. He exposed the new regimes as "Duvalierism without Duvalier" and encouraged the masses to rise up against them. He organized and was a voice for the oppressed. He called capitalism a "moral sin" and talked about taking from the rich and giving to the poor. He denounced U.S. interference in Haiti, called for a boycott of U.S.-sponsored elections, and ridiculed the pro-U.S. candidate.

For all these reasons Aristide was fiercely hated by the reactionaries, who tried to kill him many times. In one instance his church was attacked and set on fire while he delivered mass—18 people were burned or hacked to death while Aristide was rescued by the church youth. Seven months after he became president, the military overthrew him and swore he would never come back. And in the three years after the coup, the Cedras regime and civilian "attaches" killed as many as 5,000 Aristide supporters. It is quite understandable that the Haitian people want to see dictator Cedras forced out of office and Aristide returned to the presidency. But this is all being brought about by a U.S. occupation that's aimed at putting Haiti more firmly under the thumb of imperialism. And people need to look very carefully at Aristide's role in this, his program and policies and what class interests they serve.

In particular we should look at the proposal he made to the World Bank (the institution which, dominated by the U.S., works hand in hand with the IMF (International Monetary Fund) to subordinate Third World countries to imperialism), his recent speech to the UN, published reports of how the armed forces will be reorganized, and his actions during the seven months he held office. All these things show that Aristide's program is completely in the service of U.S. domination of Haiti and, as part of that, will even protect the military and other forces that overthrew him and have tormented the people for the past three years. The following two articles analyze key parts of the U.S. plan for Haiti that Aristide has endorsed. The first deals with plans for rebuilding and "reforming" Haiti's military and police forces. The second deals with plans for "restructuring" and rebuilding Haiti's economy.

## U.S. Occupation and "Reforming" the Haitian Military

Some people think when Aristide goes back to Haiti to resume his presidency he will have real power. But as Mao said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." And if you want to know who has power in society, you have to ask: "Who controls the guns?"

Today in Haiti, the answer to this question is obvious—the U.S. has 20,000 troops on the ground and has made clear that if any other force wants to hold onto its weapons, it has to subordinate itself to the United States. As the U.S. embassy spokesman

said, "There's a new sheriff in town." U.S. troops took over the radio stations, ports and airports and surrounded the parliament during its first session. If and when Aristide returns, it will be because the U.S. now runs things in Haiti and has agreed to protect him. And Aristide had to make many deals and promises to accomplish this. He had to assure and reassure the U.S. that he is a "responsible leader," not a "radical." He has had to keep giving speeches about "reconciliation" and "no acts of revenge."

Continued on page 14



People walk past a mural of Aristide at a market in Port-au-Prince.

**U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Haiti!**

**U.S. Troops Out of Haiti!**

**Support the Struggle of the Haitian People Against Imperialism!**

**Down with the Haitian Army and Macoute Death Squads  
Only Revolution Can Liberate the Haitian People!**

**Stop U.S. Crimes Against Refugees - Let the Haitians In!**



## Immigrant Bashing and Resistance in California

# SOS and the

"Nothing since the Iraq War has shaken the teaching staff and the students as 187 has begun to do. Nothing previous has so disrupted the normal teaching patterns of work at school." This statement by a teacher of English as a Second Language pretty much sums up the social tremors now beginning to rock life here in California.

The State elections are now four weeks away and the issue of so called "illegal immigration" has become the centerpiece of the elections—the question that the governor's and senate seat races are turning on. The litmus test in the media for all the candidates is whether they are rabid enough on the issue of immigration. Polls are telling us that 60 to 70 percent of the electorate are "anti-immigrant" and the anti-immigrant proposition 187 is expected to pass—though they concede that the margin

is closing. Proposition 187, called "Save Our State" or S.O.S. by its perpetrators, is a sweeping anti-immigrant measure on the November 8 California ballot—which would deny undocumented immigrants education, medical care, social services, and subject immigrants to new levels of police-state persecution.

This hate-filled atmosphere of hysteria blaring from TV screens, political adds and newspaper headlines is giving rise to talk of "isn't this what happened in Nazi Germany"—in grocery store lines and at bus stops, over coffee breaks in law offices and lunch breaks in warehouses and hospitals. From project sand lots and end-of-the-month food lines to upper-crust dinner parties—political debate is going on over whether "times are just too hard to help anyone else" and if the resources and

### A Report from RCP Comrades in California

benefits of the country should go only to U.S. citizens. (Typically the people hurting the least are the most concerned with how little there is to go around these days in California's worst recession in 70 years.)

In immigrant neighborhoods like Pico Union everyone is discussing the details of 187 and how this election may so dramatically effect their lives. People are worried and angry and trying to figure out what to do next.

Two years or even a year ago a lot of people could hardly imagine that there would be serious danger of expelling over 300,000 children from the California schools. They couldn't have imagined that the state's governor would be advocating overturning the 14th amendment of the U.S. Constitution by denying citizenship to children born here if their parents are not citizens and denying undocumented people the basic legal rights of U.S. citizens, or that the Clinton administration would be taking the first steps to institute a national ID card by testing it out first in California, New York, Texas, Florida and Illinois. Now there is outrage and disbelief. For those moving to oppose SOS it's just now really dawning on people what it is going to mean if it passes.

#### Rising Resistance

There is something else is going on too—a wave of resistance is picking up momentum.

On Monday the 3rd, 500 students walked out of Jefferson High School in Los Angeles in protest of 187, and on Friday students at Southgate and Jordan High Schools also walked out. On October 12, students in the Bay Area will be marching from the Cal campus down Telegraph and across the Berkeley-Oakland border to the new Federal Building in downtown Oakland.

About 2,000 people marched in the San Francisco Mission district on October 8, and there is much anticipation for the demonstration being called in Los Angeles on October 16. In May, 30,000 people marched in one of the largest Latino protests in L.A.'s history. For the October march a large Latino turnout is expected to be joined by new allies who don't want their immigrant brothers and sisters to feel alone.

Trade unions that some might have expected to take a chauvinist position that the "illegals" are stealing the jobs of American workers are instead endorsing the October 16 rally. A flyer advertising busses taking



U.S. border patrol agents block the bridge between El Paso and Juarez during a protest by Mexicans against Operation Blockade, September 21, 1993.

## L.A. High School Students Walk

Last week students at several high schools in Los Angeles walked out in protest of Proposition 187. The RW received two reports about these walkouts. The first story is based on a correspondence from the South Central L.A. chapter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB):

On Monday, October 3, the students of Jefferson High School broke out in a big way to protest the 187 bill. The students were furious over the fact that the government is now trying to ban the children of undocumented immigrants from going to school and deny undocumented immigrants medical care.

Jefferson is a South Central high school which is 85 percent Latino and 15 percent Black. Most Latino students there are recent immigrants themselves or their parents are immigrants.

A handful of students decided to take responsibility to organize a walkout. They made up flyers in Spanish and English, and for a week the word went out: Jefferson students were going to take a stand and break out of school.

The South Central chapter of the RCYB heard about the walkout, united with it and joined it.

One brigadier described the scene: "On walking up to the school, it was obvious something was up. A school police car sat outside, and two school pigs were walking around to all the students who were kicking

it on the grass outside, telling them to leave or go back to school. The front gate of the school is made of steel bars, and there were more than the regular amount of students jumping the gate to get out of school."

The RCYB passed out "Amerikkka's War on Immigrants and the Battle to Defeat It" fact sheets and RWs through the bars. Crowds of students—made bolder by this unexpected backup—gathered around those who got them.

Suddenly, yelling was heard from inside the school. Some young women reported that everybody was leaving their classes. Somebody yelled out to the students filling the hallway, "What's up with the walkout? Walk out!"

A couple minutes later, 500 students came storming down the street. They'd gotten out from the back parking lot, and they were lively! They cheered and shouted, "No Prop 187!" When they got to the front of the school, they were greeted with cheers from those who were waiting on the outside. Immediately, the question was raised—"We're out, what do we do now?" People grabbed up copies of RWs, fact sheets and flyers opposing U.S. occupation of Haiti. Some students took up leadership roles on the spot, and there was a lot of collective strategizing going on.

One of the streets by the school became the people's property. Youth spilled out into the street and marched around the school, calling on the students inside to join them. Security guards blocked the gates, and

crowds of students watched from behind them. Sometimes, two or three people jumped the gates, and were warmly welcomed by the crowd. People held RWs in the air and shouted "No Prop 187" or "Fuck Prop 187!" The word started going around that someone should speak, so one of the insta-leaders climbed up a light pole on the corner—shouting slogans from there—and people in the street cheered him on.

The whole corner was blocked, and a couple of young women decided to sit down in the middle of the street. Others joined and the rest of the crowd surrounded them—protecting them from any cars that might try to pass through. More police arrived, and they charged the crowd that had taken over the whole street corner. Two RCYB members were singled out and arrested.

But the students weren't giving up. They regrouped and marched around the school again. The students still inside the school made signs for the marchers to carry—"No Prop 187" and "Fuck Pete Wilson"—and threw them out of the windows.

Another YB member was targeted by the school administration and police, but the youth looked out for her—so every time the police got too close to her, they made sure she was out of their reach.

After the second trip around the school, some students approached the YB with the question of "Where do we go now?" A call to go to city hall was raised, and after some

debate, the whole crowd yelled out, "City Hall!" LAPD cars were arriving by this time, the pigs inside wearing riot helmets. They blocked the streets, forcing the youth to change direction and head toward Carver Junior High, where youth have a history of being really rebellious. Near Carver, the students were pushed back by school police. Although the Carver students didn't break out, it's rumored that students inside were running through the halls.

The Jefferson students, intent on uniting other youth, turned to Manual Arts High School, about two miles away. At about this time, police helicopters started showing up, and LAPD and school police rode alongside the marchers. About halfway there, things got tensed up. The students spilled into the street, and the police ordered them back on the sidewalk. Two students were arrested, and students shouted to the police that nobody was going back to school until all the people arrested were released.

The march pressed forward to Manual Arts. There hadn't been any organizing for a walkout there, so only a few students managed to get out. About this time the two arrested RCYB members who'd been released caught back up with the march again. Everybody wanted to know if they were OK and to give them a welcome handshake back to the march.

The trip back to Jefferson was inspiring. People were tired but they walked down the street freely, happy. People had a taste of



# War on Immigrants

people to the L.A. rally is endorsed by the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and the San Francisco and San Mateo Labor Councils, the IAM Local 1910 and the California Conference of Machinists. Unions with large Latino memberships like the ILGWU and the SEIU, which is conducting a union drive among L.A.'s hotel workers, and the Latin American Truckers Association are also mobilizing. The United Farm Workers which a decade ago was still calling for the exclusion of undocumented workers in unionized fields, has reversed its position and is now conducting organizing drives in the central valley, signing up the undocumented and opposing 187.

There are lots of smaller acts too that reflect the opposition mounting to defeat 187. Committees of hospital employees and teachers are beginning to form to better organize and spread the movement. In Northern California teachers from different schools formed an ad hoc committee to strengthen the teachers' resolve. One idea

they are taking up is the organization of an immigrants rights day where all the teachers will devote class time to a discussion of immigrants rights and 187. Teachers are writing letters and trying to connect up with teachers from other schools and districts.

The *Los Angeles Times* recently ran extensive coverage of the opposition to 187 from L.A.'s clergy who are preaching sermons about the immorality of 187. Battles of dueling bible quotations are erupting between the religious right and California's mainstream clergy. Pastors in the suburbs are trying to determine the means of addressing this question to congregations who are plainly divided over the issue. The San Francisco office of Citizens Against 187—the main organization getting out the vote—is also making available a pledge of resistance to not comply with 187 if it passes. An organizer there reported that she expected to go out and do lots of organizing but she hasn't been able to get out of the office because so many people are coming

in for materials.

Immigrants bussing tables and working the counters at restaurants are feeling bold enough to sport "No on 187" buttons and some fast food managers are allowing immigrant employees to get out "No on 187" material along with the fast food orders.

Pledges of non-compliance are beginning to be written and circulated in the medical, social service and teaching professions. And doctors are writing letters to the editor and speaking to the press about being willing to go to jail rather than turn in their patients to the INS.

There are signs of distress and disagreement in ruling circles about all this. The reactionary 187 initiative penned by two former directors of the INS could backfire on the U.S. ruling class—pushing educators, medical workers and others to defy the law.

Some ruling class figures—like Janet Reno, Kathleen Brown (Democratic candidate for Governor in California) and Barbara Jordan, who heads the bipartisan panel on immigration reform—are saying that "187 is ill-considered" and "goes too far."

Continued on page 6

**Todos somos ilegales! We are all illegals!**

**Stop the U.S. Government's War on Immigrants!**

**The unity of the people is more powerful than the government's police-state program!**

**No compliance! Serve the people regardless of the law!**

**Don't be a snitch for the INS!**

**Down with 187!**

**Down with Operation Gate Keeper and the Militarization of the U.S.-Mexican Border!**

**Aquí estamos! Aquí nos quedamos! No nos vamos!**

**Out Against SOS**

their own power and it was sweet. One young woman said, "Mrs. Preciado [the principal] said we should protest if we want to, but in a peaceful way—we should get our parents to vote against it. Our parents are immigrants. Most of them don't have papers—they couldn't vote if they wanted to. So this is the way we have to get our message out." A 15-year-old immigrant youth was really curious about the RCYB and kept expressing his amazement that Black people and white people were out there standing with Latino immigrants.

The youth taunted the police who followed them, waving the Mexican flag in front of their windows, shouting, laughing, cheering, and practically dancing their way back to the school. A Spanish news station ran alongside getting interviews with the youth and supporters.

Back at the school, people were almost ready to end it up—but not before they got their message on the news cameras, and not until the two students still in the back of a police car were released. The youth talked to the cameras in groups of 20, holding up the RWs that read "Todos Somos Ilegales!" Within minutes the youth appeared from the back of the police car, and a cheer went up as the students surrounded them, giving them hugs and words of inspiration.

The whole event was tremendous. The masses were "voting their feet" as Lenin said. And the RCYB was in the midst of it—it was a mix that makes nightmares for the powers-that-be. A collective spirit

prevailed, from on-the-spot strategizing to demanding the release of arrested students. All different kinds of youth were part of this, and their experiences came together to strengthen the whole thing. No "race riots" started, no gang fights jumped off, nobody got jacked, and nobody went off on someone else for looking at them the wrong way.

And most important, they kicked off the kind of resistance that is needed to defeat Prop 187 and the whole war on immigrants. The RW looks forward to their next move.

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*This report of another L.A. high school walkout later in the week is taken from a reader's correspondence:*

I had a very interesting morning today (Friday, Oct. 7). I was sitting in this donut shop with a chicano youth discussing the attacks on immigrants and what it was going to take to defeat it—when two young chicana women started talking to the clerk on how they had just walked out of Southgate High School in protest of Proposition 187. They were so excited as they told how half of the school had walked out.

They said that this morning before school, some students were passing out a flyer that said: If you hate 187, walk out after homeroom. It was passed throughout the different classrooms. One of the young women said, "I was not going to ever walk out of school without permission, but then I thought this is important enough for me to

walk out—I don't care if I get caught. But what really surprised me was that there were a lot of white and Black students that also walked out. Man, even some teachers walked out." The other young woman said very proudly, "I was born here, but I still hate what they are doing and I hate 187, so I was happy to walk out."

As soon as people walked out they went to city hall. They wanted to go inside, but all the doors were closed. So some students jumped on top of a convertible patrol car and tore the roof, others started to throw bottles and rocks at the rest of the patrol cars that were parked. The police started to surround the students, but then someone said, "Let's go to Jordan High and Southgate Junior High and get more students to walk out with us." As soon as they got to both schools, the administration and the cops locked the gates, and the cops chased the students out with patrol cars.

I asked the two women if they wanted to drive around and look for the others, and they said together, "Yes, yes!!" First we ran into a group of chicano male youth who said they had walked out of Jordan High. They said a lot of the crowd had gone back to Southgate, so we headed there. A block before we got to the school, we ran into

another group of youth. They talked about what happened: "Everyone was marching back to Southgate. When we got back the police was waiting for us. First they started arresting people, but some people were fighting back by throwing rocks and bottles at the patrol cars. Then they threw teargas. By this time students just started to run everywhere." Someone else added, "People were really angry so people took to the streets and started to fight back by throwing things. But having the police attack us is not going to stop anything, because we are going to do this every Friday."

I told the two chicana students this should be written in the RW, because one thing this 187 is doing is it's trying to tell immigrants nobody wants you, you are all alone. This really excited them. They especially liked the idea that this story was going to be read by garment workers and other immigrants. They said it was important that people did not feel alone; that people knew that students at Southgate also hated 187.

It occurred to me later that the day's event had vividly answered the question: How do you stop the attacks on immigrants? □



Fiesta Broadway, Los Angeles, May 1, 1994.

**Those who know what it means to be outcasts, downcasts, slaves, illegals and rebels—in every language—must stand together and strengthen our ability to do away—once and for all—with a system where people are hunted like animals and denied basic rights because they are "foreigners."**



# War on Immigrants

Continued from page 5

They say the way to go about it is to stop immigration at the border as they are trying to do now with Operation Gate Keeper and to set up a national registry of social security numbers that all job applications would be checked against. Barbara Jordan, in a speech to the National Press Club, said, "Illegal immigrants don't have a right to be here.... They broke the law to get here. They never intended to be part of our social community and they are not entitled to benefits." These figures in the ruling class want to criminalize people who cross the U.S. border to work and survive. They want to take measures just as extreme as prop 187, but they don't want to unleash protest and opposition. And they would rather register everyone they can first, implementing repressive laws step by step and in ways that are more confusing to people—all the better to deport, round up, control and isolate people later. (See accompanying article "The Jordan Commission's Shameful Proposal," p. 7.)

## Defeating S.O.S.

RCP comrades here in California have been among the people who are fighting back and working to defeat 187. Immigrants, students and Democratic Party activists have been asking us what position we as revolutionary communists take on 187, and we are telling people that it would be a good thing if 187 went down to defeat as part of the overall developing movement to stop the U.S. government's war on immigrants.

The forces who put this reactionary initiative on the ballot are seeking to push the repression against immigrants to new levels and to get a "popular mandate" for a whole program of police-state measures. The politicians, police and the INS are all saying that they are only carrying out the will of the people, that people are tired, and public opinion has turned against the immigrants.

The entire boozhwah state machinery

from the courts and the bureaucracy to the media are working overtime to change the public perception of immigrants from hard-working people with a work ethic to one of freeloaders and criminals—as a "foreign invasion" threatening to overwhelm the state.

When the elections happen in November a large percentage of people in the state—especially the poor and oppressed people—will not be voting. Most importantly, the very people whose fate is being decided—who have enriched and fueled the sunbelt economy with their labor and paid taxes they will never be able to collect on—are disenfranchised and will not be allowed any say at all at the polls. But we believe the



A Mexican-American neighborhood in Houston.

poor and disenfranchised have a powerful role to play in defeating proposition 187 and against the whole war on immigrants. Through many forms of mass struggle beyond the electoral arena the actions of the dispossessed can change the terms of things, awakening and influencing broader sections of the population.

For people who do vote, the least they could do is say no to the anti-immigrant climate being created and reject 187—to deprive the government of the mandate they want to use against the people. But we say: if you do vote, don't vote for politicians, vote *against* 187. For many this may be a first act in taking a stand opposing the clampdown on the immigrant people. But while the denial of a mandate can be an important defeat for the government and victory for the people, it's also critical for people to learn through this process that this reactionary offensive against immigrants will never be decisively defeated by just voting.

Initiatives like 184 (the 3-strikes initiative) and 187 come from the needs of the imperialist state which is driven by dire necessity to implement these police-state measures. Every provision of 187 is already being enacted as law or is in the process of being proposed by the courts, bipartisan panels and legislative committees, or is already being carried out extra-legally (i.e., the widespread cooperation between the

police and the MIGRA in most cities).

In July, for example, the California Appellate Court ruled that California officials have the right to question medical patients about their immigration status. In March a new state law went into effect requiring applicants for driver's licenses to prove they are legal residents. The state has prohibited local governments from passing "sanctuary laws" and can cut off all state funds to those who do. Forty-five million dollars have been allocated to militarizing the California/Mexican border with all the instruments of war for beefing up the border patrol and deploying the California National Guard. Operation Gate Keeper is now attempting to blockade the San Diego/Tijuana border. A federal project to test out forerunners of a national ID card is being proposed for five states.

As we have pointed out before, elections are not the basic means through which the real decisions are made. Their primary purpose is legitimizing the system and the policies and actions of the ruling class and giving them the mantle of "popular mandate," as well as channeling and controlling the political activity of the masses of people. But a defeat for 187 can deprive the power structure of the mandate they want and play a positive role in the movement if many people also learn through this that their actions cannot be left there—that defeating these measures is going to require



Immigrant agricultural worker in California.

## Proposition 187

These are the major provisions of the anti-immigrant, "SOS" Proposition 187, which will appear on the November 8 California ballot:

**Education:** Court rulings have held that undocumented children have a right to elementary and secondary public school education. Immigrants without papers may also attend state colleges and universities, but most are charged non-resident rates. SOS would ban immigrants without papers from all public schools, colleges and universities. Parents or guardians of all school children, including U.S. citizens, would have to prove legal residence. School administrators would have to report students and parents "suspected" of being "illegal immigrants."

**Health Services:** SOS would deny non-emergency care to anyone who cannot prove legal status, including prenatal and postnatal services.

**Social Services:** Federal and state laws already bar undocumented immigrants from most major benefits, such as welfare and unemployment insurance. SOS would cut off all kinds of state and locally funded programs that are directed towards youth, the elderly, the blind and others with special needs.

**Cooperation with the Cops:** SOS would require state, city and county law enforcement authorities to determine the status of anyone suspected of being undocumented by the INS. This would include crime victims and witnesses. Anyone arrested would be questioned about citizenship and anyone suspected of illegal status would be reported to the INS and the state attorney general. Current law bars police departments from turning over those arrested to the INS or the police acting as INS agents. 187 would be a basis to overturn this.

**Fake Documents:** SOS would create new state felonies with stiffer penalties for the use of fake documents to prove residency.

187 would require a two-thirds vote in Legislature or by voters to amend provisions in any way, at any time in the future.

## A Nazi Plan for Immigrants *The Jordan*

On September 30 the "United States Commission on Immigration" gave the Congress a report recommending new repressive measures to be carried out by the federal government against immigrants. These proposed measures aim to further isolate and criminalize undocumented immigrants—especially people from Mexico and Central America.

One of the main recommendations by the "bi-partisan" federal commission is to deny almost all public services and assistance—like health care, housing, social services and education—to immigrants without documents. Barbara Jordan, the commission chairperson, said, "If a person is here unlawfully, he should be entitled to no benefits." Jordan said that undocumented immigrants should be allowed "tax-paid benefits" only in emergency situations for specific aid—like emergency health care.

Federal and state laws already bar immigrants without legal papers from most major benefits, such as welfare and unemployment insurance. The Jordan commission wants to extend and tighten up these regulations. The anti-immigrant Proposition 187 on ballot in California includes provisions to kick "illegal" immigrant kids out of school and deny medical care to sick immigrants. The Jordan commission report shows that the Clinton administration intends to carry out similar measures on a national scale.

This cold-hearted recommendation is based on a lie—that undocumented immigrants supposedly "cost taxpayers money" by using public services. The power structure is trying to promote the outlook that "we can't afford to help everybody," and they want to point the blame at immigrants for deterioration in public services and other problems of this society. The truth is that U.S. imperialist domination has plundered and ruined the economies of Mexico and other Latin American countries—forcing many op-

pressed people from those areas to come to "El Norte" in a desperate search for a means of survival. Once in this country, immigrants without papers work in sweatshop factories, backbreaking farm work and other low-paying jobs—and the capitalists make huge profits off their cheap labor. The immigrant workers even pay taxes in various forms, and most of them do not use public services because they know they will be turned down and might be reported to La Migra. One report issued in 1994 concluded, "Immigrants generate significantly more in taxes paid than they cost in services required." Yet immigrants are being made into scapegoats for the crisis of this whole system.

Another major recommendation by the Jordan commission has a definite Big Brother odor to it: setting up a national, centralized computerized registry of the names and social security numbers of *all* citizens and legal immigrants authorized to work in the United States. All employers would be required to check with this computer registry and obtain federal government approval before job applicants could be hired. The Jordan commission recommended that the Clinton administration immediately start pilot programs of the computer verification system in five states—Texas, California, Arizona, Florida and New Jersey.

When the computer registry proposal was first unveiled last August, it was criticized by the American Civil Liberties Union, Latino organizations, Chinese-American groups, Jewish groups, immigration lawyers and others. They said it would increase discrimination against not only immigrants but many other people. Jordan, who promotes herself as a "champion of civil rights," defended her commission by saying that she would never support any laws that increased discrimination or invaded privacy. But in reality, the Jordan commission proposals would deny all rights to *millions* of immigrants—making

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going beyond voting.

For people to stay honest and true to their principles and convictions and to really defeat the police-state measures that are under way, it is going to require that large numbers of people decide to stand outside the law.

Pledges of resistance are being broadly distributed and signed—and even if 187 does not pass, these pledges need to be given the dignity of action. 187 need not pass to endanger the present situation of medical patients. People in the medical profession are going to be asked to require patients to reveal their legal status—organized defiance of this needs to begin now!

Some political forces in the movement have argued that large demonstrations or high school walkouts are an unnecessary distraction from the real task of getting out the vote. Or that these kinds of things are only going to scare voters into voting for 187. The truth is quite the opposite.

The more struggle and mass initiative there has been, the more the question has been seriously debated and the more people—who are confused or unaware of the real provisions of 187—have changed their minds. The more large numbers of people in unions and professional associations have pledged to not comply with this law if it passes, the more the powers-that-be have fretted about 187 “going too far.”

Civil rights sit-in’s and anti-war draft card burnings in the ‘60s brought the issues to millions of ordinary people who had to wonder why the convictions of the protesters were so strong. When GIs heard about violent confrontations going on all over campuses at home, and put it together with their treatment in the army, thousands refused to fight the war. Watts, Detroit, the Rodney King Rebellion and the armed uprising in Chiapas are all examples of how things really change—and how when the people stand up to seriously fight the power structure they have won nationwide and worldwide respect and support.

*The more the oppressed themselves fight back, the more they stand up—united as a people who demand to be treated as human beings and not as victims who go along with being denied basic rights—the more allies they will have and stronger the movement to defeat the war on immigrants will be.*

On the other hand, if people limit themselves to voting or are under the illusion

that just voting prop 187 down will make people safe, the more demobilized and weakened the movement will be.

### Defeating the War on Immigrants

187 is a major reactionary initiative that comes from the highest levels of the land and serves the needs of a U.S. empire in crisis and decay.

The U.S. imperialists envision a New World Order where profitability improves by getting rid of old barriers and allows U.S. capital to more ruthlessly exploit the people, especially in countries like Mexico and the rest of Latin America. NAFTA will drive down wages and living conditions in Mexico and in the U.S. The break-up of the ejido system in Mexico is expected to drive ten million peasants off the land over the next ten years. Under the system of capitalist exploitation more people from Mexico will be driven here to barely survive and more Americans will find their wages driven down and their privileged lifestyles in decline.

The U.S. imperialists hope to exploit the new world order of NAFTA and GATT and prevent the social explosions that these same imperialist economic plans may give rise to. They want American workers to see the cause of their problems as “illegal immigrants.” They want to control immigration to the U.S. from countries like Mexico and not lose hold of the social fabric in states like California—whose population is rapidly becoming a majority of oppressed nationality peoples.

They want an election where “middle class” Americans vote to take away all rights of immigrants and where the poor are locked up under “3 strikes and you’re out.” They want an atmosphere where being poor is a crime and Americans are divided along race lines. The government wants a polarization where the broad middle of society is turned against the immigrants. And they want to militarize the U.S./Mexico border so that the border does not become a faultline that shakes their whole system apart.

The future of people on both sides of the U.S./Mexican border are becoming more and more inseparably linked and giving new meaning to the international communist slogan “Workers and Oppressed People of the World Unite.”

The solution to the problems of racism,



Mexican immigrant in Southern California waits for an offer of a day labor job.

poverty and no jobs—or jobs that don’t pay what it takes to live with any dignity—is Proletarian Revolution.

The solution to the problems of Mexico being dominated by the U.S.—where U.S. corporations can pay \$3 a day and poison the land with impunity, where millions of peasants have no land and no food—is New Democratic Revolution.

The fate and process of revolution in both countries is bound together like no other time in history.

### We Are All Illegals

The crisis of the imperialist system is throwing up ugliness like 187 that concentrates the direction of the future. Moments like these are potentially turning points in history.

In November democrats and republicans alike are calling for getting tough on illegal aliens. Thousands are being mobilized in opposition to this attack—focused for the moment around 187. The polls as usual are telling people how to vote and what to think—but a lot can happen in a month, especially if there is mass opposition in the streets telling people what the real deal is.

If 187 passes, the movement must meet the challenge and organize mass non-compliance and resistance and not be disoriented by the media blitz that will declare the people of the state overwhelmingly in support of cracking down on “illegals.” If they had taken a vote in the early days of the Vietnam War to



Immigrant workers in Los Angeles.

support the war it would have passed—but that would not have meant the war was right or that public opinion on this would not change, as indeed it did. At times like this it is helpful to remember that Adolf Hitler was voted into office, and a yes vote on 187 should be not be accepted any more than the election of Hitler should have been.

If 187 is voted down people should act to see that the movement of opposition does not get lulled and demobilized and that instead people re-double their efforts to move forward to defeat the overall war on immigrants that will continue to come down. Only the struggle and unity of the people can defeat the U.S. government’s war on immigrants! □

# Commission’s Shameful Proposal

them “non-persons” forced further underground or driving them out of the country. And the computer registry proposal would increase the federal government’s ability to check up and keep tabs on everybody. The director of ACLU’s immigrant rights project pointed out, “As a practical matter, a computer registry does not work without a national identity card in one form or another.”

Other recommendations by the commission include collecting more data on immigration, cooperation with other countries to stop “illegal immigration,” and tighter “security” measures at the borders.

The Jordan commission recommendations are shameful proposals from representatives of a sick system. They want those who are defined as “legal” to treat those labeled “illegal” as outcasts. This is an at-

tempt to promote divisions among the people and disguise the real source of the problem—this system and the oppressors who run it. The immigrant people are our brothers and sisters. The war on immigrants is NOT in the interests of the masses of people—proletarians of all nationalities as well as those in the middle class.

In Hitler’s Germany, the Nazis passed laws that denied more and more rights to Jews and other people and made them into outcasts. Those who remained silent—thinking that these attacks did not affect them—soon found the repressive measures extending to them as well. This history must not be repeated.

As the Jordan commission proposals indicate, the system’s war on immigrants is being raised to new levels of brutality. Last year 400 border patrol agents—armed with

guns, clubs and the latest high-tech equipment—swooped down on El Paso/Ciudad Juarez in “Operation Blockade.” Their mission: to prevent Mexican people from crossing the Río Grande to their jobs, schools and families.

In February of this year, Attorney General Janet Reno announced a two-year, half-billion dollar battle plan for new attacks on immigrants. The heart of this plan involves intensifying the military blockade on the border between Tijuana, Mexico and San Diego, California. “Operation Gatekeeper”—which recently began on the Tijuana/San Diego border—includes miles of 12-foot-high solid steel fencing, high-intensity lights, motion detectors, trucks equipped with night vision devices, and a big increase in the number of border patrol agents. Border patrol officials brag that this military opera-

tion has resulted in big increases in numbers of immigrants caught while trying to cross the border. The liberal imperialist newspaper *New York Times* gave the operation high marks for cutting border crossings—but they also noted that reports of immigrants being “roughed up” by border patrol agents are coming in. Behind the “high-tech” measures the government is instituting on the border is ugly pig violence against immigrants.

The ruling class of this country is stepping up their vicious war on immigrants—and they want everyone else to be a willing participant, or at least to go along in silence. The government hopes that they can create an apartheid wall between immigrants and other sections of the people. They need to be proven wrong by a strong and broad movement of resistance. □



Jewish people being rounded up by Hitler’s police in Nazi Germany.



Immigrants being rounded up by INS agents in the U.S.



# Once Again on: Communism

by Bob Avakian

*The following is part of a tape-recorded talk made recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Excerpts from this talk are being run as a series in the Revolutionary Worker. They have been edited for publication. This is Part 15 and the concluding part in the series. Along with it we are reprinting the article "Communism Is Not a 'European' Ideology," first published in the RW February 17, 1991.*



Bob Avakian,  
Chairman of the RCP, USA.

I recently read and generally recommend: *India Waits* by Jan Myrdal. His approach there to the question of Marxism and its applicability, particularly in the Third World, is very interesting. He actually takes up the point that Marx and Engels, in their somewhat sketchy analysis of Indian society and its history, were flawed and wrong in some significant ways. More study needs to be done and we have to investigate with others—particularly people in that part of the world, get their views on this and so on—but nevertheless I think there is a basic point which is important here. Myrdal brings out some ways in which, at a minimum, the analysis by Marx and Engels of Indian society and its historical development was superficial and flawed. And he brings forth some analysis in contrast to what Marx and Engels said. But, at the same time, his attitude and orientation are very interesting: he doesn't say, "this shows how Marx and Engels were Eurocentric and European chauvinists." (Myrdal himself is European but, as comes through in this book, he is consciously working at rejecting Eurocentrism and European chauvinism—this is a basic principle with him—trying constantly to go up against that.) He doesn't draw the erroneous conclusion that Marx and Engels had nothing correct or important to say about India or Asia generally, or other parts of the world outside Europe, that they were just Eurocentric, and so on.

As I pointed out a few years ago in the article "Communism Is Not a 'European' Ideology," there was a certain shaping of the viewpoint of Marx and Engels by European society, and that was understandable in the historical conditions in which they lived and worked. But, first of all, Marxism has developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which encompasses much more than Marx's and Engels's contributions, as great and as fundamental as they are. And MLM certainly does not have a Eurocentric "tilt" to it. And second of all, the development of communist ideology into MLM certainly doesn't invalidate but incorporates in its overall synthesis the fundamentals, and much of the particular analysis—most of the particular analysis—made by Marx and Engels.

Myrdal points out that the real problem is that some people have gone around in the international communist movement treating everything ever written by the leading lights—including Marx and Engels in particular as the founders—as if it is holy writ, and not subjecting it to any kind of analysis. More particularly, he notes, there has been a tendency not to distinguish between worked-out thoroughgoing analyses of questions, such as what Marx covers in *Capital*—where Marx spent years investigating, studying, sifting and synthesizing—vs. what are more or less off-hand comments and not intended to be any kind of thorough analysis. You can read through works by Marx, for example, where there's a paragraph on this or that country, or correspondence written by Marx where a few thoughts are thrown out, and these have been treated by some people as if they had been done with the same thoroughness as things that were the product in some cases of years of study, analysis, and synthesis.

Myrdal emphasizes that this is more a methodological problem of people who almost turn this into religious writ, rather than reflecting anything that is fundamentally flawed in the theory itself. This is a very important point of orientation and methodology. And actually *applying* Marxism—as it has developed to MLM—to the situation in all these different countries, including India, as well as to the world situation as a whole, is the way to transform these societies and the world in a thoroughly revolutionary way. Nothing else can do this.

I think Myrdal's attitude and approach is very refreshing. Myrdal himself has his limitations—and here I'm not attempting to discuss his views and methods in any kind of overall sense—but nevertheless his approach to this is very instructive. He doesn't throw the baby out with the bath water: he recognizes certain things—certain errors and limitations in some particular comments or analyses by Marx and Engels—but he also recognizes that all people, even the most far-seeing, even the ones who have made great breakthroughs in human thought, such as Marx—who made a most fundamental breakthrough in human thought, and also practice—still such people are shaped by the conditions and times of which they are a part, and they can't completely overstep these. That's why the science must and does keep on developing and broadening and deepening. This is a very important point, but all this underlines at the same time the importance of continuing to refute in a deeper, more all-around way, from different angles, this notion of communism as a "European" ideology. It underlines the importance of bringing forward, in opposition to this, the understanding that communism is the ideology of the international proletariat. □



Maoist revolutionaries  
in New Delhi, India



# Is Not a "European" Ideology



## Our Ideology Is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Communism Is Not a "European" Ideology – It Is the Ideology of the International Proletariat

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

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

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

### Historical Development of Communist Ideology

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

This was a time when the industrial revolution associated with the rapid development of capitalist society was in full swing in parts of Europe. Massive technological changes were taking place and major scientific developments were being made and harnessed to this capitalist

enterprise. Together with this rapid development of capitalist industrialization, the social relations of capitalism were also becoming more and more obvious. In particular, it was becoming more and more clear that the interests of the two main classes in capitalist society—the bourgeoisie (the capitalist exploiters) and the proletariat (the working class exploited by the capitalists)—were in fundamental conflict with each other.

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

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

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

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

### The Russian Revolution— A Bridge to the East

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

This revolution not only brought about the emancipation of the workers from capitalist exploitation. It also brought about the liberation of more than a hundred nations and national minorities who had been cruelly oppressed under the Russian empire. Before the proletarian revolution this empire had been known as "the prison-

house of nations." But as a result of the October Revolution this "prison-house of nations" was replaced by the Soviet Union. For several decades, first under the leadership of Lenin and then of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union was a genuine, revolutionary union of the peoples of the country, on the basis of equality and with the proletariat holding political power.

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

Although attempts at proletarian revolution in other countries at that time were defeated—either led astray or crushed outright—still the revolution led by Lenin changed the face of the entire world. One of the most important things it did was to spread communism to the East, linking it with the struggles of the colonized peoples for their emancipation from imperialism.

Continued on page 10



# Communism Is Not a "European" Ideology

Continued from page 9

As Mao Tsetung so powerfully put it, the salvos of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China, and once the Chinese revolutionaries discovered and took up this ideology they were finally able to take the road leading to complete liberation.

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

## Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

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

This revolution was aimed at making further radical changes in the relations between people and in people's thinking. At the same time it was aimed at preventing the rise to power of new capitalist forces, disguising themselves as communists but seeking to bring about capitalist restoration—to bring back the old system of exploitation and oppression. Such a restoration of capitalism had taken place in the Soviet Union in the mid-1950s. It was on the basis of deeply summing up this negative experience in the Soviet Union, as well as carefully analyzing the world situation, that Mao unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, beginning in the mid-1960s. For 10 years this great revolutionary struggle beat back the attempts of the counterfeit communists to take China back down the road of capitalism. But after Mao's death in 1976,

these "capitalist-roaders," led by Deng Xiaoping, finally succeeded in seizing power from the proletariat and reversing the revolution in China.

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

## The Peoples of the World Are Bound Together

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

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

At the same time, there is not, and there cannot be, any "pure African ideology." Africa, too, has been influenced, directly and indirectly, by many different peoples and cultures. Much of this, of course, has come through conquest and domination—by the Islamic empire as well as various European colonizers and others. Both the

Christian and the Islamic religions were imposed on African peoples at swordpoint (and gunpoint). Or, to take another example: some of the foods which make up an important part of the diet of African peoples today (such as peanuts, maize corn, and cassava) were actually brought to Africa from the Americas—the European conquerors and colonizers took many foods from the peoples they found in the Americas and carried them not only to Europe but to many other parts of the world, including Asia and Africa. (In turn it seems that those "native" peoples of the Americas are actually peoples originally from Asia who migrated to the Americas thousands of years ago across a stretch of land that has since been covered by ocean.)

## What is the Source of Ideas?

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

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

## In Today's World, All Ideologies Are Class Ideologies

Today, overwhelmingly, the societies African people live in are societies divided into different classes. (And certainly this was also true of the great civilizations in Africa in the past, such as the ancient Egyptian civilization, which existed on a foundation of slavery.) As Mao Tsetung clearly summarized it, "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." (The "Red Book," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, p. 8) And Mao also made clear that, because the proletariat is the only class in history that can free itself only by

emancipating all mankind—because the historic goal of the proletariat is to put an end to the division of society into different classes—for this reason the ideology of the proletariat is the only ideology that both has a definite class stand *and at the same time is scientifically truthful*.

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

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

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

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

But, as noted before, this kind of thinking also reflects the position and outlook of the Black bourgeoisie. One of the main concerns of any bourgeoisie is that it have control over the affairs of "its" nation. Fundamentally this means control of economics but it also means control of politics,



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



culture and ideology. When the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation raises the demand for the independence of its nation, it means independence *under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and serving its class interests*. The idea of creating a kind of "independent national ideology"—including the idea that "Black people have to follow an ideology that we create ourselves"—this is in line with the interests and viewpoint of the Black bourgeoisie as the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation.

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

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

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



Top: The October Revolution in Petrograd, Russia, 1917.  
 Middle: Black Panthers discussing Chairman Mao's Red Book.  
 Bottom: A Communist Party of Peru guerrilla training camp.





# Your Party, Your Paper, Your Support

**WE NEED A REVOLUTION.** That requires a party leading an organized revolutionary movement. The Revolutionary Communist Party has the plan, leadership and organization to do just that. But the Party is only as powerful as those who support it, join it and build it.

The RCP relies on the people to take up every demand of the revolutionary movement, including financial needs. The solid core of financial support has to come from the basic people, those who have nothing to lose and who have little money but who grasp the need to sacrifice to win liberation. Others who see the rottenness of this society and want something far better, who appreciate the bold vision of the Party and its decisive stand with the international proletariat, also need to step forward and give money every month to sustain the work of the Party.

Money is needed, month in and month out, to support all the Party's work. For example, money is needed: to spread the influence of the Party among the people, train a new revolutionary generation, print and distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*—the voice of the RCP—to unite and organize the people to take on the system, and to build deep-rooted organization in ways that those who want to crush or contain it cannot.

**Support the RCP financially on a regular basis and subscribe to the *RW*, and organize others to do the same. Get down with the Party or its supporters in your area to figure out the best ways to make this happen.**

I'm a Mexican woman, I came to work, now I'm a housekeeper. One of the many reasons why I support the party is that it has taken the blinders off my eyes, allowing me to see the real conditions in which we live. As a human being I feel a responsibility to support it. Even though I can only give a little, I hope that many others give like I do, because together we can win.

A Mexican immigrant, Texas

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I'm a Mexican immigrant. The crisis in Mexico sent me here. I've come here to work and send some money to my family in Mexico. Before I met this party I didn't

have a clear idea of who was responsible for the difficult situation the people have to live under. Once I met the party my whole world outlook changed, and thus my life. Now I can clearly identify the enemy that keeps us from our families and our countries.

I have absolutely nothing, but I contribute what I can, completely assured and glad knowing that there are serious and honest people in the party. We need to once and for all overthrow this oppressive system.

A Mexican immigrant, Texas

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Having lived with a revolutionary mind for several years before I came across this

party was very frustrating. At times I felt useless, helpless, and had many doubts. My two favorite words are REVOLUTION and COMMUNISM (real communism). So one can imagine my excitement when I came across the RCP's display at a local festival. At first I was skeptical. I simply stood by the party's table and listened to people's questions, the party's answers, and observed all the literature displayed. When I finally approached and spoke to some party supporters I realized that they were speaking my thoughts. I had found a party with my same line!!! Ever since I have collaborated with the RCP. I no longer feel useless or helpless—now I am hopeful, and my doubts are being slowly understood and resolved. This party has made me realize that it's all up to us, we've gotta take matters into our own hands. No one but ourselves has the responsibility to make a change...make it happen. This is the PEOPLE'S party. No fake stances. No contradictions (in other words it won't say one thing and do another...you don't have to worry about hypocrisy or lies). The RCP walks its talk and that's what I'm down with. But the party not only offers hope to me, but the whole human race. This is why it is so important to support it physically, morally and financially. The

party needs labor done—I am here. The party needs unconditional support—I am with it. The party needs money—I must also contribute. Because the RCP is a very active organization it needs funds. These funds must also come from the people. When I ask myself how can I contribute to make this party stronger and reach more people, I realize that it is also up to me.

Female comrade youth

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When I was asked to write a letter giving reasons for donating to the newspaper and for the causes that the organization espouses, one word came to my mind—*Praxis*. I have been impressed at how the members of the organization put theory into practice. Particularly, the two persons that I have had the most contact with. The worker (female) who delivers my paper, informs me of the events that are going on, and often argues with me is so dedicated and so involved that she inspired me to give financial support to your causes. Those causes are justice, humanity and economic equality. They are also my causes.

An African American college professor



Painting: Samuella

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# Auto Workers: Fed Up in Flint

A strike by nearly 12,000 members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) in Flint, Michigan on September 27-29 was the latest sign of increasing unrest among relatively well paid sections of the working class.

The strike erupted among the workers at Buick City, a large complex of 25 factories in Flint, where they build Buicks and Oldsmobiles and also make parts that go into just about every GM vehicle built in North America.

These days boozhwah "experts" talk about an economic "recovery" in auto, but this strike shows that the current rise in production has not meant better conditions for working people. For the past year, these workers have been run ragged in factories, being driven at 100 percent production capacity. Their demands were that their bosses let up on the forced overtime, slow down the assembly lines and other operations, and hire some more workers.

After a two-day work stoppage, the Buick City strike had begun to cripple auto production coast to coast, and the company felt compelled to reach an agreement. GM agreed to add 779 more full-time workers at Buick City, most of whom will be rehired from among those workers laid off in recent years. For years strikes of any kind have been rare among unionized workers. And concessions in strikes have been even rarer.

## Wage Slavery in the "Factories of the Future"

A few years ago, the film *Roger and Me* made Flint, Michigan into a symbol of how the "American Dream" is rusting away. Flint is where General Motors—the richest company on earth—weathered a decade of slow sales by closing dozens of factories and throwing thousands of workers into the cold. The workers at Buick City were some of the "lucky" ones who kept their jobs. While thousands of homeless people gathered in soup kitchens across southeast Michigan, those still "working the line" have been driven harder and harder. The "eight-hour day" that workers fought and died for is a thing of the past.

With the boom in auto sales, the auto companies have refused to hire new workers. Top GM executives have been boasting to Wall Street investors that they haven't "added any new Social Security numbers" to the hourly payroll since 1986. At Buick City, the average age on the line is now 47. Production is maintained by forcing the workers to put in record amounts of overtime.

The average work week at Buick City has been 57 hours—nine- and ten-hour days, six days a week. In the machine shop and some other places, workers put in 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Summer temporary hires were let go recently and none were replaced with full-time workers.

One estimate said that overtime in the auto industry represents the work equivalent of 41,000 new full-time workers.

Yes, these workers are well paid. The average Buick City worker makes about \$40,000 a year plus \$25,000 from all the overtime. But after long hours of grinding toil, more and more of these workers wonder if it is all worth it.

A UAW official who handles disability

cases in Buick City said that injured workers line up at his door every morning. "Sooner or later you've got to say enough is enough," explained one such worker, a Flint striker whose arm had recently been wrenched in a machine making parts for transmission torque converters. "There used to be two men on my job, but now I'm by myself. It's not safe at all." Under a campaign that GM calls "synchronous manufacturing," he had been working three different machines instead of one—until he got hurt.

The pressure of work leads to all kinds of sicknesses and safety violations. About 1,000 workers are currently on sick leave at the Flint complex. One 50-year-old striker, a lifetime veteran at Buick City, said, "You put in the long hours when you're young, working for that time when you can gear down. Now I'm trying to build my nest egg for retirement, but this is tearing me down physically."

At other plants, this labor intensity has moved workers to acts of defiance. At a Caterpillar plant in June, some UAW workers refused to do an overtime shift; their suspensions helped spark a strike by fellow workers. In September, workers at a Ford parts plant in Indianapolis refused to increase their overtime hours, and some machines at the plant "failed," closing two assembly plants in Ontario. At the same time, at a GM engine plant in the Detroit suburb of Livonia where workers have been toiling six days a week, one or more workers cut the power supply to the assembly lines and trashed the plant's electrical blueprints, bringing production to a grinding halt.

In August strikes occurred at GM factories in Anderson, Indiana and Shreveport, Louisiana—against line speedup and the lack of new hiring. More than a dozen assembly plants had been halted. In September workers at GM transmission plants in Warren, Michigan (a Detroit suburb) and Toledo, Ohio voted they were ready to strike over the same issues.

And then, at the end of September, this work intensity led to the strike at Buick City—and a small victory for the workers.

## Record Amounts of Both Work and Joblessness

In September 1993 the UAW and the Big

Three auto companies negotiated new nationwide three-year contracts. The new contracts say that the auto companies can pay newly hired workers 30 percent less than other workers in the same jobs for their first three years of work. At the time, many of the more politically advanced autoworkers opposed this concession. It gives the companies the legal right to create a new lower tier of autoworkers paid considerably less than the others. It gives the company new ways to divide the workers against each other—and opens the door for a wholesale lowering of income in the industry.

But at the time, the UAW leadership argued that this concession meant that the companies would hire new workers—giving the youth a job and making the jobs of everyone more secure. And the contract was voted in—in part because many older guys hoped it would make their jobs more secure and enable them to "finish out and get my 30-year pension."

Many Flint workers who struck in September say they expected GM would hire lots of new workers—because of the wage concession. But even with 30 percent lower wages, big capitalist investors did not want the auto companies to hire more workers—even when the recent boom in auto sales emerged. "Industry experts" say that an industry downturn will arrive sooner or later, and the owners don't want to pay the benefits for a new generation of laid-off workers. They preferred to work their existing workforce to the bone.

## The Rulers Watched This Strike Nervously

When the recent Flint strike broke out, Wall Street analysts were advising GM's owners not to cave in and agree to hire too many workers. One said, "If they back down here, the same issue will come up at any other plant where there has been significant attrition.... The dollars [from a strike] lost are worth maintaining the discipline. The old GM would have hired extra people in a minute."

But it only took two days for GM to agree to hire several hundred new workers (at the lower tier wages, of course!).

This Buick City strike broke out at a touchy time for GM's owners. October 1 is the opening sales date for their new 1995 models.

And the company's own "cost-saving" measures made this local strike more powerful: GM has been saving tens of millions of dollars by shipping parts to arrive "just in time" at assembly plants. They have avoided the cost of warehousing an inventory of parts.

This means that a strike in a parts plant or an assembly plant can cripple the company in hours. Buick City has both parts plants and assembly plants. Within minutes of the start of the Flint strike, a car-seat plant in Fenton, Michigan was halted. A few hours later, an assembly plant in Lansing was shut down, and by the time the strike was ended after 49 hours, several plants across the U.S. had closed.

GM's owners may also have worried that the Buick City spirit could spread in the industry.

In any case—GM officials decided to give in and agree to hire several hundred previously laid-off workers—to end the strike quickly.

But even as company officials agreed to add 779 workers at Buick City, they vowed to continue plans to lay off several thousand more workers in North America in coming months. They insist the layoffs will continue.

In the last four years GM has shut down dozens of factories and laid off 82,000 hourly workers. It is now in the process of closing 11 truck plants. Even though GM reported profits of \$2.75 billion for the first half of 1994, it cut another 5,500 hourly jobs since March, and analysts estimate that it will "need" to lay off another 15,000 to 30,000 workers in the next year "to safeguard its position."

In the very midst of this boom in the auto industry a *Detroit News* analyst recently predicted, in a column titled "It Will Happen Again," yet another "cyclical downturn" in 1997 or 1998, with severe losses for U.S. auto companies. And each downturn does deeper damage, hurling more workers and their children away from the lives of comfort they had once enjoyed or dreamed of.

In these plants, the workers broadly sense that times might keep getting worse "if something isn't done." There is a sense of dread, a feeling of promises betrayed and, among some, a determination to look for a way out. The strike at Buick City is not the only sign of restlessness among well-paid workers—it comes after the recent strike among rubber workers and the continuing unrest in the Illinois Caterpillar plants.

After 20 years of take-aways and give-aways and massive layoffs, this shrinking section of the once-stable union workers is facing a bitter reality. Behind the promises and dreams of getting the "good life" through arrangements with big capitalists is the reality of having the "privilege" of being worked to death and watching their kids leave town. □



Picket line at G.M. plant in Flint, Michigan, September 28.



# The Three Aristides

A Haitian revolutionary said, "We have seen three Aristides. The first was the radical priest. The second was the reformist candidate. And the third is the tool of U.S. imperialism."

The story of these "three Aristides" shows the great potential of middle class forces in the oppressed nations to play a positive role in revolution. But even more it shows that the proletariat must lead the middle classes, and not the other way around. And it also shows that the "electoral road to power" is really a road to hell for the people. Aristide's intentions were to help the Haitian people. If someone had told him in 1988 that in the future he would serve as point man for a U.S. invasion and front man for the World Bank, he would not have believed it...or if he had, he would probably not have agreed to continue on this course. Yet this is exactly what he has ended up doing. How could this be?

The answer is that while Aristide sympathizes with the proletariat and the poor peasants, he politically represents sections of the middle classes in Haiti. These forces hate the oppression brought down on their country by imperialism and feudalism, but their class position makes it difficult for them to fully unleash the mass struggle, and they fear an all-out confrontation with the reactionaries. For Aristide and the forces around him, a key turning point was in 1990. The mass struggle, which had driven Duvalier out and brought down three reactionary governments that followed it, was beginning to get bogged down. At the same time the Macoutes, who had been scattered by the mass upsurge, were beginning to regroup, and the U.S. was pushing for "reconciliation" between the Macoutes and other pro-U.S. sectors of the Haitian elite.

Many progressive activists feared a full-scale restoration of Duvalierism, and didn't see any way that the masses could prevent this. So they decided to participate in the U.S.-sponsored elections, which Aristide had himself denounced. Aristide recognized that there were contradictions between the U.S. and the Macoutes, and he thought he could use these by climbing on the "democracy train." He thought that he could play the U.S., that the U.S. would protect him from the Macoutes, and that later, when he had rooted out the internal enemy, he would be in a better position to deal with the U.S.

But whatever his intentions, when Aristide entered the elections, he stepped across a line into the enemy camp. He accepted the premise that the Haitian people were not capable of breaking the U.S. grip on their country, that any change in Haiti had to come with the approval and cooperation of the U.S. It was all down hill from there. In his election campaign and since, Aristide has found himself uniting with and relying on a broader alliance of bourgeois forces in Haiti. And he has found himself making concession after concession to U.S. imperialism. After Aristide was elected, the U.S. government decided to try and work with him, but it immediately began making demands on him: he must preserve the army, he must protect foreign investors, he must not ally with U.S. enemies in Cuba,

Libya or the Soviet Union. Aristide agreed to all of these things, and, most significantly, he agreed to promote the "marriage between the army and the people."

In the past Aristide had opposed participation in U.S.-sponsored elections and had instead called on the people to rely on themselves and organize resistance to the government. When he decided to run for president, this had a profound effect on the progressive movements in Haiti, seriously undercutting revolutionary motion and trends. The mass upsurge that had rocked Haiti for five years was converted into a reformist electoral movement. The masses were increasingly reduced to cheering for Aristide, who would be their "savior." Their independent organization, and even their confidence in themselves, eroded. And once in office, Aristide promoted the idea that there was no longer a role for mass struggle at all. For instance, he said that if the people wanted to deal with the Macoutes, they should take them to court; they should love the army; they should be "grateful" to the U.S. for overseeing the elections, and so on.

During Aristide's seven months in power, the army, which had been badly shaken by the mass upsurge, was able to recuperate. The Macoutes that had been scattered were now brought together under army leadership. The masses were increasingly demobilized. While Aristide was in office he began to push through certain reforms to benefit the people and fight the brutality and corruption of the military and government. But this only outraged and terrified the elites even more. So on the one hand, Aristide strengthened their hand and weakened the people, but on the other hand, he provoked them.

These are the things that led to the coup of September 1991, which some people hoped would cause Aristide to question the road he was on. But even after the coup, he and the majority of his supporters did not break with the path of illusions and capitulation. They pursued a policy of discouraging mass resistance, especially armed resistance, and promoting reliance on the U.S., the UN, and the OAS. Aristide hoped that the regime could be defeated in some way short of invasion. But by the time it was clear that would not happen, he had staked everything on the U.S., and had no alternative but to support the U.S. invasion and occupation.

This is why, speaking of class forces like this, the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* says: "Even where such forces have seized power they have been incapable of carrying through a thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later, being overthrown by imperialism or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with imperialists." Under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard party, progressive middle class forces like "the radical priest" can play a very important role in strengthening the revolution; but if they are allowed to lead they will go from reformism to capitulation, and drag large sections of the masses with them. □

## U.S. Occupation and "Reforming" the Haitian Military

Continued from page 3

And he had to sign a promise to leave office and not run again at the end of his term.

Even though Aristide will be president, he will not have power over the armed forces. The thousands of U.S. troops and advisors scheduled to occupy Haiti for at least six months (and probably more) are there to establish U.S. military and political domination. And it's clear that the Haitian military will be even more controlled by Washington. Even the plan of how the armed forces will be organized is being worked out under the leadership of the U.S. and other imperialist forces.

In August, Aristide requested \$770 million in aid from the World Bank and presented a detailed explanation of his government's plans and goals. Regarding the armed forces, the proposal says: "The government will reduce the current apparatus to a small (no more than 1,500 officers and men) professional force...the new force shall not incorporate any member past or present of paramilitary groups or individuals who have committed human rights violations...Law enforcement will be carried out by a newly created police force."

This might sound OK at first. But according to this plan: Who is going to oversee the reorganization of this force? Who is going to train the officers? Who is going to provide it with weapons and money? The answer to all these questions is the same—the U.S., along with its allies. U.S. special forces teams, CIA operatives, and 1,000 police forces from various countries have been assembled to carry this out. And this is nothing new—prior to the 1991 coup, a lot of Haiti's military officers (including Cedras) were trained by the United States. Colonel Francois, head of the vicious "attaches," even served as an instructor for the CIA. For decades, the U.S. has been giving aid and weapons to the Haitian military with the understanding that the Haitian military has to loyally serve U.S. interests.

And who is to be in the "new" army and police? The plan says: "No paramilitaries, no human rights violators." But only about 15 percent of the armed forces have been formally identified as human rights violators. The other 85 percent are the "pool" that the U.S. intends to mainly draw on for the "new" army and police.

When it was suggested to a senior American officer involved in Haiti planning that "ordinary Haitian working people" be recruited into the military, he rolled his eyes and declared, "That would be a total joke." Lawrence Puzullo, who was Clinton's special envoy to Haiti, says that a key step is to choose a new Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces to "replace General Cedras...from senior military officers. Some of the current group remain untainted by the coup and have clean human rights records." So, if the U.S. carries through with this plan, the new army will be led by officers from the old army and made up of mostly the same troops that have been brutalizing and terrorizing the people for years.

And the U.S. does project a place for the civilian "attaches" and "human rights violators" in the army. Careful steps are being taken to reorganize and preserve them as well. A senior Pentagon official (quoted in *The Nation* magazine) said those in the army "will be vetted [screened] out and yet somehow taken care of...retrained" and given jobs with other U.S. agencies. And as for FRAPH, the main paramilitary organization that has been attacking and murdering people, the U.S. recently sponsored a press conference in which their leader "went legit" and declared his group "peaceful" and "loyal" to the Aristide government.

After U.S. soldiers stood by for weeks as FRAPH massacred people, the U.S. then made a show of "cracking down" on them. U.S. groups carried out a raid on their headquarters and arrested a few dozen members—but somehow arms "searches" were unable to turn up more than a handful of the tens of thousands of guns FRAPH is known to have. All this gives weight to a recent report in *The Nation* that the CIA was behind FRAPH from the beginning, directing the plan to organize a front "that could balance" (attack and oppose) Aristide's

movement and do "intelligence" on it for the United States.

### Pro-U.S. Haitian Military

So what is the picture of power now taking shape in Haiti? First, the army is to be reorganized under U.S. direction, trained by U.S. trainers, armed with U.S. weapons and funded by U.S. dollars. The plan is for it to be made up mainly of people from the old army and led by forces from the old officer corps. Second, there are plans for many known murderers to be rehired by other U.S. agencies, including almost certainly, the CIA and various CIA fronts. Third, at this point, the U.S. is allowing the major paramilitary group, FRAPH, to retain most of its weapons, members and leaders by going "legit." These reactionary, armed forces continue to spy for the U.S. and will be available for death-squad activity and, if needed by the U.S., future coups. Where in any of this is there even a drop of real power for Aristide, not to mention power for the masses of people?

The U.S. wants to push through some changes in Haiti's government, its economy, its military and police—while it strengthens and protects the Haitian army and increases U.S. control over the army. But this has and will continue to be a very complicated thing for the U.S. to accomplish. All along, forces in the Haitian military have resisted some of the "reforms" the U.S. wants to bring about—exactly because they are afraid their base of power and corrupt operations will be undermined. And within the U.S. ruling class there has been very sharp and open debate and disagreement over how to handle all these contradictions. So the U.S. effort to rebuild a reliable, pro-U.S. Haitian army is bound to be full of problems. And things may not go "according to plan." For one thing, the masses of Haiti have fought against "Duvalierism without Duvalier" in the past. And the struggle of the Haitian masses could force the U.S. to have to come up with some other plan. But whatever the case—any military force put together in Haiti by and in the service of U.S. imperialism will be a force to repress the Haitian people and keep them under the thumb of the Haitian and imperialist exploiters.

It is important to understand that while Aristide may not agree with everything the U.S. is trying to do in Haiti, he has given his blessing to the overall deal. How? In three ways. First, he invited the U.S. to invade and is shortly expected to sign an agreement giving the U.S. formal authority to keep troops in Haiti after he takes office. Second, he submitted his whole governmental plan to the World Bank, making it clear that he intends to fully cooperate with imperialist efforts to dominate the economy of Haiti. And third, Aristide has been preaching "reconciliation" and amnesty—telling the masses to not struggle against the Haitian soldiers or the U.S. occupation. In his UN speech, Aristide declared: "Reconciliation will impose itself between violence and vengeance." This is a straight up promise to protect the military and other criminals from the righteous anger of the masses.

Much is being made of the "great debate" over amnesty—will it cover every single murder and rape committed over the last three years, or only the ones committed in the course of carrying out the coup itself? Aristide's UN speech opposes a "general amnesty" and says that "justice will impose itself between impunity and inequity." But this is really a phony debate because the underlying premise of both sides is that the Haitian military as an institution is good, it does not need to be destroyed, but only reformed. In fact, ever since Aristide's election he has been preaching that the masses should reconcile with the army. In his 1991 inauguration speech he declared there must be "a marriage between the army and the people," and he has continued to refer favorably to this speech, as recently as June of 1994.

Maybe some of the most notorious leaders in the Haitian military (who don't leave the country) will be put on trial and jailed for a while. But the problem with the Haitian military is not that it has contained "a few criminals." The problem is that it is a criminal institution that only exists to oppress the Haitian people. The masses in Haiti don't need to be "reconciled" with the army—they need to dechouke (uproot) it, overthrow it, and kick out U.S. imperialism. And that is absolutely not going to happen under the Aristide government or any other government working with and for the United States. □



Aristide with Clinton and U.S. Secretary of State Christopher.



# Imperialism and the Plans to "Rebuild" Haiti's Economy



Lascahobas, Haiti.

Marxism teaches that "politics is concentration of economics." This means that political leaders, parties, and institutions—and governments themselves—all represent the interests of one class or another and serve to either strengthen or to overthrow the existing system of capitalism and imperialism. So what about Aristide's plan for rebuilding Haiti's economy? Is it about trying to break the pattern of robbery and exploitation of the Haitian people by foreign exploiters?

The answer is no. However, Aristide, in line with U.S. and World Bank plans, does plan to change the nature of that exploitation—to put even *more* control of the economy in foreign hands. To understand

this we have to look at the Haitian economy today, including some ways in which it does *not* fully meet U.S. needs, and then see how the World Bank plan aims to solve *these* problems.

Although Haiti has been dominated by the U.S. for 80 years, some parts of the economy have not been integrated into the modern imperialist set-up. Much of the exploitation of the people has gone to benefit *Haitian* exploiters. In the countryside, coffee production is plugged into the imperialist network, but beyond that much agriculture in Haiti is small-scale production for the local market, with feudal landlords and other rural parasites oppressing and robbing the peasantry. In the cities,

a "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" entrenched in the government controls some key industries and rips off millions of dollars through taxes, bribes, etc.

Except for selling luxury goods to these parasites, the U.S. doesn't really get a whole lot out of this. But for a long time this was acceptable to the U.S. because these bourgeois forces kept Haiti stable (that is, kept the people down), enabled U.S. companies to exploit tens of thousands of proletarians in the cities, and fueled a steady stream of desperate refugees who served as cheap labor for U.S.-owned sugar plantations, factories, hotels and restaurants throughout the Caribbean region.

But the corrupt rule of the feudal and bureaucratic bourgeois forces has led to a big crisis in Haiti. The stream of refugees trying to escape the deteriorating economic and political situation in Haiti turned into a huge problem for the U.S. rulers. The repressive system in Haiti no longer kept tight control over people, but was instead provoking upheaval and revolutionary stirrings. And, the U.S. imperialists have an economic crisis of their own, which has compelled them to look for more and new ways to "cut in" on the exploitation of the Haitian people. Starting in the early 1980s, they advanced what was known as the "American Plan" to transform the economy of Haiti—this plan is almost identical to the one that Aristide is now proposing.

What are the main features of the Aristide/World Bank plan?

The plan says it will "limit the scope of state activity, and concentrate it on the mission of defining the enabling milieu for private initiative and productive investments."

This imperialist language is another way of saying the the role of the state is to make Haiti profitable for private investors. One example of this is the issue of minimum wage. Before the coup, Aristide supported raising the minimum wage from \$3 to \$5 a day. But this has been dropped from his

current plans. A World Bank official said that "you just don't regulate that in a country like Haiti, where the government's enforcement capability is nil." A more upfront explanation was given by a U.S. intelligence officer who said, "If you want to compete you do it the old-fashioned way: you have cheaper labor than Mexico, cheaper than Santo Domingo and the Caribbean. You've got to take advantage of what asset you have, and in Haiti that happens to be cheap labor."

Another example is the promise to end import restrictions, and eliminate or reduce tariffs. This is part of the "free trade" policies the U.S. is pushing in many Third World countries. In the past, many governments would "protect" production of key crops and products in their own economy with tariffs or import quotas. For instance, in Haiti, rice, which is the main food of the people, is protected. Because conditions and technology of production are much more backward in Haiti, rice can be produced more cheaply in the United States. So if unrestricted imports were allowed, most Haitian rice farmers would be unable to compete and would either have to change crops or go bankrupt. Haiti would end up completely dependent for food on imports from the U.S.—and how can any country be independent if it must import all or most of its food?

This "free trade" policy will cause the further ruin of the already desperate Haitian economy. The plan calls for "emergency" aid...to the *export* sector, and for "an open foreign investment program." But what this is about is displacing large numbers of people currently tied to small production on the land and then giving some of them low-paying jobs on large plantations producing export crops like perfume oils and tropical fruit, or in foreign-owned factories in the cities. This will just be going from poverty to poverty for the peasants—but the difference is that *now* their poverty will directly enrich U.S. imperialism.

Along with all this, the plan wants to sell off state industries to "foreign investors, domestic savers from the professional categories and the members of the Haitian Diaspora." In practice, the main forces with the capital to buy whole industries are the imperialists and sections of the current Haitian elite. If people in the "Haitian Diaspora" (Haitians living outside of Haiti) want to come up with enough money to finance such investments, they would have to get the backing of foreign banks—and end up basically providing a cover for more foreign control.

Poor, Third World countries like Haiti are told by the imperialists that the best way to develop and build their economy is by bringing in massive foreign investments and businesses, developing agriculture and industry for export and offering up the masses of people for slave wages. This is what Aristide's economic plan is about—subordinating Haiti's economy to imperialism. But this "model" of development has proven to be a nightmare for millions of people in Third World countries around the world. The only way for Haiti to be free is to kick out the United States and get completely out from under the boot of the U.S. and all other imperialist powers. □



Haitians at a food line at a Port-au-Prince church.



A Haitian expresses his anger at U.S. soldiers who stood by while Haitian police beat people in Port-au-Prince, September 21.



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