The Reality Behind the Zoë Baird Scandal

The Nanny Connection:

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

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Communication from RCP Chairman Bob Avakian, Part 4: Daring to Lead

Some Cold Truths for Black History Month: The Black Family and The "Traditional Family"

Tijuana Flood
Shantytowns and Prisons in Peru:
The Revolution Advances

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

Produced by the Committee to Support the Revolution In Peru

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

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

Spanish narration with English subtitles

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The Reality Behind the Zoë Baird Scandal

by Li Onesto

The Zoë Baird scandal has gotten a lot of people talking about the "American Family," childcare and the state of working women in this country. When Clinton's nomination for U.S. Attorney General was forced to step down after admitting she had hired two "illegal immigrants" and didn't pay social security taxes for them, many were outraged at the blatant discrimination involved. No high-level corporate male lawyer would have been asked questions about his childcare arrangements—and there are surely many "fathers" on Capitol Hill who employ immigrants without papers. Then, to add insult to injury, it came out that cabinet member Ron Brown had not paid taxes on someone he hired to work in his home—yet there never was any question of whether or not he should remain in office. At the same time, there just wasn't a whole lot of sympathy for Zoe: This conservativ, bourgeois woman, who made over $300,000 a year, had refused to pay social security for two poor immigrants who were taking care of her child and driving her car.

This only reminded working class women of how unequal this society is and how difficult it is for families to afford any kind of childcare at all.

This is the kind of talk in the media that's gone on around the Zoë Baird scandal. But this incident made me think about a whole section of "domestic workers"—a whole class of "servant women" who run households for wealthy and privileged families.

From Slave Ships to Border Crossings

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

Some of the RW readers know firsthand what it's like to be a "domestic worker." All day long you care for kids who have all the privileges and then you come home tired to take care of your kids and clean home—and you can't make ends meet. In urban centers throughout the U.S., there's no work outside the service sector. Some cities contain "two cities"—where a majority of working class is at the service of a shrinking core of middle and upper class people. Every morning millions of Black, Latino and immigrant women and men get up and go to work in the service of another family. They cook, clean, drive cars, iron clothes, change diapers and do the grocery shopping. A survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that about seven million households spent money in 1991 for "housekeeping services." The Census Bureau reports about 560,000 household workers in the country while the Bureau of Labor Statistics counts about 875,000.

The hiring of immigrants without papers appears to be so commonplace that licensed employment agencies in places like New York City routinely violate the law by recommending undocumented immigrants for hire almost always at much lower wages. When the New York Times called 18 different agencies who hire out "domestic workers," 13 of them acknowledged without hesitation that they represented both legal and "illegal immigrants," with illegal workers earning as little as $175 a week and legal ones at as much as $600. "It's a business," one agency's spokesman of "housekeeping services." And this is easily profitable to go into the business of hiring up "illegal immigrants" with upper middle class and wealthy families. These employment agencies provide the logistics for exploitation and at the mercy of their employers. The agencies often describe their immigrant workers as "girls looking for sponsorship situations." Some agencies refer the immigrants to employers and immigration lawyers—and then collect fees from both parties! There are some employers who agree to sponsor immigrants for legal residency. But this process now takes up to five years and the immigrant employees remain in an illegal status during this whole time. As a result, some immigrants without papers being sponsored by their employer say they feel like indentured servants.

For those immigrants who can find a sponsor, it's almost impossible to get the green card that allows them to work legally. Immigration lawyers say the number of domestic workers applying for permanent residency has dropped in recent years, largely because the process now takes as much as eight years after the Labor Department certifies there is a shortage of U.S. citizens to fill a particular job. And even when the INS and the Labor Department have formally certified a specific need for immigrants to do work that no qualified U.S. citizens to fill a particular job. And even when the INS and the Labor Department have formally certified a specific need for immigrants to do work that no qualified citizens or permanent resident workers, the quotas effectively mean a wait of 15 to 20 years. Since 1991 only 10,000 immigrants a year have been given green cards. And according to the State Department, about 80,000 immigrants are waiting in line to get legal status. 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The Nanny Connection

Continued from page 3

nanny told the New York Times, "These, I think, are the first American society in 50 years of slavery.

Middle class families can’t afford to pay for a quality of care. They have a substandard quality of care, like Zoe Baird, to cut costs by hiring someone who is forced to accept a substandard quality of care.

Middle class women are forced to accept a substandard quality of care, like Zoe Baird, because they are forced to work and live in a parasitic nature of class.

The whole structure of family life in this country mirrors the property relations of capitalism. Everything is commodities, everything is market, everything is the exchange of money.

Capitalist society promotes competition, individualism and anti-socialist sentiments. This applies to the way things are organized in society, in the working class's living arrangements. Under capitalism these things are all very private. Each family is faced with the problem of taking care of children, doing housework, cooking, cleaning, etc.

The whole structure of family life in this country mirrors the property relations of capitalism. Everything is commodities, everything is market, everything is the exchange of money.

The whole structure of family life in this country is a huge problem. But it also understood the fact that capitalism can never solve the problem of childcare.

The ZoS Baid scandal revealed that some lack of childcare in this country is a huge problem. But it also understood the fact that capitalism can never solve the problem of childcare.
SOME COLD TRUTHS FOR BLACK HISTORY MONTH

THE BLACK FAMILY AND THE "TRADITIONAL FAMILY"

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

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

There are two things wrong with this "theory." First, it mixes up cause and effect—it deals with certain effects, and nothing about the cause. It is certainly true that over the past twenty years or so there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Black families headed by women and this has been connected with the high degree of poverty among Black people. But this "theory" doesn't explain why it is that the average (median) wealth of Black households headed by women is only $700, while for white households headed by women it is over $22,000—a difference of more than 30 to 1. Poverty among Black people is caused by the systematic oppressive situation they are in. One-parent Black families are one symptom of this. And because of this overall situation, Black women who are raising children alone have much less to fall back on and much less opportunity to get a relatively decent paying job.

The great increase of Black families headed by women is directly related to the great increase of unemployment among Black males, particularly young Black males. It has been in the last twenty years that there has been a great fall-off in the number of two-parent Black families. This has been a time when unemployment among Black men, especially young men, has become truly drastic. As the book, Families in Peril points out, "the [falling] rate of marriage formation... among young black males" ran parallel with "the decline of employment prospects of young black males, which resulted in only 20.8 percent of black teens and 61 percent of black twenty- to forty-four-year-old men being employed by 1978." (page 13) In other words, young Black men are not getting married nearly as much as they used to because huge numbers of them have no jobs—or only very low-paying jobs—to support a family.

The "traditional family" is itself an institution of oppression. And, despite the hype, not many Black families can make—let alone hang onto—big-time money doing crime, although many such families in the inner cities are trapped in the inner cities as they rot and die, just like the "traditional family" itself, where the man is to be the master, lording it over his wife (and children). We can get a strong clue to this from the roots of the word "family," which comes from a Latin word used in ancient Rome, familia. "Among the Romans, in the beginning, it did not even refer to the married couple and their children, but to the slaves alone. Famiilar means a household slave and familia signifies the totality of slaves belonging to one individual; and the head of the family "had under him wife and children and a number of slaves, under Roman paternal power, with power of life and death over them all." (Quoted from Frederick Engels, in his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.)

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

And we cannot let our enemy tell us what "role models" we should follow. Youths of today, Black youth and youth in general, don't need male "role models." They need revolutionary "role models"—women and men, belonging to one individual; and the head of the family "had under him wife and children and a number of slaves, under Roman paternal power, with power of life and death over them all." (Quoted from Frederick Engels, in his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.) Along with all this has gone the idea that A MAN IS STRONG while a woman is weak. This is bullshit. It comes from the same system that those who run systems based on enslaving and exploiting. It should be put with the rest of the bullshit from systems like this.

The "traditional family" itself is an institution of oppression. It is an expression of the fact that society is divided into masters and slaves, and that division into master and slave is built into the "traditional family" itself, where the man is to be the master, lording it over his wife (and children). We can get a strong clue to this from the roots of the word "family," which comes from a Latin word used in ancient Rome, familia. "Among the Romans, in the beginning, it did not even refer to the married couple and their children, but to the slaves alone. Famiilar means a household slave and familia signifies the totality of slaves belonging to one individual; and the head of the family "had under him wife and children and a number of slaves, under Roman paternal power, with power of life and death over them all." (Quoted from Frederick Engels, in his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.) Along with all this has gone the idea that A MAN IS STRONG while a woman is weak. This is bullshit. It comes from the same system that those who run systems based on enslaving and exploiting. It should be put with the rest of the bullshit from systems like this.

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From Pico-Union to Peru: Solidarity from the Heart

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

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

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

For us, Chairman Gonzalo is the cornerstone that can lead the revolution in Latin America. Chairman Gonzalo is key to the party, it's important that he lead the masses in liberation with proletarian ideology—Marxist Leninist-Maoist. Chairman Gonzalo and the revolution in Peru are going to drive Yankee imperialism from Peru, just like Mao drove the Japanese imperialists from China... We want to contribute two days' wages to the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

From two youth:

We are two immigrant proletarians from El Salvador and Mexico who live in the bell called USA. We are exploited and oppressed here in the so-called "land of opportunity." For us the revolution in Peru represents the liberation of the oppressed people of the world. For us Chairman Gonzalo represents the kind of leadership that is capable of leading people like us to our liberation... The Party in Peru and Chairman Gonzalo is not saying to the people that the capitalist oppressors are too powerful and cannot be defeated. They believe in the masses, they rely on the masses. That is why they have accomplished is very significant.

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

131 DAYS

The fascists regime in Peru are holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people in isolation in a concrete dungeon on an island prison. He is being denied visits by his lawyer or anyone else and deprived of his medicine.

People who support the revolution in Peru and anyone who opposes injustice around the world face an urgent task—to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to provide Comrade Gonzalo basic rights as a political prisoner and to prevent the regime from killing him by reinstating the death penalty or by other means.

Friends of Chairman Gonzalo

Page 6—Revolutionary Worker—February 28, 1993

From Pico-Union to Peru—join by youth &om the migrant workers from various parts of Latin America, joined by youth from the neighborhood, came together to talk about the revolution in Peru and the battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. The session was held in the heart of the Pico-Union barrio—known as Pequeno Centroamerica, or Little Central America, because of the large concentration of people who came from that region. A TV show was a video of Gonzalo speaking from behind bars after his arrest (taped off Spanish-language TV) and other videos of the revolution in Peru.

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

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

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

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

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

At the end of the meeting, many new people signed up to be part of a Pico-Union committee to support the revolution in Peru. The Pico-Union chapter of the I.C.P.V. had made a large red banner to be sent to the I.C.P. Founding Conference in Germany. A picture of Gonzalo behind bars was painted on it, with the statement in Spanish: "Los Angeles, United States. We are immigrant workers of Pico-Union. We salute the Intercontinental Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzman." The participants in the meeting added their own statements to it, including one that said, "Our Class, Our Struggle Against Yankee Imperialism—from the Flumes of L.A."

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

From a Mexican proletarian who contributed $50:

My decision to contribute this money is based on a commitment. I'm thinking of a giant. This giant is strong and powerful, but the giant is paralyzed, unable to move—alive but unconscious. This giant represents the force of a whole continent. Better yet, he represents the force of the whole world. The giant can't make use of his force because he is being controlled from the outside. But there is a part inside this giant that can control and make use of. That part is called Peru. And Peru says, "Since this is the only part that I have control of, I'm going to become its heart—the driving force—to try to revive this giant." When I saw Chairman Gonzalo on TV in the cage, his stand impressed me. There he was in the cage, surrounded by the national guard, journalists, all types of enemies. He was perfectly clear that he was a prisoner of dictators, but he acted with pride. He never lowered his head. He rose to the occasion and was above them all, his eyes were focused on the future, on his people... In these few minutes one could see what a real leader is.

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

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

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Readers of the RW know that the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán (IEC) is holding a Founding Conference in Krefeld, Germany on the weekend of February 27-28. The word from the IEC’s London office is that preparations for the Conference are going very well, and the international gathering is expected to be a very exciting and important juncture in the campaign to defend Guzmán—also known as Chairman Gonzalo; the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party of Peru. IEC’s Emergency Bulletin No. 25 reports: “We expect hundreds of people from over 20 countries... Those attending will include people from Peru, Bangladesh, Australia, Nepal, France, Switzerland, Greece, Mexico, U.S., Netherlands, Turkey, England, Belgium and many other countries. The Host Committee in Germany is made up of over 20 groups including IEC chapters from across Germany, immigrant groups, revolutionary organizations and anti-imperialist groups. “The meeting promises to be an extraordinary event, one which will put our campaign on a whole new level. It should not be missed.” Read the RW for reports from the IEC Founding Conference.

Pentagon Adviser
Confronted by Protesters

Gordon McCormick is a so-called “Sendero expert” with the Rand Corporation, a major “think tank” for the Pentagon. Recently McCormick gave a lecture at a multinational corporation complex near Stanford University in California. Two women from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSRP) stood up in the middle of McCormick’s talk and held up a 12-foot banner saying “Yankee Go Home.” In a five-minute statement denouncing McCormick, the two women said that his career researching the Communist Party of Peru (PCP, often called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path) has provided the U.S. State Department, CIA and Pentagon with information used to devise vicious plans against the revolutionary people’s war in Peru. The protesters pointed out that McCormick’s talk was held at this obscure corporate office building because the authorities do not want U.S. intervention in Peru to become an issue on campuses like Stanford. Other IEC supporters in the audience also asked questions aimed at ripping off McCormick’s mask as a “scholarly impartial observer” of the PCP. McCormick denied that his research plays any role in the fascist repression carried out by the Fujimori regime in Peru. But as the CSRP pointed out, McCormick’s research on the PCP was used by the regime in their intense operation to take Guzmán prisoner. And over the years RAND has provided the U.S. government with research on how to better wage the counter-intelligence war against liberation in Vietnam and on nuclear war strategy.

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

Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael, a Black Liberation Movement leader in the ‘60s in the U.S.) recently issued a statement for the Central Committee of the All African People’s Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) about the revolution in Peru. The statement read in part: “The All African People’s Revolutionary Party on behalf of the masses of African People scattered and suffering worldwide sends warm fraternal greetings to the masses of oppressed people of Peru especially the Indigenous Peoples. And to the Shining Path and its courageous leader Abimael Guzman as they continue to illuminate the path toward justice and liberation.”

CSRP Calls for Prisoner Letters to Worldwide Conference

PRISONERS! PARTICIPATE IN THE IEC FOUNDING CONFERENCE!

A CALL FROM THE CSRP FOR SOLIDARITY STATEMENTS

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

Political prisoners worldwide represent a powerful force in defending the life of Abimael Guzman. Mumia Abu-Jamal signed the International Emergency Committee’s Call from Death Row. Former political prisoners from South Africa, Mexico, India, Kenya and Turkey have also signed the Call. Support letters, statements, and actions have come from hundreds of prisoners on hunger strikes in Boca and Elazig Prisons in Turkey and from dungeons across the U.S.—Leavenworth, Kansas; Jackson, Michigan; Lompoc, California. Statements and letters will be collected and sent to the IEC in London even if they arrive after the opening of the Conference.

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

Continued on page 12
Recently, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, sent an important communication to some veteran leading comrades of the Party. Parts of this communication have been made available to the RW, and we are publishing them here. They are running in six parts. The fourth part begins below.

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

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

The oppressors like to crush you, but they also like to scare you off. Then they hold you up, or turned and ran. We can't do that! We can't go to the masses and say we're going to do this, and then turn around and not do it. While there is not a revolutionary situation today, some shit has changed—things are going through some big changes. We have to firm up our orientation. That's one of the reasons I'm sending this communication now.

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

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

The bourgeoisie tries to get over twice with this—they try to overwhelm the vanguard with backwardness among the masses and then turn around and demoralize the masses by showing them how the vanguard gave up and sold out. The bourgeoisie loves to do that! We can't give them that satisfaction—and more fundamentally, we can't sell out the masses just because there is backwardness among the masses. If we are going to do that, then we shouldn't be calling ourselves the vanguard in the first place! For example, when the enemy sends his police and whatever to lock down a housing project in Chicago and then turns around and brings out some masses to say something in support of this, we can't get thrown off by that. We have to take this into account—we have to understand the problems, the contradictions the masses face that can be played off to get some of them to take backward stands—but we cannot capitulate because of it. No, we have to help the masses see the contradictions the masses face and understand that the enemy is up to and how this fits into his overall plan for oppressing and repressing the masses of people to keep his exploiting system going, with all the misery and madness it brings. We have to bring forward the advanced among the masses—the advanced people among the masses and the aspect of the masses' understanding that is advanced. We have to bring this forward and unite with this to lead people in standing up and fighting back against the enemy. In the course of that, we must struggle with the backwardness among the masses—help them to see this backwardness for what it is and to cast it off.

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

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

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

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

We have to understand where people are coming from in raising these questions—what their concerns are—and what is right and wrong about the way they raise it. And we have to understand what is most fundamental in all this. It's not as if there's nothing to what people are raising when they talk about white leaders selling out the interests of Black people and other oppressed peoples. This has happened many times—people have had experience with this. And there has been experience with Black leaders and others selling out as well. To get at the fundamental point in all this—to be a bit provocative in order to make this point of sharply—it can be said that anybody can sell out—that is, they will, sooner or later, go against the fundamental interests of the masses. They may not even mean to do it, but if they cling to that old bourgeois way of thinking and bourgeois values, they won't be able to avoid going against the fundamental interests of the masses.

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

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

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

"So Far from God, So Close to the U.S."

In January the northern Mexico city of Tijuana, Baja California, was hit by a series of Pacific storms that brought floods, mudslides, destruction and death. The floods began in the middle of the night on January 7. In the two days before, four inches of rain had fallen on ground already saturated from a rainy season—which caused four deaths on December 5. Run-offs developed into walls of water within three or four minutes and carried away or buried houses in mud. Other houses were destroyed by cars and pick-ups carried along by the torrents. Mud and rocks cascaded from bare hillsides and canyons. People were buried in mud that filled caved-in basements. The rain continued for a total of twelve days, with only one or two days of respite. At least 14 people died that first night, most of them drowned in the sudden floods. The rain continued for a total of twelve days, with only one or two days of respite. There were more episodes of severe flooding, and more deaths in mudslides as the saturated ground gave way here and there. So far, dozens have died, about 10,000 are homeless, and many more are at risk from disease—because of increased overcrowding and the loss of even minimal social services. But the destruction in this city of two million is not simply a tragic act of nature. A 65-year-old grandmother from Grupo Mexico told a reporter, "They know this area has a problem with flooding, but the city has done nothing to solve it. These deaths could have been avoided.

A City in Distress

Press accounts and government sources talked of up to 50 colonias—out of hundreds in Tijuana—being "hard hit," but the truth is that the whole city was devastated. The only flat parts of Tijuana are the Zona del Rio, where the government buildings are, and Oyster Mesa to the east, where the airport and the maquiladoras are. The only other area where all the roads are paved is the hill west of the river where the tourist attractions are: the shops of Avenida Revolucion, the bull-fight ring, and Agua Caliente racetrack. Most tourist maps of Tijuana only show these areas.) Even in this area, several died in the middle-class colonies of Chula Vista and Guadalupe. The rest of the city was a disaster. Less than a mile west of city hall, colonia Libertad sprawls across the hills that separate the river from Oyster Mesa. One of the oldest areas of Tijuana, the hills of Libertad and the adjoining colonias are now scarred by huge vertical gashes, unpaved roads that were turned into rivers of mud by the rains. Some of the older houses on top of former rivers were turned into slums by the floods. Squatters whose huts cling to the steep sides were killed when their houses tumbled down the canyons. Out east of Oyster Mesa, the roads to Tecate and Mexicali were destroyed. West of the river, there were reports of flooding in Playas de Tijuana on the coast. The impact of the floods was greatest in the southern part of the city, where dozens of new colonias have sprung up, housing many of the new migrants that help add 10,000 new families to Tijuana's population every year. These areas lack many of the basic utilities—like water, gas and electricity, as well as sewers, drainage and paved roads. They are also on some of the worst terrain for flooding, upstream from the flood control project that includes the Rodriguez Dam and the concrete channel that contains the Tijuana River. Southern Tijuana is basically two huge drainage areas, areas which were not only flooded but quickly cut off. Vehicles could not pass on the dirt roads filled with mud three days deep. Those who survived were faced with the problem of getting the most basic necessities of food and water. Even in areas where people could get in and out, they couldn't make it to work, because the main roads were blocked. Or they worked in a small business that was itself damaged. The smaller border towns of Mexicali and Tijuana were also hit by floods, though Tijuana has doubled the size of Tijuana since 1980, while decreasing the resources available for planning and infrastructure. The lopsidedness of the damage south of the border was not an act of god. In many ways it was the direct result of a lopsided economic relationship between the two countries—where the U.S. and other imperialists powers dominate Mexico.

Tijuana is a major metropolis because it's close to the U.S., not because it's an ideal place to house 2,000,000 people. Politecs have lured the U.S. with the promise of high profits for Mexican workers have doubled the size of Tijuana since 1980, while decreasing the resources available for planning and infrastructure. And this combination of overcrowded conditions with no paved roads and storm drains proves disastrous when the rains hit. U.S. capitalists (with Europe and Japan close behind) have turned the northern border of Mexico, from Matamoros to Tijuana, into a belt of maquiladoras—factories that turn out a wide range of goods, from consumer electronics to clothing, furniture, even automobiles, without paying duties to import the components into Mexico. The maquiladoras are one of the big factors that have turned the "frontier towns" of Tijuana into the second-largest metropolitan on the Pacific Coast of the United States. They run the maquiladoras are 100 percent foreign owned. These corporate

A Disaster Made North of the Border

Residents who searched for a cause all pointed to the total lack of urban planning, especially the heller-skelter growth of shantytowns or colonias through feeble services and no infrastructure—no paved roads, no storm drains or other flood control measures. But in another way, the disaster in Tijuana is the direct result of planning—the U.S. plans to rob the Mexican people of their homes and has done for 500 years. This reality is strikingly confirmed by a look north of the border. Tijuana is part of a large urban area that includes the California cities of San Diego and San Ysidro. Just as much rain fell north of the border, including in Los Angeles, just 100 miles away, there was flooding in a few areas where greedy contractors had built houses in flood plains. There was also extensive flooding in rural areas of San Diego and Riverside counties, where several people died. But it was nothing like the scale of the disaster in Tijuana. There's a saying in Mexico, "Poverty, so far from God, and so close to the United States." The lopsidedness of the damage south of the border was not an act of god. In many ways it was the directresult of a lopsided economic relationship between the two countries—where the U.S. and other imperialists powers dominate Mexico.

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

The prospect of finding work in the U.S. has also drawn thousands to the border, but they sometimes get stuck in Tijuana—inability to raise the money to pay for a guide across the border, or if they are prevented from crossing by the big build up of INS patrols on the border.

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

The same is true of the big public works projects.

As more and more people crowded into the cities of Mexico, “safety” plans imposed by the imperialists through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) slashed social spending by at least 32 percent in the late 1980s.

The government was mainly concerned with maintaining its rule over the people. A few days after the flooding began, groups of residents who were in danger to get to safe ground. The government did not even have an estimate for the number of missing, including children. Some died because of the effects of the flood, but at least 50 percent cut in health care spending ordered by the IMF. One relief worker said that several babies had died in the colonia Mazarrones, because the hospital where they were taken just didn’t have the supplies and equipment to treat them.

Ten thousand people were left homeless. Only half of these were in shelters. Many were miles away from the nearest shelters in the central city. Others did not want to leave their few possessions or their little bit of land, even when ordered to evacuate. Last spring after an explosion of gasoline killed four people, the government arranged to evacuate them to temporary camps, and they are still waiting.

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News from the Worldwide Campaign to Defend Chairman Gonzalo

Continued from page 7

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

Other Reports from Around the World

MEXICO: From a report on a January 29 demonstration at the Peruvian embassy, organized by the IEC-Mexico City: "The protest was made up mainly of youth and students but also included workers and teachers, and was pulled together on fairly short notice. It had a spirited and peaceful character. When protesters arrived they found considerable police presence, signaling that the authorities seemed to be expecting something on that day even though the protest had not been widely publicized... One youth had drawn a picture of 'Presidential Gonzalo' breaking the bars of the 'cage.' This drawing was hung on the doors of the embassy along with files of revolutionary prisoners uncensored for following the massacre last May at Cantin Grande... The protest at the embassy ended with the burning of a U.S. flag and denunciation of the role of the U.S. in backing up the Fujimori regime."

SPAIN: IEC-Catalonia organized a demonstration on December 5 outside the Peruvian Consulate in Barcelona. A large police presence guarded the consulate, and corps harassed and detained demonstrators.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán can be reached in the U.S. at: International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán c/o Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru P.O. Box 1246, Berkeley, CA 94701 Phone: (415) 252-3766, FAX: (415) 252-7414, Messages: (510) 644-4170

And in London at: International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán c/o BICM International Emergency Committee (IEC) 27 Old Gloucester Street, London, WCIN 3XJ, U.K. Phone or FAX: 44-71-482-9863

From IEC Emergency Bulletin No. 15

Punjab, India: The fundraising drive is being thoroughly discussed in big meetings held by the newspaper Lal Jaafir ("Red Star"). In a big meeting of middle-class non-peasants in a village, a poor peasant responded enthusiastically for the fundraising call. The poor peasant stood up in the meeting and gave all the money—100 Rupees—he had in his pocket. This example of what peasants and workers are willing to sacrifice to save the lives of the poorest countries in the world should give encouragement to others around the world to do the same.
On September 12th Dr. Abimael Guzmán, known as Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru, was captured by the Fujimori regime of Lima, with the full assistance of the U.S. Government's notorious counterinsurgency machine.

There is no reason to fear for the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán at the hands of one of the world's bloodiest governments. The Peruvian state has repeatedly murdered its political prisoners, and is no way can the 12-year-old Guzmán merits the broad international support that all imprisoned opponents of imperialism and reactionary regimes have always been entitled to. He should be allowed access to lawyers, journalists and doctors to ensure his health.

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

CALL TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE LIFE OF DR. ABIMAELE GUZMAN

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Detroit: Key Witness Murdered in Malice Green Case

We received this correspondence from Detroit:

Ron K.

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

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

The police claim Knox's shooting was "drug-related," and before he died the Wayne County prosecutor made a statement insisting that it wasn't related to the Malice Green case. Right now everyone isn't known to say for sure what happened, but like Robert Knox's mother told the news, "All I know is this happened right in the same place. I want to know who wanted my son dead?"

Robert Knox was one of several witnesses from Malice Green's neighborhood who stood firm on their testimony despite the fact that they were accused by defense attorneys of being natural liars because they admitted that they were struggling with crack habits. This shooting, if it was pulled off or set up by police, would be a chilling reminder to them that they are especially vulnerable to police attacks disguised as "green crime."

Officially, the powers-that-be have officially the powers-that-be have stated that there were no police department statements supporting the accused pigs. In December the four cops charged with second degree murder were fired (with their pension rights in place), but defense lawyers insisted on an immediate decision on their disciplinary status, demanding that they might be reinstated either way. However, unofficial support for these pigs has been quietly building. In December a dinner organized by fellow police raised over $20,000, and it was reported that there continues to be a cozy relationship between the police and the financiers of the defense lawyers. The newspapers have over and over raised doubts about whether "the police can get away with it."

The Detroit administration has long banked on its ability to portray itself as a model police force. Meanwhile, we can say absolutely—there is no justice for a Black man or woman, certainly not for Malice Green, in Detroit or anywhere else in this country.

Justice for Malice Green!

Straight to Jail, fjo Bail!

Let's Bury the System!
New York: Police Preparations for More Rebellions

The following tiny article, reprinted here in its entirety, recently appeared in the back pages of the New York paper Newday.

"City dwellers need be frightened by the sight of hundreds of red-geared clad cops racing through the five boroughs by land and air, police said yesterday.

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

"What a cause to take up is reporting about deadly serious preparations for mas- sive, coordinated state violence against cer- tain "dwellers"—as if to say, "Easy fools, it's not a real riot, it's not the gestapo, it's only a drill." But the offhand tone can't cover the very real fears of the ruling class that are the source of such "initia- tives.

"In the past year and a half, the dispos- eed of three reliable New York City neighborhoods—Crown Heights, Bush- wick, and Washington Heights—have risen up in rebellion and taken the streets. They have disturbed the notion "normal" order and strained the old-style organizational methods of the repressive apparatus. Almost nothing the smoke from L.A.'s fires, those in charge of New York's law and order are haunted by terrible questions: How can they effectively respond to rebel- lions that can break out in any number of hot spots, when the police precincts in those neighborhoods are relatively small? What if more than one neighborhood goes up at once? What if alienated middle class youth and others show more sympathy for the uprising(s) than for the system, and the turnout spreads? The Disorder Control Training Initiative is our avenue the pigs are racing down as they attempt to develop new tactics for such scenes.

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

"But all who want to be done with this system can read a radically different mes- sage between the lines: The bourgeoisie is very worried, and they have much reason to fear the people. The time is ripe for bring- ing together proletarian science (MLM), proletarian organization (the Party), and proletarian people, along with their allies, in stepped-up preparation for the soonest revolutionary opportunity.

El Salvador: Ex-Rebel Commanders Go to Capitalism School

A recent report on U.S. wire services revealed how some former guerrilla leaders in El Salvador have sunk into the most shameless betrayal of the people. For months, the commanders of the FMLN movement have carried out a U.S.-backed agreement—dismantling their own guerrilla forces and leaving the people still facing the brutal military of the pro-U.S. govern- ment. Some of these FMLN com- manders are lining up to study cas- tle methods. Do they believe that this training will help them become partners in Yankee exploitation of the Salvadoran people?

"The three-day course being offered to FMLN leaders at a total cost of $578,000. "The courses in macroeconomics, market economics, municipal government, public administration and project evalua- tion are being conducted by the Costa Rica- based Central American Institute for Busi- ness Administration. "The United States backed the various Salvadoran governments throughout the recently credited conflict, helping to train troops and supplying arms and money in the fight against the rebels...

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

El Salvador: Outrageous Courtroom Arrest of POP Supporter

On February 20 in Harris County Criminal Court, sheriffs jumped on and beat up the POP supporter. The attacks happened in a courtroom where an POP se- ller was to go on trial. The brother, who is working on the legal case of the POP seller, was walking over to talk to the lawyer for the seller when he was stopped by the sheriffs. He was arrested and bail was set at $500. The official charge is "interfering with court proceedings," a Class A mis- domesnator that could result in jail time.

The incident caused outrage among other people who were in the courtroom and anyone who heard about it. The attack is only one of a series of outrageous develop- ments in the series of trials of Houston revolutionaries going on now. The week before this, same trial of the POP seller was postponed when sheriffs beat and ar- rested a member of the jury panel from which the jury was to be selected. In con- trast to the usual situation, the panel was made up overwhelmingly of proletarian na- tions. The panel was dismissed.

The authorities are trying to put some revolutionaries away for serious time. The POP seller faces a year in jail, Travis Morales (a well-known supporter of the POP in Houston and a member of La Resistencia faces up to 30 years in prison and another La Resistencia member faces six months. But the powers are confronted with difficult problems. The defendants are war several political bides in these cases and filing discovery motions to uncover the work of the political police in Houston. The ruling class does not want the dirty secrets of their political police to be exposed, and with it the true face of their "democracy."

"That's why they are staging these attacks on the revolutionaries and trying to prevent them from securing a legal defense.

The revolutionaries in Houston are un- daunted by this. As the arrested brother said, "These are desperate acts that reveal the enemy's weakness. All we are facing is time...they are facing political extinc- tion."
A powerful war of liberation is raging in Peru—in the Andes highlands, the Amazon rain forests and the shantytowns of Lima. This people's war is rooted among poor Indian peasants and led by an uncompromising Maoist communist party. The revolution has taken a third of the country out of government control. The U.S. is sending Green Beret "advisers" and millions of dollars to prop up their lackey regime, and has set up a Vietnam-style counter-insurgency firebase.

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

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

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