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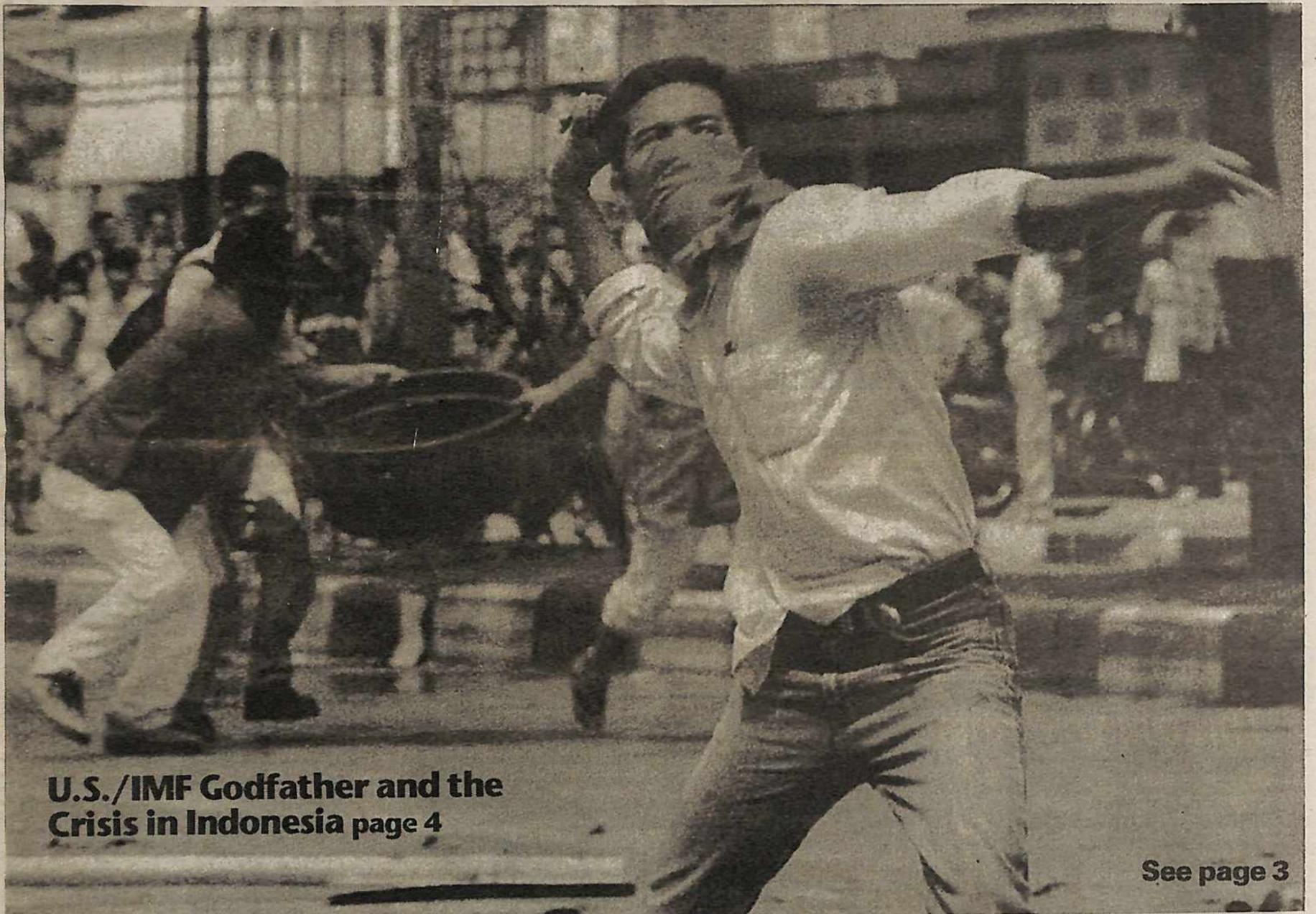
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**May 1st 1998**



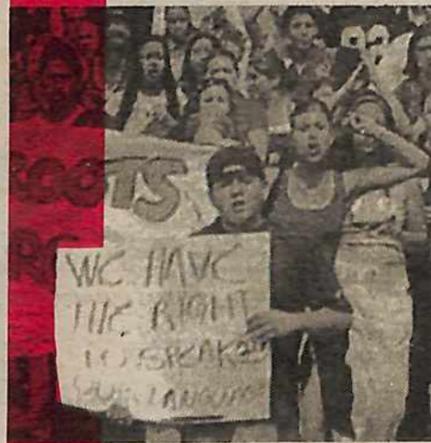
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As of May 10, 1998 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for...

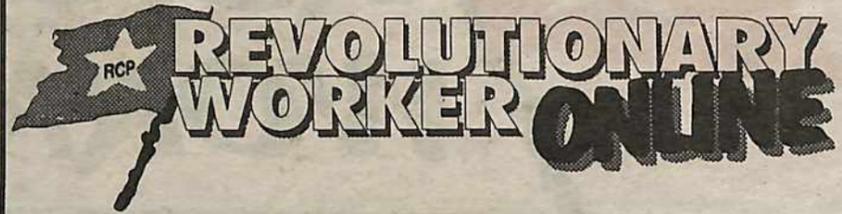
## 5 Years, 208 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and

relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. Fujimori changed Peru's constitution to legalize the death penalty, which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

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

**Support the People's War in Peru!  
Support the Communist Party of Peru!  
Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo,  
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## Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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# The Angry Streets of Indonesia



Anti Suharto rally at Jakarta, February 26.

## Nationwide Protests Target Suharto Regime

Anti-government demonstrations have erupted throughout Indonesia as tens of thousands are taking to the streets to protest price hikes and government corruption.

The Asian economic crisis that started in Thailand last summer has continued to deepen. And Indonesia, like Thailand and South Korea, is being forced to implement drastic economic measures in order to receive a bailout from the International Monetary Fund. The United States and the IMF are demanding that in order to get \$43 billion dollars to rescue its crisis-ridden economy, Indonesia must carry out drastic restructuring of its banking and economic structures and impose harsh austerity measures on the population. Economic "reforms" being implemented by the government will mean higher prices and more misery for the masses of Indonesian people—there are predictions that IMF-imposed measures will result in an additional two million unemployed workers. And the US/IMF plan for Indonesia will open the door for further imperialist penetration and domination of the Indonesian economy. (See accompanying article, "The US/IMF Godfather and the Crisis in Indonesia.")

Since last summer, students have been demonstrating against rising costs and demanding political reforms. And in the last few months, these protests have escalated—in some cities there have been daily actions. At the beginning of May the government announced a major rise in fuel, transport and electricity prices. And this set off a new wave of bigger and more widespread protests.

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On Thursday, April 30, students gathered at the Islamic Teaching Institute in the capital city of Jakarta. They shouted, "Hang Suharto!" and held up a banner with the names of Cabinet members they accuse of



Students in Jakarta perform a mock hanging to show how they think corrupt government officials should be punished, April 1998.

corruption, followed by the words "Go to hell." Other posters read, "Bring down prices or bring down Suharto." Several thousand students surged into the street in defiance of a military ban on street marches and hurled rocks at police. At the small campus of St. Thomas Catholic University students blocked the main road to the city with burning tires and chanted slogans against Suharto until security forces drove them off.

The next day, on May 1, 500 students protested in the city of Medan. Demonstrators threw stones and petrol bombs at the police, who responded with tear gas, rubber bullets and armored cars mounted with water cannons. The students were driven back to their campus at the Islamic University of North Sumatra, a mile from the city center. But the fighting continued as government troops crouched behind armored cars while students continued to throw rocks at them from the campus.

This same day, about 1,000 students from the Institute of Technology blocked a road near their campus before they, too, were driven back by tear gas. And there were other protests in cities on Indonesia's main island of Java, including the capital, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta, Surabaya and Bandung.

On Saturday, May 2, tens of thousands of

students at university campuses throughout Indonesia demonstrated. Protesters threw stones and Molotov cocktails and at least four police officers were injured. Police used tear-gas and rubber bullets to keep protesters from leaving their campuses and in Jakarta, as many as 20 people were hurt in a demonstration at the Teachers' Training College.

In the northern Sumatra city of Medan, where clashes between demonstrators and police had been going on almost every day for the last two weeks of April, students from Nommansen University blocked the road outside their campus with burning tires. The students then attacked a showroom displaying a car produced by a firm controlled by Suharto's youngest son, smashed the glass window, and pushed the car into the street and set it on fire.

On Monday, May 4, anti-government protests continued. At the Mercu Buana University in West Jakarta, 500 students staged a peaceful demonstration on the street outside their campus. Some of the students lay on the ground, calling for President Suharto to resign. But other protests were much more confrontational.

In Medan, about 3,000 students confronted security forces at the Teachers' Training Institute. They hurled stones and petrol bombs at the police, who tried to beat

back the crowds with tear gas and rubber bullets. Witnesses said police on motorcycles chased people into alleys and opened fire with pistols, injuring at least two.

Since Indonesia was hit by the economic crisis last summer, demonstrations have frequently targeted shops owned by ethnic Chinese. The Indonesian ruling class has a history of fanning this kind of anti-Chinese sentiment in periods of social and economic unrest. In fact, Suharto came to power in 1965 in connection with a wave of anti-communist and anti-Chinese hysteria. Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, even though they were born in the country, are discriminated against—they are not allowed to speak their own language, are banned from celebrating the Chinese New Year and are generally kept out of political positions in the government. At the same time, a lot of wealth and retail trade in Indonesia, and throughout South East Asia, is controlled by ethnic Chinese. When people are hit by high prices and unemployment, Chinese big businesses as well as small shops are frequently scapegoated. And the Indonesian government works to whip up this kind of animosity—since it would much rather have the people's anger misdirected at the ethnic Chinese than at the oppressive and corrupt government, politicians, bureaucrat capitalists and their imperialist backers.

Throughout this last year, shops owned by ethnic Chinese have been looted and burned. And in this latest eruption of protest, ethnic Chinese-owned shops have once again been targeted by demonstrators. In Medan, crowds set fire to Chinese-owned shops—while stores were spared that had signs saying "Milik Pribumi" ("Indonesian-owned") pasted on the outside. But the demonstrations have also had new targets—two police cars were among at least 13 vehicles burned, and two offices of the state electricity company, which has announced 60 percent price increases, were stoned.

In Jakarta, 5,000 students at the Mercu Buana private university defied the military ban on street gatherings and marched out of their campus. They were met by rubber bullets and tear gas and 17 were injured.

After Monday's protests, the army issued a stern warning against street demonstrations. But on Tuesday May 5, price increases dictated by the IMF went into ef-

Continued on page 4

# U.S./IMF Godfather and the

The U.S.-backed Suharto government in Indonesia came to power in 1965. And in the following months, hundreds of thousands—by some estimates, a half million—Indonesian leftists were hunted down and killed by government soldiers. Despite Suharto's bloody rise to power, he was hailed by the U.S. for his anti-Communist politics and economic policies that welcomed foreign intervention.

After years of stagnation, the Indonesian economy began to grow, in large part due to the worldwide demand for Indonesian oil. Much of Indonesia's economy is based on plantation crops and other natural resources, including oil, gas, timber, metals and coal. And foreign capital has flowed into the country for the last two decades. From 1970 until 1997, the Indonesian economy showed an annual growth rate of at least 6 percent and it was seen as one of the miraculous "Asian Tigers" of East Asia.

But by the mid-1990s much of the foreign investment that had poured into Indonesia was tied up in failed or stalled ventures. The real estate market was out of control—the cities were full of half-completed office towers. And the country's foreign debt was continuing to climb sky high. When the Asian crisis hit in the summer of 1997—starting with the devaluation of the baht currency in Thailand—the Indonesian economy came crashing down.

The Indonesian currency, the rupiah, began to go down in value. By the end of 1997, it had fallen by about 75 percent. And this has made it more expensive and harder for the government and Indonesian businesses to pay back foreign debts. This devaluation has also meant a sharp increase in the price of imports—prices for staples like rice, vegetables and cooking oil have gone up. Tens of thousands of workers have been laid off and the unemployment situation is expected to only get worse. Officials and labor leaders estimate that as many as 2



Workers on their way back to their village after losing their jobs in Jakarta, January 1998.

million people in Indonesia will lose jobs in the next year—which will be added to the 4.4 million who are already unemployed and the millions more who live hand to mouth with part-time work. And some economists say the true extent of unemployment in Indonesia is even higher, since people who may work only an hour or two a week are officially designated as

"employed."

## IMF "Rescue"

In November, the Indonesian government accepted a loan package from the International Monetary Fund. This loan, like all loans the IMF offers to poor, crisis-ridden Third World countries, demanded that in exchange for help, the government

implement all kinds of austerity measures and open its markets up even further to foreign investment.

In order to get the over \$40 billion offered by the IMF, the Suharto government agreed to an austerity program that includes a gradual reduction of import tariffs, deregulation of some government-supported commodities, a reduction of taxes and other obstacles to exports, and a review of public spending.

Such IMF-imposed measures were aimed at restoring confidence in investors. But they were also likely to cause widespread bankruptcies, rising prices, massive job losses and tremendous suffering and hardship for the masses of Indonesian people—as well as further economic and political instability. And none of the IMF measures provided for lightening Indonesia's foreign debt burden—in fact this deal only added to the country's foreign debt. But the IMF had made Suharto a "godfather offer" he couldn't refuse.

## The Reluctant Suharto

The IMF is dominated by the U.S. and was deeply involved in putting together the IMF deal with Indonesia. The IMF and the US hoped investments would start flowing back into the Indonesian economy with the announcement of the loan. But the crisis continued to deepen as potential interna-



An oilfield worker in Indonesia.

# The Angry Streets of Indonesia

Continued from page 3

fect. And hundreds of students gathered at gas stations right at midnight, when the price hikes took effect.

In Medan, at least 1,000 took to the streets in response to the rise in fuel prices. Police fired rubber bullets to disperse the crowd and 100 people were taken into custody. Shops were looted, storehouses ransacked and cars burnt. One news report described police pulling up in a truck, getting out and swinging batons at crowds of children, housewives and men who were looting stores. Truckloads of security forces armed with M-16 rifles and tear gas patrolled the streets. And fearful that people from neighboring towns might join in the demonstrations, police closed off a toll road leading into Medan.

In other parts of the country, tens of thousands of students also marched in the streets against the IMF-dictated price hikes. In the capital city of Jakarta, which has a population of 10 million people, workers, unemployed laborers and high school students joined university students in protest. Police fired shots into the crowd, trying to contain students within their campus, and it was reported that at least a dozen students were injured.

Demonstrations were also reported in several cities throughout the Island of Java including Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Ujung Pandang, and Sulawesi. In Surabaya, capital of East Java, thousands of students gathered at the Nusantara Muslim Institute and other university campuses to protest and were joined by workers and unemployed laborers.

While students fight the police with old-fashioned rocks and Molotov cocktails, they have also been using high-tech weapons—like cellular phones, pagers, computers and the internet—to organize and spread their struggle.

Indonesia is a country made up of 13,000 islands—which makes it difficult for different student groups to communicate and coordinate actions. But using the internet, the students have been able to spread their rebellion even to the most distant islands. And students are also using E-mail, pagers, cellular phones, pay phones and coded computer files in order to evade bugged home and office phones and other kinds of police spying.

One student organizer who talked about how they were trying to build networks between students all over the country said that during the latest wave of protests,

reporters received almost daily E-mail reports and faxes from students across the country, detailing number of protesters and number of wounded by the police.

But the students are also learning that these high-tech gadgets cannot always be relied on. In one instance a member of a banned organization was arrested after the operator of his pager company informed the police. And the army has now demanded access to cell-phone-company systems, saying it has to monitor, cut off and, if need be, seize certain callers.

Since the Asian crisis hit Indonesia last summer, this is the first time there has been widespread government violence against demonstrations. Police opened fire on protesters in at least three cities, using small caliber rubber bullets. At least 17 students were injured by rubber bullets in Jakarta. Indonesian police shot and wounded at least two people in Medan when they opened fire into a crowd of people looting stores. There has been one report that six people have been killed by government security forces. And new exposure has recently come out about how the government is kidnapping and torturing political activists.

But the vicious, repressive moves by the

Suharto government have not put a lid on the people's anger. While demonstrations in the last year have been almost completely students and mainly confined to campuses, the students are now taking their protests into the city streets. And many more sections of the population are being drawn into the action.

The newly implemented price hikes are limited to fuel and transport. But food prices are expected to rise as a result and several truckers are already refusing to deliver goods. Bus drivers in another town refused to drive students to school. And the government is worried that as more U.S./IMF-imposed austerity measures get implemented, anti-government demonstrations will grow. One Indonesian police lieutenant colonel told the press, "It's not a pure student protest any more, because it involves ordinary people. There are thousands of angry people trying to burn houses. They are burning tires and turning over cars."

As we go to press, demonstrations continue in cities throughout Indonesia. And there are reports that the students are increasingly being joined by others—including workers, farmers, bus drivers, doctors, nurses, and government employees. □

# Crisis in Indonesia

tional investors waited to see if Suharto would, in fact, carry through with the IMF-imposed reforms.

Suharto has built a vast and wealthy empire in which family connections, favoritism and corruption are deeply entrenched in the whole way the economy functions. Suharto and his children control hundreds of companies. The family owns TV and radio networks, banks, chemical factories, pharmaceutical companies, shopping malls, hotels, paper and pulp mills, shipping lines and taxi companies. And the IMF demands are aimed at breaking down this kind of "cronyism," which can sometimes stand in the way of foreign penetration. The IMF agreement with Indonesia demands that Suharto eliminate many of the government concessions and licenses that have enriched his family.

By January, it became clear that Suharto was dragging his feet on implementing the IMF demands. Suharto announced his government would increase spending in the next year by 24 percent, despite his promise to the IMF to implement a program of drastic austerity. And he had failed to carry through with his promise to cancel 15 government "mega-projects." All this touched off a further drop in Indonesian stocks and another devaluation of the rupiah, as investors continued to pull money out of the still uncertain Indonesian economy.

On January 6, Suharto announced a draft budget for 1998-99 that failed to meet the IMF requirement that it show a surplus. And it was based on wildly optimistic exchange rate and growth projections. The IMF considered this move by Suharto a direct defiance of the IMF agreement. And in typical imperialist fashion the IMF and the U.S. rushed to let Suharto know he must submit to the U.S./IMF plan. And President Clinton, revealing the real power behind IMF dictates, immediately called Suharto from Air Force One and demanded that he start implementing IMF reforms, "or else..."

An array of imperialist officials, including the number two IMF guy, Stanley Fischer flew to Jakarta to warn Suharto that his \$40 billion loan could be suspended if he did not comply. And Suharto got calls from Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan, Prime Minister John Howard of Australia—all of whom repeated Clinton's message.

U.S. Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers was dispatched by Clinton to put further pressure on Suharto. And U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen went to meet with Suharto, to discuss expanding security ties with the Indonesian government. White House officials said this was part of a two-pronged strategy—to press Suharto to make economic concessions while trying to prevent the crisis from sowing political instability. "You can't have an Indonesia that becomes destabilized without security concerns arising in the region," a senior U.S. official said before Cohen's meeting with Suharto.

The U.S. has been directly involved in training Suharto's brutal military forces. And there have been dozens of joint military exercises between the U.S. and Indonesia in this last year. Cohen's trip clearly aimed to strengthen this U.S. military role in Indonesia and throughout the region.

On January 15, the IMF forced Suharto to sign a new IMF agreement. Even harsher than the earlier one, this deal calls for the closing of weak banks, the breakup of monopolies and the end of financing for special projects run by Suharto's children and close friends.

The U.S. had hoped all this would put an end to Suharto's defiance. But Suharto has continued to delay implementing many of the IMF demands—which would threaten his own and many of his friends' lucrative businesses. And Suharto has also been reluctant to carry out the austerity reforms dictated by the IMF loan—not because he cares about the people—but because he fears such measures could lead to even more food riots and anti-government demonstrations.

## U.S. Strategic Concerns

President Clinton has stressed that U.S. economic fortunes are tied to economic growth in East Asia. And opening world markets has been a centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy. But when the crisis hit East Asia last year, the U.S. also made it clear that it's interest in "helping" the Asian Tigers goes beyond preserving their role as trading partners.

Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin announced, "These countries are not only key markets for U.S. exporters, but are also crucial to our efforts to promote growth, peace and prosperity throughout the world"—which in imperialist-speak means the U.S. wants to protect its right to politically and militarily dominate the whole region.

These kinds of strategic concerns by the United States certainly apply to its view of the crisis in Indonesia. Throughout Suharto's brutal rule, imperialism has built up and relied on Indonesia as a source of relative stability in Southeast Asia, a dependable ally for the U.S., and a crucial source of oil and other raw materials for Japan and other nations. The sheer size of the Indonesian market of 200 million people, and the importance of its rich natural resources, means what happens there has a profound impact of the rest of the region. And the Pentagon has repeatedly expressed concerns about the strategic importance of Indonesia, both because of its control of shipping routes and because it has the world's largest Muslim population. One senior American official recently expressed the fear that the economic crisis in Indonesia, if it persisted, could lead to "a rise in Islamic radicalism."

Now, the U.S. is worried that the growing economic and political instability in Indonesia could "spill over" to other countries in the region and even beyond. Bourgeois economists point to the way the

currency devaluation in Thailand last summer set off a whole series of devaluations and crisis throughout East Asia. And they warn that something like this could easily happen again, seriously threatening major imperialist investments.

The U.S. is also concerned about sending a clear imperialist message to Indonesia about "who's in charge." One *New York Times* article put it like this: "With its falling currency and huge foreign debt, Indonesia has become the epicenter of Asia's economic turmoil. If the rescue effort fails here in the world's fourth-largest nation, the damage could spread around the world. If Suharto successfully defies the IMF, both American and IMF officials worry that other countries would then feel free to ignore the fund's requirements for economic growth."

The U.S./IMF efforts to force Suharto to submit is a political as well as an economic struggle. This is why so many U.S. imperialist big shots have been sent, godfather-style, to put pressure on Suharto. The frequent meetings at the White House on the Indonesian crisis have included not only Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, and his financial experts but top State Department officials, CIA analysts, Pentagon brass and national security aides.

The U.S. has played an open and major role in forcing Suharto to carry out the IMF reforms. And it has had a very hands-on role in directing and training Indonesia's military—which is now brutally attacking the mass protests which are being sparked, in large part, by the implementation of IMF austerity measures.

The *New York Times* recently reported that U.S. State Department officials were concerned about an anti-American backlash in Indonesia, "where it is widely assumed that the U.S. is the secret hand operating behind the IMF." And the Pentagon has also expressed worry about its association with the Indonesian military, which is brutally suppressing demonstrations, arresting government opponents and torturing political activists.

## US/IMF Plan: More Misery for the People, More Imperialist Domination

Since the late 1980s the U.S. government has been trying to pave the way for more diversified and unrestricted imperialist investment in East Asia. It has fought to liberalize, deregulate and privatize the Asian economies. And one of the major ways it has pushed for such "reforms" is through the "structural adjustment programs" used by the IMF and the World Bank.

Poor countries like Indonesia get IMF loans to try and get out of debt. And the "restructuring" reforms the IMF demands are supposed to help them pay their debts and get back on their feet. But in reality, this restructuring only causes deeper debt and poverty.

The IMF is demanding that Indonesia close down many of its banks and privatize 12 key state enterprises, including telecommunications, mining and cement companies. And Suharto is supposed to step-by-step, impose harsh austerity measures, like the recent hike in fuel prices.

Such measures will clearly create more favorable opportunities for foreign investment. And at the same time, these reforms will lead to increased misery for the Indonesian people, especially the poor. In order to pay off Indonesia's foreign debt, the IMF is telling Suharto he must earn more on the world market—which means cutting back on domestic spending, exporting more, and making exports cheaper. And he is being told to reduce government spending—which usually means cutbacks in subsidies for health care, education, food and housing.

The U.S. godfathers are telling Indonesia that if it just follows the IMF plan, it will emerge from this crisis economically stronger. But the reality of the situation is that the measures imposed by this U.S./IMF bailout could lead to even deeper economic crisis and political instability. There will be tremendous suffering and hardship for the masses. And more upheaval and protest could even more seriously threaten the U.S.-backed Suharto regime. □

# Suharto's Brutal Military: U.S. Trained

In 1991, Indonesian troops massacred more than 270 civilians on the island of East Timor. The U.S. had strongly backed the dictatorial Suharto regime since it came to power in 1965. But in an effort to publicly distance the U.S. from this brutality, the U.S. Congress banned Indonesian troops from receiving warfare training under the Pentagon program known as International Military Education and Training, or IMET.

Now it has come out that, despite this 1992 ban, the U.S. has continued to train Indonesian military forces, including KOPASSUS, a special forces commando unit, which human rights groups say has tortured and killed civilians. The KOPASSUS Red Berets, which have been deployed this year against street demonstrators in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, have received training from U.S. special operations soldiers in skills like psychological warfare and reconnaissance missions.

Pentagon officials argue that the training program was technically legal because it was not done under the IMET program stipulated by the Congressional ban. Instead the training has been carried out under a little known \$10 million Pentagon program called Joint Combined Exchange and Training (J-Cet.) This program was also used to train the Rwandan Patriotic Army in psychological operations and marksmanship.

Journalist Allan Nairn was severely beaten, arrested and permanently banned from Indonesia in 1991 after he witnessed the Indonesian military's massacre in East Timor. His recent article in *The Nation* (3/30/98) describes the U.S. training of Indonesian troops.

Nairn says that on December 10, 1991, soon after the massacre in East Timor, the U.S. convened a secret meeting in Surabaya and assured the Indonesian military that Washington did "not believe that friends should abandon friends in times of adversity."

After the U.S. Congress voted to end the military training of Indonesian officers through IMET, the Indonesian government protested. And in 1994 and 1995, IMET was partially restored as a smaller program called E-IMET—which claimed to be instructing the Indonesian military, ABRI, in human rights. After 1995 Congress said the only military training ABRI would get would be classroom instruction under E-IMET. But Nairn reveals that according to newly obtained Pentagon documents and interviews with key U.S. officials, the U.S. military has been training ABRI in a broad array of lethal tactics. Since 1993, the U.S. has held 41 training exercises with the Indonesian military, including courses in counterinsurgency techniques, psychological warfare and military operations in urban areas. These exercises have involved Green Berets, Air Force commandos and Marines.

Indonesian forces trained by the U.S. have included Suharto's presidential guard and KOSTRAD, the Indonesian government's key Army Strategic Command. But the U.S. training has mainly involved KOPASSUS Red Beret forces, which are known for specializing in torture, disappearances and night raids on civilian homes. Pentagon documents show that 20

Continued on page 14



Gold miners on the island of Sumatra.



Demonstrators fight police in Seoul, South Korea.

# May 1st 1998

## Around the World

The following are some initial news reports that we have gathered so far of this year's May Day actions around the world.

### Germany

The *RW* received a brief correspondence from readers in Berlin about May Day in Germany. Among the many different actions and protests on May 1, the main ones were two major demonstrations in Berlin and a clash between fascists and demonstrators in Leipzig.

The correspondence from the readers in Berlin begins with an account of the struggle leading up to May Day: "Before May 1st the police tried to impose many restrictions that would have amounted to a practical ban on all these activities. So there was a big struggle about this and also in the courts. All the groups joined together to issue a press release and leaflet against these restrictions, and around 20,000 were distributed in just one or two days. On April 30 a court issued a decision which canceled most of the police orders. The next tactic of the police was to mobilize between 5,000 and 10,000 riot police and have a massive presence at all the various actions. (The overall class struggle is sharpening very much in Germany this year. The two main areas of this are cuts in wages and social services and a racist offensive by the government and main parties against immigrants.)"

The letter from Berlin gave this account of the action in the Kreuzberg area of Berlin: "This is the annual revolutionary May 1st demonstration at 1 o'clock from Oranienplatz. Again this year the main slogans were: 'Fight Internationally Against Exploitation and Oppression!' and 'No Liberation Without REVOLUTION!' We think between 3,000 and 3,500 people took part. People from 26 different countries attended (the main nationalities were Kurds, Turks and Germans). So this was a very internationalist action. Many different political and social forces took part: anarchists, communists, punks, squat-

ters, feminists, students, workers, etc. This was a very big spectrum of people.

"After the court issued its ruling to stop most of the police orders, the demonstration was allowed to march. The main goal of the police and city authorities was to try to force the demonstration to disperse before reaching its planned end rally. For them this is a way of saying that revolution will also never be able to reach its end goal. They tried to do this by attacking the demonstration many times with clubs. Also, when they attack for no real reason other than their political goals—and people defend themselves against these attacks—they claim that the demonstration is violent, and this becomes the 'grounds' for attacking again. So the demonstration took place with several thousand police in riot equipment on all sides. All these attacks were beaten back, and the demonstration was able to reach its planned end point at the Kottbusser Tor in Kreuzberg. This was a big political success for the revolution and a defeat for the police and ruling class. (There is a big housing complex at Kottbusser Tor. A majority of the residents are immigrants. The city government has announced that if they cannot force at least half of the immigrant residents to leave and replace them with Germans, they will tear the building down. But the building is not in bad condition or anything like that—there are just 'too many immigrants.' And of course, it has been a symbol and rallying point for many years. The government says that in 1999 when Berlin becomes the capital of the new Reich and the government comes here, Kreuzberg must be 'free' from immigrants.)"

The other major May Day demonstration in Berlin started from the Rosa Luxemburg Platz in the eastern part of the city and was mainly attended by students and German youth. According to the readers in Berlin: "The motto of this demonstration this year was 'Enough is Enough.' This began with a rally that started at 6 p.m. The demonstration began around 8 p.m. We think around 4,000 or 5,000 people were there. This

demonstration was also given the same treatment as the demonstration in Kreuzberg. There were many police attacks. Because of these attacks the organizers decided to officially end the demonstration before it reached its planned end point. At that time the police completely surrounded a part of the demonstration. The people defended against the police attacks and built barricades and fought against the police. This was some of the most fierce street fighting in Berlin in several years. The police wanted to beat the people into submission, but instead the people rebelled. This was a big political defeat for the ruling class and the police."

In the aftermath of the Berlin demonstrations, the government is trying to hit back. The readers in Berlin wrote: "Now after these defeats, the Interior Minister for Berlin (his name is Schonbohm, and he used to be a high ranking general in the Germany Army) had a press conference. Of course, he told many lies about what happened—he said that the demonstrators attacked the police first, instead of what really happened. He is now saying that all May 1st actions must be banned, and that the constitutional right for demonstration must be changed because it is just being used as a "constitutional right to make violence and

were at the NPD rally (mainly fascist youth). The fascists said before the rally that there would be 10,000 to 15,000. There is a big fascist movement in East Germany. This is a movement of open terror and is encouraged and protected by the ruling class and police. We also know that 5,000 police were there to protect the fascists—so altogether, at least 10,000 fascists! There was a big battle between the anti-fascist demonstrators and the police. We must talk to people who were there to find out what really happened. But we can say now that this was a big battle and a very important protest."

### Other Parts of the World

**Turkey:** Riot cops—known as "Robocops" because they wear full body armor—attacked a May Day march of 70,000 people in Istanbul. According to a Reuters wire service report, "The clash began after police used tanks and armored personnel carriers to block access by the leftists, many affiliated with outlawed guerrilla groups, to an official May Day rally at the Freedom Monument in Istanbul's Sisli district. Witnesses said the leftists threw stones at about 3,000 approaching riot police, who then moved in swiftly with water cannons and batons. Police helicopters hovered overhead."

**South Korea:** Tens of thousands of workers and students marched in Seoul to protest the growing number of layoffs. South Korea is one of the "Asian Tigers" promoted by the imperialists as a "model" for Third World development. But these countries are now being deeply shaken by capitalist crisis. The riot police attacked the May Day marchers with tear gas. According to an AP wire service report, "The workers and student supporters dispersed but quickly regrouped, hurling rocks and garbage at police. The district reverberated with exploding tear gas, the workers' staccato slogans and labor songs blaring from loudspeakers."

**Nigeria:** Opponents of the U.S.-backed regime headed by General Abacha called for nationwide protests on May Day. In the southwestern city of Ibadan, protesters tried to burn the offices of a pro-government newspaper and attacked other strongholds of the Abacha regime. The police reportedly fired into crowds of protesters.

**Denmark:** In Copenhagen, 135,000 rallied for May Day. Half a million Danish



May 1st protesters trash a bank office in Zurich, Switzerland.

destruction." Also, 300 to 400 people were arrested in Berlin during the May 1 weekend and many are still in jail. So there will probably be many trials, and this will also be part of the struggle."

As for the events in the east German city of Leipzig, the readers in Berlin wrote: "The NPD (National Party of Germany), which is a neo-fascist party, called for a demonstration for May 1 there. They tried to mobilize all the fascists from around Germany to come. They wanted to do this to take away the idea that May 1st is a revolutionary day for the international proletariat and world revolution. Also, they wanted to make an openly fascist and racist mass movement. This is part of how the ruling class is making an overall offensive against the masses.

"Many anti-fascist groups (and others) called for people from around Germany to come to Leipzig and oppose the NPD rally. The press said that 5,000 demonstrated against the fascists. The press said 5,000

workers—about 10 percent of the population—are in the midst of a general strike that has paralyzed the country. The government passed a law declaring that the strike was "over"—it remains to be seen what the workers will do.

**Switzerland:** Hundreds of radical youth, many wearing masks, marched through downtown Zurich, burned imperialist flags and targeted offices of monopoly capitalist corporations. Streetfighting broke out as cops used tear gas and water cannons against the May First protesters at burning street barricades.

**Philippines:** In Manila, thousands participated in a rally led by Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU—May 1st Movement), Bayan (New Patriotic Alliance) and other groups. There were demonstrations in many other areas around the country. According to Reuters, the KMU denounced "the government's continued implementation of pro-imperialist policies that kill the national economy and threaten food security." □



Anti-fascist demonstrators in Leipzig, Germany.

# May 1st 1998

## Red Flag Celebrations Coast to Coast

**May First, International Workers Day**—Hundreds of people gathered for red celebrations in cities across the United States. From New York to Hawaii, people repeatedly commented how exciting it was to see people of so many nationalities come together. And for such a lofty and daring purpose—*liberating humanity!* In city after city, banners proclaimed, *"We are Human Beings—We Demand a Better World! We Will Not Accept Slavery in Any Form!"*

A special program was held in New York City to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*. Over 170 people packed into Washington Square United Methodist Church and listened intently to a talk by Maoist political economist Raymond Lotta entitled "The Communist Manifesto 150 Years Later: Still True, Still Dangerous, Still the Hope of the Hope-

and for those who have dared to rise, with arms in hand, to wage people's wars for liberation. In city after city, speakers touched on the importance of the revolutionary wars waged by the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)—both participating organizations in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

At the Berkeley celebration, Heriberto Ocasio of the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSRPP) said: "Today in Peru the people are celebrating May 1st by carrying forward the heroic People's War. They're doing it by going up against one of the most vicious counter-insurgencies that's been unleashed by the U.S. and its puppets.... People are carrying forward the People's War in the shantytowns and in the countryside—maintaining and fighting to



### Ray Lotta, New York:

"Does the *Communist Manifesto* speak to us today? Yes, it does. It speaks to us through its analysis of capitalist society. It speaks to us through its vision of a world without classes. It speaks to us through the actual experience of proletarian revolution in this century—in what was accomplished and in what has been learned about what it is going to take to do away with this system. It speaks to us because here, at the dawn of the next millennium, nothing less than revolution will advance human society."

less!" This event included people from Colombia, Peru, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Brazil, Pakistan, India, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Haiti, the Philippines and China, in addition to the different nationalities from the U.S.

Over 150 people attended the the Los Angeles celebration in the Pico Union neighborhood. Looking over the crowd, one brother from Watts remarked that he never thought he would experience such a beautiful scene of unity in his life.

Central to these celebrations—to the speeches, the music and even the food—was the powerful internationalism of the worldwide propertyless class. In Chicago, as people gathered in a sunlit meeting room for a program featuring a speech by RCP spokesperson Carl Dix, they were greeted by music from Ireland, the Andes and U.S. ghetto streets. Behind the podium hung a spraypainted banner of the earth breaking chains of oppression.

In Los Angeles, the People's Artists, a collective of Filipino artists in the U.S., painted a mural for the stage declaring "Workers of the World Unite!"

### Support the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement! Support People's Wars Around the World

It was standing room only as over a hundred people packed into Berkeley's Revolution Books. The speaker from the Revolutionary Communist Party told the crowd, "We're here tonight to send a red embrace to all the revolutionary workers and peasants around the world who, like us, are struggling to bring our dream of a better world into reality." In every gathering across the U.S., that same sentiment was manifested in the powerful support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

### Joe Veale, RCP Los Angeles Branch:

"The workings of world capitalism have created a 'Smokey Mountain' in every country in the world today. Smokey Mountain was a shantytown in Manila, an entire community built around a garbage dump—that hundreds of families rummaged through each day to find what they needed to survive. These are human beings like the homeless anywhere, including here, tossed out and treated worse than garbage... This system is a complete disaster and a total failure for the great majority of people on this planet."

defend the base areas, the new people's power in the countryside..."

A correspondent from Los Angeles said the crowd there was thrilled by a report on the April 6 general strike led by Maoists in Nepal.

An exciting feature of May Day events this year was the participation of revolutionary and progressive Filipino organizations. In Los Angeles, supporters of BAYAN International spoke to the May Day gathering and displayed an exhibit of photos showing life in the guerrilla zones of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In Chicago, an activist from the Committee on Philippine Issues and the League of Filipino Students read a statement of solidarity saying: "It is in this year, 1998, that the national democratic forces of the Philippines in and out of the country, celebrate the 100th year of their struggles against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."

In Detroit, one sister described the crimes committed by the U.S. military against women in the Philippines, and challenged people to act against such oppression. "I am not afraid to die, and I am a poet," she said.

In Houston, a message of solidarity was read from Comité en Solidaridad con el Pueblo de Mexico. In Chicago, a Puerto Rican sister discussed the intense recent attacks on progressive Puerto Rican forces in that city—and invited everyone to march on the United Nations this coming July 25 to oppose 100 years of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico.

In New York, Omowale Clay of the December 12th Movement said, "This May Day is particularly important because with our efforts and the solidarity of revolutionaries and progressives (and in particular a warm 'shout out' to the RCP), one of our political prisoners, a revolutionary com-

### Statement from audience, Berkeley

"I am a parent with three sons in public schools—boys whom I hope will stand with the people of the world and never fight for our rich rulers in their wars of plunder. I am also a manager at a Bay Area company who is looking toward the day when I can use my skills full time in the service of the people, not profit. For now, I pledge and I urge all progressive people to pledge half a day's wages to the Worldwide Campaign to Raise Funds for the RIM."

rade, Brother Abdul Haqq, is on the streets again."

In Los Angeles, there were solidarity statements from All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), the Jericho '98 Project for political prisoners, and the Koos Cafe (a center for progressive culture in Orange County). In Seattle, an activist with the October 22nd Coalition announced the call for a new day of action, on October 22nd 1998, against police brutality, repression and the criminalization of a generation. In Cleveland there were support statements from the Alejandro Ramirez Defense Coalition, Art McCoy of Black on Black Crime 2000, and the Native American group Committee of 500 Years of Dignity and Resistance.

### Revolution Is the Hope of the Hopeless

The new rising generation put its mark on this May Day. Many came, for the first time, to join the celebrations of revolution and internationalism. They often expressed delight at having hooked up with something so utterly contrary to the official spirit of the times.

One sister heard about this May First

during a walkout at her Bay Area high school. What did she think? "The sense of community, and uprising and revolution here is amazing. When I start getting swept up in it, it's gonna be fun...I always believed in the communist philosophy, but I never saw any organization around it. It's awesome!"

Another Bay Area activist, whose relative was murdered by police, said he had learned about the oppression and struggle of people worldwide and added, "It's up to us to do it. It's up to our youth to take over."

Poetry and music fired imaginations on May Day and deepened the sense of united purpose. In Chicago, one poem had everyone beating out a rhythm together, as a collective heartbeat of struggle to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In several places, poems honored RCP member Damián García who was murdered by police in 1980 while organizing for May First.

At all the events this May First, a high point was the singing of the *Internationale*, the anthem of the international working class, in many languages.

*'Tis the final conflict,  
let each one stand in their place,  
the Internationale shall be the human race.* □

### Phil Farnum, RCP New York Branch:

"Bob Avakian, the chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, has said that for those in the belly of the beast, there is a special responsibility and opportunity to bring this beast down.... The *Communist Manifesto* says that capitalism creates its gravediggers. It does not say that capitalists dig their own graves. That's our job."

See page 12 for excerpts from May Day speech by Carl Dix

### Washington Heights, New York City

The people of Washington Heights, a largely Dominican community, have been under police siege. After shooting down people in cold blood, the police have now set up barricades in the 'hood, demanding that people show ID to walk on their own streets!

On May 2, the red flags of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade flew high, as revolutionaries raised the chant: "Live for the people! Die for the people! Fight for the people! Power to the people!"

As they marched through the community, people raised their fists and voices in support: ¡Que viva el primero de mayo! ¡Que viva la revolución! The action stopped by the police barricades and, right in the face of the cops, the *Obrero Revolucionario* went hand to hand. Over 1,000 copies of the special May Day issue were distributed that day, and people donated money for the cause.

### Cabrini Green Housing Projects, Chicago

May 1—Revolutionaries marched from building to building holding mini-rallies and reading Chairman Avakian's statement "Long Live the Spirit of the '92 Rebellion—Forward from Rebellion to Revolution." Kids joined in—carrying red flags and chanting "Power to the people." They boldly crossed borders of various street organizations to unite with those on the other side—sowing new unity among the people. One young man mentioned that revolutionary posters with the earth breaking through chains had appeared all over several buildings—and wondered out loud how *his* building could get decorated. □

# What's Next in the Case for Mumia

by C. Clark Kissinger

"This standard is met if the petitioner can demonstrate either: (1) that the proceedings resulting in the petitioner's conviction were so unfair that a miscarriage of justice occurred which no civilized society can tolerate; or (2) that the petitioner is innocent of the crimes charged."

from Rule 1507 of the Criminal Procedural Rules of the State of Pennsylvania

Protests continue while we await the final decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. But many people are asking "what comes next," and rightly so. This court ruling will represent a major turning point in the legal battle for justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

What follows is an outline of what will likely take place in the legal arena following the decision by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. It is not possible to predict the course of events with complete accuracy for three reasons. First, this case has come to concentrate a major political struggle in society over the whole reactionary agenda emphasizing police powers and speeded-up executions. Second, the courts have many different options in fixing the outcome at each stage. Third, there are tactical decisions that will have to be made by Mumia and his legal defense team at each step along the way.

But neither is the legal terrain totally unknowable. There are laws, procedures and precedents which the state currently observes to some degree because many of its supporters believe in "the rule of law," and their continued faith in the system is important to the state.

## The Pennsylvania Supreme Court

What is before this court is an appeal of Judge Sabo's refusal to grant a new trial. There are at least five ways the court can rule: First, they could find the Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearings before Judge Sabo to have been so flawed by his conduct that they send the case back to the trial court level for a whole new hearing on the motion for a new trial. (Judge Sabo has now been forcibly retired, so this hearing would be before a new judge.) Second, the court could find that the entire case against Mumia is so flawed by prosecutorial and judicial misconduct that they order Mumia

freed and the charges against him dropped. Third, they can find that the prosecution of Mumia was sufficiently flawed to require a new trial, and the case would be sent back to the trial court (again, not before Sabo). Fourth, they could find that only the sentencing portion of Mumia's original trial was flawed, and send the case back to the trial court level for a new sentencing hearing. In this case, Mumia's "guilt" would be taken as established fact, and a new jury would be empanelled to decide between life in prison and execution. Fifth, the court could rule that Mumia's case has no merit and deny his appeal for a new trial.

Pennsylvania's Supreme Court is more "politically driven" than most. Its justices are elected in partisan elections, and some receive official endorsements from the same police organizations that are campaigning for Mumia's death. But since the case against Mumia is so weak, it is possible that a decision may be made to resolve it at the state level. This would avoid having to have the federal courts overrule the state court, and thus preserve a major point of the current reactionary agenda: giving state governments the final say on executions. Still, many observers expect the Pennsylvania high court to deny Mumia's appeal. If it does, the court will then issue within 60 days an official order called a "mandate."

## The Governor and a Death Warrant

Because former Governor Casey held off on signing death warrants for Mumia and a number of other death row inmates, the Pennsylvania state legislature changed the law to require the governor to sign a death warrant within 30 days that sets a death date within 60 days. Of course Governor Tom Ridge requires no such legal prodding. He has promised to sign a death warrant for Mumia as soon as the Pennsylvania Supreme Court rules. The death warrant is an order to the prison authorities to carry out the execution. But under the new law, even if Ridge fails to sign the warrant, the head of the Department of Corrections is now empowered to carry out the execution anyway without a warrant. Executions have become administrative functions of the prison authorities. The Governor's right to delay for a more careful look at the case has

been eliminated.

In order to stop any scheduled execution, Mumia's legal team will be compelled to file documents with the federal courts very quickly to obtain a stay of the execution order. Under the federal habeas corpus law, this stay is mandatory. That is, the federal court must grant a stay of execution while it considers Mumia's federal appeal.

Here it is important to say a few things about a death warrant. First, even though the issuance of a death warrant will be followed within a week or two by a federal court order staying the execution, a stay is nothing but a temporary postponement. The signing of this death warrant would be a major turning point in Mumia's case. It would signal that a political decision has been made to push ahead with Mumia's execution. The decision of the state of Pennsylvania to execute Mumia will have been finalized, and all the new evidence brought forward in the various hearings since 1995 will have been officially rejected. This must be met with massive and international protests. Second, this will be a moment when Mumia's case is back in the media and public consciousness, and we must make every effort to keep it there. Third, it means that Mumia's case would now be into the federal courts with their new political agenda of speeded-up appeals and swift executions.

Mumia's case spent 17 years in the state courts. That will not be the case in federal courts. In the new "rush to execution" climate, Mumia's appeals in the federal courts will be acted on in months (not years) at each stage.

## The "Effective Death Penalty Act"

In April of 1996, the Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996" (EDPA). This law was pushed through in the hysterical atmosphere following the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. One purpose of this law is to severely restrict the ability of federal courts to overturn death sentences handed down in state courts. The effect of the "habeas corpus reform" contained in this new law is to throw the U.S. judicial system back to the era of "states' rights,"

where federal courts did not interfere with judicial misconduct by the states. It was the mass protests of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement that finally compelled the federal courts to step in and put an end to "cracker justice" in the South. The 1996 legislation restores cracker justice, north and south alike.

The "problem" the new habeas corpus law is meant to correct is that since 1977 the federal courts have overturned approximately 35 percent of all death sentences handed down by state courts, usually for flagrant violations of the defendants' rights. If it were not for this extra review process, there would be over 5,000 people on death row today.

A motion for habeas corpus (Latin for "let's have the body") in English common law was an appeal to a court to review whether the King's detention of somebody was legal. In granting the motion, the court told the King's sheriff to "bring the body" into court and justify why you are holding him. This concept developed into a general mechanism by which federal courts are asked to review criminal convictions by state courts. What it means in practice is that state governments do not have an absolute right to take away a person's freedom or life.

Some of the vicious new provisions of the 1996 law apply to Mumia's case and some do not. One provision of the new law limits prisoners to a single federal habeas corpus motion that must be filed within six months in death penalty cases. In Mumia's case, this is not an issue at this point, because this will be his first federal habeas motion, and he will have to file for it quickly in order to obtain a stay of the death warrant.

Another aspect of the new federal law is to offer the states a real "devil's bargain." The new law offers to set strict time limits for (i.e. speed up) appeals of death sentences coming from any state that has also acted to speed up its own state appeals process. It's like the government saying "We'll give you more highway money if you keep the speed limit at 55." Only here they are saying, "If you will rush death penalty cases through your state court, we'll rush them through the federal courts." These federal speed-up provisions require the federal district courts to decide on habeas petitions within 120 days, and give the federal Court of Appeals only 120



5,000 march in the streets for Mumia Abu-Jamal, San Francisco, December 6, 1997.

# Courts a Abu-Jamal

days to review the district court's decision. Death was to be on the fast track.

Pennsylvania, like many other states, quickly passed new laws changing its appeals process in order to get in on this "deal" with the federal government. These new strict time limits were the prospect facing Mumia in the federal courts. However, quite unexpectedly, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court got into a snit and struck down the new Pennsylvania law in August of 1997, ruling that the state constitution gives the state Supreme Court alone the power to establish appeals procedures in the state courts.

Thus for the moment the new horrendous time limits do not apply to Mumia's case in the federal courts. But this does not mean the case will be dragged out over a long period of years. As mentioned above, its progress in the federal courts will be measured in months at each stage. Also the current political climate is one of swift, and ugly, changes in all legal procedures concerning evidence admissibility, constitutional safeguards, sentencing, and appeals procedures. The action of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in knocking down the speeded-up procedures may itself be "reconsidered."

## The Effects of EDPA on Mumia's Case

The parts of the new federal law which restrict how the federal courts review cases appealed from the state courts DO apply to Mumia's case. They require the federal courts to assume that findings of fact by the state courts are true. In the past, the federal courts conducted a new and independent examination of the facts in the case. Now the federal courts are NOT supposed to reassess the evidence. They are to presume whatever the state court found to be true. This turns the whole process around. It puts the burden on the prisoner to prove he is clearly innocent, rather than the state having to prove he is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

Let's be clear on what this means. It means that all the new evidence that was presented in the three PCRA hearings is out—not to be considered by the federal courts—because Judge Sabo found that it was not credible. It means that Veronica Jones' coming forward and recanting her false testimony at Mumia's trial is not to be considered. It means that Pamela Jenkins' testimony on how police coerced witnesses is out. It means that the testimony of William Singletary, an eyewitness who testified that Mumia was not the shooter, is not to be considered. It means that the new information on Robert Chobert, who was allowed to drive a cab for 10 years without a license in return for changing his testimony, is to be forgotten. It means that Cynthia White is presumed dead because Judge Sabo said she is. It means that the fairy tale about witnesses suddenly "remembering" two months after the fact that Mumia made a public confession the night of the shooting is to be accepted as true, and the testimony of the emergency room personnel to the contrary is to be ignored. It means that all of Judge Sabo's refusals to subpoena key documents and testimony are O.K.

Even on issues of law (as opposed to the facts in the case), the federal courts are now instructed to accept errors made by the state courts on the constitutional rights of defendants, so long as the errors are not "unreasonable"! One can only wonder what a "reasonable" constitutional error is when a man's life is at stake.

## The Path Through the Federal Courts

Any motion for habeas corpus would be heard by the federal district court in

Philadelphia. One of the judges in this court is the wife of Ed Rendell, Philadelphia's mayor and former D.A. (Small world, isn't it?) In the federal district court, Mumia's legal team would most likely file motions for discovery (seeking to get at the evidence that Judge Sabo suppressed) and for an evidentiary hearing. These motions would be "briefed," that is, there would be written arguments by both Mumia's legal team and the state of Pennsylvania. All this would take some time, but the court would set deadlines for the briefs that are measured in days, not in months. If the motions are granted, this would take more time. But again, just because there are not fixed deadlines doesn't mean that this process will go slowly.

There are several ways the federal district court could rule on the habeas motion, just as the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had a number of options. One thing that it could do is to put Mumia's appeal "on hold" and send it back to the state courts. The federal court cannot accept Mumia's appeal until all state remedies have been exhausted. Since Sabo refused to hear certain evidence, the federal court could say that the state remedies have not been exhausted, and send it back to the state courts to hear this evidence. This would be in keeping with the new federal policy of having state courts do all the hearing of evidence. Then, after such hearings, the case would bounce back to federal court to rule on the habeas motion.

Besides the route of a federal habeas corpus motion, Mumia also has the option of seeking a "writ of certiorari" from the U.S. Supreme Court. A motion for "cert" is different from a habeas motion. It is not asking the court to hear new evidence, but to simply look at the written record and rule on some particular points of law—usually federally protected rights. While the Supreme Court normally grants a stay while such motions are being considered, these motions are routinely denied by the U.S. Supreme Court without oral arguments. Only occasionally will the Supreme Court hear such a case when an important issue of law is involved.

If the federal district court turns down Mumia's habeas appeal, the next step is the federal 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals, a court that also sits in Philadelphia. The federal court of appeals normally hears cases with a panel of three judges. They may or may not allow oral arguments, but they will mainly review the record of the federal district court proceedings. If the ruling by these three judges is negative, Mumia can then petition to have a panel consisting of all judges of the 3rd Circuit Court hear the case. Such requests are not frequently granted, but the request itself will take some time to rule on.

At this point it should be evident that there is going to be a lot of action in Philadelphia over the next year or two, and that city remains an important focus for the political campaign for justice for Mumia. And just to add some spice to the mix, it should be noted that Philadelphia is one of the cities bidding for the Democratic Party National Convention in the year 2000.

The final stop in the federal appeals process is the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court accepts very few death penalty cases for review—usually only those that present new questions of law, or those involving conflicting rulings by different circuit courts of appeal. However, one thing to watch is how the Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of the "Effective Death Penalty Act." There could be some old-fashioned contradictions between the Supreme Court and the Congress over whether Congress has the power to restrict the appeals process. But in general we have to say that the political leaders of both major parties are united around expanding and speeding up the death penalty.

The entire federal judiciary is now packed with conservative judges from the



Reagan-Bush-Clinton presidencies. The trend has been to rubber-stamp the decisions of state courts, and speed up executions. The ruling elites in this country have a political agenda that revolves around more police, more prisons, and more use of the death penalty. Freeing a Black revolutionary writer who was convicted of killing a police officer goes right up against that agenda. That is why the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has become such a major issue in society. There is a great deal at stake for both sides. For them, the issue is so important that they find it preferable to execute a few innocent people than to contribute to any vacillations about the need for the expanded death penalty. This was the meaning of the infamous 1993 Herrera decision that ruled states could execute prisoners who were actually innocent as long as the state courts did not violate constitutionally protected procedures. (See my article on "Why We Can't Depend on the Federal Courts"—RW #928, October 19, 1997)

## In Conclusion

Even if Mumia were to lose his current appeal before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and be denied justice in the subsequent federal appeals up through the U.S. Supreme Court, Pennsylvania state law does allow for yet another PCRA hearing for a motion for a new trial. This brings us back to the quotation at the beginning of this article. That section from the Pennsylvania rules of criminal procedures, which sets out the criteria for a second PCRA appeal, is rather ironic. If ever there was a case so unfair that a miscarriage of justice occurred which no civilized society can tolerate it has been in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The fact that something so simple as a fair and an honest hearing of the facts, before a court that is not out to kill Mumia for political reasons, has been so

utterly unattainable should remind us every day of the nature of the system we are up against.

In conclusion I want to stress that what is discussed here is the legal aspect of our struggle. It is a critical arena for this struggle, but it is also their arena, run by their rules. The people are going to fight in that arena, but we also have a broader arena where WE set some of the rules. It is very important that we not ignore the critical moment when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court rules, and think "Oh, it doesn't mean much, there's going to be a stay and more appeals." On the contrary, a negative decision would signal a political decision to go for Mumia's execution, and he will immediately be into the speeded up federal execution mill. Right now the Pennsylvania Supreme Court is gauging just how much injustice they think they can get away with. We have to create a public response which causes the court to feel their only option is to find a legal pretext for backing off from the execution of our brother Mumia Abu-Jamal. And we must be prepared to take the struggle to a whole new level if they rule against him.

Instructions for sending tax-deductible contributions for Mumia's legal defense:

- 1) Make check payable to "Black United Fund/Mumia Abu-Jamal," earmark it for "legal defense," and mail to Black United Fund, 2227 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA 19132
- or 2) Make check payable to "Bill of Rights Foundation," earmark it for "Mumia Abu-Jamal legal defense," and mail to Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

# Growing Up Chicano in America: Thoughts on Bilingual Education

*In California, the fight is on for bilingual education. A new ballot initiative, Proposition 227, threatens to dismantle bilingual education programs in the California schools and force kids whose first language is not English to "sink or swim" in an English-only environment. Prop 227 is opposed by a wide array of teachers' groups and educators, including all major teachers' unions and many big-city boards of education, several school districts, immigrants rights organizations, the United Farm Workers Union, Chinese for Affirmative Action, the Korean-American Educators Association, and the Northern California ACLU. Thousands of high school students have walked out of school in protest. And it will require much determined protest to stop this attack on the language and culture of oppressed peoples. (See RW Nos. 953 and 955.)*

*This week, the RW interviewed a veteran revolutionary who recalls what it was like to be a young Chicano, growing up and going to school in California.*

**RW:** You went thru school back when there were no bilingual programs and the schools practiced what they are now calling the "English immersion" method—just throwing kids into classes where just English was spoken. What was that like?

**A:** Like you say, I went to school at a time when no matter how little or how much English you knew, you just went straight into a class where all they spoke was English. And, from the time I was in the first grade until I was in the fourth grade, I didn't know much English at all. It was especially hard the first few years. I remember getting into a lot of fights because I thought people were laughing at me. I remember being ridiculed. I remember that horrible feeling that the teacher might call on me in class and ask me to read out loud, or to answer a question. To me it was very humiliating and very embarrassing, and it actually changed my personality. I think it affected me for a very, very long time.

It was overall a very horrible experience. School was not at all very enjoyable. I went only because I had to go. And whenever I had the chance, I didn't go. The idea that there's people who want to take away the bilingual programs we have now—even though they are not nearly adequate—and force everybody to go through that kind of humiliation, is, I think, just outrageous.

I think if people understood what's really involved, and what the supporters of Proposition 227 want to do, I don't think a lot of people who support it now would support it. And I think a lot of people would really oppose it. I think it's important that people do understand what's going on. That's the reason why I'm talking in this interview—because I'm talking about some things that still hurt to think about—but it's worth going through that if it will help people understand what it is that they put children through in schools when they make them go through these kinds of programs.

**RW:** One of the things you were telling me about was how Spanish was spoken in your home, and the "English only" atmosphere made it hard for your parents to get involved with what was going on at your school. That must have been tough.

**A:** Yeah, my parents had this attitude that the people at school knew what they were doing, and that they (my parents) didn't know what they were doing. In other words, they saw the school as their betters and run by people who were very intelligent. That may or may not have been the case, but they also saw themselves as being ignorant and stupid and that definitely was not the case. And, I think the one goes along with the other. If you don't think you have any right to question the authorities and you don't think you have ideas that are as good as theirs, it sets up a really unequal situation. And my parents were always up against that. Especially my father. But even my mother didn't like the idea of having to go up against the school authorities and call their judgment into question. It was a very hard thing. It was like people had learned their place and their place was doing what other people told them and not questioning what other people said.

**RW:** Back to what you were describing, about being thrown into a classroom where you didn't understand what was being said by the teacher—Ron Unz, the Silicon Valley millionaire who bankrolled putting 227 on the ballot, is claiming that this "English immersion" theory is the best way to learn.

**A:** First of all, it wasn't that I was stupid. I wasn't. It's just that I didn't understand what they were saying. If I could understand what people were saying to me, then I could make use of all the things that I had learned up to the point where I started school.

For example, when someone says something to you about mathematics, and you can understand it, and you already know

how to add numbers, then if they ask you what's two plus two in a language that you can understand, or two minus two, you may not get the answer but at least you know what the question is. But when someone asks you a question in a language you don't understand, how can you answer a question when you don't even understand what the question is? And when they grade you for not having correctly answered the question, the real problem isn't that you *couldn't* answer the question, the real problem is that you didn't understand it. That makes you feel stupid. It's like nothing that you've learned up to that point seems to be very important in terms of learning—like you ended up with a bag of shit, that's worthless, and they're going to give you everything that's good. And up to now, you've never had anything that's good. It doesn't make you feel very good about yourself or the culture that you come from or the people you come from. To start out school that way is a huge burden to put on somebody's back. You're going to get enough of them as it is. You don't want to start out with that one.

**RW:** You were around during the struggles in the 1960s that gave rise to the bilingual education programs that they have now. How does it make you feel to see the kids up in Northern California walk out of school to protest Proposition 227 and to defend bilingual education?

**A:** It makes me feel really good because a lot of people may not know it but that's what it took to get these programs in the first place. People got tired of being treated the way they were being treated and they decided to do something about it. And, through demanding things and struggle, and boycotts, and a lot of other things, people began to win some concessions. One of those concessions that they won included bilingual education. And the idea that the system could take this away now and nothing is going to happen is being shattered by these protests today.

You can see the people who are going to be most directly affected by 227, and their opinion should count for something—not just the politicians and people who are going to make the decision based on very little understanding. Right now it looks like there's a lot of young people who are saying, 'Hey, we're not going to put up with this.' That's a good spirit. There's a possibility that with this fighting spirit the backers of 227 maybe won't be able to implement things like this. And if they do,

they're not going to be able to do it easily.

Again, I think 227 aims to put certain people back in their place. And the place they have for those people is on the bottom.

**RW:** What else do you remember about what it was like in school?

**A:** When I went to school, and it wasn't that long ago, there was nothing written about Chicanos or Mexicanos living in this country. I'm not saying everybody else had their history adequately dealt with, because that was true for most people of color, just to be straight up about it, and also a lot of other sections of society.

But because I was curious and I liked to read, I would go to the library and look through all the books. I remember one time looking and looking and looking for a book that had anything to do with Chicanos. I would go home and ask my grandmother, and my grandmother would tell me stories. And I would talk to my uncles, and they would tell me stories about working on the railroads and about helping build the roads and bridges. Then I knew people that had worked in the fields. But that wasn't written about anywhere. It was like that didn't matter. It made me feel really funny, because it was like you walk down the street and you have no shadow, you have no history—like you came from nowhere, and nothing that you ever did was of enough consequence that anybody bothered to write it down. There was no yesterday. And when you don't have a yesterday, how can you dream about having a tomorrow? You don't even have today because that's not written down.

And then a book came out, and it was written about Chicanos. And I tell you what—people who didn't read fought to get that book. You'd see four, five kids sitting around and one guy, the one who could read the best, would read the book out loud. It was incredible. We were so proud, and it made us feel so good when we read the book.

**RW:** You weren't taught the history of the Mexican and Chicano people.

**A:** You're right. We were taught that the United States "annexed" a lot of Mexico. They don't want to talk about how they stole land from the Indians. They committed genocide against them. They enslaved the Black people and brought them over here against their will in chains—the ones they didn't throw in the ocean on the way over.

They took the lands of Mexico. For example, if I went into the Bank of America



Concord, California, April 22: Thousands of high school students walk out and march in streets for bilingual education.



Chicano student protest, Los Angeles, 1968.

and said, listen, I'm here to "annex" your money, how long do you think it would be before I was in jail? They annexed whole states! Huge territories. And, by the way, when they settled the war with Mexico, one of the things they did was draft the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, under which the people who lived here of Mexican descent were guaranteed their civil rights, including their rights to their language and their culture. And that was respected just like the way they "respected" all the treaties they signed with the Indians—which is to say they didn't respect it at all.

**RW:** You told me earlier about what it was like when you visited the University of Mexico—coming out of the experiences you had in the California school system.

**A:** I went with a friend of mine to the University of Mexico. We drove from California to Mexico City. It was a really interesting trip. We got to Mexico City, and not too long after we got there, he took me on a tour of the University of Mexico. It's an incredibly beautiful campus. It's got some really fine schools of Engineering and Anthropology. It's really a first rate university. And I think it existed almost a hundred years before the first university in this country.

When I got there, and we were going around doing sightseeing, I was on top of a tall building. When you looked down, you could see the students walking around on the campus. And I remember, the idea struck me when I looked down: I thought, Oh my god! These are all Mexicans. They were going in and out of the school of Engineering, Physics, Medicine. It was all university classes. And I remember thinking, "I've been taught my whole life that this was impossible." That what I'm seeing here could not happen. It was the first time I realized how deeply the system had ingrained in me that me and people like me were inferior—that we were not capable of grasping mathematics or physics; that we were only good to work with our hands; that we shouldn't think about doing anything else.

And the other thing that it brings to mind is a story I heard of a young man in high school in Los Angeles, and they kept trying to shunt him into shop classes. Now I think shop classes are fine. I don't think there's anything wrong with going to them. But he didn't want to go to shop classes. He persisted, and he ended up getting his doctorate at Harvard. If he would have listened to the school authorities, he would have just ended up in another shop class. And I think that's what they want to do to a whole group of people. And it's not limited to Latinos, but it does include Latinos.

They're saying "get back on the bottom, that's where you belong." And the reason you "belong" there is you're not capable of anything better than that, so why should we waste our money and our resources on you.

**RW:** When you got out of high school, how much Spanish did you speak?

**A:** Well, you know, for those people who say, you learn English this way—I would have learned English anyway. I did learn English. But by the time I learned English, I was no longer able to speak Spanish. And, by the way, I dropped out of high school in the ninth grade. By the time I dropped out, I could speak good English. I didn't drop out because I couldn't speak English, I dropped out because I couldn't stand

school. And this goes back to my beginning years in school.

And I want to ask the people who are pushing Prop 227 a question: What about all these Black kids who drop out of high school? Or the poor whites? They're not dropping out because they don't understand English. They're dropping out because the school system pushes them out. One of the interesting things about the demonstrations I read about in the Bay Area is that some of the students walked to the brand new Concord police building, where they spent millions of dollars putting up this police building, and complained about the inadequate schools they go to. When they go to school, the buildings are all falling down. They're completely inadequate. But this society is spending a lot of money on prisons, police and jails. I think that's the other message. They do have a place for us, and it's not in the schools. It's in that place they're spending all the money on.

So, what actually happened is I ended up going to college. I went to junior college for a couple years, and then I got a chance to go to the University. At the college I went to, they had a class called "Spanish for Chicanos." It was really something very emotional. Just like I hated the beginning years of school, I loved the time I spent, especially in a class like this. The professor told us, "Look, nobody here speaks very good Spanish, or you wouldn't be here. There's two things that you have to understand. One, it's not your fault that you don't know how. Someone stole your culture. Someone stole your language. Someone told you that it was inferior to other cultures and other languages. This is important for you to know." Then he said something else that was important: "You also have to know that nobody but you can get it back. It's you that's going to have to get it back. It's not going to be easy, and it's going to take years and years and years. It's a lifelong process but you can do it." And I did. So I was able to regain what had been stolen from me, what I had lost. But I don't

recommend this as a way of doing it. I don't think people should have to go thru the suffering and misery and pain and agony. There's no necessity for it.

**RW:** You were telling me about a class you took in junior college that was almost illegal.

**A:** Oh, yeah, I went to junior college in Los Angeles and I wanted to take a class that was taught in Spanish. I think it was an anthropology class or something. And they had to teach the class at 7 o'clock in the morning so that it ended before the beginning of the official school day, because it was against the law in the state of California to use any language other than English as a language of instruction, except in foreign-language classes. Can you imagine that? On a university level?

**RW:** I was at a Refuse & Resist! meeting recently that was discussing attacks on immigrants, and a white guy there asked a question. He said, "What I don't understand is, why don't they teach all the kids in our school system Spanish? You can't get along without knowing it."

**A:** I think that's a good idea. There's an interesting story I heard—in East Los Angeles they had something quite a while ago called the Malibar Project. It was a pilot program, where for once the government actually invested some money in a positive program. They asked the parents there in that school, in a largely Mexicano, Chicano neighborhood, which language do you want your child to know? or languages? And overwhelmingly the parents said they would like their children to be able to read, write and speak both Spanish and English. A few people chose English only, and a few people chose Spanish only. But overwhelmingly the people chose to be able to speak both languages. It makes sense. Both languages make sense.

Then another example was that in a largely white, middle class suburb, they were going to offer bilingual classes starting in, I

think, the first grade. But they could only do it in one class. And there was limited space. I read a story in the newspaper about how the parents were there starting at 3 o'clock in the morning, or some really early hour, waiting to enroll their children in one of these classes. I think there's a real hunger for it, and I think people would like to be able to communicate with people they see all the time.

And, the question I have to ask is, why not? Why do we have to keep spending money for jails? And why aren't our children learning to communicate with each other? If you could speak three languages, it's even better than speaking two. But I don't think that's the attitude of these people who are running society.

**RW:** Anything else you want to say to our readers?

**A:** The people pushing things like the Unz initiative, and directing attacks on immigrants and people on the bottom—they keep pointing to the fact that test scores are low and all this. They should have to answer a couple of questions.

First of all, how is it that California, which was once the leading state in spending on education, now is next to the very last? There's only one other state in the whole country that spends less on education per capita and that's the state of Mississippi. Do you think that might have something to do with how poor the schools are doing?

The other thing is, the schools in richer districts sometimes spend twice as much money per student on educating people. And we're talking about situations where people already can speak English, and come from homes where learning is a part of everyday life. Where the parents graduated from college. And where there's an expectation that you're not only going to go to college, you're going to go to one of the better colleges. I think that has something to do with what comes out of the schools. The idea that it has to do with the language students speak is nonsense. □



Berkeley high school students protest Proposition 227.

# The World Is a Revolution Is the

by Carl Dix

Following are excerpts from the May 1st presentation in Chicago by RCP national spokesperson Carl Dix:

We're here today to celebrate May Day, the revolutionary holiday of our class, the working class worldwide. May Day is the day that we, the slaves who are determined to be slaves no more, come together and rededicate ourselves to our historic mission—to wipe the bloodsucking capitalist system off the face of the earth once and for all, and build a whole new world on the ashes of this messed up one. It's the day when we take stock of how far we've come in our fight for world revolution and plan concrete steps to bring this new world into being.

Today, on May Day, we send special revolutionary greetings to our beloved comrades in Nepal, in Peru, and in the Philippines, who are engaged in the crimson path of Maoist people's war. And we send out a red embrace to all the workers and peasants around the world who, like us, are struggling to bring dreams of a better world into reality.

To do this, we gotta be organized. Our enemy, the capitalist class, is organized. Our class is organized too—we have a political center for the world revolution in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), a movement which groups MLM parties and organizations in different parts of the world. It was formed in 1984. It's just an embryo of what it needs to become, and one of the important concrete steps we need to make in the year to come is to strengthen this important organization of revolutionary proletarians worldwide.

This year is the 150th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, and it's fitting that the RIM has issued its call today, "Workers of all countries unite." This ain't a call for scratching each other's back or for mutual sympathy. It's a call to make the world revolution our starting point in our struggle to wipe out the injustice and misery we see around us every day. This call is based on the fact that in today's world, only a revolution led by our class, the proletariat, can visualize and realize a world without rich nations exploiting and feeding off the people and resources of poorer nations; a world where there's no oppression, no racism, no male domination, no elite classes; a world where common people struggle and work in common for a better life for all. This kind of world has a name, sisters and brothers: Communism....

Although the rule of our class was overturned in the Soviet Union in the 1950s and in China in 1976, we ain't discouraged. Why should we be? It took capitalism hundreds of years to establish its rule, and this was just one system based on exploitation and oppression replacing another one. What Communism represents—doing away with exploitation and oppression and the division of society into antagonistic classes once and for all, all over the world—is a far more radical rupture with the past. So we should expect our revolution to involve a complex process of advances followed by setbacks and then more advances. Our movement is like a baby that took some impressive first steps, but then got knocked down. This baby is gonna get back up, and not only will it walk some more, it's gonna run and gonna climb till it storms the heavens and makes revolution. The ideals of our class, as embodied in the Communist Manifesto, are far superior to the decadent, historically obsolete ideals of capitalism. Our ideals are more realistic too because they correspond to where human history is at and what is necessary and possible today to free humanity from the dog-eat-dog existence that capitalism enforces.

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This system is a disaster and a total failure for the great majority of people on this planet.... Trying to make capitalism more human is like trying to tame a pool of piranhas. It can't be done.

Today, you get the imperialists talking about globalization, like it's going to mean everybody's going to get rich because they're going to invest in the stock market, get on the Internet, use their cell phones, and all that. Well this is a cruel lie. You want to get down to what globalization really means? Let's talk about Nike. That's a global corporation. Nike moved their factories to South Korea because that was the way to jack up their profit margins—move to a place where they could exploit labor by paying a lot less. But once they were set up in South Korea, they saw some new opportunities open up. So they closed down in South Korea. They opened up in Thailand where they could pay the workers 70 cents an hour. They opened up in Indonesia so they could pay them 40 cents an hour. They opened up in Vietnam where they could pay them 20 cents an hour. They opened up in China where they could pay them 14 cents an hour. Most of these workers are women, some as young as 14. Many have recently moved from the countryside to the cities in search of work. Like all capitalists, Nike is always looking for new countries where they can exploit the workers more intensely and jack their profit margin even higher. Phil Knight, the top man at Nike, is worth over \$6 billion and is the sixth richest man in the world. A Nike worker in Vietnam would have to spend every single penny of her salary for three months to buy a pair of the shoes she makes!

Globalization has created a world where workers and oppressed people all over the world are more bound together. Bound together by ruin and misery, but more importantly bound together by a common enemy and a common future. Capitalism forces its competitive values on us by pitting us against each other in a desperate struggle to survive. In this way, they breed chauvinism among the workers of the rich, oppressor nations. They even get us on the battlefields, fighting and killing workers of other lands. But what we have in common is stronger than what divides us. This is why, when we see people struggling against harsh, brutal conditions in other lands, our hearts go out to them. Workers and oppressed people in any particular country have more in common with the workers and oppressed in other countries than with the capitalists in their own nation.

Sometimes you run into people and they don't buy it. They say, "Nah, I don't see what I have in common with them, I go, more in common with this dude over here, he's my countryman." But there's a little check we can run on them. If you get laid off your job, go to the American capitalist and say you deserve work because you're an American. See if they'll give you a job on that basis.

Here's another check you can run. Don't pay your rent this month. And then you tell your landlord, "You and I are part of the same nation. Let me stay here even though I didn't pay this rent." See how much unity you're going to be able to forge on that basis. If you don't believe it...don't pay your rent and see if an American landlord would give you a place to stay cuz you're an American.

The impact of globalization, of the capitalists moving their investments around the world with the flick of a computer button in search of higher profits, has created an unprecedented human migration. Every year 75 million people from poor countries migrate to other countries in search of work. Five years ago, the United Nations reported that 100 million people were living in countries other than the one they were born in. In the 1980s, 10 million people immigrated to the U.S., with and

without papers. The economic pressures caused in poor, oppressed countries by imperialism have forced 20 to 30 million people a year to move from the countryside to the cities in search of survival. This is creating giant cities where millions are forced to scavenge just to get by. In Lima, Peru, a garbage dump became a shantytown of 10,000 people in six months. This is giving new meaning to the old song by War, "The World Is A Ghetto."

But throwing millions of poor and desperate people from all around the world together makes the system very vulnerable. Look at the rebellion in Los Angeles in 1992. It got sparked off when the cops who beat Rodney King got let off scot free—and that single spark started a massive prairie fire, not only in L.A. but across the country. It began with Black people taking to the streets in rage, but soon everybody else joined in. Most of the people arrested during the rebellion were Latinos from many different parts of South and Central America. Whites and Asians got involved too. And the L.A. rebellion sparked off rebellions and protests in over 150 cities across the U.S. And it was even echoed worldwide as people's eyes lit up to see the masses rise up in L.A. and other cities in the "belly of the beast." This points to the fact that we might look different and speak different languages, but we all know the language of oppression and the sweet song of resistance. The L.A. rebellion showed powerfully the potential for the proletariat to unite all the have nots and rise up against our common oppressor. It also showed that when we do that, we can win sympathy, support and allies from the middle class who are also victimized by the brutal workings of the system.

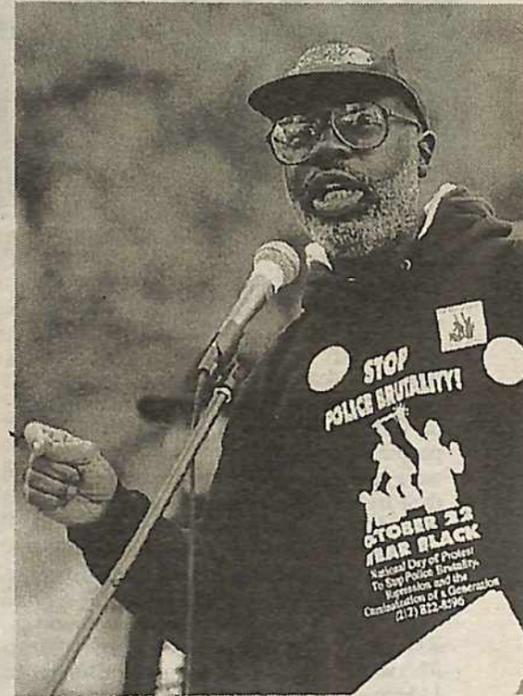
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In a May Day message, Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP, says, "Today, more and more, among the oppressed people you hear it said: 'The system will never change. They will never stop doing what they are doing—it only gets worse. If they want war, let's give them war!' Yes, but let's do it right! and let's do it for real. Let's do it to win—and be clear on what winning means." When our leader, Chairman Avakian, says let's do our revolution right, he means it has to be a proletarian revolution, a revolution led by the working class and its party....

It is very important that right here in the U.S., in the belly of the mightiest imperialist beast, there's a party that's been down with the RIM ever since it was formed in 1984. I'm talking about the RCP, a party that does all its work from the perspective of preparing for revolution in this country as part of the world revolution.

Again, as Chairman Avakian says: "Let's do it—make revolution—when the time is ripe. When the situation is most favorable for revolution. Let's get prepared for this. Whenever the time comes—and it will come—we must be ready. We have work to do to get ready. And the work we do to get ready can make this time come sooner."

Today millions of people hate what's going on in U.S. society. They hate the growth of the right-wing in and around the government, the growth of racism and sexism, the attacks on the poor and on immigrants, the criminalization of the youth, the police brutality and repression, the plant closings and downsizing, the polarization between the haves and have nots, the attacks on women's right to abortion. Many are keenly aware of the efforts by the ruling class to turn the anxiety and fear of the middle class about their increasingly unstable position in society against the poor by promoting hysteria about crime. There is growing resistance to what Refuse & Resist! correctly calls the politics of cruelty. Significantly, the youth are more and more



Carl Dix

taking center stage—from joining protests in support of political prisoners, like the recent Jericho march and the fight to stop Mumia Abu-Jamal's execution to joining efforts against police brutality like the October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality and the fight for abortion rights for women. Here in Chicago the youth are an important feature of the fight against the attempt to force people out of public housing.

This growing resistance is dealing powerful blows to the system. We need much more of it. And we need to go beyond resistance, because resistance by itself can never end the criminal rule of this bloodsucking system. We need a revolutionary movement. The RCP stands shoulder to shoulder with the people as they fight back against the system's attacks today, but as it says in the Communist Manifesto, in the movement of the present we're looking to and taking care of the interests of the future. As revolutionaries, as we unite with the people to fight the system today, we're building organization, we're forging unity among people from different backgrounds and of different nationalities, we're helping people to get a sense of their own strength, the strength we have when we unite and fight back, we're spreading the understanding that the system is the problem and revolution is the only real solution. This sense of our strength and the enemy's weakness and vulnerability, this organization, this unity and this revolutionary understanding will help us beat back some of the enemy's attacks today and get in a better position to continue to fight. And it will all be crucial when the time comes, when the system is deep in trouble and the masses refuse to go on putting up with this shit any longer, when it's time to launch the all-out revolutionary assault. This time is coming, as Chairman Avakian said, and we gotta get ready for it because it would really be criminal to miss the chance to rise up and do this rotten system in once and for all through revolution.

An important part of being ready is having a vanguard MLM party that can bring together all the discontent that's out there among different sections of the people and weld it into a powerful revolutionary movement capable of making revolution. And we've got that kind of vanguard in the RCP. And everybody who's had it with this system and the shit it brings down on the people, who can't wait for the day when nobody has to live like this anymore—when we can rise up, make revolution and wipe this mess off the face of the earth once and for all—needs to get down with the

# Ghetto: Solution



Guerrilla fighters of the Communist Party of Peru.



Three-year-old girl stitching soccer balls for export, India.



Searching for scraps at a copper mine in the Congo.

RCP. Work with it, join it and help build it as part of getting ready for the great revolutionary storms that are on the horizon.

I especially want to say something to the young people in the audience. Cuz any serious revolutionary movement has got to have the youth at the forefront. It's good that we've got veterans like me and a party like the RCP who can impart our experience, our understanding, and be right there with you shoulder to shoulder struggling against the enemy. But it ain't mainly going to be the older generation that makes the revolution. It's going to be the young generation that does it. This is how it was back in the 1960s when my generation was young and when we forged the revolutionary movement that rocked the imperialist system back on its heels. Well your generation, you young people, have got to take up this responsibility today, and you've got to take it further than my generation. We don't need to just rock this system this time. We need to take it down once and for all. That's the responsibility your generation has got to take up.

In looking at it, it's positive that among the young people of this generation there are many fearless fighters. People ain't afraid to take on the enemy. But you gotta step it up. You've got to step up taking on the enemy. And you've got to rise up out of the trap of turning your rage on each other. But there's a way to do that—by coming together and taking on the real enemy. If you want to get on that tip, you've got an advantage that my generation didn't have back in its day. Because there's a party, a party that's got some experience in the struggle against the enemy, that you can work with, get down with. A revolutionary vanguard that can help lead in waging resistance against the system's attacks today as part of getting ready for revolution. Like I said, this is something my generation didn't have. Something that's very important and precious.



Revolutionary May 1st, Berlin, 1997

The RCP is our party—a party that's serious about winning and knows what winning means. A party that can take the pulse of the people and determine when the time to strike arises. A party that can handle the twists and turns that getting ready for revolution in a country like this will inevitably throw in our path. A party that can forge the alliances we'll need to have a real shot at winning. A party that has developed a strategy for taking on the military might

that these imperialists have to throw at us...

The revolution we're talking about is the most radical, thoroughgoing break with all traditional property relations and traditional ideas. It's no wonder that carrying through this kind of revolution has been a process that involved advances and setbacks. But

it's the only revolution that's based on the way society has actually developed and where things are really headed, and it's the only real way out of the madness of today. Like Mao Tsetung said, the road is tortuous, the future is bright. □



South Korean electronics factory.



Los Angeles Rebellion, 1992

# Suharto's Brutal Military: U.S. Trained

Continued from page 5

of the 28 Army/Air Force exercises conducted since 1992 have involved KOPASSUS Red Berets.

The U.S. exercises for KOPASSUS in the period since the Timor massacre have included Sniper Level II (1993), Demolitions and Air Operations (1993) and Close Quarters Combat (1994). Ensuing KOPASSUS sessions covered Special Air Operations, Air Assaults and Advanced Sniper Techniques.

Naim reports: "Asked about KOPASSUS, a leading Indonesian human rights monitor called its work 'spying, terror and counterterror,' meaning that it stages violent provocations. He said KOPASSUS battalions from Aceh and West Papua were relocated to Jakarta two months ago and have recently been deployed to contain street demonstrations along with units of ABRI's regional command. His group believes that KOPASSUS has two clandestine jails (in Cibubur and Bogor) for detaining and questioning dissidents they have abducted and 'disappeared.'"

In fact, human rights groups in Indonesia say there has been a growing number of people who have been "disappeared"—detained by security forces, forced to go into hiding or been abducted by secret, pro-government vigilante groups. According to Amnesty International, there has been a

dramatic increase in the number of political detentions this year. And at least 140 people are in jail awaiting trial for involvement in political activities or demonstrations.

Activists tell of government attempts at harassment and intimidation—phone calls in the middle of the night, constant surveillance by intelligence agents and getting stopped and roughed up. One human rights lawyer reported that he was talking to a friend on his home phone when a voice broke in and warned, "I will kill you tonight." This was followed by a fax—emblazoned with a hammer and sickle and skull—that said, "Don't Be a Hero. Be Careful of Your Safety, Your Self and Your Family."

Prominent activist Pius Lustrilanang was one of about 50 Indonesians who had disappeared in the past three months. He was finally released on April 2 after being held captive for two months. And now, after fleeing the country, he is talking about how he was abducted and tortured by government forces. His account sounds a lot like what others have described as the work of KOPASSUS.

Lustrilanang says he was seized by armed men on February 4 at a bus stop in Jakarta and then blindfolded, driven outside the city and placed in a cell, naked. Before the first electric shock, he says he heard one



Suharto surrounded by top military officials.

interrogator say: "Here there is no law. There is no human rights. All you have to do is answer our questions. Some people leave here alive. Some don't. They are never found." Lustrilanang said he was imprisoned with about 10 other political prisoners who were also interrogated and tortured with electrified batons. Lustrilanang said, "They tortured me to get information... They wanted to know the constellation of the opposition, the alliances between different leaders."

Lustrilanang never saw the faces of the men who tortured him—they always wore masks or hoods over their faces. But Lustrilanang believes it was Indonesian soldiers who kidnapped him and that he was held on a military base. He says his captors threatened him with death and warned him that if he wanted to live after his release, he should stay silent forever.

As the Indonesian government's crackdown on dissent intensified since last summer, the U.S. stepped up its hands-on training of Indonesia's military forces. Naim says:

"On July 27, 1996, Jakarta erupted in anti-army riots, after ABRI-backed paramilitaries raided [opposition leader] Megawati Sukarno's headquarters, leaving at least 60 people listed as missing. In the wake of that, ABRI launched a crackdown and intimidation campaign against non-governmental organizations. In the midst of it, KOPASSUS and other units were given

training in Psy Ops by a U.S. team flown in from Special Operations Command-Pacific.

"From then until late 1997 there were seven more KOPASSUS exercises, one (Mortar Training) focusing on the unit of Col. Slamet Sidabutar, an East Timor occupation commander whose troops have conducted torture sessions that were photographed and later published abroad. The U.S. Marines have trained the Indonesian Denjaka Counterterrorism Force in Demolition and Small Weapons Instruction as well, and also run a course for the Indonesian First Infantry Brigade on Small Boat Operations, Reconnaissance, Surveillance and Raids. As the financial crisis hit and protest grew last fall, KODAM Jaya, one of the main anti-demonstration forces, and the Infantry Training Center received 26 days of instruction from the U.S. Army in Military Operations in Urban Terrain.

"The U.S. focus on KOPASSUS seems to be part of a systematic effort to build it up. It has also cemented links with its recent commander, General Prabowo. Prabowo is Suharto's son-in-law, the Indonesian business partner (through his wife) of Merrill Lynch and one of the key sponsors of the U.S.-Indonesia Society, an influential pro-Suharto U.S. front group launched in 1994 and backed by ABRI, U.S. corporations and former Pentagon, State Department and CIA officials. Prabowo is also Indonesia's most notorious field commander. Today, Prabowo is the KOSTRAD commander, an often-touted Suharto successor and the recipient of a steady stream of high-level U.S. visitors.

Since Indonesia was hit by crisis last summer, senior Pentagon and service officials have flown there to meet top ABRI officers at least two or three times a month. When U.S. Defense Secretary Cohen visited, he went to KOPASSUS headquarters and spent three hours by Prabowo's side, watching the U.S.-trained killers execute military maneuvers. He refused to call for ABRI restraint in dealing with street demonstrations. And when one U.S. official was asked about the overall message conveyed by this visits, he replied, "It's simple. The U.S. is close to and loves the army."

But now—as the Indonesian government intensifies its brutal crackdown on demonstrations and stories come out about the torture of political activists—the U.S. is trying to distance itself somewhat from the Indonesian military and cover up its role in training these forces. On May 8, the U.S. announced it was calling off military exercises currently going on with Indonesia. And the U.S. has also canceled the program which has been training Indonesian soldiers. But there are at least two more joint military exercises planned for later this year. And a Pentagon official said, "There is no permanent suspension of military activities in Indonesia. Based upon the current situation, there will be a policy-level review, on a case-by-case basis, of future exercises." □



Students at Jayabaya University in Jakarta battle police, May 7.

# CHICAGO WAR GAMES



A Chicago Department of Sewers official explaining the logistics of the system to a team of Marines.

Marines at a manhole at Des Plaines and Monroe Streets, Chicago, where they practiced urban warfare in the tunnels beneath the street.

A group of U.S. Marine Corps officers came to Chicago from May 5 to 7 to carry out urban warfare exercises. Marine officials said that they think future battles will be increasingly fought in cities because of the rising urbanization worldwide—and they want their forces to be prepared. The U.S. military certainly is not ignoring war and intervention in rural areas. Large areas of the world are still rural. Maoist people's wars are going on in the countryside of Peru, Nepal and the Philippines. But sending forces into urban areas presents special problems for the U.S.—remember the major problems U.S. troops had even in a small city like Mogadishu during the 1992 intervention in Somalia.

The Marine Corps denied that they were practicing for fighting urban warfare in the U.S. But the ruling class of this country was deeply shaken by the 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion, which showed the potential for even more powerful revolutionary uprisings in the future. And they are still haunted by the memories of the widespread urban

rebellions of the 1960s. As RCP Chairman Bob Avakian says: "Many people say they don't believe revolution is possible in this country. I'll tell you something, the people who run this country do."

Following are excerpts from bourgeois press reports about the Marine war exercise in Chicago. Clearly, the U.S. power structure is *not* looking at the approaching millennium as an era of peace and stability.

\*\*\*\*\*

*From UPI wire service, April 29:*

Top Marine Corps commanders will go to Chicago to study the problems of fighting in urban areas, as part of a two-year project focusing on tactics for winning future wars...

Military planners believe future wars will be fought across urban landscapes, and population projections show about 70 percent of the world's people will live in cities and suburbs by the year 2010...

Fighting in the city requires different tactics than combat in open country, Marine

officials said. Troops must learn to cope with, and take advantage of, skyscrapers, sewer systems, bridges, mass transit systems and tunnels if they are going to drive a determined enemy out of a modern city.

The Marine Corps Warfighting Center in Quantico, VA, will run the training program with the help of Chicago police, with about 60 Marine officers taking part.

*From AP wire service:*

"Our tactics, doctrine and technology have not kept up with urbanization," Gen. Charles C. Krulak, the corps' commandant, told the *Armed Forces Journal*. "In future conflicts, our enemies will lure us into the cities in an attempt to mitigate our capabilities and make us fight where we are the least effective"...

Chicago was chosen because it has features typical of the big, complex cities. U.S. forces could someday find themselves fighting in: a river, shore access, subways, even a drawbridge.

*From Chicago Tribune, May 7:*

Lt. Col. Gary Schenkel was trained as a rifleman and to use a flame-thrower after he entered the Marines 28 years ago. So he was prepared for about anything as he clambered down the narrow, damp, brick-lined tunnel into a sewer at South Des Plaines and Monroe Streets.

When he got to the bottom of the 16-foot drop, he was pleasantly surprised to see the sewer's potential in an urban combat situation despite the near-constant clouds of steam and harmless but unappetizing odors. The 12-foot by 9-foot tunnel was downright roomy.

Back on the street, Schenkel gave this assessment:

"It's big. You could put a lot of people and things down there. I would take a squad through there"...

Chicago was picked for an urban warfare exercise because of its size and its complex set of systems to keep the city running. For example, Chicago has 4,300 miles of sewers and 35 moving bridges.

"The city of Chicago has just about everything we could be interested in," said Col. Thomas O'Leary. "It has the lake, the infrastructure; it also has the expertise and training."

*From Chicago Sun-Times, May 5:*

The experimental project, Urban Warrior, is the second phase of a two-part program that began in 1995 with Hunter Warrior, which looked at fighting in open rural spaces. Urban Warrior began last summer and will culminate next year...

Chicago is the first city to host the Marines as part of Urban Warrior. New York City, Jacksonville, Fla., and Charleston, S.C., will hold events this year. The project will end with a mock battle in an undisclosed West Coast City.

In New York, the Marines will be exploring what is called "cross-canyon mobility."

"How do you move from the 12th floor of one skyscraper to the ninth floor of another and do horizontal resupply," [Lt. Col.] Holbert said. "We're working with the British Royal Marines and the Dutch Marines on that."

Not only are the Marines here to learn, but in return they will be telling city officials about military techniques that might be helpful in civilian emergencies...

Holbert said the Marine Corps had no difficulty arranging the visit with the city.

"They've been absolutely wonderful," she said. "I don't think we could have picked a better city. They have really opened the doors to us and really helped us a lot. We're really going to be able to get a lot of information about how a very complex city works." □



U.S. Marines landing at the airport in Mogadishu, Somalia, December 1992.

# A World To Win

Revolutionary Internationalist Journal  
New Issue (#23) Now available

## Workers of All Countries, Unite! On the International Communist Movement

An AWTW editorial leads off a section on the international communist movement (ICM).

### Naxalbari

Thirty years ago the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari ushered in a new chapter for the struggle of the masses in India. Led by Charu Mazumdar and other communist revolutionaries, the Naxalbari struggle constituted a dramatic break that transformed the political landscape in India.

### People's Wars in Peru and Nepal

People's Wars are simmering in Peru and Nepal. The Nepal People's War, in its second year, is sinking roots and spreading to new areas, amidst calls from reactionaries to bring in the army. In Peru, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is proving its ability to maintain the 18-year-old War, despite the losses inflicted on its leadership and attacks on its line. Both show the power of Maoism, and are bright new bases for world revolution.

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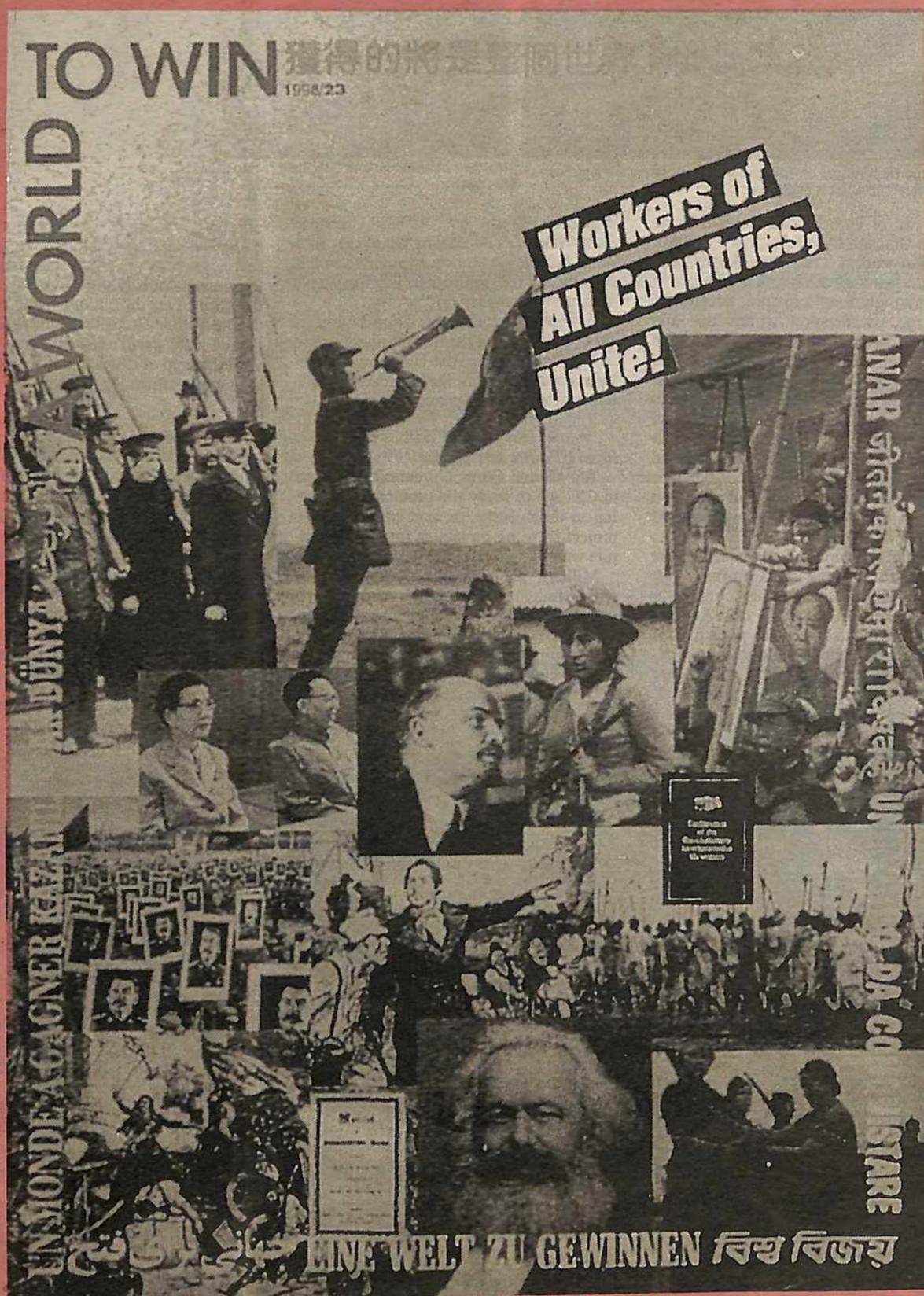
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On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the TKP-ML

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