WELFARE, WORKFARE, AND WAGE SLAVERY

The realities of "going from welfare to work"

Some of the 4,000 people who lined up to apply for 700 entry-level jobs at Roosevelt Hotel in Manhattan, March 18.

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The realities of "going from welfare to work"

The federal government claims its "welfare reform" will "move people from welfare to work." Great cods are portrayed as "tough love." The government is telling people that these policies may seem harsh, but they will really lead millions of people to prosperous lives. Such promises have even raised hopes among people on welfare. People want to work.

The truth is that the federal government is moving to cut welfare to millions of women and children—but does not have any plans for providing stable work or living wages. Most people on welfare will not be able to get stable work—the jobs simply aren't there. And those that do find jobs will often only live in deeper poverty than they did on welfare. Meanwhile "workfare" will force millions of welfare recipients to work for their checks—often moving out workers who used to do that work for better pay.

Last August, President Clinton signed the "Peroninal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act"—which progressive people are calling the Welfare Reform Act. In previous articles the Revolutionary Worker has analyzed many aspects of this attack—including, most recently, cutting off SSI checks to disabled immigrants and children. In this article, we will focus on the "welfare to work" provisions—and what they will mean for the people.

Where are People Supposed to Go?

The new law will drive people off welfare in two main ways.

First, it requires that each state move more welfare recipients into work programs each year. Twenty-five percent of their caseload must be working or in training this year. And 50 percent must be by the year 2000. For two-parent families, 75 percent of the caseload must be working or in training. In two years, that number goes up to 90 percent. If the states don't meet these quotas, the federal government will cut the money they get for welfare payments. The Clinton administration has announced it will be very strict about these deadlines.

Second, this law sets a limit on how long a family can get welfare. There will be a lifetime limit of five years to the time a family can receive checks from the new federal "Temporary Assistance for Needy Families" (TANF). The time limits start counting now—so that someone on TANF steadily will be cut off in five years. Peter Edelman, a ruling class welfare expert, writes: "It will make no difference if a recipient has played by all the rules and sought work faithfully, as required. When the limit is reached and the state is unable or unwilling to grant an exception, welfare will be over for that family forever."

Each family will be allowed to make exceptions to this five-year limit for only 20 percent of its caseload.

A third of young men between 25 and 30 with full-time jobs don't earn enough to keep a family of three above the poverty line. Many young couples can't make it if one partner has to stay home and take care of the kids or a disabled relative. For millions of women, welfare has been the only option.

Welfare and the Dilemma of Single Working Women

The overwhelming majority of people on welfare are single women with children. And over 80 percent of the women on welfare get jobs within two years. This statistic alone exposes all the lies about the supposed "freedom" among women on welfare—people want to work. But here is the other side of that story. Half of the people on welfare have already been on it for at least five years over their lifetimes.

This shows that large numbers of working class women are in and out of welfare—getting jobs, trying to make it, and then being forced back onto welfare—because they got laid off, or because they got divorced and couldn't make it on one income; or because they couldn't afford child care; or because someone in their family got sick and they couldn't make it without federal medical benefits.

The simple fact is that millions of working class people aren't paid enough to raise a family on one salary alone. Wages are simply too low. Single working women with children often can't afford to feed and clothe their families—not to mention pay for health care and day care—and that is what forces them on welfare, and then back on welfare even if they succeed in finding a job.

Wages for the millions in the working class have dropped over the last 30 years. Wages paid by men between the ages of 20 and 34 have dropped 20 percent since 1971. And a third of young men between 25 and 30 with full-time jobs don't earn enough to keep a family of three above the "poverty line."

The exploitation of millions of working people has intensified so much that many young couples have trouble holding a family together, especially if one partner has to stay home and take care of the kids. For many women, living on their own and going on welfare becomes the best option—at least during the years when their kids are small. Life on welfare is full of raw and painful poverty—but the poverty of the available jobs was even worse.

Now welfare recipients are being forced to try to make it on those jobs. According to the work of Harvard professor David Ellwood, most of the welfare recipients who succeed in finding jobs end up "deeper in poverty."

Meanwhile, at least 30 percent of the people on welfare are disabled or caring for family members who are disabled. Someone has to care for the disabled—and there is often no other way these families can get medical benefits. Edelman reports in a recent Atlantic Monthly article (March '97) that at least 36 percent of the welfare recipients in Washington state have learning disabilities. If over 30 percent are on welfare because they...
We can learn more about the situation today by examining more deeply how this period is different from the '60s in some substantial ways. For example, this is not a period of the expansiveness of the imperialist economies. And socially and politically, a lot of the movement of the '60s—the Civil Rights movement, or the early SDS or whatever—was sort of conditioned by that expansiveness of the economy. Even as a movement seeking to change the status quo, it was still conditioned by that expansiveness and the accompanying "optimism"—the Kennedy-Camelot optimism of that time, which reflected the material conditions of broad strata of people in the U.S.

Some people have made the analysis—which I think has some validity, as long as we use it critically—that the '60s was a period of rising expectations, and the particular movements of that time, even the ones that became most radical, were largely shaped by the conflict between the rising expectations and the frustrations or limitations imposed upon those expectations. That was a very explosive mix.

There was a real boom in the economy in the U.S. and internationally before the Vietnam War, and then some factors in the world economy inter-relating with that war started turning things substantially into their opposite. Before that, in the '50s and '60s, large sectors of U.S. society were moving to the suburbs, and it seemed that, in one way or another, everybody had a lot of upward mobility, everybody seemed to be getting it on it. But there were significant sections of people—in particular the masses of Black people and even the middle class of Black people—who were largely and essentially locked out of that; and this was one of the major and most explosive social contradictions of that time.

That's by contrast to today—not that there's no upward mobility at all—or, on the other hand, no phenomenon of people finding their expectations frustrated. But this is a period of a much different social situation, much different expectations. It is a period, if you will, of lowered expectations among large sections of the middle strata—though not all, because there's a real polarization going on even within the middle strata. Because of some of these objective economic changes, and because of conscious policy, there's real polarization going on even within the middle strata. Because of some of these objective economic changes, and because of conscious policy, there's real polarization going on even within the middle strata. Because of some of these objective economic changes, and because of conscious policy, there's real polarization going on even within the middle strata.

I think there's something very wrong in the U.S. society—that we basically have this South Africa within the U.S., when we're supposed to be a democratic beacon for the world. There's something very wrong in the U.S. And pursuing that contradiction led to a lot of radicalization.

Recently I saw a video of the documentary movie Freedom on My Mind, about the civil rights movement in the South. And you can see this process at work there, not only with the masses of Black people but also the Black college students and the white college students and others who took part in this movement. We know it was a very radicalizing experience because many of us came out of that overall experience. But on the other hand, let's put it this way: you could go a fair distance at that time before you came smack up against some of the basic underlying relations and conditions, the underlying limitations of the system. There was more room to move, more room for the ruling class to maneuver within the confines of bourgeois democracy, and more room for people to believe that these contradictions could be resolved within the system, even though people were, at the same time, becoming more and more radicalized.

I read an interview with Mario Savio when he came...
to Berkeley in 1964 for the 30th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (of which he was a major leader and sort of a symbol). He talked about how he felt the compulsion to get active again because a lot of the things that he was initially inspired to get active around were all under attack in an intense way now, and a lot of the same questions seemed to be coming around again. He also talked about the difference between then and now—from his own viewpoint. And he was saying that things are a lot more complicated now.

The interviewers were asking: "Why do you think college students are different? Why don't they jump into the movement sometimes in the same way you did, in your time as a college student? And his response was, in essence, that the material conditions are different—also the questions pose themselves differently. It's not so clear the "right" and "wrong" of everything, it's not so immediately evident. Pretty soon you run into questions of class. He also brought out this point—it isn't just the "right" and "wrong" of racism, but you run into questions of class. And what he was saying, in essence, is that you run into the whole way the society is structured—pretty quickly you come right up against that.

And, again, strategically this is an advantage for our cause, but tactically it can pose some problems because spontaneously people don't see the way to deal with things. It seems overwhelming. In both ideological terms (in terms of their own vision) and practically—of racism, but you run into questions of class. And what he was saying, in essence, is that you run into the whole way the society is structured—pretty quickly you come right up against that.

At the same time, we can't expect things to unfold in a "familiar pattern" for those of us who are "veterans" in the revolutionary movement. In a certain sense, we can say, philosophically, that there are no familiar patterns. It is important to recognize that as you move more of it. But things are pretty quickly you come right up against that.

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Continued from page 3

There is a great variety of family disabilities—and only 20 percent get help. What will happen to the disabled people who don’t get exceptions? According to government figures, between 20 percent and 25 percent of the people who are “stuck” on welfare because there are no decent job openings for them are not job seekers but pay themselves enough to live. And millions are on welfare because of disabilities in the family. Citing government figures, the number of pensioners in the United States who are “established leaders” in hiring welfare recipients. He could only name one. Of them, United Airlines, later admitted it didn’t even have a plan on paper for hiring welfare recipients. Another one, Metropolitan Transportation, reported that it has only hired between 20 and 25 welfare recipients in jobs since that date.

A program at Marriott Hotels was a failure. Marketing and hotel managers hired welfare recipients since 1991—for jobs paying $5 to $8 an hour. The federal government provided $500 to support children’s education subsidies. The moment the subsidies stopped, many of the women with young children simply couldn’t afford to pay for their children’s wages for daycare. Many went back on welfare.

In Richmond, Virginia, one new program will send about 6,000 welfare recipients to work for two or three corporations, including AT&T, National Car Rental, and Metropolitan Transportation. They show up by the thousands in the job centers and there are Enough “volunteers” there, even now, when unemployment is up to levels as low as it ever gets in this country. The Chicago Sun Times (March 17) reported that in the past three years, there were 200,000 more unemployed people and welfare recipients than job openings for which they were qualified. Virginia has had four job seekers for every entry-level position in Richmond, and six job seekers for every entry-level job within Chicago. This is the situation for hundreds of thousands of people. There has been a sharp decline in the number of entry-level positions in the metropolitan area overall. “The number of people now on welfare will quicken dwarf the number of new jobs since 1991—jobs that will require people with special skills or abilities.”

The government spokespeople and researchers generally act like “there are jobs out there, if you look hard enough.” But the truth is very different.

The front page of the New York Times (March 16) reported that there are 4,000 people lining up for two city blocks—hoping to apply for 700 entry-level jobs in Manhattan’s Roosevelt Hotel.

Peter Edelman writes: “There simply are not enough jobs now. Four million adults are receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Half of them are long-term recipients. In city after city around America, the number of people who have to find jobs will quickly dwarf the number of new jobs created in recent years. Many cities have actually lost jobs over the past five to ten years. New York City, for example, lost 227,000 jobs since 1986, and the New York metropolitan area overall has lost 200,000 jobs since the same period. New York City had more than 300,000 adults in the AID caseload in 1995, to say nothing of the simple without dependent children who are receiving general assistance. Statistics available all too often do go to Chicago, or to Youngstown, Ohio, or to Newark… to get the point. The fact is that there are not enough job opportunities or people in appropriate locations even now, when unemployment is at about as low as it ever gets in this country.”

Philadelphia has lost 92,000 jobs since 1993, and is now losing 2,000 a month. Yet “welfare reform” will force 37,000 welfare recipients onto a job market where 47,000 people already can’t find work. This will double the number of unemployed in the city and increase the desperation and competition among those looking for work.

The Chicago Sun Times (March 17) reports that in much of Chicago, the job market is in downtown the area; 90 percent of the welfare recipients are concentrated inside the city itself. Particularly since the area is so congested, they face the bigger problem of overcoming the prejudices of suburban employers. So where are people supposed to find jobs—on their doorstep?

Welfare-Job Training Programs

Corporate Help?

Official propaganda says that people on welfare will get help “getting” jobs, but job training, job placements, and even counseling are all sweeping the streets away. This is basically not true. There are a few job-training and job placement programs—but they barely scratch the need. And none of these projects place people at the rate now required by federal law.

In Kansas City, one of the most successful welfare-job training programs, 4,609 people out of 5,563 welfare recipients to work during the last year. This is a rate of 70,000 of them still had new jobs.

Taking away the safety net isn’t going to solve the problem of people looking for work. It will depress wages, especially for $3 million working poor who make $7.50 or less.

Chicago’s Cabrini Green had a small but widely discussed program where about half the women still had jobs in five years. That success rate is extremely rare—and yet it is far below the 40 percent national welfare-to-work success rate reported over the past five years.

The Clinton administration has proposed spending $3 billion to “create a” new million new jobs for people leaving welfare—$3,000 per person in employment subsidies. The president wants to “create a” new million new jobs for people leaving welfare. The congressional budget office estimates that $13 billion would be needed to move 90 percent of welfare recipients into jobs—just to cover the most minimal costs of transportation and retraining. This kind of funding is not even under discussion.

In his January State of the Union message, President Clinton listed major welfare-to-work programs in Illinois, and six job seekers for the city and increase the desperation and will to find work. The fact is that there are not enough jobs.

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Mumia: New Resolutions of Support

There have been a number of new and positive developments in the movement to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Renowned writer Alice Walker, author of The Color Purple, has been very active in the battle to free Mumia. On March 23, Walker visited with Mumia at SCI Greene maximum security prison in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. She was in nearby Pittsburgh as the guest speaker at the Carnegie Library and Museum’s Three Rivers Lecture Series. Walker, whose latest book Anything We Love Can Be Saved is about activism, dedicated her lecture to three people: Mumia, Judi Bari and Charlotte Hunt. Bari and Hunt recently died of cancer. Bari, a leading activist in the organization Earth First!, fought uncompromisingly against corporate plunder of the environment. Hunt assisted Walker in locating the grave of Harlem Renaissance writer Zora Neale Hurston and bringing attention to her work. Walker told the audience at the packed lecture hall that Mumia “is innocent,” stated her opposition to the death penalty, and said that everything possible must be done to save Mumia’s life.

A CBS camera crew filmed Walker on her way to the prison, as part of coverage for a special on CBS Sunday Morning. The Pittsburgh Post Gazette ran a prominent article which began with a discussion of her visit to the prison and talk with Mumia. Walker is scheduled to return to Pittsburgh on May 28 to visit Mumia again and speak at a free public event sponsored by the Western Pennsylvania Committee to Free Mumia. The funds raised at the event will go to benefit Mumia’s legal defense fund.

Walker also did one of the public service announcements accompanying a series of commentaries by Mumia that aired on the Pacifica radio network in February. She said in her PSA: “Take a moment to listen to this rare and courageous voice, speaking from a place we all fear to know. Everyone interested in justice should hear the words of this eloquent man.” Her words also appeared on the back cover of Mumia’s 1995 book Live From Death Row.

On March 25, the Santa Cruz City Council became the first government body in the U.S. to pass a resolution demanding a new trial for Mumia. Following is the text of the resolution:

WHEREAS, Mumia Abu-Jamal is currently on death row in Pennsylvania in a case which has brought international attention to the serious possibility that the State of Pennsylvania may be killing a man who is innocent of the charges against him; and

WHEREAS, there is widespread support for a new trial in this case, particularly because of the witnesses for the prosecution who now recant their earlier testimony which was used to convict Mumia in his first trial; and

WHEREAS, there is widespread evidence that the police agency involved in the original case and the criminal justice system which heard the original case were involved in illegal suppression of evidence and pressure on witnesses to falsely testify as to what they observed at the scene of the crime; and

WHEREAS, there is now a new witness, a police officer, who is prepared to testify that other witnesses were pressured to give false testimony; and

WHEREAS, the taking of a person’s life by the state is something that should only be done, if ever, with solid, incontrovertible, and certain evidence that demonstrates beyond any reasonable doubt that a capital crime has been committed; and

WHEREAS, that is hardly the situation in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal; and

WHEREAS, local citizens and organizations in the Santa Cruz community have requested that our City join the international outcry for a new trial in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the City Council of the City of Santa Cruz that the City of Santa Cruz does hereby formally request the State of Pennsylvania and its criminal justice system grant the request of Mumia Abu-Jamal for a new trial, and that be given a stay of execution until and unless a new trial can be scheduled and completed

As we go to press, rallies, marches, cultural programs and other actions for Mumia were taking place in a number of cities across the U.S. and overseas. These actions are part of the April 4-5 Days of Remembrance, Rededication and Resistance called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Refuse & Resist!, African Frontline Network, the Bruderhof communities, Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (NY), People Against Racist Terror, Mark Taylor (coordinator of Academics for Mumia Abu-Jamal), and Workers World Party. The R&W will report on these actions in a future issue.

CHA Cop Indicted for Attempted Murder

April 3, 1997—Protesters exposed the brutality of Chicago police at a court hearing for Roland Pace. Pace is the Chicago Housing Authority cop who shot Shaunay Royal at point-blank range on March 4 in Chicago’s Cabrini Green housing project—triggering a major confrontation between the project residents and Chicago police.

The authorities first tried to justify Pace’s shooting of Shaunay Royal. But they were quickly forced to change Pace with official misconduct and aggravated battery. Now, in a major development, the outrage and strength of the people has forced the authorities to increase these charges to attempted murder. Since the shooting of Shaunay Royal, a Black teenager Leann Clark was brutally beaten by three racist—just for hiking near Chicago’s Bridgeport neighborhood. This has put an even sharper spotlight on the treatment of Black people in Chicago.

(See R&W #899, 899 and 900.)
Paintings from right to left: "I Luv My Laws" by One Time, "Untitled" by Geoffrey Briones, and "The Wall" by Demers.

"Los Angeles vs. LAPD" by B. Stevanski

"The World is Ours" by M.T.

"No Badge of Honor" by Aneli McPhersons
ART VS. COPS

Images in the Fight Against Police Brutality

Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.

For the whole month of March, the upstairs meeting room of the Centro del Pueblo, a community center located in San Francisco's Mission District, was transformed into an art gallery. Sculpture, paintings, collage, and photography lined the walls and sprouted from the floor. The show was "Art vs. Cops." The works displayed a variety of styles and media, united by outrage against police brutality.

Art vs. Cops was initiated and organized by activists and artists who were part of the October 22nd National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality—a benefit for the Coalition to Stop Police Brutality. It was a strong articulation of anger and resistance in the cultural sphere.

Most, though not all, of the art was created by youth, and much of it was fueled by firsthand experience with the cops. "Life is a Pig" said the words on one painting by Jose Lopez, Alex and Domingo, with long sticky looking red vertical stripes running down over the word "pig."

Much of the art was created specially for the show, while some artists contributed works they had done some time before. Probably the most well-known artist with a piece in the show was Robbie Conal, whose piece was in response to a comment made by ex-LAPD Chief Daryl Gates that casual drug users should be shot. This work was "mixed media", silkscreen on paper with 38 caliber bullet holes. One of the pieces was a giant floor-to-ceiling collage of newspaper articles on police murder and corruption, Los Angeles vs. LAPD, it had taken B. Stevinski three years to complete.

Many Latino artists participated in the show—making thematic connections between imperialist oppression of Latin American people and police brutality. "Pasado, presente... futuro?" by Alvaro Lagos mixed times and places, showing official brutality and oppression from the time of the conquistadors to the present, with a depiction of a beating of a Black man by the notorious SF Cop Andaya, who murdered Aaron Williams. Another painting by Lagos showed a restaurant in the Mission, people inside are eating, a hungry man and a child are on the outside looking in, while further away in the background SF cops have just shot someone.

A print in burnt orange tones by Carlos Cartagena entitled "Espinas," showed an amputated bell being given a crown of thorns: a pacifist "gift" from the government of El Salvador to the veterans of the civil war. Another piece by Cartagena, "El Secreto Del Coronel," used a metaphor based on folk mythology: a greenish military man tries to cure his sickness by rubbing himself with a frog, but his sickness goes too deep, it is really caused by his uniform and his medals. So the frogs just die and he stays sick. Said the artist, "I think that they are cut from the same block, the military in El Salvador and the cops here. The same.

Their only language is violence. Something that made me happy to participate here was that I knew there were a lot of young artists, and that made me feel great. I am still young, but I've been through a lot. Here in this show are people who still believe in changes, in revolution, even though we are living in disillusioned times. So I said, of course I will be here. I will do this. I still believe in revolution."

Ron Salmeron, Jr. described his piece, a long painting in bronze and dark red tones that looks like a cluster of dense irregular stripes. "I did a piece specifically for the show. It's a word. It says rape. It looks all battered, because when the police arrest you, they just grab you and they take you, they take you away from you, touch you, everything that they possibly could do and at the end they throw you in this little white room, and you're just sitting there like damn, what just happened and your senses, you're just in stock. And I've read books, and movies, interviews of women who've been raped, and it's the same thing, like someone stronger than you, trying to rip you apart."

The artists the RW spoke with were very enthusiastic about the show, but there were also thoughts for improving participation the next time. Annie McPheeeters pointed out that the next time the show needed to include more women artists. "I'm the only one. My piece is pretty straightforward, there is the badge, the cop running after someone, another person is lying on the ground. The Statue of Liberty is watching through bars. The next time I'm going to paint another piece to put beside it, with the people coming after the cop."

Geoffrey Bronces talked about his long painting done in solid shades of gray. "I had this experience and then it was brewing inside. I did this in two days. It's like a stage, a part of the stage where you don't see everything, someone got hanged, there's the gun, long handcuffs, the surveillance camera, everywhere you go you are being surveilled..." He spoke very warmly of the show's organizers and the impact being a part of the show had had on him. "This opened my eyes to a lot of things. When I did this show I met these people that were out there fighting (the police). Getting harassed by the cops is almost part of this culture. When you are out on the streets it can be something you almost accept, but, as you get beat up by the police, that's the way it goes." But this show and these people made me feel that you don't have to take it.

Another piece, "Target Practice" by Spic, has many cartoon-like images—the Klan, a capitalist, a brutal cop with no heart. On the other side of the canvas, coming forward, there are youth, and in front of them, a newborn baby: the new generation.

One of the most powerful and uplifting pieces in the show is a painting by M.T. with an explosion of colors in the middle. The world is in the background, the central form is an image of Mumia Abu-Jamal, below, being parted by the explosion, are a line of cops. The title: "The World is Ours."

The opening celebration—a night of poetry, music and art—brought out 400 people, again mainly youth. And many others saw the show in the weeks that followed, writing their comments in the guest book. The organizers hope to take an expanded version of the show across the SF Bay to Oakland in the fall and are encouraging more artists to contribute works.

For information people can call: 415/864-5153.
Poster by Robbie Conal (left) and "Who's the Man" by Broke

"Varno Folsom" by Kerro Araiza

"Pasado, Presente...Futuro?" by Alvaro Lagos

"Life's a Pig Then U Die!" by Jose Lopez, Alexis & Domingo

by Spie and Dream
Sali Berisha came to power as president of Albania in 1992. His policy was opening Albania wide to foreign capital invest-ment—"integrating with Europe"—it was called. He was committed to the final dismantling of old ownership systems left over from Albania's earlier socialist days: destroying central planning in the economy, ending the state ownership of industry, and dividing up the collectively owned land and agricultural enterprises.

Sali Berisha had the enthusiastic support of the U.S. and the big European powers. They backed his rise like they backed Yeltsin in Russia and similar figures throughout Eastern Europe.

Back then, in 1992, there was much talk of foreign investment, loans, new industries, new prosperity, and Western-style electoral democracy. Albanian people were told that if they embraced western-style capitalism, they would soon have the lifestyles of Germans or Italians. Berisha's slogan for the election of March 1992 was "With me, we all win."

One essential truth was covered up: Capitalism is rooted in the private ownership of the social product. Under capitalism, the wealth of a few is always based on the labor and poverty of the many. Some countries may have relatively high standards of living, but that is because capitalism/empireism, on a world scale, impoverishes and exploits billions of people who live in oppressed countries around the world.

The masses of Albanian people were offered a re-entry into the capitalist world market—but as the exploited, not as the beneficiaries of exploitation.

This reality hit hard and quick in Albania—as it has throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Berisha's rule has been increasingly brutal and fascistic. And, as we wrote in January 1997, the people of Albania woke up to suddenly discover that they had been robbed of almost every dime they had!

Since January, Albania's people have created a nationwide rebellion against the new regime. The people are now in control of the central capitalistic government in Tirana. The absurdities of this revolt are being felt throughout the Balkan region—and the rest of Europe.

**Part 1: The Ripoff**

**Investment—The Capitalist Thing To Do**

From 1991 on, massive changes swept over Albanian society. Collective ownership was destroyed in Albanian villages. Land was broken up among families.

A few investments came in from foreign capitalists—mainly from Italy and Germany—attracted by the promise of low wages. U.S. and European companies announced that they had spent $100 million studying Albania's mineral wealth—and that they had discovered significant oil deposits. Meanwhile, U.S. Marines from the Sixth Fleet Expeditionary Force started training in Albania’s mountains. Albania's government signed a military pact with Turkey's infamous fascist military, which is a member of the U.S.-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

A new private banking system was set up in Albania. And people were urged to put their money in investment funds. These days, in the Western press, the Albanian financial institutions are described as "pyramid schemes" and "investment scams." But that is not how they were presented to the Albanian people. People were told that such investments were the way ordinary people could own their own future in Western-style capitalist countries. With the dismantling of the old state-guaranteed social services, Albanian people could no longer count on having jobs, pensions, medical care or education. Instead, they were told, each person was now responsible for their own survival and prosperity. Saving money was not enough; there was great danger that sudden inflation might eat up savings overnight. So people were told to invest money with the country's new banking system. And they did.

Between 1992 and 1995, the Albanian parliament worked out a new structure of banking laws. On the advice of a team from the International Monetary Fund the final versions of these laws took out provisions that would have required new banks to insures the savings of depositors. The IMF experts apparently felt such government regulation would be a burden on Albania's new born capitalist banking institutions.

A number of rival "investment funds" emerged in Albania that promised a heady rate of return. As they competed for investors, their promised rate of return started to rise: from 8 and 20 percent, to 80 and 100 percent a month. These associations were closely identified with the government. These funds were promoted as the new-style capitalist way to go.

Many small farmers were having trouble making a living on the small patches of land they had gotten from the breaking up of collective farming. Many sold their land and invested the money. Meanwhile 500,000 Albanians had emigrated to Western Europe to get jobs. Many sent their hard currency earnings back to families in Albania. Much of that money too ended up in the "investment funds."

By September 1996, these funds had $1.2 billion invested in them—virtually all the savings of the people. These funds were a way that Albania's emerging Western-style capitalist class was quickly accumulating pools of capital to buy up the most profitable sectors of the state-owned economy. Behind the scenes, everyone now knows, the capitalists were investing these funds in a typical capitalist way: they grabbed control of people's industries and moved them out of the country.

It is widely reported that the funds laundered money for Albanian and Italian drug smugglers. The largest fund, Vali, found money for the election campaign of Berisha's new Democratic Party. Vefa's owner, Vehsi Laimuç, became an Albanian representative to NATO. Another of these funds is said to finance the opposition Socialist Party.

Luxury cars, satellite dishes and high government connections became symbols of a new privatised capitalist class. These "entrepreneurs" created an Albanian stock market in 1996, and started buying up these parts of the economy they considered profitable.

**A Total Wreck—Thanks to Free Enterprise**

In its socialist days, Albania's people had been relatively poor—but their lives had improved immensely because of the revolution. Together they built a modern country out of the old feudal society while facing the constant hostility,
The Ripoff and the Revolt

The Ripoff and the Revolt of a Whole People

Part 2: The Revolt

The collapse of the "investment funds" literally ruined the population of Albania and angered people deeply. There was a groundswell of revolt against the much hated new capitalists—their greed, power, and greed for foreign powers. All throughout January, massive protests grew throughout the country—demanding that the government repay the lost funds. The police tried to violently suppress these demonstrations—people were killed.

Berisha called the growing resistance "a conspiracy of extreme leftist groups and Mafioso." He announced, "We won't pay a penny!"

The situation exploded on Saturday, March 1 when the police attacked 42 students on a hunger strike at the university in Vlore, a small southern port city. Thousands of youth stepped out—anger demonstrations—people were killed.

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counter-insurgent maneuvers

Only a week into the uprising, Berisha's options started to run out. He called for Western military intervention to prop up his government. But the Western powers, at that point, were extremely wary of entering a counter-insurgency war—especially against a brazenly armed population.

The various imprisoners pressed Berisha to bring the six opposition parties into his government on March 9. Berisha fired his own Prime Minister and appointed the leader of the Socialist Party to that job. The head of the secret police was fired and later it was announced that this police force would be dissolved. New elections were scheduled for June.

None of Berisha's moves met the demands of the people—and at least a third of the country remains firmly in the hands of various organized rebel councils and organizations. But the intention of the imprisoned powers was to pave the way for a new pro-Western government (possibly without Berisha), which might be more acceptable to parts of the rebel movement and the population at large. Berisha's days may well be numbered. He has already sent his family into exile. The Socialist Party was formed out of the buckle of the old revisionist ruling party, the Party of Labor of Albania. It has formally renounced Marxism and has "repackaged" itself as a Western-style social democratic party. It has appeared in several places in Eastern Europe—including Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary—old revisionists parties have come to negotiate with the government army. In June, it was announced that the secret police was fired and later it was announced that the army would be dissolved. New elections were scheduled for June.

From the CORIM Call to the Peoples of Eastern Europe

On February 20, 1990, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement issued an appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe. It was called "Cast Away Illusions! Revolution—All the Way!" It was translated into Polish, Czechoslovakian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, German and several other languages. Tens of thousands of copies have been distributed throughout Eastern Europe. It also appeared in the journal A World to Win, #15. The following is an excerpt:

Western propagandists tell you to forget the evidence from Poland and Hungary of what mass imprisonment will mean for you, look instead to Germany, Scandinavia or France—if you adopt democracy and join Europe, scenarios you too will live like this, they claim. What poverty pours from their lips! Of course the West is richer—it has been more successful than its Soviet-Bloc rivals in building a worldwide empire. Their exploitation fields stretch from Chile's copper mines to South Africa's gold mines up through the Middle East oil fields through South Asia and into the Far East, where tens of millions produce textiles and electronics for pittance all the year. Because the West is richer and has a relatively large middle class, it can allow some of its people to see what they want (some of the time) and go abroad if they can afford it. The West is not rich because it is democratic, it is democratic because it is rich, and it is democracy for the rich, the secret of its riches, and voice of its democracy, lies in its empire built on bloody conquest and maintained through savage wars like Vietnam, continual invasions of little countries like Panama, Grenada or the Malvinas, and perpetual misery and suffering for hundreds and hundreds of millions under apartheid regimes and military junta and including within the borders of the imperialist countries themselves. If you want to know what Western democracy is really about, turn off Justin Bieber Europe and find the way to ask South Africa's blacks or Palestinians in the Gaza strip, ask the Arab disunited in Paris or Turks in Hamburg, ask England's cold miners or Chicago's photonwomen—and tell them to tell you about the "miracles" of Western democracy. Or you can just wait to find out for yourselves.

International Intrigues

The Western imperialists press are extremely hostile to the uprising. They clearly do not like to see hundreds of thousands of people, pissed off by capitalist robbery, arm themselves and seek to overthrow a government. Their press has been openly hostile to this uprising—calling it "chaos" and "anarchy." Many magazines charged that the uprising was "vanishing down a sinkhole."

In particular, the ruling class of Europe and the U.S. are concerned that this uprising, if it continues, could spread to the press and severe Albanian populations in the Yugoslav region of Kosovo and the Macedonian region of Macedonia. They worry that it might sink into the sinkhole of the Kalashnikov rifle of this revolt fall into the hands of the Albanians oppressed in neighboring countries.

Such "spillover" could easily provoke conflicts among the Albanian peoples (which dominates Albanian Kosovo). And it could encourage a Greek invasion of Macedonia or Albania. Sections of the Greek ruling class have been fanning an extreme, chauvinistic climate in Greece—demanding annexation of Greek-speaking parts of southern Albania and calling for the destruction of Macedonia as a state.

If local wars break out, the whole Balkan region could easily spiral into a major war involving Greece and Turkey. The Albanian military alibi. The Greeks would deeply disrupt relations between major European imperialist states—and would disturb various "security arrangements" that the U.S. uses to dominate this region and the larger world imperialist system.

Thus any imperialist plan at the moment is to "contain" the uprising within Albania, create a new Albanian national government and prop up the old revisionist parties. In hope that the uprising cools enough so that the Western powers, at the moment, are wary of trying to occupy the Albanian regions of Kosovo and the Macedonian region of Macedonia. Or you can just wait to find out for yourselves.

The Albanian Union sent a Dutch diplomat to offer "military advisors" to Albania's government. The U.S. government announced that it would send high-powered teams of economic and military advisors on the scene from the beginning.

At the same time, the U.S. and Germany have both been trying to divide the Albanian elites and directly confronting the rebels. As one U.S. Congressman, Eliot Engel, said, "it's going to be very hard to get this genie back into the bottle." Albania's people have bloodied invaders before—and they are very pushy people and very armed at the moment. Instead of allowing smaller "allied" powers to intervene—"the name of a UN humanitarian effort."

As we go to press, the final plans are being laid for sending up to 5,000 U.S. troops into Albania. Official American statements are only going to help distribute relief supplies. But a sizable part of that force will land in the harbor of Vlore—the small southern city that has been the epicenter of the Albanian uprising. They will also be intended to play a counterinsurgency role.

The plan for this invasion was developed by the Italian government—under whose military has been given command of the operation. Military units from Italy, Greece and Turkey will take a major role in the operation—all of which have had designs on Albania in the past. Albanians here remember well that it was Italian fascist troops under Mussolini who ignited their country's first big war during World War II and had to be defeated by an intense communist-led guerrilla war. Spanish, Portuguese and Argentine troops will also be involved in the coming military intervention.

In addition, the Italian government has sent an Italian Navy ship to stalk and sink a refugee boat carrying
Albania in Brief

Albania is a small country along the Balkan coast—encompassed by mountains people famous for their fierce independence. Its population is about 3.5 million. It is bordered to the north by the Soviet-dominated Yugoslavia, to the east by Greece, to the west, across the Adriatic Sea, by Italy. All of Albania's neighbors have tried, at one time or another, to take over Albania or carve out parts of it. In 1939 Italy occupies part of its land. Serbia today controls the Albanian-inhabited region known as Kosovo, and heavily oppresses the people there. The Greek ruling class has been accusing Albania of persecuting Greeks-speaking people in its northern districts —and threatening to take these areas away from Albania. And Italy long attempted to conquer and colonize Albania—including during World War 2, when the Italian fascists and their German allies carried out a brutal occupation of Albania.

Socialist Revolution—Aliened with Mao Tse-tung

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At the end of World War 2, a communist-led guerrilla army liberated Albania from years of brutal occupation by Italian fascists and German Nazis. Albania became an independent socialist country. Led by the communists, the people of Albania's isolated villages fought to create a new collective agriculture. They broke the power of the old feudal landlord-farming classes. As the war-time economy was rebuilt, modern industry emerged in Albania for the first time—created along socialist lines. Albania had close ties to the Soviet Union—which in those years was a socialist country led by Joseph Stalin.

In 1950 Pioner communists rose to power in the Soviet Union and overthrew the Stalinist-bourgeois-capitalist system of ownership. This was a state-capitalist system of ownership. They then voted a constitution, nationalizing all means of production. They nationalized the economy, took away all private means of production, and replaced them with state-owned enterprises.

Under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, Albania's revolt shows the political potential for revolution in Eastern Europe. Its population is about 3.5 million. It is bordered to the north by the Soviet-dominated Yugoslavia, to the east by Greece, to the west, across the Adriatic Sea, by Italy. All of Albania's neighbors have tried, at one time or another, to take over Albania or carve out parts of it. In 1939 Italy occupies part of its land. Serbia today controls the Albanian-inhabited region known as Kosovo, and heavily oppresses the people there. The Greek ruling class has been accusing Albania of persecuting Greeks-speaking people in its northern districts —and threatening to take these areas away from Albania.

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On the night of February 25, officers from the Special Investigation Section (SIS) of the Los Angeles police department opened fire on a car full of people on a dead-end residential street in the San Fernando Valley area. They killed three people in the car. Kim Benton, Kirk Deffbaugh and Eric Fields, all of them in their early twenties. The police say one person in the car escaped, and they later arrested Michael Smith.

Michael Smith has made no statement, and there are no autopsy results available on those killed. The only version of the killing of Kim Benton, Kirk Deffbaugh and Eric Fields comes from the SIS cops who shot them. The cops said that they were following a car from the scene of a robbery at a night club, when someone in the car pointed a gun at them. The police said they then opened fire. The shooting was so intense that several houses on the street were hit by police bullets, but no cops were wounded. And the cops don’t even claim that the people in the car fired a single shot. Although articles in the mainstream press called it a “shooting,” it was clearly a one-sided, cowardly execution.

The LAPD almost killed a fourth person that night. Before they arrested Michael Smith, heavily armed cops roamed through the surrounding area. They saw 20-year-old Grover Smith (not related to Michael Smith) walking down the street, and opened fire on him with shotgun. As Grover Smith went down, writhing in pain from multiple bullet wounds to his legs, the cops started shooting. “We got him, boy.”

We got him.” A man who lives in the neighborhood told the FBI. "They were acting like they were from the South or something.”

Grover Smith was shot in front of his own house. Several people saw him as he walked on the sidewalk with his hands up and then was shot by the cops, who opened fire without warning. Police said later that he “fit the description” of the man who escaped from the car they shot up. All the people in the car were African-American. The description the police gave was “a dark-skinned male.” Grover Smith is a very light-skinned Black man.

Police also told a story familiar to anyone who knows about police brutality and murder. They claimed Grover Smith “reached for his waistband.” Several newspaper accounts said he was “hiding in the bushes” and called his shooting “an accident.” Several of his neighbors told a different story. They said Grover Smith lived in a house with other young people and knew what it was like to be hazed by the cops. When he saw that the whole area was swarming with cops, including police helicopters, he decided to walk out of the area. He was being very careful.

The SIS cops were on a killing spree—and they shot the first Black man they saw on the street.

After the shooting, angry residents shouted at the heavily armed police, demanding to know why they had shot their neighbor. Grover Smith suffered severe injuries to his leg, including nerve damage and shattered bones. His recovery may take six months or a year. He has joined 50 others in a lawsuit against the SIS. When Michael Smith was arrested later, he was charged with the murders of the three people in the car as well as armed robbery.

The February 25 shootings in the Valley were typical of how SIS operates. Attorneys for victims of police brutality and murder have called SIS a death squad because of particular tactics that it uses. SIS officers follow people who have been accused of armed robbery. But they don’t do the kind of “detective work” that people see in the movies—interviewing witnesses, searching people’s houses, looking for fingerprints. They wait until their targets are in a vulnerable situation, like leaving the scene of an armed robbery, and then confront them with shotgun and other heavy weapons. One of their techniques is to yell “Freeze,” and open fire when the person turns around to look. According to anti-police-brutality lawyers, the SIS cops have shot hundreds of people and killed 44. The LAPD’s own records show that SIS officers have shot more people per cop than any other LAPD unit.

The SIS unit makes no effort to prevent robberies. They wait for a moment when they have a pretext for a one-sided armed confrontation. SIS officers also pass up chances to arrest their targets for other crimes, including murder, as weapons violations.

February 12, 1990: four men allegedly broke into a McDonald’s in the Sunland area of L.A. before it was open for business, pointed guns at the employees, and took money from the safe. The McDonald’s workers called SIS when they heard someone trying to break in the back door. But the SIS notified local LAPD cops not to answer any calls. The SIS waited until the four were sitting in their car, and then opened up on them. Three of the men were killed. Physical evidence showed they shot in the back. This contradicts the cops’ story that the alleged robber had turned around and pointed gun at the police. In fact, they were armed with pellet guns.

The FBI announced two days after the killings in the Valley that they were going to “investigate” the SIS for civil rights violations. There have been two other FBI investigations in the past, and no charges have ever been filed against the SIS. LAPD Chief Willie Williams, like Daryl Gates before him, backed up his killer cops.

The L.A. City Council has called for an investigation—ofGrover Smith’s lawyer, not the cops who shot him. The lawyer, Steven Yagman, is a well-known advocate of victims of police brutality. His lawsuit describes the SIS cops as “assassins,” and charges that they shot Grover Smith “in a frenzy of Nazi-like blood lust.” It also notes that he was shot in the back.

Sylvia Bentley, the mother of 22-year-old Kirk Deffbaugh, told reporters, “I’m not upholding what they did, but they were young. They hadn’t even had a chance to experience life yet. They could have just been kids with a gun, but they didn’t have any trouble. They’re not bad kids. They’ve been trained to do these things.”

LAPD Gets More Heavy Guns

The SIS is called an “elite” unit of the LAPD. The SIS execution squad is distinguished from other LAPD divisions not only by their skill and kill tactics, but by their use of heavy weapons. Within weeks of the killing of Kim Benton, Kirk Deffbaugh and Eric Fields and the wounding of Grover Smith, the Los Angeles Police Commission voted to purchase U.S. military weapons in the hands of all the L.A. Cops. Officers will be allowed to carry 45 automatic pistols, which fire larger, more deadly bullets than their current 9mm pistols. Supervisors in every division, including the traffic division, will carry AR-15 assault rifles in their cars. The AR-15 is almost identical to the M-16 rifle first used by the U.S. Army in Vietnam. The M-16 fires a high-velocity .223 bullet that can penetrate the skin, break bone, and cause serious internal injuries. If it misses, it inflicts wounds that are very difficult to treat. LAPD officers will also be issued slugs for 12-gauge shotguns. A slug is a single large projectile over a half-inch across.

In front of the TV cameras, the cops always say they need more sophisticated weapons to “protect the public.” But the history of the SIS—and other heavily armed divisions—is such as to say, “These people are police hired to kill somebody. They are hit men. They are trained to do these things.”
A series of recent moves by the New York City Police Department show they are trying to increase the use of indiscriminate murder and repression against the people.

9 Million Hollow-Point Bullets

The New York City Police Department recently announced it was moving to convert all police units to hollow-point/dumdum bullets. (The transit and bus police are already using this type of ammunition.) Because of their hollow tips, dumdum bullets do not pass through victims' clothing or flesh and remain intact inside the body, causing more deadly injuries than regular bullets. Hollow-point/dumdum police are intended to enable the cops to more effectively kill and maim. As one top police official put it (using language that reflects the cops' total disrespect for the people), "Perps are going to be going down so soft." The NYPD ordered 9 million rounds of these bullets—which they say is a one-year supply.

There were 29 helicopters and 29 squad cars on the planned conversion. The change came to light when the police commissioner was answering questions from the press about recent shootings of bystanders by cops. One victim was Bobbeca Silvero, a young Latina who lost her eye as a result of cops shooting outside an apartment building window. The police commissioner said that to avoid the hazards of ricocheting bullets, "We are changing to hollow-point ammunition."

With a straight face, this police representative argued that the switch to hollow-point bullets was being made out of concern for the "safety" of ordinary people.

In a media attempt to make the cops look less bloodthirsty, the commissioner said the NYPD's new bullets were used in 1996 and 1997. He failed to mention that 1995 was a record year for the number of bullets fired by the cops in New York—and that they still fired more bullets in 1996 at people than they did in 1993 and 1992. Their own statistics prove how trigger-happy the police are.

The revelation by the police commissioner created a stir, and various forces stepped up opposition. The N.Y. Civil Liberties Union denounced the move and demanded public discussion. A number of candidates ran against Mayor Giuliani, who opposed the plan. Even the Civilian Complaint Review Board—which is supposed to monitor police abuse—barely recommended action against cops—was forced to create a committee to investigate the use of dumdum bullets.

The NYPD hoped to make the amino change behind closed doors. But the first stirrings of the controversy, Giuliani was forced to put the bullet conversion "on hold" while he "further studied" the issue.

Deadly Statistics

Off of the dumdum controversy, the NYPD was forced to finally release statistics on how many people they shot in the last two years. According to their figures, 27 people were shot to death by N.Y. cops in 1992—29 were killed in 1993. They did not reveal the names of the victims nor the circumstances of the shootings. And they did not say how many people were killed in police custody.

In the five-year period from January 1992 to December 1996, the NYPD killed at least 187 people. Another way to look at this deadly statistic is that on average the police in New York kill someone about every 20 hours.

While some of the chilling and exposing statistics about police murder have come out, overall, there has been an increasing suppression of information. The police no longer even supply basic information to the mainstream press. Recent articles in the press have complained about the police harassing and suppressing them and denying access to crime scenes and other police activity. A couple of weeks ago it was revealed that there have been 11 confrontations in the last six months between news people and police—"gangs" of police explorers being prevented from taking pictures at fires and crime scenes to incidents in which cops are grabbed photographers' cameras and blocked them from shooting. In February the New York Press Club sent the police commissioner a letter saying they were "deeply concerned about what we perceive as a pattern of police harassment."

Most recently, a N.Y. Times reporter was arrested when police attacked people at the funeral procession for rapper Biggie Smallz in Brooklyn.

A More Lethal Pepper Spray

Immediately following the controversy over the dumdum bullets, the NYPD announced the switch to a more toxic pepper spray. The department has begun to issue cops bigger cans of spray that can shoots twice as far—45 feet rather than 8. This new spray is mixed with citrus fiber that make it stick to the person attacked with it—making the chemical in the pepper spray even more potent and painful for the victims.

Police chief Louis Anemone said of the spray, "We think this is an effective, less-than-lethal tool." But two separate incidents on the same weekend in mid-March show this to be a lie. The cops pepper sprayed two men before shooting and killing them.

Yearbook Mug Shots

A few days after the announcement about the new pepper spray, the press reported on an internal police memo interviewing detectives from all the junior high and high schools—so that the pictures could be used as mug shots. The police had already been using yearbooks for this purpose, but this is the first time this practice has been presented as official policy. The N.Y. Daily News quoted the memo which appeared in the Detective Bureau Training Bulletin dated January 29, 1997. The memo said, "Every precinct detective squad must have the most current yearbook for each secondary school in their respective commands."

There was immediate opposition to this police-state move. A principal in Bushwick, Brooklyn said, "I certainly am not doing it. They can't get the yearbook from me." Another principal, from Clara Barton High School in Crown Heights, told reporters, "I'm not looking to help [the NYPD] build their database." The school commissioner said yearbooks are educational records and should not be distributed to public agencies or to the media. A state senator said that the police are "out of control."

The head of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union said, "We believe that this will increase the potential for violating the rights of thousands of innocent and law-abiding high school and junior high school students by placing them in a position where they might be considered a suspect through mistaken identification."

The police claim they only use these yearbooks to "crime victims" can identify suspects. This practice is outrageous in its own right. But this is also part of NYPD's efforts to build up its "juvenile database."

In April 1996, the NYPD issued its "Police Strategies"—blueprints for some of the police-state moves being brought down on the people. One of these documents revealed that the NYPD is creating a database "by inputting 'juvenile' identifiers from all juvenile reports, juvenile referrals, and gang intelligence in a format that can be used by precinct personnel and ultimately be interfaced with the Family Court's Juvenile Justice Information Service."

The document said that the aim was to "centralize and make easily retrievable intelligence on repeat youth offenders, their street names, gang or 'posse' affiliations, and to use the technology to help control and defeat criminal activity among young people."

The public schools of New York are made up overwhelmingly of students from various oppressed nationalities. (It is unclear if the NYPD policy applies to private schools.) This intelligence-gathering on African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Javanese and other youth is part of the criminalization of a whole generation.

A 1996 Amnesty International report compared the brutal NYPD to the armed forces of oppressive regimes around the world which are notorious for murder and torture. As the recent developments show, the power structure is giving the NYPD the green light to become even more brutal and murderous.

A revealing example of the criminal mentality of the police came out in a recent N.Y. Times column. The article quoted a youth who described a run-in with a cop: "One time there was an officer who wouldn't let me go into the building where my friend lives. I said, 'Do you have any reason to stop me?' He said, 'Shut the (expletive) up.' He said I tried to go inside one of my family would ever see me again."
Initiation of People's War in Nepal

February 13, 1996: "The sight of hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers in Nepal standing up and taking on their enemies cannot help but inspire the oppressed masses throughout the world. It highlights the decisive role and vitality of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and gives further impetus to the forming and strengthening of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The initiation of the People's War in Nepal is a daring and glorious step forward for the world revolution."

Two-Line Struggle in Peru

In the prisons of Peru itself, among the slum dwellers in India, in the "electronic world" of the Internet, debate is raging over the two-line struggle which emerged in the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). Let's carry the fight against the Right Opportunist Line through to the end.

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