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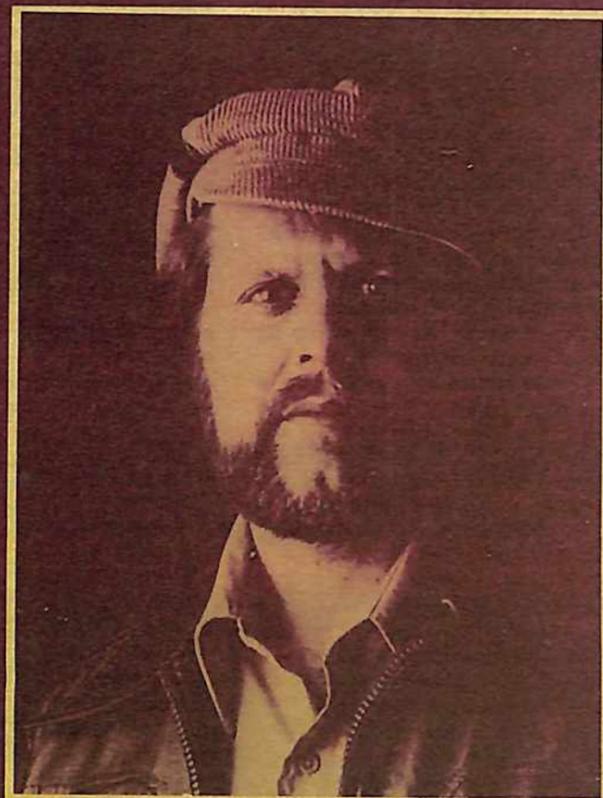
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COMMUNISM!

BOB AVAKIAN

**Announcing
a New Book by
Bob Avakian**



see centerfold

10
Excerpts:
The Myth
of Free Markets

3 U.S. Calls for
More Racist
Border Roundups



5

Straight
Talk on
the Tyson Verdict

6 Peru:
Ruined and Robbed
by Imperialism



12 Malcolm X, MLK, and the 1963 March on Washington

Ohio Supreme Court Threatens Cleveland Flagburner

In the state of Ohio, a person convicted of a felony and awaiting sentencing can now be denied bail based on her/his political opinions. A February 5 ruling by the Ohio Supreme Court gives sweeping power to the state to imprison revolutionaries and others who aren't down with the New World Order program. This calculated and vicious decision came as part of the flag-burning case against Cheryl Lessin, Cleveland spokesperson for the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Cheryl Lessin was convicted of "inciting to violence" for burning a flag on August 10, 1990 in protest of the U.S. preparations for war against Iraq. The conviction is now under appeal. This is an important case for revolutionaries as well as all who are opposed to political repression. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled in the Joey Johnson case that burning U.S. flags is a legitimate form of political speech. But the ruling class has been trying to outlaw flag-burning in other ways, such as trying to try flagburners under "criminal" cases.

On October 29, 1990, the day Lessin was convicted, the judge refused bail on openly political grounds. The judge said, "I think she has demonstrated her contempt not only for our system of government but obviously for our system of justice. I don't believe she would appear for sentencing in this matter." Lessin was sent immediately to county jail, even though she had no prior record, held a job and had shown up for every court appearance required.

The defense immediately filed a writ of habeas corpus against the county sheriff demanding that bail be granted and a writ of mandamus saying that the judge acted improperly in denying bail. Three days later, in a hearing on the writs in the Court of Appeals, the prosecution admitted what

they had tried to deny: this was a political trial. They argued that Lessin should not receive bail because she wore a Mao Tsetung T-shirt to court. They quoted the judge's statement that Lessin had "contempt for our system of government." And they claimed she was a "flight risk" because of her membership in the RCP. One of the appeals judges, taken aback by the prosecution's blatant arguments, asked, "That's not illegal, is it?" The Appeals Court ruled that Lessin had been legally detained but granted the writ of habeas corpus and allowed her out on a bond of \$2,000 pending sentencing.

On December 28, 1990 Lessin was sentenced to one year in prison and immediately sent back to jail when the trial judge again denied bond. After she was in the state women's jail for three weeks the Appeals Court finally granted bond and she was released. Her case is now on appeal.

But in the meantime, on December 31, the prosecution filed an appeal with the Ohio Supreme Court against the Appeal Court's original decision to grant bond to Lessin after her conviction. Many legal observers thought the issue was moot (legally irrelevant) because things had already moved beyond that point in the case. The fact that the Supreme Court acted on this appeal under these circumstances again pointed to the fact that every move by the authorities in this case has been highly politically charged and that they have been really intent on jailing Lessin and outlawing flagburning. In its February 5 ruling, the Supreme Court approvingly cited the trial judge's use of Lessin's political stand as reason for denying her bail.

Cheryl Lessin remains free awaiting a decision on the appeal. But according to one attorney involved in the appeal, the



Cheryl Lessin

Photo: Steve Vaccarella

Ohio Supreme Court ruling could have "dire implications for defendants seeking bond" and is a "dangerously conservative opinion." Another lawyer said, "For leftists, it basically means you can be kept in jail because of what you believe." The ruling is another warning that the New World Order is getting its legal machinery in line for dealing with future upheavals.

The Cleveland branch of the RCP has come out with a new broadsheet on the Cheryl Lessin case. It is titled "The People of the World Have Delivered Their Verdict: Burning the U.S. Flag Is No Crime!" The broadsheet is available in bulk at \$6 per hundred from: Revolution Books, 2804 Mayfield Road, Cleveland Heights, OH 44118, (216) 932-2543. □

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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On the U.S.-Mexico border.

We Are All Illegals!

U.S. Calls for More Racist Roundups on the Border

The Bush administration has opened a new offensive in the government's war on the people. On February 9 Attorney General William Barr announced new steps against immigrants trying to enter the U.S. across the U.S.-Mexico border. The new plans will increase the militarization of life in the border region and the clampdown on millions of proletarian people. And these plans come with ugly fascist propaganda.

All progressive people need to check out the class interests behind the plans—and they need to take a stand with their immigrant sisters and brothers to demand a stop to the border clampdown and the persecution of immigrants.

David Duke, the Ku Klux Klan grand wizard turned presidential candidate, claims credit for pushing Bush toward making these new border moves. This reveals just how extreme and reactionary the new plans are. "George Bush has adopted David Duke's position of welfare reform, and now he's adopting David Duke's position on immigration," Mark Ellis, the national spokesman for Klan presidential candidate David Duke, said to an *RW* reporter over the telephone. "This new policy of George Bush is a step in the right direction," says the Duke spokesman.

The Fascist Measures

Attorney General Barr's new anti-immigrant plan involves shifting funds and forces to the southern border with Mexico. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS, or *la Migra*) is predicting that this year almost *two million* proletarians will be seized at the southern border. This would be the highest number of border ar-

rests in history and twice the number of arrests in 1989.

The plan includes:

- Five hundred new agents will be hired to hunt so-called "illegal aliens." Three hundred of them will be added to the Border Patrol, which already deploys 2,300 agents along the 1,900 mile border. The remaining 200 new agents will be hired by the INS and assigned to the newly created "National Criminal Alien Tracking Center" to coordinate with local police and prisons in the pursuit of so-called "criminal aliens."
- New counterfeit-resistant work permits will be developed and issued.
- Five million dollars will be assigned to provide new, high-tech equipment to the border, including communications gear, sensors, and special lighting. A heavy metal fence currently being built will eventually close off nearly 12 miles along the border south of San Diego.
- Military vehicles used in the Persian Gulf desert war are being shifted to patrol border areas.
- The processing of legal applications for residency and citizenship will be speeded up. These are aimed at helping the government keep closer watch on the immigrants.

Open Fascism on the U.S. Political Stage

This anti-immigrant clampdown is accompanied by a wave of fascist, racist ideology. This year two extreme right-wing candidates are running for president—Pat Buchanan and David Duke. Duke has a

long history as a white supremacist leader of the KKK and the American Nazi Party. He believes the government should carry out an extreme, all-out civil war against the oppressed people. He claims he could improve the situation of white middle class people by driving Black people and other groups deeper into poverty and oppression. In short, Duke is an open fascist. Buchanan has similar politics—except his career has been high in the official power structure, as speechwriter for Nixon and Reagan and as a TV commentator on CNN. The fact that these two candidates get access to the national media and major funding says a great deal about the current direction of official politics in the USA. But they are doing more than running.

The Duke campaign is right when they said many of their policies and slogans have been adopted by the White House. Vice President Dan Quayle himself said last November: "The message of David Duke is...a very popular message. The problem is the messenger." This quote makes clear that the ruling powers of the U.S. are consciously borrowing their policies and their rhetoric from Duke and the KKK.

The Duke campaign is also right when it points out that the White House has adopted the main racist codewords of the Duke campaign as Bush's own themes for this election year: "Welfare, affirmative action and immigration control." Consider:

- Throughout 1991, President Bush identified himself with the opposition to "affirmative action" policies that require hiring Black people into jobs where they were formerly excluded.

- In his January State of the Union message, Bush made it clear that "welfare" would be a major target of his election year attacks.

- And now, in February, the Bush government has announced a major offensive on "immigration control." The new Barr proposals carry out the basic demands of Duke and Buchanan: major new clampdowns to enforce existing immigration laws, including the redeployment of military hardware.

Meanwhile, *none* of the Democratic presidential candidates have denounced the fascist border moves of the Bush administration. This shows that the whole spectrum of official "two-party" politics supports these moves. Some key themes from the fascist underground have become virtually unchallenged policies of the whole ruling class.

Why Is the Ruling Class Using Slogans from the Klan?

Answer: Because border clampdown policies meet the needs of the system. And some of the racist and chauvinist rhetoric of the fascist right also meet the needs of the system.

Deep economic crisis is driving official politics this year. The system is unable to offer even the basics of life to many in the oppressed classes and unable to offer the middle classes a stable and improving lifestyle. An economic crisis that deep threatens to produce political instability in the system. The ruling powers see discontent developing among the usually loyal

Continued on page 4

U.S. Calls for More Racist Roundups on the Border

Continued from page 3

middle classes, and they see a danger of upheaval from the oppressed. The powers are working overtime to head off such political crisis. And they are relying heavily on the oldest trick in history: "Divide and conquer."

They don't want the crisis blamed on the system—so they point the finger of blame down. They tell the middle class people that high taxes are caused by people on welfare. This is a lie, but it is a useful way to fool some people in the heavily taxed middle classes into supporting extremely brutal and cruel attacks on the poorest people.

The same game is being played against immigrants: Local government officials in the southern border states claim that immigrants are overtaxing social services of their areas. The Duke campaign says, "Illegal immigration is costing millions of American jobs, and billions in crime and social welfare costs." Black people are told that immigrants take away their jobs and use up money for social programs.

It is very important to understand and expose the ugly game that the powers are playing. Here is the true situation.

Immigrants Are Not Causing the Economic Crisis

The capitalist system needs to exploit the labor of proletarians like a vampire needs blood. And the U.S. capitalist rulers have made themselves rich by exploiting Third World people both in their home countries and within the borders of the U.S. itself.

Immigrants from Latin America are forced to flee their homes in the first place because their countries have been devastated by imperialist domination or because of political persecution by U.S.-backed regimes. But once in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast, most find themselves in a nightmare of poverty and oppression.

One of the main reasons that "illegal" immigrants are so profitable for the capitalists is that they do *not* get even the pitiful benefits given to "legal" workers—like unemployment benefits, minimum wage, or social security. Like many other proletarians they rarely get medical insurance from their employers and often have to use emergency clinics for basic health care. It is absurd to claim that "illegal" immigrants are bankrupting the social services: few sections of the population get so little.

The very fact that many of these workers are "illegal" means that their capitalist employers can force them to work for far below standard wages by holding the threat of deportation over them. The truth is that immigrants are the backbone of whole industries like vegetable and fruit production. The economy of the whole "Sunbelt" and many northern urban areas draws heavily on their large-scale suffering and exploitation.

The Powers Want to Control the Immigrants

At this point, the U.S. economy cannot do without the extra-high profits made off the exploitation of immigrant workers. So the powers don't want to stop immigration from Mexico and Latin America. What they want to do instead is *tighten control* on the immigrants—as they have been doing already. The INS concentration camps in immigrant communities like Pico-Union in Los Angeles are a part of this.

The ruling class is concerned about the *uncontrolled* passage of millions of people annually across the southern U.S. border. They have fears about the shifting mix of nationalities in both the border regions and many major cities, and they especially worry about the political loyalties of the millions of proletarians coming into the United States from Mexico and other Third World countries. And they are afraid that in future crises they could lose control of the border and perhaps whole border regions.

So the U.S. ruling powers have a two-faced policy. They continue to exploit millions of immigrant workers inside the U.S. At the same time, they step up police-state actions to militarize the southern border and clamp down on the immigrants.

The powers are trying to get support for these moves from backward racist sections of the white population by saying they want to re-establish the dominance of a traditional white-supremacist culture. In a TV interview Pat Buchanan said: "If we had to take in a million immigrants in, say Zulus, next year, or Englishmen, and put them up in Virginia, what group would be easier to assimilate and would cause less problems for the people of Virginia?" Buchanan's message is that the U.S. should be considered a white-European country—it should welcome immigrants from Europe and limit immigrants from the Third World.

(The Zulus mentioned by Buchanan are an African people.)

Knock Down the Back Fence

In the name of "regaining control of the border" the government now expects to arrest *two million people*—almost all of them oppressed people from U.S.-dominated countries who are just looking for a way to live. And they are using KKK rhetoric to whip up support for these moves. This is intolerable! Why should any oppressed person—or anyone opposed to injustice—be suckers for this?

The rulers worry that immigrants will destabilize their system. Proletarians and progressive people should welcome this! As Chairman Bob Avakian says, "If they want to erect fences and barriers in order to maintain tight control, we want to open the back door and knock down the back fence and invite a lot of other people to take part.... We want to invite them all in and make it even more strategically favorable, not only in terms of revolution in the U.S. but in terms of revolution all over—all over the Americas and, fundamentally, all over the world."

"Crime" is a Racist Codeword

The new government border plan also makes a big deal out of hunting down "criminal aliens." They talk like illegal immigrants are conducting some major crime wave in the U.S.—and they say that people who hate crime should support their new clampdown on immigrants.

This is another old game. "War on crime" has been used as an excuse for brutalizing and suppressing Black people. And now this game is being extended to the suppression of immigrants. These border plans are part of a broader crackdown on all the most explosive sections of the people within the U.S.

The powers are pumping out bullshit statistics to support their talk of "criminal aliens." Justice Department officials point out that of the nearly 65,000 inmates in Federal prisons, a quarter are non-citizens. But these figures don't prove there is a crime wave by "criminal aliens." Federal prisons contain only a *tiny* fraction of the prison population in the United States. The reason there are a large number of "non-citizens" in federal prisons is that's where people busted for cross-border drug traf-

ficking go. It has nothing to do with the poor people who are crossing over the border.

The government talk about "criminal aliens" is just a racist codeword used to justify the new "National Criminal Alien Tracking Center." This "Tracking Center" means increased coordination of pigs at the national level. Their plans are still secret, but we can expect that it will involve one more police-state supercomputer tracking the people.

The People Must Reject This Bourgeois "Divide and Conquer" Politics

The ruling powers talk about their "politics of wedge issues." They want vicious dog-eat-dog politics of fear and selfishness to rule. They want Black people to support attacks on immigrants. They want middle class people to support attacks on poor people on welfare. They want the privileged middle classes to support attacks on oppressed Black and Latin people. *The ruling powers want to divide people up into warring camps and mobilize the most backward for a war on the most oppressed.*

The people must REFUSE to be suckers for this game of divide and conquer. It is *the system* that causes the suffering of people and the worsening conditions. And supporting the system's clampdown on immigrants and other oppressed people is against the basic interests of the oppressed proletarian class as well as those in the middle classes.

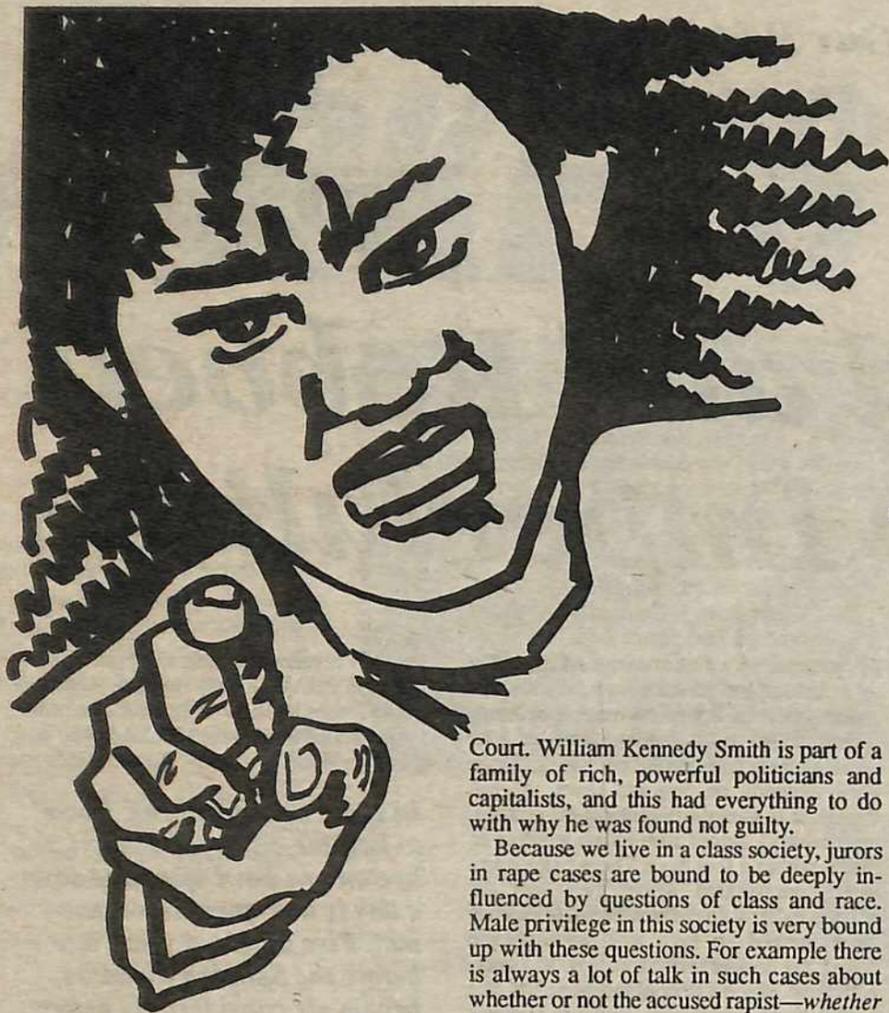
The class-conscious proletariat has a saying: *We are all illegals.* It means we stand with the so-called "illegal aliens." They are our sisters and brothers. And we consider their enemies *our* enemies.

This internationalist slogan should be taught—and explained—to many new people. The next time you hear a Black homey, a poor white proletarian or a middle class person say anti-immigrant things that they've heard and have been duped into repeating, help them see that they are supporting the *enemy's* political program—and that it is completely against their own class interests.

The powers are taking aim at our immigrant sisters and brothers. And we can't let it go down like that! □



On the U.S.-Mexico border.



Straight Talk on the Tyson Verdict

On Monday, February 10, boxer Mike Tyson was found guilty of raping an 18-year-old Black woman. His two-week trial, followed closely by people around the country, has been the subject of a lot of controversy. After this year's St. John's rape trial, the Clarence Thomas hearings and the William Kennedy Smith trial, millions of people were wondering what message would come out of this ugly incident. And as people divided out on whether to support Tyson or the woman it was clear that there's a lot of confusion. Especially after the conviction, the confusion got intense.

A lot of Black people are angry at the hypocrisy behind the Tyson conviction—Kennedy-Smith walks, the boys from St. John's walk, but Tyson does time. And this has added steam to the very wrong notion promoted by narrow nationalists after the Thomas case that Black women are to blame for bringing Black men down. On another tip, some women are summing up that maybe the U.S. court system is capable of weighing right and wrong and delivering justice, because finally a guy got convicted. But people should look at why and how this verdict was delivered—and ask themselves whether the justice system in this country has anything to do with really solving the problems of rape or any other social problem.

1. Tyson's conviction was conditioned by questions of class. In the past year there have been a number of high-publicity cases in which men accused of rape or sexual harassment have walked free—from the St. John's gang rape to the Clarence Thomas hearings and the William Kennedy Smith trial. These verdicts delivered a vicious message to women that they should "put up and shut up"—that if they dare accuse a man of rape or sexual assault they better be ready to have their whole life ruined. But in this case, the jury decided to convict Mike Tyson.

This system promotes male privilege and the abuse of women from top to bottom. And the court system is set up to protect this whole setup. This is why women are treated the way they are in rape trials and this is why many rapists go free or do very little time even if they are convicted. But the conviction of Mike Tyson was conditioned by questions of class and race. It was a verdict that reflected the fact that this is a class society where there are double standards—a society where a Black man from the streets who keeps that "street style," no matter how rich or famous he is, is going to be treated differently than a William Kennedy Smith or a Clarence Thomas. The accusations by Anita Hill only came to light because of infighting and divisions among the ruling class and then Thomas was protected by the power structure. They wanted and needed him on the Supreme

Court. William Kennedy Smith is part of a family of rich, powerful politicians and capitalists, and this had everything to do with why he was found not guilty.

Because we live in a class society, jurors in rape cases are bound to be deeply influenced by questions of class and race. Male privilege in this society is very bound up with these questions. For example there is always a lot of talk in such cases about whether or not the accused rapist—*whether he committed the rape or not*—should have his "whole life ruined" for making this "one mistake" or "having bad judgment." The question of what really happened to the woman, the nature of the crime committed against *her* is almost never the issue in these trials. The whole trial revolves around whether or not such and such man should have "his life ruined" because of what he did to one woman. When William Kennedy Smith was on trial the press talked about how his whole career would be ruined if he were found guilty. And in the case of Clarence Thomas—it was clear the ruling class was not going to allow Anita Hill to ruin their plans for getting a Black conservative on the Supreme Court. But this was not the case with Tyson—he is not of the same class as these men.

The powers don't see Mike Tyson as the proper "role model." He is too "street" and "uncontrollable." And he has a past that many Black youth identify with. For those reasons he is not qualified to be an "all-American role model" like Magic Johnson or other Black athletes who project a more refined bourgeois image. There has been talk in the media that perhaps this conviction will "set Tyson straight" and get some of the "street" out of him. And this is directly related to the whole campaign going down to put the clampdown on Black youth who are too "street" or have the "gangsta" image. No one in the bourgeois media ever suggested that it might have done William Kennedy Smith some good to spend some time behind bars and see what it's like to be poor and oppressed in this country.

But people should not let their anger over this hypocrisy cloud the issue. The same power structure which is coming down on the Black youth is waging a war to keep women in their place, and people need to reject this wrong line that "an uppity woman is to blame for bringing another brother down." Actually the Tyson verdict shows just the opposite. It shows that, in this society, the rape of a woman is not as important as the social position of the man who attacked her. And this is a logic that all the oppressed people must totally reject.

2. Rape trials attack the woman and put her on trial: We've seen it many times before. Even though the verdict in the Tyson case turned out different, the same thing went down in this trial. In rape trials the cards are stacked against the woman. The whole terms of the "judicial process" reflect the ugly social relations that give rise to the widespread phenomenon of rape in the first place. When a woman accuses a man of rape she is dragged through the mud, accused of being "sexually promiscuous" and "asking for it." There is an implicit acceptance of the rules of *male privilege*—the rules that say men have the right to treat women like sexual objects and private property. These trials are actually used to promote such views. And the oppressed people get suck-

ered in by these arguments.

The way the bourgeois court system is set up—where it ends up being the woman's word against the man's—leads to a situation where the man accused of rape must do everything he can to discredit the woman and paint her as a "tramp" and a liar. Sometimes the woman is accused of fantasizing the whole thing or being vindictive after a "one night stand." In the Tyson case this had a particular twist to it. Because of Tyson's wealth and fame the woman was accused of being a "gold digger" who was just looking for a way to make money. Meanwhile Tyson's supporters did not talk about the fact that Tyson has a long history of abusing women. All this actually ends up treating rape like it is not even a serious crime. But rape is like slavery.

3. Tyson's defense: she should have known what to expect. The woman who accused Tyson of rape was a participant in the Miss Black America beauty contest that Tyson was attending. A \$21 million suit has been filed against Tyson by a number of other pageant contestants who say they were victims of physical, sexual harassment by Tyson. Another suit was filed by the organizer of the pageant, whose legal brief described Tyson as a "serial buttocks fondler." Tyson's whole defense strategy was based on the assumption that any woman who comes near him is fair game because he has made it clear that he wants sex from them. His basic argument was that during his 36-hour visit to Indianapolis, a lot of people saw his rude, even lewd, behavior. Therefore, his defense argued, the woman must have been aware of what "Tyson had on his mind" but she still agreed to go out with Tyson. Therefore, she must have consented to his sexual advances. In fact, Tyson in his testimony argued that this couldn't have been a case of rape because he had told the woman, only minutes after meeting her, that he wanted to "fuck her."

Tyson, and his attitude towards women as sexual objects, is the result of a system that promotes male supremacy and the oppression of women. In particular he has been trained and "educated" to this way of thinking by the American sports institutions and culture that treat top athletes as superstars who "get whatever they want." Everyone knows of the athletic recruiters who offer potential superstars money, sports cars, and women. The use and abuse of women is an integral part of the macho-sports scene where super athletes brag about how they "accommodated as many women as they could." Among such athletes there is an entrenched attitude of privilege and power and the belief that they can take what they want with no consequences.

Calvin Hill, a vice president for the Baltimore Orioles and a former All-Pro running back for the Dallas Cowboys, the Washington Redskins and the Cleveland Browns, commented that the Tyson case reveals the extent to which men and women are taught at an early age to play roles that primarily are defined and enforced by men. That reigning mentality, Hill said, will be difficult to change. "Just think of the socialization of males in this society," he said. "When your son is growing up, you want him to be a 'stud.' So the male athlete is romanticized by terms like 'Animal, horse, stud.' Part of the expectation is that you have all the material possessions, which includes the women. Many times a male athlete's self-esteem comes from being the baddest guy, and what tells you that you are bad? Making a lot of money,

having a lot of 'babes,' as we used to say. To a lot of athletes, women are a reinforcement, if not a definition, of who they are." Elliot Gorn, an associate professor of history at Miami University, pointed out that sports is one way that men define who they are as men. "One of the ways they define themselves—as men—is that women are novelties, to be controlled, manipulated and possessed."

4. No means no. Tyson's defense amounted to an argument that "it can't be rape if the woman goes up to a man's room at 2 in the morning." Other rape trials have promoted this same kind of thinking: that a woman is just asking for it (or really wants it) if she goes to a man's room late at night or wears "suggestive" clothing. If a woman engages in any kind of sexual intimacy with a man and then does not want to "go all the way," she is accused of being a "tease." All this thinking is dead wrong, and the fact that many people have this view is a statement about the ugly state of relations between men and women in this society—a situation where sex is a commodity and full of blatant power relations where women are abused. The fact is: a woman has the right to say no AT ANY POINT. A woman may even consent to having sex with a man but then change her mind. *It doesn't matter.* She has the right to say no, and it is rape if a man forces a woman to engage in sex without her consent.

5. Once again on role models. Many people rooted for Tyson because they like him as a successful sports figure and they saw the woman as a "vindictive woman" out to ruin Tyson's career. During the trial several hundred people attended a rally in Indianapolis to support Tyson that was sponsored by the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., local churches, and Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. Such supporters of Tyson have reacted angrily to the conviction. They think it is a shame that this has happened to what they see as an important Black "role model."

Why should oppressed people uphold Mike Tyson as a role model? Just because the powers don't think he's a 'role model' for the system doesn't mean that he's a role model for the basic people. Whether or not he raped anybody, it's clear he has disrespected Black women from one end of this country to the other. And everything he said during his trial only showed how he treats women as sexual objects to be used and abused. The male privileges of someone like Tyson are not something to uphold or aspire to. And men should also not aspire to the class privileges of someone like Thomas or Kennedy who get away with sexual harassment and rape. We should fight to do away with all this ugliness and we should be about building relations of real equality between men and women.

As the *RW* magazine supplement "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth" put it: "[There is] the idea that A MAN IS STRONG while a woman is weak. This is bullshit. It comes from the enemy—from those who run systems based on enslaving and exploiting. It should be put with the rest of the bullshit from systems like this.

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

From A World To Win: Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru

Peru: Ruined and Robbed by Imperialism

In many ways Peru is like other Third World countries dominated by imperialism. Millions suffer in the countryside from ruined agriculture and landlessness; starvation and disease haunt the huge shantytowns surrounding the cities; cutbacks and currency devaluations demanded by the international bankers squeeze people even more; a corrupt and hated government rules with brute force. But one thing makes Peru stand out: the oppressed there are rising up in revolutionary warfare to bring down the old, rotten order and build a new people's power. The people's war led by the Maoist Communist Party of Peru (PCP, often called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press) is dealing increasingly big defeats to the reactionary regime and their U.S. backers. The following excerpt from the article "Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru," which appears in the current issue of the international journal A World To Win, goes into the deep economic and political crisis of the oppressors' setup in Peru.

The situation in which Peru's ruling classes are waging war on the revolution is being torn apart at both ends by political and economic crisis. The PCP, in its analysis of the development of Peruvian society, refers to this period as "the general crisis of bureaucrat capitalism" in Peru, from which there is no exit but revolution.

The intense penetration of imperialist capital which shaped the country's development in the past decades threw Peru's economy into a deep pit: economic stagnation and inflation that began in the mid-1980s and have yet to show any signs of improvement. The government is stumbling under the weight of a \$22 billion debt owed to the U.S. and other rich countries—loans which for the most part went to finance further enslavement of the economy to imperialism. This debt is about equal to the country's entire production for one year. It is also more than twice the estimated cost to the government of carry-

ing out its reactionary war for the last decade. As expensive as the counter-revolutionary war has been, economic subservience to imperialism is even more expensive. These debts must be paid because under the present system Peru cannot survive unless it gets new loans. One Peruvian president after another, including the newly elected Fujimori,² has tried to deal with this problem by devaluing Peru's currency in order to boost exports while restricting imports and enforcing "shock" measures to cut living standards.

Fujimori had stood for election on a platform opposed to the devaluations and "shock" cutbacks proposed by the odds-on favorite in that campaign, Mario Vargas Llosa. But within days of taking office he turned around and implemented the sort of measures he had just denounced. This was no surprise to the kind of people who read the foreign financial pages, which reported Fujimori's private meeting with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), banks and Peru's other creditors in New York, where

The term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devalued by a million percent since the mid-1980s.

he agreed to reverse the stand that had got him elected. But it was a cruel deception to many of his middle class supporters, who took to the streets alongside Lima's poor in several days of outraged protests.

The term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devalued by a million percent since the mid-1980s. This devastated the lives of working people. Real wages fell by half during that period. But such inflation also provokes serious problems for investment and business overall, adding to the growing climate of desgobierno ("ungovernment",

as in "undo"). In an attempt to deal this inflation a death blow, Fujimori slashed the dollar value of Peru's currency (the inti), and removed price ceilings and government subsidies on basic necessities. Since Peru depends on imports (even of oil, though it is a medium-ranking oil producing country), prices rose by an average of 600% within a few days. These price hikes were concentrated where they hurt the masses most: with the new petrol prices bus fares jumped so high that some people could no longer afford to go to work. Kerosene, the basic cooking fuel, became prohibitively expensive, as did medicines, and bread, noodles and everything else made with wheat. Though the minimum wage (the maximum wage for the majority) was raised from the equivalent of \$12 U.S. dollars a month to \$55, to eat three meals a day and live in a house the average family of five would need five times that much, according to government figures, and eight times that much according to private economists. In Lima's shantytowns, home to half the city's population, to live on one bowl of potato soup a day is now considered normal.

Fujimori hoped to repeat the experience in Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil, where such drastic "shock" measures dampened inflation, at least for a short time. But inflation is not the underlying problem. Peru's economy has been stagnant since the beginning of the 1980s. President Garcia was able to inject a brief spurt of growth during the mid-1980s at the cost of turning galloping inflation into runaway inflation. Fujimori's recent measures to lay open the country even more nakedly to imperialist investment could, at most, only work to pull up those areas of the economy where such investment is concentrated, and even that presupposes that there would be massive investment, when this is not the case presently anywhere in Latin America.

Five hundred years ago, before the

Spanish invaders, people ate considerably better in Peru than they do now. (Average caloric consumption was over the minimum needed to maintain health, while now it is considerably lower.) The deterioration

In Lima's shantytowns, home to half the city's population, to live on one bowl of potato soup a day is now considered normal. Five hundred years ago, before the Spanish invaders, people ate considerably better in Peru than they do now.

in the last decade has been rapid. Over a third of the country's 23 million people are said to suffer malnutrition; over half of all children have been irreversibly affected. Statistics such as the declining average life span and the recent leap in infant mortality do not fully reveal the depths to which living standards are falling, because antibiotics and other medicines today save many people from epidemics that formerly would have decimated a hunger-weakened population.

Yet the spectre of epidemic is once again rising to an extent not previously seen in modern times. Hepatitis and other diseases have seeped through Lima's now thoroughly-befouled water supply for the past several years.

In some shantytowns, mothers have to decide whether to buy water from a cistern lorry or bread. Yet even the most painful of mothers' efforts have failed to protect the children. The cholera outbreak of 1991 may have shocked people around the world, but it was certainly a disaster foretold, an IMF-ordered disaster. To comply with the IMF's instructions to slash public spending and channel the money to foreign banks, the government cut funding for Lima's sewage-treatment plants; raw sewage pumped into the ocean soon smeared the city's beaches. Cholera was the inevitable result.

Without imported wheat, modern Peru—especially coastal Peru—starves. Formerly, the country lived on domestically-produced corn, potatoes, barley, wheat, mutton, pork and beef, despite the semi-feudal relations that kept all but a fraction of potentially arable land from being planted. Yet the pressure of food imports and the chase after maximum profits dictated by foreign investment has ruined agriculture, especially over the course of the last two decades. Agricultural production fell by a third between 1970 and 1986. Only one out of three peasants capable of working full-time is actually able to do so. A third of the formerly cultivated land was unseeded in 1989, particularly in the Andes, where credit for seed was unavailable to poor families. In 1990, less than half the capital needed for seed, fertiliser and other inputs was available and the year's crops were declared a disaster long before the harvest.

The exodus from the countryside—fueled not by urban development so much as rural disaster—has swollen Lima's population by several times in the last decades. This has brought about the kind of urban development typical in oppressed countries: millions living in whatever kind of shacks they can build themselves, on whatever worthless land they can seize or borrow. Besides proletarians, these shantytowns also are home to impoverished people of the middle classes, such as lower-level school-teachers, who have waged par-



Lima—Black market trade in dollars.



Food line in Lima.

ticularly militant strikes. Hundreds of thousands of people make their living peddling cigarettes one at a time or selling other items in the street markets on which most people depend.

Now, because of the country's reliance on imperialist capital, factories are shutting down due to lack of dollars to import raw materials. The official unemployment rate of 14% refers only to formerly full-time,

To comply with the IMF's instructions to slash public spending and channel the money to foreign banks, the government cut funding for Lima's sewage-treatment plants; raw sewage pumped into the ocean soon smeared the city's beaches. Cholera was the inevitable result.

legally employed and registered workers who have been made redundant; there are no real unemployment statistics in a country where two-thirds of working-age people are said to be under- or unemployed. State workers (including many labourers as

well as office workers and others) have seen their incomes drop to a fraction of what they were a few years ago, as the government does everything possible to be able to pay its foreign debt.

Many skilled workers and middle class people are also facing severe difficulties and a hopeless future. They find that if they don't change their Peruvian intis for dollars on the streets on payday, their cheques will be worthless within a few days. The prices of all but the most daily purchases are given in dollars. Some people can so little afford to keep any money at all in intis that they are obliged to use the money traders who ply the pavements across from city cinemas in order to simply buy two tickets. These money changers, who operate with complete legal impunity, are said to change four million dollars a day. This is an important way in which the dollars paid by drug dealers for coca leaves are recycled into the more mainstream sectors of the Peruvian economy, where they play an indispensable role in preventing a difficult situation for the middle classes from becoming completely impossible, in fueling Peru's import-dependent economy, in lubricating the enrichment of the upper classes and in maintaining the flow of dollars in payments

and profits being pumped to the U.S. monopoly capitalists who sit on top of this mess, along with their European and Japanese partners. This situation led 300,000 young Peruvians to immigrate in 1989, to neighboring countries and, ironically, to the U.S. itself.

These economic conditions, as well as the advance of the people's war and the consequent changes in the political climate,

Whether under an "elected" or a military government, for the vast majority of the people, especially the basic masses, the people's war is the only way out.

have enflamed an equally disastrous political situation. Fujimori's appointment of a "government of national unity" reflects tremendous disunity in the ruling classes: no party was able to win even a third of the votes in the general elections and no-one has been able to unite the ruling classes and those who support them around a programme other than trying to hold together a quivering house of cards.

Even the pro-Soviet revisionists and others who have tried to present themselves as a "third way," between the revolution and the counter-revolution, have all but collapsed. They split into two motley factions, the United Left of some self-styled "Marxists" and the more openly reformist Socialist Left led by former Lima Mayor Alfonso Barrantes. Together they failed to achieve even 10% of the national vote in 1990. By comparison, at the end of the 1970s they won a third of the ballots. This defeat was all the more bitter because throughout the mid and late 1980s the foreign press predicted Barrantes would become President in 1990. Pro-Soviet forces and others abroad had held them up as a model of a parliamentary "left" that would come to power through elections, in opposition to the road taken by the PCP. The pro-Cuba Tupac Amaru group (MRTA) that has combined armed actions with negotiations and other agreements with the government dropped its initial demagogic opposition to the elections, supported United Left candidates and even ran its own candidates as part of the United Left coalition in some places. All of these "left" forces have ended up at least as discredited as the rest of the system's politicians.

The PCP applied the same policy to these elections that it has to all elections since the people's war began in 1980: to expose them, to call on people to boycott them, to disrupt them, and to stop them through military actions wherever possible....

No regime ever fell because of lack of votes. As the PCP says, the task is to "merge the people's war led by the Party with this torrent made up of millions who don't register, who don't vote or who cast blank or spoiled ballots, this torrent the Party is helping to organise as part of the armed sea of the masses who will inevitably sweep away the old order of exploitation and oppression."

Given the disarray in the ruling classes, the discrediting of their politicians and the system of government itself, the PCP has analysed that a military coup d'etat is a real possibility. The Party's policy towards such a coup is to oppose it, because its main purpose would be to unleash an even more unrestrained bloodbath in the cities as well as the countryside. But whether under an "elected" or a military government, for the vast majority of the people, especially the basic masses, the people's war is the only way out.

1. Bureaucrat capitalism refers to the particular kind of capitalism generated by imperialism in countries they dominate which does not challenge the pre-existing feudal relations and serves the interests of foreign capital.
2. Alberto Fujimori became president in the summer of 1990.

The RW received the following announcement from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru:

Peruvian Revolutionary To Speak in New York City

People in the U.S. now have a rare chance to dig into the truth about the revolution in Peru and to help break through the lies and official censorship. A well-informed Peruvian speaker from the International Yankee Go Home Campaign called by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will speak and answer questions on the revolution in Peru in New York City on February 22, 1992.

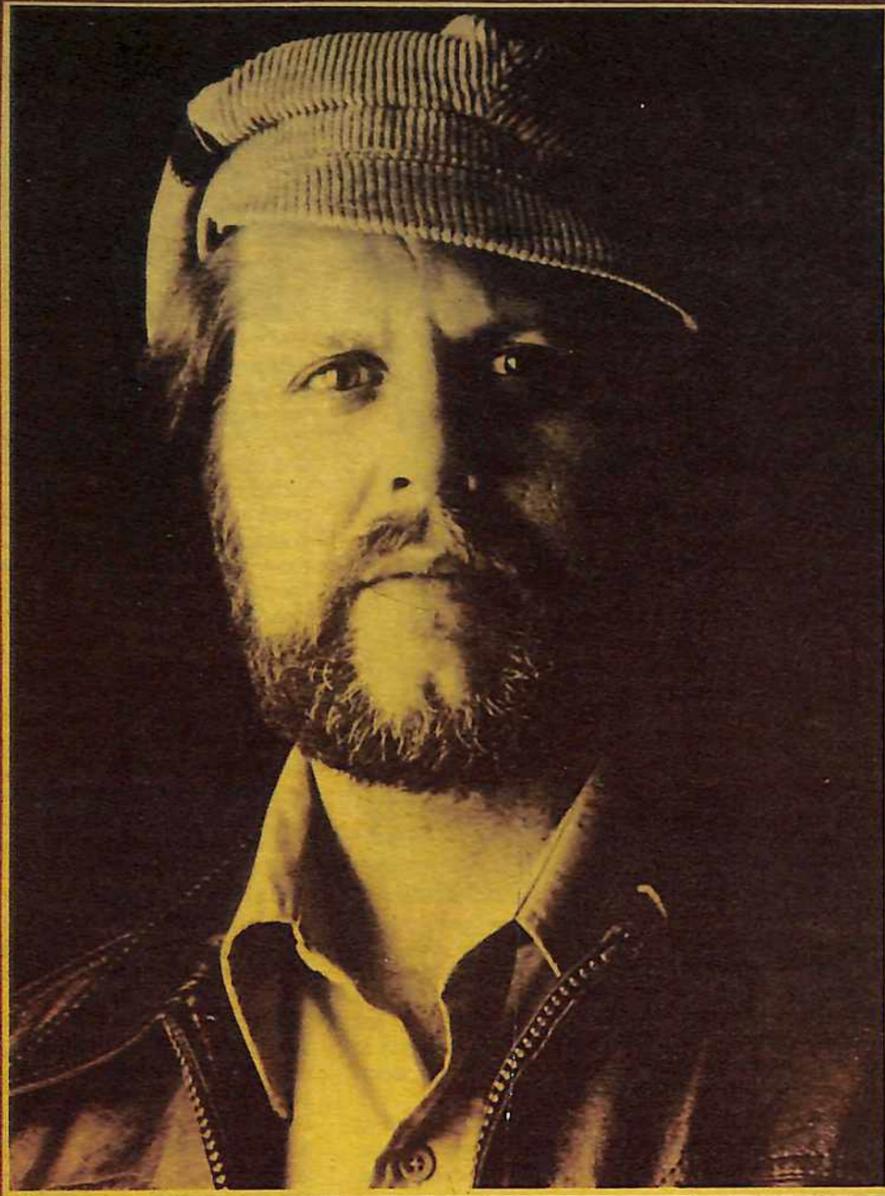
This event is a must for all who support liberation, all who want to stand with the oppressed of Peru, all who want to defeat U.S. intervention in Peru and be part of shaking the "New World Order" to its roots, and all who sense something big is up in Peru and want to get to the heart of what is going on. Help get out the word, tell your friends, post this leaflet all over, call talk shows, raise money, join with the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru to make this event a success.

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CSRP, 151 First Ave, Room 230, New York, NY 10003
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Communist Party of Peru guerrillas conducting a political meeting.





Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP USA

Announcing a New Book Chairman of the Revolution

“There is nothing more uplifting than communism—nothing which gives greater scope to human imagination and creativity, to the vision of a vastly different world, and to the initiative of the masses in creating such a world. That the rulers of the Soviet Union could not inspire people with this ideal is a condemnation of them. But more than that, it is a reflection of the fact that they had abandoned and betrayed the principles of communism and become but another group of enforcers of the old order.”

Bob Avakian, *Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism*

Bob Avakian has written a bold and challenging work that cuts right to the debate of our times. Over and over we are told that history has judged communism to be a “grand failure,” and that there is no use fighting for a different world. But is capitalism the best of all possible worlds? Avakian contrasts the brutal realities of the free market to the claims of its defenders. Has revolutionary communism proven to be a disastrous nightmare? Avakian refutes the charges that socialist economies are unworkable and that communism suppressed individuality and freedom.

Bob Avakian has produced a defiant manifesto. But this book is more than that. It probes deeply into the real history and lessons of the revolution, especially the Maoist Cultural Revolution. Can revolutionaries survive in a hostile world? How can they avoid going sour? Can the basic people actually run society? And is it really possible to move society beyond private gain and money relations? It all boils down to whether the proletariat, and ultimately all humanity, can achieve liberation. And what Bob Avakian shows is that communism is the real alternative to this cruel and outmoded global system. It is both visionary and practical.

This book is addressed to a broad audience. To those itching to get it on with the oppressors and who want the science to be able to do so. To rebel youth checking out different philosophies and ideologies. To veterans of various revolutionary struggles and movements trying to sort through the lessons of recent history. To those who refuse to give up their dreams of liberation but who are confused by the political earthquakes of the last few years. And to the newly awakened and outraged searching out explanations and solutions to poverty, racism, war, and the very destruction of the earth.

If you want to know what real communism is about, and if you wonder whether society really has to be run as a dog-eat-dog enterprise, then you will find this book as timely as it is provocative.

TAKE HEART AND TAKE PART... help raise \$5,000 to get this momentous book by Bob Avakian out and into the hands of those who are searching for a realist road to true liberation. This \$5,000 will help defray the costs of publishing editions in English and Spanish. The English edition will be available March 9. The Spanish edition is vitally important for Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. and around the world. Work is underway to translate the Spanish and funds are need to publish the book as soon as the translation is ready. This \$5,000 will allow us to quickly answer requests to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund from prisoners who want to get their hands on this book and who will pass it from cell to cell, studying and discussing it. We will be able to send it to readers in other countries where the \$5.00 cover price is more than a day's wages.

Contributing towards getting this book into the hands of those who are looking for a different future is part of taking a stand against those who would condemn the world to the dead hand of capitalism.

Send your contributions to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago IL, 60654. Or give your donation to an *RW/OR* distributor in your area.

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From "Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism!"

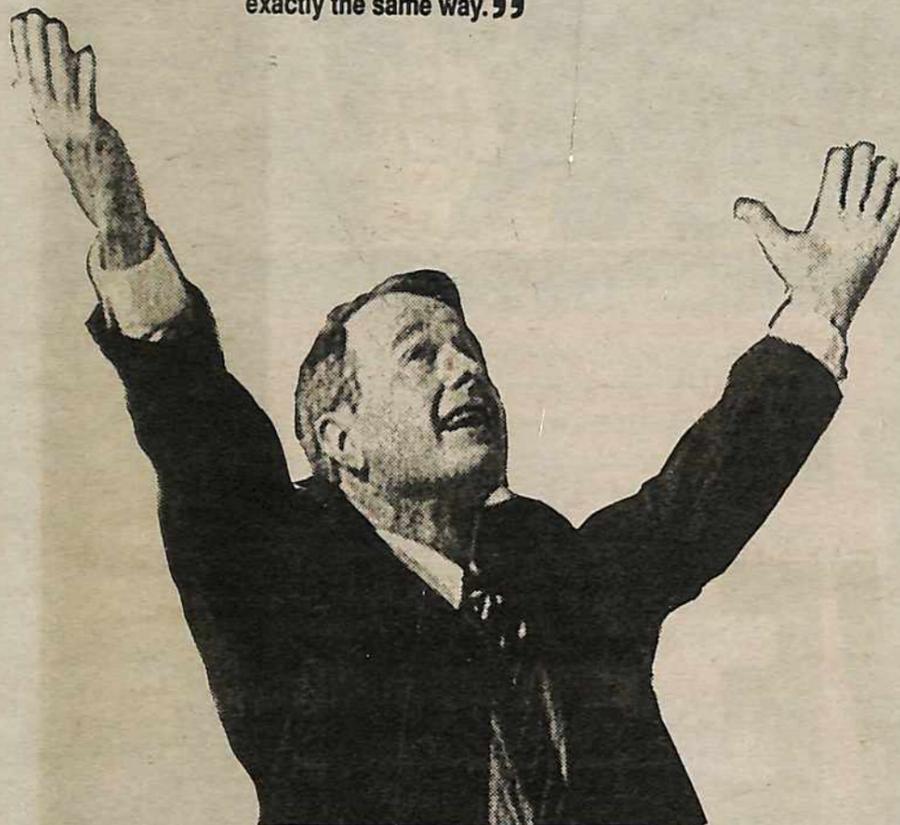
THE MYTH OF FREE

By Bob Avakian

This is a slightly edited excerpt from the first chapter of *Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism*. In this chapter, Bob Avakian summarizes the main contributions of Marx, Lenin, and Mao to the science of society and revolution. He then takes on the arguments made by ruling-class spokesmen about the supposed superiority of capitalism and the so-called "failure of communism." Here Avakian tears apart a speech about the free market by none other than George Bush.

Bush:

"...the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies can never offer.... Growth [promoted by capitalism] does more than fill shelves. It permits every person to gain, not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly the same way."



Reply: What world is he describing?!

What does "free markets" really mean? And what is the deal with growth and prosperity, as Bush refers to it, under this system, particularly in this era of imperialism? Is it really the case that this goes on so everyone can gain not at the expense of others but to the benefit of others? That prosperity gained in this way is beneficial for all and encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators?

Perhaps (to paraphrase Lenin) Bush would like to pass a law preventing laughter in public so that his comments cannot be drowned out by the bitter laughter that such statements are bound to provoke all over the world, especially among the masses of people.

"Free markets," to take one aspect, means freedom of trade, without governmental restriction. This can never exist in the most literal, absolute sense, since some governmental regulation of trade under capitalism will always be necessary (which all bourgeois representatives recognize in practice if not always in their pronouncements). But, like every other freedom under capitalism, even this "free trade" is never really free—it is never without inequality, whether we are speaking of trade within a particular country or international trade—it will always involve an aspect of domination and plunder. And all this becomes still more the case when capitalism reaches the imperialist stage.

But to take a more fundamental aspect, "free markets" refers to the "labor market," to the selling and buying of human labor power. As spoken earlier, Marxism reveals that capitalism is not simply some kind of system of commodity production and exchange where all have the chance to take part equally. This is a system based on

the exploitation of the many by the few—based, specifically, on the exploitation of wage-labor by capital. It is a society in which labor power, the ability to work, has become a commodity to be sold and bought, and it is the purchase and use of this labor power that enables some, a minority, to achieve prosperity *at the expense of many others*. Here again is "the dirty little secret of capitalism," and when people like Bush talk about the right to property as a fundamental right, they mean, above all, the right to exploit others. That is the essence of capital, the soul of the bourgeois.¹

This essential freedom, or right, of capital is bound up with what Marxism refers to as the "double freedom" of the workers under capitalism. On the one hand, the workers are not bound to a particular exploiter—they are not owned outright as under slavery or tied by the workings of the economic system and by law and custom to a particular lord and master, as in the feudal system—they are

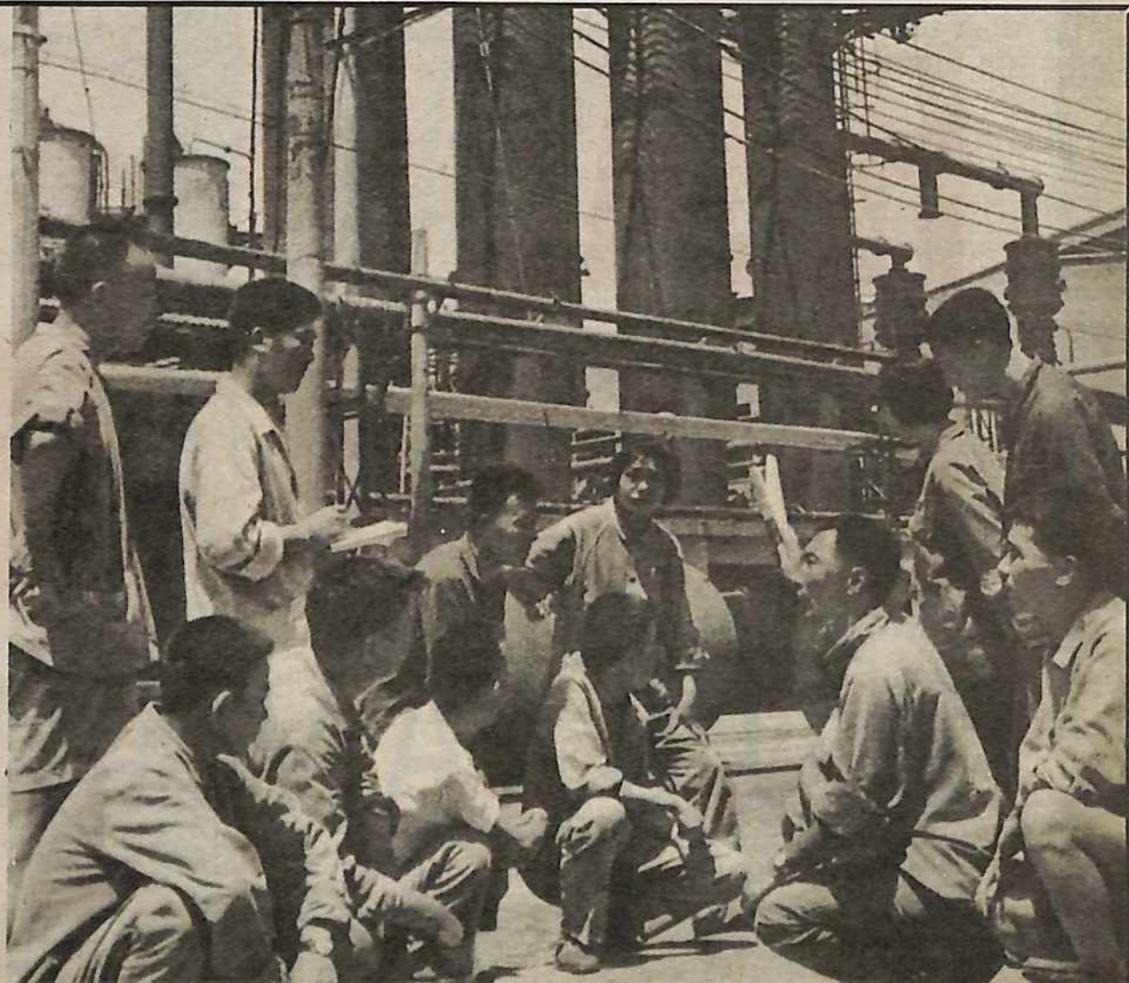
1. Even small-scale owners of private property do not operate outside of this general capitalist environment. Individual entrepreneurs, and also artists and entertainers and others who may not directly and personally exploit others, still operate within the context of a system where the wealth that is in circulation is overwhelmingly created through the exploitation of millions (even billions) of working people worldwide. The income and standard of living of such entrepreneurs, entertainers, and so on cannot be separated from this overall system of accumulation and its foundation of exploitation (besides the fact that such entrepreneurs, entertainers, etc., who accumulate significant amounts of money almost invariably invest some of this money in their own businesses—which means employing others to work for them—and/or in stocks, in banks, etc., and in this measure they take part in the exploitation of working people: "making money work for you" means making *other people work for you—exploiting them*—that is "the bottom line," as the phrase goes).

In addition to debunking the claims made about capitalism, in this first chapter Avakian writes about the real experience of socialism, how it really works, and how a real socialist economy relies on the masses of people to transform society. This brief excerpt is only a small part of the discussion, but gives the reader a sample of this aspect of the book.

Real Socialist Planning

Let's take up the actual experience and principles of planning in a socialist economy as opposed to how it's presented here by Bush and generally by upholders of the old order.

Here it is worth noting that one of the things these people avoid, like a religious fanatic avoids scientific knowledge, is Mao's whole line on planning. They avoid it for a very good reason: it explodes their cherished bromides and crude distortions about socialist planning. Mao stressed that planning must involve not all centralization, not everything through the central apparatus, but the combination of a strong central apparatus and a strong role for centralized planning on the one hand and, on the other hand, a crucial role for decentralization—for initiative on the regional and local levels and in the basic units of the economy. Beyond that, he stressed the fundamental principle underlying all this—underlying all socialist planning, and in fact all development of the socialist economy: reliance on the masses. A true socialist economy and true socialist planning serving it cannot rely on computers and other "high tech" components of the so-called "information revolution"—they must rely on the masses. Even where such means and instruments of "high technology" are available and can be used, they have to be used, and will always be used, according to one outlook or another, in the service of one kind of social (class) interest or another. The decisive question is, what line guides planning and the use of technology?



The decisive question: What line guides planning and the use of technology? Above, workers and plant leaders in revolutionary China collectively discuss how to eliminate pollution in their factory.

MARKETS

“free” to be exploited by the exploiting class, the capitalists, as a whole. This situation is in conformity with the character of capitalist production and accumulation and with the interests of the capitalist class: the ability of the capitalist to hire and fire workers according to the demands of capitalist accumulation, without being responsible for the maintenance of the workers’ labor power during those times when the capitalist is not employing that labor power—this corresponds to the needs of the capitalists to invest their capital in places and in ways that bring them the greatest return and to compete with other capitalists.

The other freedom of the workers under capitalism is that they are “free” of ownership of the means of production—they do not own land, or factories, machinery, means of transportation and communication, and so forth, which can be employed in the creation of wealth. They are “free” of any means to make a living through their own self-employment as well as being “free” of any ability to employ other people to work for them as the capitalists do. The only thing they possess with which they can create wealth is their labor power, but in order to do this they must sell that labor power to the capitalist, and the wealth that is created through the employment of that labor power belongs not to them, but to the capitalist: what the workers get in return is a wage that is enough to keep them alive and able to continue in this relationship.² In short, the workers are free to be exploited by the capitalist class in pursuit of capitalist profit. And they are “free” to starve (or to eke out a desperate existence in one way or another) when the capitalists cannot exploit them profitably enough—for, as we have seen, an essential ingredient of capitalist accumulation is the existence of a “reserve army” of unemployed workers, whose ranks swell to huge numbers in times of crisis.

What results from this is not the fairy tale world that Bush describes, where people are free to benefit not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others, and where generalized prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. What really occurs is precisely what Marx described—that is, the development of two poles, where at one pole, among a small minority of people, is wealth, power, and the concentration of capital; and at the other pole, misery, agony of toil, poverty, and so on. This applies even within the so-called advanced capitalist, that is imperialist, countries themselves.

Let’s look at some examples from recent events and everyday reality in the U.S.: Ask the homeless people in the United States what they think of George



Sheraton job line, Chicago, 1992.



Pro-choice demonstration, Washington, D.C., 1989.

Bush’s description of the outcome of the operation of the capitalist system. Ask those forced onto unemployment and welfare. Ask the workers at the chicken plants (we could call them the exploding chicken plants) in North Carolina, where on top of and as a result of the inhuman conditions of labor, workers have been trapped—literally locked—inside burning buildings. Ask the workers at worksites all across the country where people are murdered and maimed in their millions generation after generation by the capitalists in the endless pursuit of profit. Ask the immigrants and others slaving in the garment sweatshops and other hell-holes. Ask the workers even in the “core industries” of what is becoming the “rust belt” of the United States, those who perhaps thought they had “job security” but now find their jobs being eliminated under this great system of “free markets.” Ask the small farmers and other small producers and traders who are continually threatened with ruin or are actually ruined. Ask the masses of Black people, Latinos, and people of other oppressed nationalities, ask the original peoples of America (the “Indians”) about how capitalism does not involve one group of people preying on others! Ask the masses of women who are subjected to the relations of male domination, and everything that goes with this, under this capitalist system. Ask the young who are commanded to kill and die in the unjust wars the imperialists continually send them off to. Ask all these people.

These and countless other examples point to the essence of any system based on bourgeois property relations and capitalist accumulation, even though it is true that in the imperialist countries, and particularly in a major world power like the U.S., the accumulation of wealth, not only from the exploitation of the proletariat at home but beyond that the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people—and the domination of whole nations—in all parts of the world, has made possible the existence of fairly sizable “middle class” sections of the population, some of which are relatively well off economically. We must view this whole question above all on a world scale. Which takes us to the next argument in George Bush’s UN speech....



Farmworkers, New Mexico, 1986.



Chicago Housing Authority eviction, 1991.



Farm auction, Will County, Illinois.



Garage sweat shop, Los Angeles.



Gulf war, 1991.



LAPD beats Rodney King.

2. This, of course, is not some static and absolute thing. Especially during those times when the demand for labor power is less and generally in circumstances which are favorable for them to do so, the capitalists will drive the wages of at least sections of the workers below the value of their labor power; on the other hand, the bribing of sections of the workers in the imperialist countries results in a situation where, at least for periods of time, the wages of these workers may actually be above the value of their labor power. But none of this changes the fundamental relation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and specifically the essential fact that under capitalism the mass of proletarians are reduced to the position where they must sell their labor in order to live and are subordinated to the process of capitalist accumulation.

Malcolm X, MLK and the

"Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. He has the audacity—yes, he has—imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world!—and you over here singing 'We Shall Overcome.'"

Malcolm X April 3, 1964

"When the master would be sick, the house Negro identified himself so much with his master he'd say, 'What's the matter boss, we sick?' His master's pain was his pain. And it hurt him more for his master to be sick than for him to be sick himself. When the house started burning down, that type of Negro would fight harder to put the master's house out than the master himself would.

"But then you had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was in the minority. The masses—the field Negroes were the masses. They were in the majority. When the master got sick, they prayed that he'd die. If his house caught on fire, they'd pray for a wind to come along and fan the breeze."

Malcolm X, 1963

On February 21, 1965 Malcolm X was assassinated because of his uncompromising stand in giving a voice to the deepest feelings of the most oppressed. Malcolm X was a nationalist, not a communist, but he was a revolutionary nationalist who called out the system for its crimes, not only against Black people but other oppressed peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Malcolm boldly took the stand that if this system would not give freedom and justice to those it had victimized for so long, then the system should be overthrown.

Today, many radical Black youth look to the legacy of Malcolm X. But there is much confusion. Myths about Malcolm X and MLK are being created fast and furious—people saying that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. were moving closer together, or that MLK was moving to a more militant position at the end of his life, or that Malcolm X did not condone the violence of the oppressed against the oppressor. A recent twist: T-shirts with the red, white and blue X—identifying Malcolm with American patriotism. (The fact that these T-shirts do not immediately self-destruct as soon as they are made only proves that spirits do not walk the earth, because if Malcolm X could see these T-shirts, he would definitely protest.)

Malcolm X did not have a fully developed revolutionary program for doing away with all oppression, and he went through a lot of political changes. But one thing is for sure: Malcolm remained firmly opposed to the role played by Martin Luther King Jr. and all others who tried to collaborate with the system and cover up the reality of the so-called "American Dream"—which is a nightmare for the oppressed.

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



Washington, D.C., 1963—March organizers and politicians at Lincoln Memorial.

"The Farce on Washington"

"The huge assemblage of Negro and white citizens in Washington yesterday to demand equality in all aspects of American life embodied, in concept and in execution, the noblest tradition of our democracy. It reflected their conviction that if enough of the people demonstrate that they care enough, no force in the United States is more powerful than an appeal to conscience and to basic morality."

— *New York Times* editorial, "Equality Is Their Right," August 29, 1963

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

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

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

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

The Autobiography of Malcolm X

Two very different perspectives on the 1963 March on Washington, and each, in its own way, providing an indication of the nature and content of that demonstration. On August 28, 1963 more than a quarter of a million people, mainly Black but including a large number of white people, marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial in what was described by the march organizers and the imperialist press as a "living petition" to "their government" around the issue of civil rights legislation.

These thousands of people came to the march because they hated national oppression—and many had prepared to march

even in the face of dangerous attacks and opposition. But behind the scenes, the march had been taken over by the powers and turned into a pep rally for the Kennedy administration, its Civil Rights Bill, and for the "American Way of Life."

All of the major press gave glowing accounts of the march—filled with praise for the "orderliness" and "discipline" of the demonstrators and for the "church picnic" type atmosphere surrounding it. The television networks carried live coverage of the entire demonstration, giving the march an air of what the *Washington Post* referred to as a "National Ceremony."

Nelson Rockefeller, then Governor of New York and a man hated throughout the world as a living symbol of U.S. imperialism, sent the march a telegram of sup-

port, stating that it was a "truly historic event," and declared that August 28 was "Justice and Equality Day" in New York. New York City's Mayor Wagner, one of a number of mayors throughout the country who offered city employees a day off to attend the march, characterized it as "an all-American demonstration." The very next day after the march, Wagner returned to New York and called out the police to evict civil rights demonstrators from his office.

A major statement was issued by John F. Kennedy, then president of the U.S. and the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism's attacks on national liberation movements around the world. One of the main movers behind the march, Kennedy declared that the demonstration had "advanced the cause of 20 million Negroes." Contrasting it to the wars and demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in other parts of the world, Kennedy praised the "deep fervor and quiet dignity" of the march. He also praised the marchers for demonstrating "their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government."

But militants among the Black people were not impressed with the march. Most notable among these was Malcolm X. And these forces received little, if any, coverage and recognition in the press. In its coverage of the demonstration, the *New York Times* reported in a mocking fashion that, on the day of the march, Malcolm stayed in a D.C. hotel where he held an all-day press conference, denouncing the march as "seeking favors from the white man's government." Later Malcolm X called the march a "circus led by clowns."

An editorial in the Black Muslim newspaper, *Muhammed Speaks*, on September 13, 1963 also criticized the march, summing it up this way: "What was new in the appeals and pleas and what was new in the response? Actually, the begging requests set forth at the cold feet of the ruling white autocracy were the same placid, passive requests placed again and again for all too many years. That is: to be included somehow in the 'American way of life' when that way of life has been made unmistakably clear for the last 400 years as based solidly on white supremacy and on the slave status of Black peoples regardless of the tokens of integration thrown out for occasional appeasement."

And there were also some who, like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), didn't totally support the



1963 March on Washington



Malcolm X.

politics of the march but participated in it anyway. SNCC was an organization formed in 1960 off of the developing struggle of the masses of Black people particularly in the South and was composed mainly of Black students and youth (although in its early days it also included

some white students and youth). SNCC originally upheld the philosophy of non-violence, although as it developed, it moved in a direction opposite to that of King and towards revolutionary nationalism. SNCC became known as the "shock troops" of the movement—leading and organizing the battle against national oppression in some of the most brutal areas of the South.

By 1963 SNCC had already begun to challenge the role, methods and goals of the Black bourgeois leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. SNCC participated in the 1963 march in part because they saw it as an attempt to combat their "isolation" within the Civil Rights Movement and in part because it promised to be the largest mobilization of Black people thus far. But many of its members had mixed feelings about it.

A New Mood

What was the situation in 1963 that led to this march? A period of tremendous upsurge in the struggle of the masses of Black people against national oppression was in process. It has been estimated that in 1963 there were 930 demonstrations in 115 cities in 11 Southern states. More than 20,000 people had been arrested and at least 10 people had been killed in that year alone. This upsurge was closely linked with some important changes in the situation of the masses of Black people in the years following World War 2.

As the U.S. assumed a top-dog position among the imperialist countries following World War 2, southern agriculture was mechanized and the plantation system which had given rise to legal segregation began to come to an end. The majority of the Black nation found themselves transformed from sharecroppers to proletarians—freed from the land, but not

from the chains of national oppression and exploitation.

"Millions of Black people were uprooted from the land and pushed toward the cities by the 'invisible hand' of capitalism and its supreme commandment: profit, and more profit. Even for those Black people who wanted to stay—who maybe owned their own land and were trying to make a go at farming it—the great majority were forced to give it up anyway. Before, the interests of the capitalists dictated that Black people be forced and terrorized to remain on the southern plantations. Now, these same capitalist interests dictated that Black people leave the southern farmlands.

"On the basis of these economic changes, certain political and social changes had to be brought about also. Segregation was brought under fire. Battles were waged, and barriers were knocked down."

from the pamphlet
Cold Truth, Liberating Truth

By 1963, U.S. society as a whole was in a period of prosperity. The discrimination and oppression facing Black people in the U.S. stood out starkly. At the same time in Africa and elsewhere, there was a big upsurge in the national liberation movements against the imperialist powers, and this was influencing the masses of Black people stateside.

The U.S. imperialists were faced with a dangerous situation. Millions of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation. And this was also creating an international problem for the U.S. because they were trying to carry out their neocolonial schemes in Africa under the signboard of a "democratic anticolonial" power. The U.S. imperialists were forced to make some changes in order to maintain their system of oppression here and abroad.

The character of the struggle of Black people in the U.S. had also begun to change. Significant sections of people began to look beyond the local authorities in the South and to see the federal government—and, in a beginning way, the whole system—as the source of national oppression. A new mood was arising.

Non-violence and reliance on the courts and legislation—the politics which had been promoted by the traditional civil rights "leaders" and organizations—began to give way to open confrontation and rebellion. In Birmingham, Alabama, the "Children's Crusade"—mass demonstrations of Black youth who marched against segregation in defiance of police orders—was brutally attacked by the police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses of "Bull" Connor. King's headquarters and the home of his brothers were bombed. And the anger of the masses of Black people exploded. At night the pigs in blue, who were used to getting away with murder in the darkness, were given a taste of hell. By day thousands of Black people filled the downtown business districts armed with stones, bottles and sticks. The rebellion was only stopped through the efforts of King and the SCLC and the dispatching of federal troops to Birmingham by Kennedy.

The Birmingham rebellion was preceded by a rebellion in Albany, Georgia less than a year earlier and was followed by near-rebellion in Jackson, Mississippi, after the funeral of the assassinated NAACP organizer Medgar Evers. The events in these three cities were only the most explosive of a whole series of similar outbreaks and struggles all over the South. And the struggle had also begun to spread to the Northern ghettos.

The movement was quickly outstripping those established and conservative civil rights "leaders" and organizations that were supposed to be leading it. In Birmingham, as the masses of people rebelled, King was scurrying back and forth in negotiations with the Kennedy administration and local authorities in hopes of cooling out the situation. And the image of U.S. imperialism was taking a beating as pictures of the police dogs and fire hoses of Birmingham flashed around the world.

"If You Can't Head It Off, Head It Up"

This was the situation that prompted the ruling class to act. In June of 1963, Kennedy—who just a few months earlier had stated that he would not introduce any civil rights legislation that year—quickly introduced Civil Rights legislation into Congress. But the ruling class still faced the task of diverting the focus and energy of the Black masses into a struggle for the passage of this legislation and attempting to re-establish the "Respectable Leaders" at the head of the movement.

Robert Kennedy said that it was necessary to get "not only the passage of legislation, but what in my judgement was even more important, to obtain the confidence of the Negro population in their government.... I thought there was a great danger in losing that unless we took a very significant step.... There's obviously a revolution within a revolution in Negro leadership. We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government...and thought...that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming the young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution."

For several years there had been a growing sentiment for a mass demonstration in Washington, an action which would go beyond hitting at local authorities to hitting at the whole government. And by the spring of 1963 the idea of a massive march on Washington—with mass civil disobedience and sit-ins—captured the imagination of Black people all over the country. The reaction of Southern racist authorities against the proposed Civil Rights Act added fuel to the fire. Spontaneously the idea for a march was taking hold and growing rapidly. And the powers were worried. Malcolm summed it up in "Message to the Grass Roots":

"The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said, 'this is a moral issue.' That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed."

On June 22 Kennedy held a meeting at the White House with 30 white and Black civil rights "leaders," including Martin Luther King, Jr. and Roy Wilkins, with whom the president had a private conference earlier in the day.

Malcolm X described the meeting:

"It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C. to death.... When they found out that this Black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it. I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"

(TO BE CONTINUED)



3: Fire hoses turned on marchers in Birmingham, Alabama.

Teaneck Killer Pig Walks

On February 11 an all-white jury acquitted Gary Spath, the pig who shot 16-year-old Black youth Phillip Pannell in cold blood in April 1990 in Teaneck, New Jersey. Spath and his partner showed up at a schoolyard where Black youth were hanging out and playing basketball. They drove up with their guns out and motioned the youth to get up against the wall. Pannell started to run away and the cops chased him. The whole scene ended when Spath shot Pannell in the back as he had his hands up in the air trying to surrender. A gun was later "found" in Pannell's left pocket by the other cop on the scene.

The next day the youth of Teaneck rose up. They trashed police cars and smashed windows at the police station. Teaneck was supposed to be an area where such things didn't happen and where there was "racial peace"—where the pigs were free to oppress the people, without the people rising up. The youths' response to Phillip's murder put the lie to that myth.

The trial was a study in racism and injustice:

- Spath was not charged with murder but with manslaughter. He was suspended *with pay* after the killing. According to the *New York Times*, the Township Council of Teaneck authorized \$100,000 for legal fees.
- An all-white jury was chosen in a selection process closed to the public. Two of the jurors have relatives that are cops.
- A key eyewitness, a Black man, had testified that Pannell was attempting to stop and give up when he was shot. He was arrested on an old outstanding warrant as he walked out of the courtroom.
- The all-white entourage that accompanied Spath to the trial were allowed directly into court, while Phillip Pannell's family and supporters were subjected to searches by metal detectors. An article in *New York Newsday* pointed out that the only press person required to produce a second piece of ID beyond his press pass was a Black reporter from the radio station WBAI.
- In a crude attempt to influence the jury, a paralyzed cop was wheeled into the court. This cop was shot some years ago by a Black youth and is now confined to a wheelchair. When he entered, Spath broke into tears.



April 1990—
Teaneck,
New Jersey

During the trial the defense lawyer tried to show that Phillip Pannell had a gun and was about to shoot when Spath killed him. But witnesses have come forward to say Pannell was trying to surrender. Experts testified that the entry of the bullet into Phillip's back and the tissue around his shoulder blade showed that his left arm was raised—apparently in a sign of surrender—when he was shot. Spath's partner had testified that he frisked Pannell and felt a gun. But witnesses said that the cop never frisked Pannell. This raises the possibility that a gun was planted after Pannell was shot in order to produce a justification for the shooting.

After deliberating for only nine hours the all-white jury found Spath not guilty of manslaughter. The next day Spath made an openly racist comment at a press conference.

The prosecutor had said that Teaneck was not "Fort Apache, the Bronx." Spath responded by saying that the Bronx is "only five minutes away. And we do get a lot of the garbage overflow from New York."

The powers are very worried that the youth will rebel again and have moved fast to try to chill things out. Teachers and administrators were mobilized to "discuss" the situation with their students. Riot police were brought out to defend the police station in Teaneck. Unfortunately, quite a number of Black activists have joined in this attempt to cool down the youth.

Despite this, about 200 youth of mixed nationalities from Teaneck and Hackensack schools held a march the day after the verdict. According to news reports, they chanted "No Justice, No Peace," "We want

Spath," and "Spath, Spath in the Back." Two protesters reportedly were arrested after a group of youth jumped a man who was laughing at the them and holding up a daily paper with the headline that said Spath was free.

As the RCP leaflet at the time of the 1990 rebellion said: "No one, of any race or nationality, should tolerate the war this country is waging against Black youth and others today. They say this is a 'War on drugs' or 'War on crime.' They LIE! It's war on the people. And it needs to be more two-sided, not less. Your rebellion was not 'negative.' Your rebellion was a righteous step in the right direction. What's needed now is to step it up and see it through. Take it higher. That's positive." □

Murder Approved in Attica Trial Verdict



Attica rebellion, 1971.

On February 4 the verdict came down in the civil liability suit against the state and prison officials responsible for planning the retaking of Attica Prison on September 13, 1971. Attica's former deputy warden, Karl Pfeil, was found liable on two claims of having overseen the brutal assault against the inmates. But the jury cleared former Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald of any responsibility, and they failed to reach verdicts on the responsibility of Attica's former warden, Vincent Mancusi, and Maj. John Monahan, the state police commander who led the retaking of the prison. The Attica brothers were seeking \$2.8 billion in damages on behalf of 1,281 inmates who were victims of the state police violence.

Lawyers for both the former inmates and the state officials are appealing the verdicts, and a new trial will be held on the deadlocked claims. Elizabeth Fink, one of the lawyers for the former inmates, said, "The jury primarily did not decide. But they did decide that the brothers of Attica were denied adequate medical care and that there were excessive beatings and reprisals."

The 1971 assault on Attica in upper New York state happened after several days of rebellion by the prisoners. In the attack to retake Attica, the state police killed 29 inmates and 10 hostages in cold blood and injured many prisoners. After the prison was secured, the inmates became targets of torture and beatings and were deliberately denied medical attention. More than 50 witnesses for the plaintiffs—including former inmates, doctors who were called to

Attica at the time, National Guardsmen and others—testified vividly about the brutality they saw during the assault and the aftermath. The argument by the defense was basically that even though the state officials were in charge, they "didn't know" about the atrocities and were "not responsible."

The judge in the case, John Elfvin, acted in an outrageous way during the trial. He gave a very narrow definition of liability in his instructions to the jury. Then in a callous move he left on a vacation to Barbados, telling the jury and lawyers to call him on the phone if they had any questions. When furor over the vacation forced him to return, Judge Elfvin tried to pressure the jury to hurry up with the verdict, telling them they were putting too much historic importance to the case.

The jury apparently was quite divided, with some taking very reactionary positions while others were more sympathetic to the Attica brothers. The jury foreman said, "There were three people who didn't want to find them guilty. Some of us thought of the inmates as people, but there were a few who didn't." Another juror, who is a teacher, said she thought that all the defendants should have been held liable. She told the press, "I don't think justice was served. I can't go back to my classroom and teach justice."

The powers are still trying to wash their hands clean of the blood of the Attica brothers. But people will never forget and forgive what happened at Attica—where prisoners who rose up in righteous rebellion were met with bullets and torture. □

Thousands Protest U.S. Return of Haitian Refugees

We received the following correspondence report from a stringer in New York City:

Friday, February 7: Four thousand Haitian people rallied in New York City against the U.S. immigration policy on Haitian refugees and the coup that ousted Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide. Haitians jammed the Times Square area at 4 p.m. where they marched over to the *New York Times* building to protest the racist remarks the *Times* had made about Haitian immigrants. The *Times* has been reporting that Haitian immigrants are only coming to the U.S. because they are poor

and not because of political repression.

The crowd marched over to Rockefeller Plaza where they were addressed by various speakers, including Representative Charles Rangel and Al Sharpton. People then marched over to the United Nations where there were more speakers from the Haitian community. People carried banners with slogans like, "Bush the Butcher, Stop Sucking Black People's Blood," "CIA-Bush, Stop Murdering Us," and "Racist Deportations Must Stop."

Some quotes from people at the rally:

"This government (the U.S.) caused the coup as they trained the Haitian army."

"Every day they are deporting thousands of Haitians back to Haiti and people are still fleeing the country and coming to the U.S."

"The reason for not granting my people political asylum is based on race. If we were white they would treat us differently."

People in the crowd were angry and frustrated with the way the racist U.S. government is treating the Haitian people.

At the final rally in front of the UN, protesters called for asylum to be granted to the refugees still at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba.

My comment on all this is that the Haitian people need to raise the flag like the people's war in Peru. They need to start the people's war in Haiti. The U.S. government will have more blood on its hands as more Haitian refugees are sent back to Haiti and are beaten to death by the army. □

Dhoruba Bin Wahad: "Staying Strong To Fight the Powers"

On February 13 a judge in Manhattan agreed to allow Dhoruba bin Wahad to remain free until his next hearing. Dhoruba, a former Black Panther leader in New York City, was railroaded by Amerikkka's injustice system and jailed for 19 years. He was finally freed in April 1990 after evidence was brought to light showing that the prosecution's main witness lied. Since then the powers have been trying to throw Dhoruba back in jail. In December 1990 the New York State Court of Appeals came down with a ruling that changed the law regarding reversals of convictions, making it much harder for unjust convictions to be overturned. Prisoners who uncover evidence that was withheld by the state after their regular appeals have run out—like Dhoruba—must now convince a judge that they probably would have won the case if that evidence was available. Lawyers say that this is very difficult to do in court.

Dhoruba was ordered to appear before the court on February 6 for a hearing to determine whether he would remain free while preparing to argue his case before a judge. Dhoruba's lawyers tried to get another court date since they were unable to appear at the hearing because of medical problems and conflicting legal obligations. The judge refused to give him another court date and ordered Dhoruba to appear without his lawyers. Dhoruba refused. A warrant was issued for his arrest—and was put on hold until the February 13 hearing date.

Widespread political support for Dhoruba and outrage at the way the powers-that-be are treating this brother have forced the judge to rule in Dhoruba's favor. Petitions had been circulated demanding that Dhoruba remain free. After supporters collected over 5,000 signatures, the petitions were sent to the judge and district attorney. Over 150 people of all nationalities packed the courtroom for the



Dhoruba al-Mujahid bin Wahad (center) at Manhattan courthouse, April 1990.

hearing.

An *RW* reporter asked Dhoruba how he felt about the attempts to lock him up again. He replied, "I gotta be strong, sister, because I've got to fight the powers-that-be." Dhoruba's next court date is April 26. The people must do everything possible to

make sure that Dhoruba remains free. For more information, people can contact the Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners and POWs in the U.S., Kingsbridge Station, P.O. Box 339, Bronx, New York, 10463-0339, Phone (718) 624-0800.

U.S. #1 in Prisons

The United States has widened its lead over every other country in the world in the percentage of the population that is put in jail. According to a recent study by the Sentencing Project, there are now 1.1 million inmates in U.S. prisons, giving the U.S. an incarceration rate of 455 people per 100,000. This is a 6.8 percent increase over the year before. The country with the second largest percentage of people behind bars is South Africa, with a rate of 311 inmates per 100,000.

During the 1980s the number of people in U.S. prisons doubled. According to U.S. federal and government officials, the number of people in jail in this country is expected to rise 30 percent by 1995.

Moreover, about half a million of the current inmates in U.S. jails are Black males. This gives the U.S. an incarceration rate for Black men five times higher than that of black men in South Africa! There are 3,370 Black men per 100,000 in jail in the U.S., as compared to 681 per 100,000 in South Africa.

This is the vicious result of the so-called "war on drugs," which in reality has been a war by the ruling powers on the people. Police sweeps of oppressed neighborhoods, lockdowns of housing projects, mandatory sentencing laws and other measures against the people are being carried out and intensified—all in the name of "cracking down on drugs."

At the same time, while Black people make up about 13 percent of the U.S. population, they account for about 23 percent of U.S. military personnel in all branches. During the Gulf war, Department of Defense statistics showed that 25 percent of all troops and 36 percent of the Army troops sent to Saudi Arabia were Black men and women.

Jail and military are the only two "career opportunities" where there is a larger percentage of young Black men than in the population as a whole. Amerikkka is not a land of "equal opportunity"—it is a land where millions of people face discrimination and oppression because of the color of their skin. Why should anyone fight to preserve this prison house? □

U.S. Embargo Busts Teddy Bears

U.S. Customs officials in Los Angeles, acting on orders from the highest levels of government, have seized 2,000 teddy bears and other stuffed toys that were donated to the children of Iraq by people in southern California. They say that stuffed animals, which have proven therapeutic value for sick children, are forbidden by United Nations sanctions.

When Dianne Judice, a Santa Barbara nurse, visited Iraq last summer, she was horrified by the destruction caused by the U.S. bombing and its continuing impact, especially on the children. Even as "victory celebrations" were being held in U.S. cities, tens of thousands of Iraqis were dying from health problems and food shortages caused by the war. With the help of a woman Iraqi-American artist, Judice started "Teddy Bears for Iraq" which collected large donations of basic medicines and used teddy bears. A number of older women visited the artist's studio to donate

their grandchildren's toys. Altogether they collected and prepared 1,100 pounds of relief goods for shipment to Iraq.

But sympathy for the children of Iraq is not allowed in the New World Order. According to the *L.A. Times*, when Judice spoke to an assistant director in the Treasury Department she was told that the relief supplies could not be shipped to Iraq. The government's ridiculous argument was that if they made an exception for teddy bears, they'd have to consider shipments of nukes and nerve gas.

More than a year after the Gulf war, the U.S. and other powers continue to impose economic sanctions that cause suffering for the Iraqi people—they won't even allow teddy bears and medicine for children! And they openly threaten more military attacks against Iraq in an attempt to bring Saddam Hussein down. Those who run this system are cruel and cowardly mass murderers. □



Iraqi children after U.S. bombing.

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

From notorious San Quentin to the legendary Attica and the infamous Texas prison system, the demand for the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature has steadily increased. Since its inception in 1982, the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund (PRLF) has fulfilled thousands of requests. Currently, over 500 subscriptions to the RW and OR are sent to prisoners every week, as well as orders for books and pamphlets. The PRLF's work of getting revolutionary literature into the hands of our imprisoned brothers and sisters must be strengthened and expanded. Not one request for literature should go unfulfilled for lack of funds!

We encourage RW readers to contribute generously to the PRLF. You may mail your donation to the address below, or if more convenient, drop in at your nearest Revolution Books store or outlet. Or contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to make your contribution.

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund,
c/o RCP Publications, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

Kataza Taifa, a prisoner in the new Indiana prison in Westville known as "Supermax," has been part of a struggle against inhumane and brutal prison conditions. Recently he asked for a razor blade. But instead of using it to shave his face, he sawed off his left pinkie at the first knuckle and put it in an envelope addressed it to an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. In a nearby cell another inmate, Paul Komyatti Jr., unsuccessfully tried to cut off one of his fingers that he had intended to send to Governor Evan Bayh.

These actions are part of an ongoing protest at the "Supermax" Maximum Control Complex against cruel conditions that include nearly total isolation and sensory deprivation. Since the prison opened nine months ago, there has already been a 37-day hunger strike, a massive letter-writing campaign, and nearly 500 grievances filed.

According to Richard A. Waples, the legal director for the Indiana Civil Liberties Union, "The conditions are so stark and the isolation is so emotionally and psychologically devastating that it is a form of torture." Inmates are subjected to excessive force by guards, chained for days in their cells and refused showers and exercise. Similar "Supermax" prisons are being built across the country.

Last September, the RW received the following statement from a reader who is a political prisoner in Westville's "Supermax." This statement (printed in RW #624) was released to announce the beginning of their 37-day hunger strike.

FIGHT THE POWER!! "IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE ATTICA REBELLION" SEPT. 9-13

On September 13, 1971, over 250 state and local police stormed the Attica prison, killing ten hostages and 29 prisoners. We have chosen this month, the 20th anniversary of the massacre of those courageous men who stood up to expose to the world the hypocrisy and contradictions of the U.S. penal colonies and a bourgeois society. We have chosen this month to carry on that spirit of those men.

We want to call attention to the people of the U.S. and the World that even though it has been 20 years, the same barbaric conditions and contradictions of the criminal injustice system still remain, still exist in 1991. The same dehumanizing and often racist policies and conditions of the state that existed then, still exist today, often in a more intense and sophisticated fashion. Thus, we initiate this hunger strike to expose the state of Indiana's genocidal and inhumane practices and policies within its state prison system in general, and particularly at the Marion-style Maximum Control Unit in Westville, Indiana.

"WE ARE MEN! WE ARE NOT BEASTS AND WILL NOT BE BEATEN AND DRIVEN AS SUCH!"

The political ramifications of the maximum control complex...the newly constructed control unit is Indiana's debut into the arena of a scientific approach to behavior modification through the use of sensory deprivation, intimidation, psychotropic drugs, and an overall use of the methods of psychological warfare to produce a desired result in the subjects (prisoners) as well as institutionalization and conformity in its most revolutionary or vocal prisoners. Indiana has practiced these methods in the past, but it is the first time that a \$12 million unit has been built strictly for such experiments and oppression. At this time a second control unit triple in size and cost is being built in the southern part of the state, hence as we journey into the decade of the '90s we see the beginning stages of a pattern to crush and silence any demands by prisoners to be treated like

human beings. We see Indiana following in the footsteps of the George Bush/ruling class-controlled Supreme Court in denying prisoners even the facade of constitutional and human rights. Therefore, Indiana has joined the ranks of many other states that have launched into behavioral sciences and constructed control units, i.e. modern-day torture chambers to repress the growing resistance and call for human rights in the U.S. prison system. These control units that the state propaganda machine tries to say is to control the unrehabilitative prisoners is in actuality to control those influential and oftentimes revolutionary prisoners who are inside the prisons, organizing and calling for human and democratic rights. Prisoners who refuse to be treated as mere chattel slaves, prisoners who are exposing the hypocrisy and contradictions of a prison system that not only is unable to rehabilitate its prisoners but has no desire to do so. The 13th amendment* designates all prisoners in the U.S. as slaves and/or indentured servants and this is the essence of the entire relationship of prisonrats to prisoner. It is a slavemaster to slave relationship based on exploitation of the prisoners' labor and the profit motive of the state.

In Lexington, Kentucky, a Federal judge ruled in the case of the Lexington Women's Control Unit that the state was embarking upon a dangerous path when it begins to segregate prisoners because of their political beliefs, and in Marion, Illinois, the warden stated that the Marion Control Unit, which has been completely locked down for the past 8 years, was designed to control revolutionary ideas/attitudes.

Here at M.C.C., we as prisoners enjoy no rights, constitutional or otherwise. We are locked in stark white cells, with a shining bright light that burns 24 hours a day, which is designed to bring about stress and anxiety in the prisoner, over a period of time. It is also designed to deny you any type of sensory stimuli.

In a 7-day period, we are only allowed at the maximum 2-1/2 hours of recreation and even sometimes this is restricted for months on end. Our incoming and outgoing mail is read and often held up for days, before being processed. We are not even allowed to seal our outgoing mail! There are no checks and balances on the power of the warden, who can order that you be placed in mechanical restraints (handcuffs, shackles and waist chain) in a cold cell without provocation. Who can order a body search and will do it by force without justifiable probable cause, which constitutes rape anywhere else in the world!! Here, bedding, clothing and food are used as tools for punishment and oppression, all in violation of bourgeois U.S. and United Nations law. We are allowed a very limited amount of clothes and yet we are forced to endure the blowing of an air conditioner 24 hours a day, 7 days a week with temperatures sometimes dropping to the 30s and 40s in these cells.

People, this is torture, all designed to ultimately destroy the sanity and stability of the captive prisoners. Thus, we launch this hunger strike til we can no longer endure to call international attention to the systematic torture and developing of a hate factory in the State of Indiana. We also call on all revolutionary prisoners throughout the country in general and throughout Indiana in particular to show revolutionary solidarity with our struggle beginning on September 23. This is a revolutionary plea for unity and solidarity. Let's shake the walls of the beast!!

* Article 1, Section 37 of the State of Indiana Constitution mandates that all prisoners are slaves of the state...Indiana Bill of Rights reads as follows: "...There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within the state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. No indenture of any negro or mulatto made and executed out of bounds of the state shall be valid within the state."