



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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CHA Threatens Activists with Eviction

The Chicago Housing Authority is trying to evict two activists in the fight against the lockdowns in the Chicago projects. In a housing court trial on March 27, Sylvester ("Maurice") and Lenie Richmond were ordered to move out of their home in the projects. The trial was a railroad. The court forced the Richmonds' attorney off the case and then refused to grant a postponement. The Richmonds were forced to go through the eviction hearing without an attorney, and the judge announced his verdict before the defense was even able to call witnesses. As we go to press, the Sheriff's Department could move any day to force this couple and their three children into the streets.

The CHA claims that the lockdowns of the projects are for "fighting crime." In the first four high-rise buildings they "locked down" in three different projects, hundreds of apartments were searched and 34 people busted—most charged with "criminal trespass" for living "illegally" with friends and family. They were put out and arrested for the crime of being poor.

The Richmonds are members of Fight

The Power and have led the fight against the lockdown. Lenie recently spoke to students about the CHA struggle when the "Yo! The World Is Being Turned Upside Down!" tour of revolutionary journalists came to Chicago. They take a clear stand with the oppressed of the world and see the imperialist system as the enemy. They condemned the U.S. war against Iraq. For this kind of stand, the Richmonds have been singled out and targeted by the CHA and the authorities.

The police have carried out unauthorized searches of their home. Their guests (including attorneys and progressive nuns and priests) have been denied entry. Revolutionary communists who attempted to visit the Richmonds were threatened with death by security guards. Other tenants have been warned that they will be evicted if they talk to the Richmonds or attend "meetings" in their apartment.

On May First, 1990, Maurice was involved in a "People's Lockdown" of the CHA Office at a South Side project. Fight The Power, the Campaign To End the CHA

Lockdowns, revolutionary youth and homeless organized the protest to turn the tables and "lock down the real criminals." Maurice, along with three others, was arrested during the protest and charged with mob action, battery, and criminal damage to state-supported property. Two days later the Richmonds received an eviction notice from the CHA.

The charges against the "People's Lockdown" defendants were dropped last November. But the CHA did not stop the offensive against the basic people. They have continued to enforce a "banning order," an internal memo instructing guards to remove and arrest members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Campaign to End the Lockdowns from CHA property. Recently the CHA carried out sweeps at ABLA Homes on the West Side, Cabrini-Green near the North Loop, and Stateway Gardens on the South Side. The CHA has announced that it has received federal funds to carry out 60 more lockdowns of high-rise buildings. And this at a time when the state of Illinois is threatening to cut off

General Assistance to single people and medical care to the homeless!

It was in this context that the CHA launched its sneaky, underhanded attack on the Richmonds. Although the criminal charges from the May First protest were dropped, the "People's Lockdown" was still used in housing court as an excuse to evict the Richmonds.

The CHA case was an obvious sham. Beverly Shepard, the building manager who slated the Richmonds for eviction, stated in a deposition that she did not personally see Maurice commit any illegal act, and she admitted that he was walking away from the protest when she ordered police to arrest him "because he was a leader." Tenants were also prepared to testify that at a meeting of a Local Advisory Council Ms. Shepard had threatened to evict any tenant who was at the May First protest.

The court's complicity with the CHA was blatant. Two weeks after the March 27 ruling, Maurice and Eileen went back into court to get an extension of the ten-day order to vacate. This time they had an attorney. But the judge flatly refused to listen and ruled against them again. The CHA counsel ran downstairs to the Sheriff's office with the notice to begin eviction proceedings immediately.

The mood in the projects is tense. "Revolutionaries at the Ickes" (Ickes is one of the CHA projects) put out a leaflet saying in part: "We've got to lead the way, not just for us. These lockdowns are a national model. A model for locking us up, penning us in, and breaking us down. We've got to turn these lockdowns around, become a model for fighting the power and leading in the preparations for the day when we can seize the power. Our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and our paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, are guides in all this. We need to turn these neighborhoods of the oppressed into political base areas."

The leaflet has been appearing all over the projects and the South Side. Attorneys are preparing a motion to reverse the unfair court ruling. An Emergency Response Network and phone tree have been set up to make sure that the eviction of the Richmonds does not go down—not just that it does not go down without protest, but that it does not go down, period. □



Maurice and Lenie Richmond.

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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1990, Damián García Park, Los Angeles.

Black & Red Ribbons, Red Flags

Get Ready To Dog the Enemy Get Up in His Face with the May 1st Manifesto

May First is a day for revolutionary action all over the world by those who hate this system.

May First is a day when outcasts, downcasts, rebels and slaves raise the red flag of revolution.

This past year the system and its armed enforcers have once again shown their true colors. From the deadly bombing of the Iraqi people and the destruction of their whole country...to the police beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles—some cold truth has come to light. What are the U.S. powers all about? Oppression, all around the world. Who are their heroes? Coldhearted bombers and lynch mob pig-police. How do they fight? High tech destruction, twenty on one.

The system has delivered its message. On May 1st the people have to put out our message.

The RCP is calling on revolutionary proletarians and all oppressed people to make May First 1991 a day to bring closer the time when this brutal system can be brought down.

Shortly before May 1st a special issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* will be released, with a powerful manifesto: "There's No Making Peace With This Bloody-Jawed Beast."

This manifesto will be a wall poster and it will also be on tape. A thousand different ways should be found to use this manifesto as a people's weapon: to rouse the people and dog the enemy, all over the place—behind his back, under his nose, and right up in his face. And it will depend on the creativity, the courage and the organization of the people to do it.

Red Flags, Black and Red Ribbons

The enemy has raised his colors—the red, white and blue...and yellow.

The people have counterattacked with Black and Red ribbons. The Black and Red symbolizes the blood shed for oil and empire. It stands for solidarity with the Iraqi people—the victims of this U.S. aggression. It's a sign of support for the GI resisters.

On May 1st the Black and Red ribbons should be up in the enemy's face all over the place to send a message:

"We Didn't Support Your War and We Won't Celebrate Your Victory."

And on May 1st we want the enemy to see Red—Red Flags flying wherever the oppressed live and work, wherever the oppressed are rising up in rebellion.

We got to unite the oppressed people on a higher level. As the manifesto says: **We have to be getting ready for that TIME. We have to politicize and organize, mobilize and strategize, getting ready to revolutionize. We have to battle them back, in the face of all their attacks. We have to be building up our strength and our conscious organized force to battle them in a new way—all out and all the way—when the TIME comes.**

And in order to get ready for that TIME, we got to put out the red flag of all-the-way liberating REVOLUTION to our sisters and brothers. Because the red flag is a declaration of war against oppression. It says that the people are down with some serious revolutionary science. It sends a message that we are together with the oppressed people of the world—that we have a common enemy and a common cause—to drive this bloody-jawed beast off the face of the planet. It lets everyone know, friend and foe, that here is a force that represents the future—the future of real liberation—and is down for fighting to bring that future into being.

GET READY FOR MAY 1ST:

Get your hands on the May Day Manifesto

Get into what it says.

Get ready to use it as a key weapon in the political struggle against the enemy on May First.

MAKE RED FLAGS AND BLACK AND RED RIBBONS.

Distribute them in your school, neighborhood, project. Organize the people to send a message to the system on May 1st: "We'll never forgive and we'll never forget what you did. Now that we've seen your ugly soul, we'll never give you our allegiance."

May 1st 1991 - International Workers Day

A Rhyme for the Time

May 1st 1991

**The Harder They Come,
The Harder They Fall:
The Oppressors Will Fall, One and All.
No Matter How Great Their Crime,
They Cannot Stop The TIME.**



May 1st 1991

**Support the People's War in Peru!
Yankee Go Home!
Down with U.S. Intervention!**

Una rima para la Hora

1º de Mayo 1991

**Entre más duro nos den,
más duro caerán
Uno tras otro
los opresores se hundirán.
Cuando llegue la HORA de la verdad,
sus horrendos crímenes no los salvarán.**



**¡Apoyar la guerra popular en el Perú!
¡Yanqui go home!
¡Abajo la intervención de EU!**

1º de Mayo 1991

**Outcasts, Downcasts
Slaves, Illegals & Rebels,
It's Right To Rebel!
Racists, Rambo-Americans,
Rulers of America:
It's All Going To Fall on You!**

May 1st 1991



**Enough! Basta Ya!
No More Racist Police Brutality!
Murderers, Murderers
NO MORE!**

May 1st 1991



**¡Parias, golpeados, esclavos, ilegales y rebeldes:
La rebelión se justifica!
¡Racistas, rambo-americanos, gobernantes de América:
Todo les va a caer encima!**

1º de Mayo 1991



**¡Basta ya! ¡Enough!
¡Alto al salvajismo racista de la policía!
¡Asesinos, asesinos, BASTA YA!**

1º de Mayo 1991



**U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf Now!
We Didn't Support Your War and
We Won't Celebrate Your Victory**

May 1st 1991



**Fuck the U.S. and All Its Might
Revolutionary War Is the One We'll Fight**

May 1st 1991



**¡Soldados de EU fuera del Golfo - ya!
¡No apoyamos su guerra y no celebraremos su victoria!**

1º de Mayo 1991



**¡A la mierda EU y todo su poderío-
La guerra revolucionaria es la que lucharemos!**

1º de Mayo 1991



CUNY Students Rebel Against Cutbacks

"This is hell. This is genocide, racial genocide. I say it's genocide because they tryin' their best to suppress us and keep us down low. They're just trying to kill us off. 'Cause once we don't have an education, all we gonna do, we gonna drop out of school, go back outside. And we gonna either work for minimum wages or go on welfare. We gonna have no progress."

Black student from
Bronx Community College

A wave of building takeovers and protests has swept through the City University of New York (CUNY) system. It began early Monday morning, April 8, when about 75 students at City College in Harlem occupied and chained shut the doors of the largest classroom building. By the end of the week it spread to at least eleven other city colleges, including Borough of Manhattan Community College, Hunter, Bronx Community College (BCC), Lehman, Hostos, Medgar Evers, LaGuardia, New York Technical, Brooklyn College and Kingsborough Community College. By Friday, classes were completely shut down at City College (CCNY), Hostos, and Borough of Manhattan Community College. The students are demanding: no tuition increases, no cuts in the CUNY budget, no cuts in scholarship funding, and no cuts in faculty or staff.

Cuts Aimed at People of Color

The students are outraged at a \$92 million cut in the CUNY budget proposed by Governor Mario Cuomo. Under the plan tuition will go up \$500 a year. Financial aid will be slashed, including a \$400 cut in Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) and some scholarships. This is on top of a tuition increase of \$200 already this year! Previous budget cuts already shut many people out of the CUNY schools. Last fall 3,000-5,000 students were turned away because of inadequate space and staff.

The CUNY cuts affect the people on the bottom, poor people of all nationalities. But they especially hit hard at Black, Latino, and other oppressed people who make up the majority of the students in the CUNY system. One Black sister from Hunter College told the RW: "I'm not going to allow them to do what they're going to do. The way I see it the people that this is going to affect the most is people of color and people who don't have money. And that don't mean anything anyway. Even if you're not of color, if you don't have money, they don't care about you. So it's going to affect minorities and people who don't have money—and that's racism. There's no way you can hide it. That's what it is."

Fifty-eight percent of CUNY students are from the oppressed nationalities. Forty percent come from families who earn less than \$12,000 a year. Out of a student body of 200,000, over 20,000 students are on public assistance. More than 70 percent of CUNY students get financial aid. Many students are older, in their twenties and thirties. Two-thirds work while they go to school. Because of this it takes them five or six years to get a degree. About a third are married; one in five has children.

The cuts at CUNY would raise tuition for many students by as much as 60 percent. Tuition is already \$1,450. The cuts would bring it to over \$2,000. Thousands of students who are barely able to pay the tuition now would be forced to drop out of school. The cuts in TAP funds would affect 50,000

students. According to literature put out by the students at CCNY, the cuts would mean the loss of 810 full-time faculty positions; 2,430 course sections would be cut, resulting in some classes being cut completely and others becoming very overcrowded; and a 50 percent cut in subsidies for child care centers.

Aside from the cuts, Chancellor Reynolds has called for stiffer admission requirements that only 20 percent of NYC high school graduates can meet. These kinds of requirements meant that more oppressed youth will be prevented from getting into college, since they are concentrated in high schools which have poorer facilities and where students are "tracked" away from higher education.

The attack on the CUNY budget is part of the overall cuts in the state, city and federal budgets for education, health and social services. At the same time, the government is increasing the budget to build new prisons and hire more police. One student leader said, "Mayor Dinkins found \$25 million to spend on a parade" to "welcome home" the troops—a multi-million dollar celebration of the slaughter of the Iraqi people.

Making a Stand

Faced with the real possibility of being forced out of college, many students are fighting mad and feel they have nothing to lose. A Latina sister from BCC said, "We gettin' cut off anyway, so what do we have to lose? Suspended and kicked out, or whatever. I still ain't gonna be able to go. So what am I losin'? I have more to gain this way. Take a fight instead of talking about it. Make a stand."

A Black sister from Hunter College said, "I'm not really one for violence. But I think it's going to have to take something like that. It's going to have to take something where we just show them that we're more powerful than them. And then they'll take notice. Then maybe they'll give us what we deserve."

Authorities Counterattack

The authorities struck back hard at the student rebels. CUNY Chancellor W. Ann
Continued on page 14



Special to the RW



Special to the RW



Special to the RW

The War Resisters

Eighteen Marine Corps reservists who refused to participate in the U.S. war against Iraq are being held at Camp Lejeune in Jacksonville, North Carolina. Their trials will be held April 16-18. The resisters at Camp Lejeune are of different nationalities, and some were born outside this country. Hands Off!, a military resistance support group, is coordinating their legal support.

The military has been really after soldiers who opposed the war. Resisters

You may wear a flag or a yellow ribbon to support the troops. Then they use it to say what they're doing is right. That's what bothers me, and that's why I don't do that. I don't wave the flag. I don't wear a yellow ribbon. Because I know what's behind it.

around the country have been getting heavier sentences than GIs convicted of charges like manslaughter and armed robbery. Two of the resisters being held at Camp Lejeune were put in solitary confinement in "rooms" that measured no more than 6 by 8 feet. All of them have been ordered to extra duty and are not allowed more than three consecutive hours of sleep. They are up for charges like unauthorized absence, missing movement, and desertion. The resisters who went public with their opposition are threatened with heavier time. Those who are not U.S. citizens face the possibility of deportation. At this point, many of the resisters at Camp Lejeune have signed pretrial agreements admitting their "guilt" in the hope for lighter sentences.

Recently, a correspondent for the *RW* went to Camp Lejeune and talked to several of the resisters. Soldiers returning from Saudi Arabia strut around the base in their desert fatigues and are being "honored" for a "job well done." But the resisters were the ones with the stories of real courage and honor—of rejecting the brainwash, standing up to the pressures and threats of the military establishment, and opposing the unjust U.S. war against Iraq.

Anger and Strength

Sam Lwin was born in Burma. He is a student at the New School for Social Research in Manhattan.

Why did you join?

I had some feelings of patriotism—I wanted to help the country, help the people. I was taken in by all this propaganda: the ads, the commercials—they make the military look like a place where you can "grow up," go to school and things like that. But when I joined and went to boot camp, I was very disillusioned because they taught me a lot of things that have to do with hate, killing. And when I came out of boot camp I was psychologically messed

up. I couldn't sleep at night.

The whole boot camp thing is that they break you down and build you back up. You're supposed to be a "MAN." What you actually became is something less than human. You start to see people as targets, as something to be hated. They teach you to hate "gooks," teach you to hate "com-mies." For many months I had so much anger inside me. In fact there is still much anger inside me that for the past two years I have carried with me from boot camp.

How did you come to understand how the U.S. really is?

I'm from Queens, New York, which is a very conservative place. I was ignorant, I guess, before I joined the Marine Corps. I guess the beginning of my awakening was during boot camp. Then I went to the New School of Social Research, which is a liberal school, and I began to understand some of the U.S. role in the Middle East and other countries, in South America, Panama—so many countries where the U.S. was involved. From what I understand, it was purely out of economic interest and not about "helping the people of the world."

I'm glad I didn't go to Iraq. I'll have a clear conscience when I get out [of jail]. Even though my career is screwed up and my life is a mess, I'm not an American citizen. With this, you can't leave the country—if you do, you can't come back. You get deported. And also, you can never

be an American citizen. When I first joined the military and they swore me in, they said, "You know if you ever try to get out you'll never be an American citizen, right?" That was one of the controls they used to get you to stay in.

What effect did other people, like Jeff Paterson, have on your resolve to do this?

I just want to say that when I first heard about Jeff, he gave me the strength to face the whole system. The more I heard about war resisters coming out against the war, they gave me more strength to continue what I'm doing—to organize, protest, and demonstrate against the war. I'm very glad that some of my fellow students supported me when I needed that support. If very few people had supported me, I probably would have just gone along with the system to make everyone happy.

Breaking Out of the Brainwash

Doug DeBoer is a 22-year-old who had a strict Baptist upbringing.

Why did you get involved in the Marine Corps, and how did you begin to change your mind?

I went to college for about a year and a half and ran totally out of money. I sat down and made a list of ways I could get money to continue going to school. You see all the ads on TV about the GI bill. To be honest, I joined solely for the purpose of the GI bill. I never wanted to join. In fact it took my recruiter about three months to finally talk me into it and get me to sign.

One thing that many of you have cited as a reason for seeking conscientious objector status is the racism and sexism that the armed forces instills in people.

In boot camp it's like a big brainwashing technique. You're conditioned through

In boot camp it's like a big brainwashing technique. You're conditioned through drill and weapons training and marching to unconditional obedience to orders. At the same time, they're instilling hatred by using extremely violent cadences about "gooks," "ragheads," or any other group that the Marine Corps has fought in the past or may fight.

drill, weapons training and marching to unconditional obedience to orders. At the same time, they're instilling hatred by using extremely violent cadences about "gooks," "ragheads," or any other group that the Marine Corps has fought in the past or may fight. Even if there happen to be Arab people in the platoon, or people of Oriental heritage. In things like bayonet training, they would say, "Yeah, your only goal in life is to go kill a gook or a raghead." The drill sergeant said he was just waiting and praying for the chance he could get to "go do his duty for his country and kill." He would go and list off all these ethnic groups the Marine Corps fought in the past and say to make sure you twist your bayonet a few extra times to give them pain. Everyone is yelling, and it's just a brainwashing environment. You're there day after day, in the heat, they're making you say violent cadence. The drill instruction says, "When I say kill, you say children. Kill! You say children! When I say rape, you say women! Rape—women! Kill—children!" That's just how the Marine Corps is.

What made you break out of that?

My beliefs came out fairly recently. I had always had those basic attitudes and peaceful feelings, and never really got taken in to the big scam the military tries to put on you. I never really bought all the bull. But when President Bush started calling up reservists all the way back in August, for the first time I realized I may have to go over there. For that period of time I really thought about what my place in the military was.

Most people are extremely ignorant of what's going on in the Middle East. When I was UA [unauthorized absence], for a whole month I went to the library almost every day and read just about everything I

could get. I read a lot of alternative views and magazines like yours. I got a lot of information about what the big scam was. But most of the people in the military seemed to be very deceived, very ignorant of why they're there. They're just following orders, and that's all they know.

This is really strange. In the PX here, they played this tape, really low, during the war. It said: "You are not fighting for oil. You are not fighting for oil. You are fighting for your country." It kept repeating phrases like this. One day I noticed it—you would never hear it usually, there's so much commotion. One day it was really quiet in the PX, and I was listening, and this guy's voice: "We are not fighting for oil, we are fighting for the freedom of the United States. We're fighting for the freedom of the world." Phrases like that, playing subconsciously to people. I was freaking out. I couldn't believe they were doing that.

How has this whole situation changed your view of the United States and its role in the world and history?

My view has totally changed. You're taught in history books not a lot of information about the history of the United States. You're taught the facts, but sort of in a twisted way. Then you look at what really happened—how we exploited the Indians, how whites exploited the Black race, all the different invasions we've had of different countries. I've just come across a lot of information that has just totally changed my perspective on the role of the U.S. in the world. How it's really an imperialistic country.

I never really noticed before how much control the government actually has over our lives. As far as the media is concerned, it was a total media blackout. They made it sound like they were fighting for the freedom of the United States! They came right out and said that! The United States? How do they get this? I never really real-

ized the control they have over our lives, and how little freedom we actually have. They say we're fighting for all this freedom in our country, but it's really not true at all.

They're saying they've "beaten the Vietnam syndrome," yet they are working hard to keep people like you in quarantine.

They're actually saying that? That they've beaten the Vietnam syndrome? (laughs)

Throwing a Monkeywrench into the System

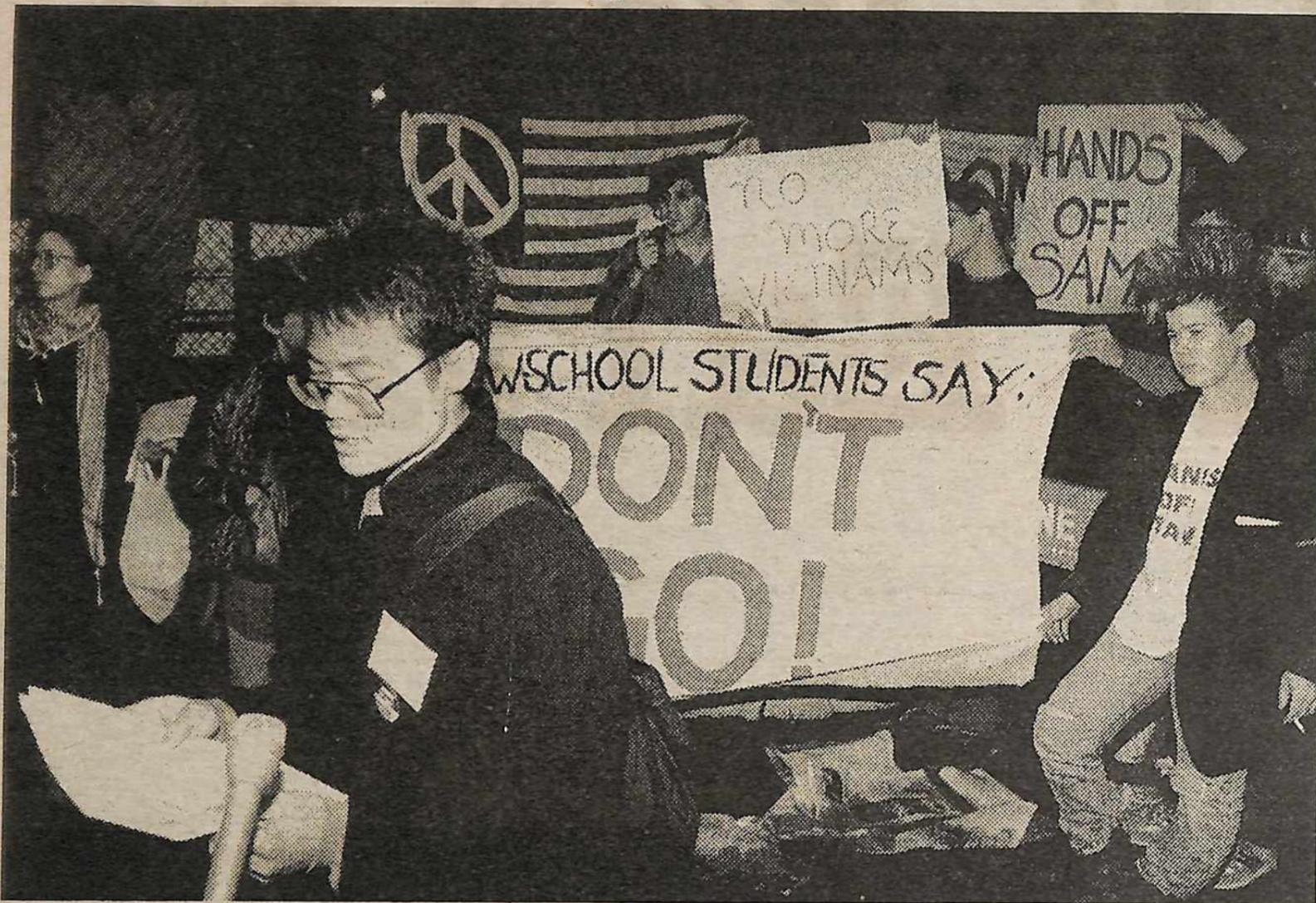
Enrique Gonzalez was a law student in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, before he was activated. He and his family fled from El Salvador in 1979.

What is your background? What led you to join the Reserves, and what brought you to become a conscientious objector?

I was born in El Salvador. As a kid, there was a civil war going on, and it's been going on since 1932. I knew about the massacre in 1932 [when government troops killed many peasants], but I never knew why—it's taboo to talk about it. As a kid I saw a lot of stuff that even now bothers me. I remember this: I used to live on a hill, near a movie theater. I saw one of those big tanks, and they had about eight people. Eight kids—sixteen, fifteen—teenagers. They were frisking them, searching them. And finally, whoever was in command said, "OK, you guys can go. But you have to run." The kids started running. And as they disappeared over the hill, the tank began moving and started spraying, and they killed them all. I still remember it



of Camp Lejeune



Sam Lwin, a Marine Corps Reserve resister, speaks at a rally at Fort Schuyler in Bronx, November 16.

vividly because I was right there. My house was right in front of it, and I was watching from a window. I saw a lot of stuff that really bothered me but I never understood why.

My mother brought us to the United States in 1979. I came here and was doing well in school. In high school I joined the Jr. ROTC Marine Corps. We used to go on parades, help people, work with our community, mostly. So I had this misconception about the Marine Corps. My recruiter knew what to tell me.

I went to college, and started taking courses in philosophy and political science, and started to see the other side of it. The truth, I would say. Finally, I took a course on Vietnam. My teacher really opened up and he explained to us the truth. And I said, "God! I'm in the wrong place. I can't do this." I had three years left on my contract, so I just decided to finish.

In 1989 we had the invasion of Panama, which I felt was unjustified and uncalled for. That's when my beliefs took a quick turn. At that moment, I could no longer say, "Well, I've got two more years." I just

When I first heard about Jeff Paterson, he gave me the strength to face the whole system.

wanted to get out—I was looking for a way and I couldn't find a way. We came into drill in December through January, and when we got there, there was this big American flag. BIG American flag. Everybody lined up and people were saying, "Yeah, we really killed some sonofabitches!"

My views were becoming stronger and stronger. By the time I graduated from college I had only eight months in my contract and was very happy I was getting out. So I started law school. That's when I got called up. I didn't know about C.O. I knew the way I felt, but I didn't know I qualified.

I face a court-martial, dishonorable discharge, 18 months in jail. I could be deported and never allowed to practice law. And I think what I did was right, that I did not commit a crime. When I decided to do what I did, I put everything on the line. I

knew that I was risking everything that I had. But I did it anyway because I feel that sometimes you have to put everything on the line to protect what you believe. I don't know that I could live with myself if I betrayed my beliefs. Maybe I've lost everything. But I feel that I've won. Because I didn't do what they say. I feel like I'm a threat to them because I threw a monkeywrench in their system.

How do you feel when they say, "Support the troops"?

I remember my girlfriend, we were talking and she said, "I want to see about writing some of the troops and telling them how proud we are of them for being there." I said there's a fine line. You have to be careful where you stand. Because you don't want to make it seem like you support the war. And when you tell them, "Well, we support you," then they get to thinking,

"Well, what we're doing here is right. There must be a reason why they support us." So people get caught in that fraud. You may wear a flag or a yellow ribbon to support the troops. Then they use it to say what they're doing is right. That's what bothers me, and that's why I don't do that. I don't wave the flag. I don't wear a yellow ribbon. Because I know what's behind it.

I'm really glad that in no way was I part of it. I feel like even if I was a supply guy, maybe just giving toilet paper to the troops, I would still feel bad because I was still part of the system. I'm really glad I separated myself from the whole system.

We're all being charged with a second charge of desertion and missing movement. I personally feel the reason we're getting this much time is because we're C.O.s. Our military attorneys have emphasized and almost begged us to drop the C.O. And that sends a signal to us. What also sends a signal to us is that people committing big crimes are getting less time. They hate C.O.s. But I'm proud of it. Because I know they fear me. And I don't fear them. I really don't fear what they're gonna do.

Red and Black Ribbons in San Francisco

At the end of March, the RCP issued a call for all those who opposed the war to join in a mass mobilization—to go out boldly to promote Black and Red ribbons and distribute the leaflet "This War of Shame."

All across the country people answered this call. They called on people to speak out against the official summation and celebrations of this ugly Gulf war.

Here are excerpts from correspondence from San Francisco, where tens of thousands of leaflets went out with ribbons, RWs and other revolutionary literature.

We found many people who were sickened by the yellow ribbons and flags and wanted to do something to oppose them. Some people have felt intimidated by the yellow ribbons—but others felt the need to go up against them and welcomed the chance to break through the suffocations of the rulers' verdict.

Many of the leaflets were distributed in

stacks. People we met saw the red/black ribbon campaign as a way to show their opposition to the war and its celebration of victory.

In the Mission District, a homeless Mexican man started making ribbons on the spot. Students at several schools immediately pinned them on and tied them up around their schools.

At an April 6 demonstration called by the Emergency Committee about a third of the crowd of 1,000 had on the ribbons, including people from different movement groups. We ran into some middle class folks at a demonstration who said they live in an area covered with yellow ribbons and confederate flags. They were delighted for the chance to take on pro-war symbols. They decided to redecorate the area with red-and-black ribbons and took a stack of leaflets.

The more we grasped the need to do battle, to puncture the powers' "ideological blitzkrieg," the more the masses were un-

leashed to take them on.

In the proletariat, the most politically advanced were sickened by the yellow ribbons—but some felt isolated. They welcomed the leaflet and the red and black ribbons as a way to go after the yellow ribbon madness.

For example, at the day-laborers' corner in the Mission District, RW sellers prepared the ground by going out with leaflets. The next day when they returned there was a buzz—people knew about the ribbons. The ribbons had pissed off the reactionaries and then even the middle forces started taking it up—and the advanced got bolder. The way this happened was that there were several groupings of workers that put up crepe paper ribbons on the corner and up and down the street at the day-laborers corner. One Cuban guy tore down the red and black crepe paper and said, "I don't want to hear this. Get out of here." When no one was impressed and everyone kept talking, he jumped into the street and flagged down a

cop car. He told the cops that people were being bothered, and the revolutionaries should be forced to leave.

This helped make things clearer to all kinds of people. In the crowd, revolutionaries had been talking about the connection between the rape of Iraq and the pig beating in L.A. There was talk that a "zone of the people" was needed with red and black ribbons everywhere. The people who had hoped the U.S. would lose the war need to express themselves!

While all this was going on, one guy was putting up the red-and-black on the tree, and wanted to decorate the cop car when they had their backs turned. The cops left, and ribbons kept going up all over. One hundred ribbons and a thousand leaflets got out in the two mornings.

At a school where immigrants study English another thousand leaflets went out—some greeted the campaign with the words "Viva el socialismo!" □

Ecocide in the Persian Gulf

U.S. War on the Earth

The U.S. war against Iraq leaves behind the single most massive ecological disaster in history.

In this war, the U.S. carried out the first bombing of operating nuclear facilities in history. They staged the first systematic bombing of chemical and biological warfare facilities. U.S. targets also included oil wells, refineries, water purification plants, water desalinization plants and oil rigs. Oil from countless broken pipes gushes into the water, soil and air.

Hundreds of oil wells spit clouds of black poison into the sky—turning day to night. The Gulf waters are streaked for hundreds of miles with several major oil slicks. Pools of oil on land seep into the desert soil, working their way toward precious groundwater.



U.S. tank tracks criss-cross the desert.

The Middle East Was Never a Wasteland

In the U.S. media you hear the same question over and over again: "How long will it take to get the Kuwaiti oil wells pumping?"—as if the Gulf region is empty desert whose only value is oil.

But that's not how things look to the people. The war zone around the Gulf is home to millions of humans, closely connected with all kinds of other life.

The Gulf is alive—with corals, fish and and rare sea cows called dugongs. The shallow mud flats fill with migrating birds. The desert of the Arabian peninsula, so dry it has not one single running river, supports complex life patterns. Plants soak up water in intense, brief bursts of growth. And there is precious water in the region—deep in the earth and in the two rivers in Iraq, the Tigris and the Euphrates. From space, the two rivers form ribbons of green.

This regional eco-system has sustained human beings for thousands of years—starting from long before the beginning of written history. A quarter of Iraq's population today is peasants along the rivers. The deserts are home to nomadic people and their herds. The Gulf waves bob with fishing boats.

None of this mattered to the U.S. imperialists. They wanted control of the oil at any cost. Never has a single fragile eco-system been so massively and suddenly polluted.

No one yet knows all that the warmakers have done to the earth. And that's no accident: Since January the Department of Energy officially ordered scientists to say nothing to reporters other than that "catastrophic predictions in some recent news reports are exaggerated."

This article will try to sketch the partial picture that is starting to emerge.

OIL IN THE WATER

Oil immediately became a weapon in the war. Throughout the war, Allied bombers destroyed refineries and oil tankers so that Iraq could not release oil at some key invasion time. Iraq apparently released some oil to slow U.S. naval invasion and perhaps threaten the water purification plants U.S. troops were using.

By mid-February Saudi Arabian officials had gathered enough information on the spills to produce reports. However, in an extremely unusual move, those reports have not been released and are still treated as state secrets.

There appear to be four main oil slicks in the Gulf right now, about 180 miles long. Estimates of their size vary between 50 and 150 million gallons of oil. Together they may be 11 times larger than the oil released by the Exxon Valdez in Alaska. They come close to the largest oil spill ever recorded—



177 million gallons in the Gulf of Mexico in 1979.

This Gulf spill, however, will probably be even more destructive than earlier spills: The Gulf is an extremely shallow, enclosed sea, bordered on all sides by desert. It has little inflow of water. This is, says one ecologist, "a very stressed environment." The Gulf has an average depth of only 110 feet and many miles of mudflats at its edges. Oil poisons that sink into sea mud will continue to contaminate surface waters. It takes many years, perhaps decades, before the Gulf's enclosed waters are replaced.

Perhaps 200 migrating species of birds fly through this region in the summer. This year they will land in killer smoke and oil. Thousands of birds have already been killed, and more, weakened by the oil, are expected to die or fail to reproduce. The Wildlife Rescue Center in Jua'il, Saudi Arabia, reports that 60 percent of the birds it is treating for oil contamination are dying. The World Society for the Protection of Animals estimates that hundreds of thousands of birds could die.

An estimated 100 miles of Saudi coastline are already fouled and there is more to come. This oil-soaked coast is the nesting grounds of endangered green turtles who are returning there now. Huge oyster beds and coral reefs are dying under a heavy blanket of black gunk. Oil spill is starting to accumulate where dugong sea cows hang out.

Information-Control Hides U.S. Blame

On January 24 Baghdad Radio announced U.S.-led forces had bombed two oil tankers off Kuwait, releasing large quantities of oil. U.S. military spokes-



Kuwait

people answered that those tankers were really important targets. This was only reported in tiny "news blips." The *Wall Street Journal*, for example wrote, "U.S. planes disabled an Iraqi tanker that U.S. officers said had been serving as a spy ship" and "the attack caused a small oil slick in the Persian Gulf." (Jan. 24)

Two days later, when the U.S. command announced Iraqi forces were pouring oil directly into the Gulf, the Western press immediately starting screaming about "Iraqi environmental terrorism." They knew the people of the world would be outraged by the destruction of the Gulf, and they had decided Iraq would get all the blame.

The U.S. military immediately held press briefings to appear as the *protectors* of the environment. They had sent bombers to attack pipelines leading to certain terminals. In fact, this new destruction caused massive oil leaks in new places.

Pictures of dying cormorants covered every front page. Later it was admitted those birds were dying from an earlier slick caused by U.S. bombers.

"Allied military officials now admit that as much as one-third of the oil spilled in the Gulf is the result of coalition bombing, not Iraqi sabotage." (Joni Seager, in *The Village Voice*, March 5) However, the mainstream press still considers this practically a state secret.

BLACK AIR— BLACK RAIN

Across the landscape of the northern Gulf, the oil fires blaze like torches, ending in thick oily coils of smoke that merge into a thick cloud stretching for hundreds of miles. The desert floor is black. The sun

looks like a pale full moon through the haze. Cars use headlights at noon. The temperature is as much as 30 degrees F. below normal. "This is the most intense burning source, probably in the history of the world," says Joel S. Levine of NASA's Langley Research Center.

In Kuwait alone there are somewhere between 200 and 600 oil fires, burning between 4 and 6 million barrels of oil a day. It is not known how many Iraqi wells and refineries are burning. These oil fires are extremely "dirty." Each oil well produces 5,000 tons of toxic smoke a day—filled with all kinds of petrochemical poisons and acid-producing sulfur compounds. Many of these pollutants cause cancer and birth defects. Some of the effects will not show up for decades.

Ron White of the American Lung Association says there were thousands of deaths in England in 1952 from an unusually intense coal smog that lasted just a few weeks. "In Kuwait," he continues, "the conditions will exist for a year or more. There will be an increase in fatalities in people with existing lung problems and among the elderly and children. And we may well see lung disease and deaths among people without previous lung problems."

According to secret military plans for post-war Kuwait (revealed by Pacific News Service), the U.S. warmakers knew that launching this war could cause such major disasters. They further estimated that the wealthy Kuwaiti elite would keep most of their children overseas out of danger. The main burden of this will fall on the old and the young of the so-called "guest workers" in Kuwait who perform all the wealth-creating labor in Kuwait.

The Threat of Regional Disaster

The smoke damage already reaches throughout the region: A heavy smog and a dense oily, acid, black rain has been falling as far north as southern Turkey, as far south as Qatar and hundreds of miles east into Iran. Satellite pictures reveal black clouds reaching into Bulgaria, Romania, the southern republics of the USSR, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

According to the British Meteorological Office, the rain could contaminate agricultural lands and wildlife areas up to 1,200 miles in all directions. Shannon Fagan of Greenpeace reports that the poisons will eventually "bioaccumulate." This means it will be absorbed by simple plants and animals, and then concentrate in the bodies of animals higher on the food chain—like humans, carnivores and fish-eating birds.

The U.S. Knew and They Went to War Anyway

The U.S. warmakers launched this war *knowing* they were running a risk of destroying the lives of over a billion people throughout Asia. We know the U.S. powers knew this, because deeply concerned scientists fought to make the prewar debate public.

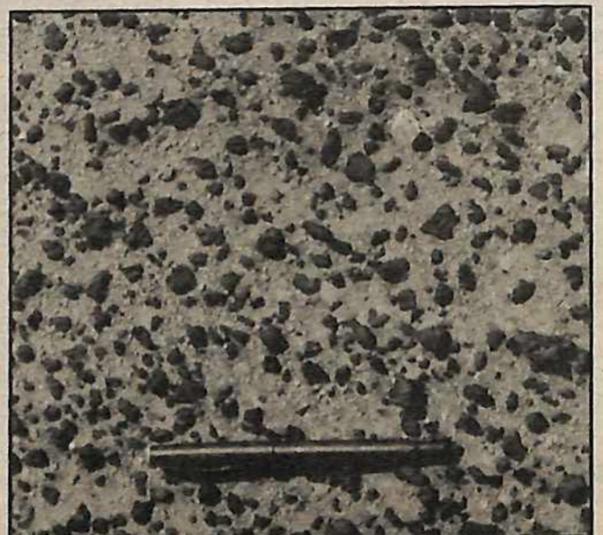
Dr. John Cox, a British chemical and environmental engineer, and the team that pioneered "Nuclear Winter" theory, Carl Sagan and Richard Turco, also warned that the massive fires in the Gulf might trigger climate changes. They said that, if the fires burn into the spring (which they now have), solar heat would carry the smoke high into the atmosphere where it cannot be easily rained out and may darken an area of unknown proportions. They warned that this might affect the critical summer monsoons

over south Asia.

The U.S. military scientists responded with attacks. Sagan was accused of "abusing science to promote a political, antiwar agenda." (*Scientific American*, May 1991) They said *their* computer simulations predicted that the smoke would not rise very high. The damage, said Pentagon consultant Richard Small, would be "limited" (!!) to a "massive pollution event."

The Bay Area Political Ecology Group sums up, "Dr. Small's statements reveal that the U.S. government knew well before the January 15th deadline that pursuing war... would likely lead to an environmental disaster that would cause serious damage to the region, and quite possible extend beyond the geographical confines of the Middle East."

Continued on page 10



"Desert Pavement"—the crust that holds down sand and dust particles.

U.S. War on the Earth

Continued from page 9

It is now known that Small's estimates assumed that oil fires would be *four times smaller* than they actually turned out to be. Paul Crutzen of the Max Plank Institute for Chemistry now estimates that if only 1 percent of the smoke reaches the upper atmosphere, at the end of the year enough could have accumulated to cool the entire Northern Hemisphere by almost 4 degrees F. That could be enough for climate effects over large areas.

They Targeted Wells and Refineries Anyway

During the closing weeks of the air war, the U.S. military focused its bombing on the Kuwaiti-Saudi border. Firebombs were used. There was a specific attempt to destroy oil near the war zone so that it could not be put into Iraqi trenches and used as a flaming barrier to U.S. ground troops. Meanwhile, Iraqi soldiers may have started some oil fires to cover their retreat from the killing U.S. air assault.

There was some brief mention in the press that "at least 34 Kuwaiti oilwells" were set on fire by U.S. bombs. The *Boston Globe* reported "allied bombing of oil refineries and installations [in Kuwait] had caused rain to turn black, created clouds of soot and dust and caused multiple refinery fires." (February 6) This information was quickly suppressed and is not mentioned in the official press anymore. All fires are blamed on Iraqis. The U.S. press won't discuss the deliberate bombing of Kuwaiti and Iraqi oil facilities by those who controlled the air: the U.S. and their British, French and Saudi allies.

A month after the bombing stopped, the U.S. government still forbids the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to release satellite images of the gulf. *Scientific American* writes that one possible reason is, "Satellite images would reveal that Allied bombing of Iraqi refineries and oil reserves had 'created an appalling smoke cloud' comparable to the one generated by Iraqi sabotage of Kuwait's oil fields."

RUINING THE SAND—SEIZING THE WATER

People can live in the deserts of the northern Arabian peninsula because of a crust of "desert pavement." *Science* magazine (March 8) explains, "This 'desert pavement' helps make Kuwait and the surrounding regions habitable by holding down sand and dust particles, thereby creating a stable terrain." This pavement is made up of pebbles from the size of a pea to that of a walnut, which are too heavy for the strongest desert winds to pick up. It took thousands of years to develop.

During the war, thousands of moving combat vehicles and hundreds of miles of "berms" (military walls of bulldozed sand) broke up this pavement over wide areas of the ancient desert. This will cause "major effect on the geology of the area," according to geologist Farouk El-Baz of Boston University's Center for Remote Sensing. The disruption of the desert in Kuwait, northeast Saudi Arabia and southern Iraq, he says, will lead to a huge increase in sand and dust storms and to the formation of new, moving fields of sand dunes. Southern Saudi Arabia already has such dunes in its uninhabitable interior. But now the danger is that a "new generation of sand dunes" will sweep rapidly into the eastern coastal areas of the peninsula, threatening airports, agricultural settlements and even whole cities.

Such damage has happened before. During the 1973 war, the Israeli military bulldozed a 40-foot wall of sand that changed the configuration of sand in the Sinai peninsula. According to English scientist J.L. Cloudsley-Thompson, destruction during the World War 2 desert campaigns in North Africa increased dust storms ten times. He adds it takes generations for desert eco-system to recover. (*Environmental Awareness*, #2, 1990)

Sucking the Land Dry

In the desert, water is life. Deep below the surface, the Arabian Peninsula had

natural aquifers of ancient water. Aquifers do not fill up again when they are drained—there were already estimates that warned Saudi aquifers could be drained in 15 years if there was not serious conservation.

The U.S. sent an army the size of the city of Miami into the desert—and immediately changed that whole water picture. It is estimated that the U.S. force in the gulf are producing between 10 and 12 million gallons of sewage a day. "Personal water consumption for each U.S. soldier in Saudi Arabia, including drinking, cooking, bathing and laundry, is roughly 11 gallons per day. Vehicles demand 10 to 12 gallons more daily. In order to quench its forces' thirst, the U.S. military has reportedly dug new wells 1,500 feet deep to reach groundwater. It is drawing water from underground aquifers that represent 90 percent of Saudi water sources. It has also appropriated the water produced by 28 of Saudi Arabia's 29 desalination plants." (Bay Area Political Ecology Group)

There is more: Years of firefighting lie ahead. One well fire in 1965 alone required more than 10 million gallons of water to extinguish.

direct hit "would release an immense plume of toxic vapor which would disperse to kill every living thing it touched." The chemicals are likely to mix with surrounding water and contaminate the Tigris river and the local Lake Mileh Tharthar, which are the area's only sources of water for drinking and farming. The *Guardian* suggested that one result could be long-lasting "dead zones" too poisonous for human and animal life. Zoltan Grossman estimates in *Z* magazine: "All told, at least 600,000 Iraqis live in towns (not including Baghdad) that may have been covered by toxic gases or germ clouds from the bombings, where no foreign reporters are present."

Before the air war started, General Stanislav Petrov, commander of the Soviet Union's chemical war troops, warned that bombing biological weapons could cause a danger to the entire region.

None of this stopped the U.S. war makers.

Even now, over a month after the ceasefire, there is little reliable evidence from inside Iraq. There are a few early indications that the poisons were released.

One CNN reporter described the burning chemical plants as sending off "green

ging the Gulf region toward ecological destruction. The oil-based world economy has produced 25 major oil terminals in the Gulf serving over 20,000 tankers a year. There are more than 800 active offshore wells, and pipelines literally line the bottom of the sea in some places. Oil spills totaling 150 metric tons a year are considered "normal."

A military and its way of fighting concentrates the social relations it defends. The U.S. military fights the way it does because it defends a world imperialist/capitalist society that is based on robbery, mindless waste and the brutal domination of rich over poor.

This is a system that scalped Indian villages at dawn. It shot down herds of buffalo from trains to destroy Native peoples who lived off those herds. This is a system that dumped poison chemicals all over Vietnam and produced the officer who said, "We destroyed the village to save it."

The evidence is not all in, but it appears that the Iraqi military also spilled oil into the Gulf and lit oil wells. But that too is a crime of this system: What is the Saddam Hussein clique that heads Iraq but another ugly creation of this system? What was



U.S. troops dug miles of trenches and earthworks in the fragile desert.

DEADLY POISONS RELEASED BY BOMBINGS

On December 4, 1990 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution that forbids wartime attacks on nuclear facilities. The United States completely ignored this UN resolution—even while it preached it was waging war to uphold U.N. resolutions! Meanwhile, U.S. media parrots made sure that there was no mention of this December 4 resolution in their reports.

In early February top U.S. general Schwarzkopf said that 31 nuclear, biological and chemical facilities had been attacked in over 535 air sorties. He said, "We have destroyed all of their nuclear reactor facilities. Baghdad Nuclear Research Center has been leveled to rubble," and over half of all the nuclear, chemical and biological facilities had been "severely damaged or totally destroyed." He added he was "99.9 percent" confident that no chemical or radiation contamination would result.

These factories and stockpiles included a wide range of killer materials, mostly developed by military researchers of Europe and the United States. There were deadly germs specially prepared to release during wartime, like anthrax, botulism and the plague. There were chemical weapons like mustard gas, hydrogen cyanide, and nerve gases like phosgene, sarin and tabun.

Before the war broke out the *London Guardian* described what would happen in a bombing of Iraq's main Samarra chemical plant, on the Tigris river 45 miles northwest of Baghdad. The *Guardian* wrote that a

flames." French and Czech military sources stationed in Saudi Arabia, far south of the Iraqi chemical installations, reported detecting traces of chemical poisons in the air. As we go to press, there are still no reports of nuclear contamination from the bombings.

The Cairo weekly *Al-Hakika* reported (Feb. 11) at least 50 Iraqi soldiers died from anthrax after B-52 U.S. bombers destroyed a depot where the deadly toxins were stored. (Anthrax is a deadly disease that usually affects sheep.) The newspaper said their source was an Egyptian doctor who recently fled Iraq. If true, this means that the United States deliberately caused one of history's first killing of humans by bio-weapons. (*Detroit Free Press* 2/12/91, *The Ann Arbor News* 2/11/91)

WE CHARGE THE SYSTEM WITH ECOCIDE

"Never before has the environment been used on such a scale as an intentional military target or tool. Nor has the [gap] in resource wealth between combatants been as important a political factor as it is today."

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist

The U.S. media blame this environmental catastrophe on Iraq. The U.S. military portrays itself as a defender of clean air and water. This is all lies. Who is to blame for this historic catastrophe? The worldwide system of imperialism.

What Kind of a System Would Do This?

Even in peacetime this system was drag-

Saddam Hussein's highest goal, if not to seize more oil to bargain off to the imperialists for a better place at their table?

Is it any wonder then that the Iraqi military had the same outlook toward the environment as the imperialists themselves did? In a past issue of the *RW* we wrote that the Iraqi military was "an army trained by the big powers, with a second-string version of the imperialists' own battle methods." Iraq's participation in eco-war proves again this is true.

During the 1980s the United Nations' Environment Program (UNEP) said the Persian Gulf "is regarded as having one of the most fragile and endangered ecosystems" in the world and urged war-makers to "resist the temptation to resort to the horrifying weapons of mass destruction or to manipulate the environment in a dangerous way." The U.S. powers knew. And they unleashed war anyway. They brushed aside Iraqi, Algerian and Soviet offers to negotiate. They were determined to demonstrate their military technology and their military resolve. And they did not care about the Earth, or the people who live on it.

They were prepared to do even worse: The U.S. military had over 1,000 nuclear weapons in the region and put their nuclear casualty hospitals in Germany on alert—a sign that they were ready to use those weapons.

The imperialist system has caused the biggest environmental catastrophe in history. The full effects will probably not be revealed until the imperialists are overthrown and their archives of secrets dragged into the light of day. All the more reason to dream, to prepare, to work...for revolution. □

L.A.: 5,000 March Against the Chief



April 6—Marchers carry pictures of people killed by the pigs.

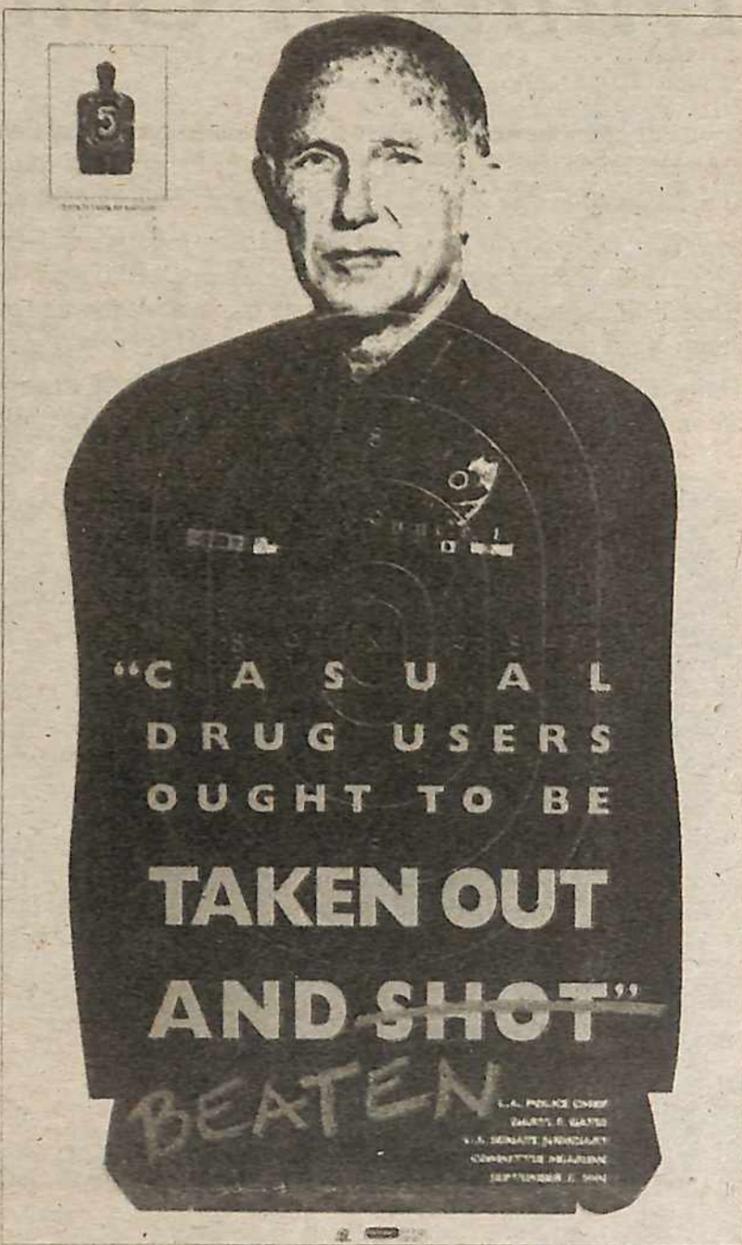
Downtown Los Angeles, April 6—Thousands of people marched and rallied against police brutality and Gestapo Police Chief Daryl Gates. They marched up Broadway to the LAPD headquarters, filling the streets and chanting "Gates Must Go." This was the largest anti-police demonstration since the video of the LAPD beating of Rodney King came out. The *Los Angeles Times* estimated that there were 5,000 protesters. The march was called by the NAACP, ACLU and many other civil rights groups.

The majority of the demonstrators were Black people, and there were many Black high school students. Youth from several Black nationalist groups marched in uniforms. Groups of people from Black churches and mosques came. Some of the others participating: Central America anti-intervention activists who drew links between police brutality here and U.S. aggression around the world; Native (Indian) people who exposed the record of U.S. genocide; a contingent of Korean people; families of Samoan brothers recently killed by the Compton police; RCYB members who carried a large and striking banner reading "The system is the problem—mass, armed revolution is the solution."

People were angry and full of hatred for

the pigs—but their spirits were high. Most of the signs carried by the demonstrators were homemade, often written with marker on poster board or even pieces of boxes, and reflected their mood. These signs included: a picture of a noose with the words "Hang 'em High—Chief Gates"; "Traded Their White Sheets for Blue Uniforms"; "We'll Fire Gates" (with flames drawn under the word fire); "Gates is to Blacks as Hitler was to Jews." Many people carried photos and short descriptions of Black people murdered by the police. A popular T-shirt had a picture of the King beating and said "Never, never NEVER AGAIN—Do We Live in America or South Africa? Does the Constitution of the United States Exist? Racism Must Stop."

As the march got to the police headquarters, knots of people gathered around brothers and sisters who testified about relatives killed by the cops or showing scars they received from police beatings. Dozens of people headed right up to the unguarded doors of the hated pig center. A young Black man standing to the side with a baby said that he was watching the kid while his wife was up front. A Black woman in her sixties shook her fist at the building, saying there were brothers locked up in there and they should be free.



Poster by artist Robbie Conal features a quote Gates said on September 5, 1990.

Jesse Jackson spoke at the rally and pushed the line that the Amerikkkan system was basically good but that there were a few "renegade generals" like Gates. He portrayed Gates' defiance of the Mayor (who called for the chief to resign) as a very dangerous situation where "the general is telling the highest elected officials what to do." He pushed voting, blamed "the violence" on the youth, and talked about staying in school as the solution. (As if the

cops would have not beaten Rodney King if he was a college graduate!) The demonstrators listened to him closely at the start, but there was less and less interest as he went on.

There was widespread feeling among the protesters that the problem was not just Gates but in the whole power structure. Many changed the official "Gates Must Go" chant to "They All Must Go!" □

Point—Counterpoint

The following exchange of letters appeared in *Spin* magazine.

Worth Fighting For

If 2 Black 2 Strong has a problem with our symbol of "negativity and bullshit"—the U.S. flag—and thinks "this country fucks with everybody," [Flash, December '90] why don't you leave? Go away? Get the fuck out! SPC Bryant Mlynczak Operation Desert Shield Saudi Arabia



"Here is a photo of us in Saudi Arabia. We send it with an invitation to 2 Black 2 Strong, his associates, and anyone who supports him. . . . Come try and burn this one!" —1st Section Anti-Mechanical Platoon, 3rd Battalion, 9th Marines

In response to SPC Bryant Mlynczak's letter [Point Blank, March '91], the reason I won't "get the fuck out" of this country is because this is my home as much as it is yours, and if I think that the landlord of my home is fucking me up, I'm going to stay and fight for what is right. If your solution to America's problems is running away from them or going to some foreign land to kill innocent people in the name of the flag, then you are one sorry motherfucker. I can't afford to fly to Saudi Arabia, so if you get home from Operation Desert Slaughter, come see me in Harlem with your flag and I'll burn it for you. 2 Black 2 Strong New York, New York

Raise the Red Flag

Damián García Está Presente

April 22 marks the anniversary of the police assassination of Comrade Damián García, member of the RCP, in Los Angeles on the eve of May 1, 1980. Damián García was singled out for revenge by the powers because he had dared to put the red flag of revolution on top of the Alamo—a big symbol of U.S. domination over Mexico and the people of Mexican descent.

Each year, especially as May 1st approaches, we feel his presence among us—we the proletarians who have nothing to lose but our chains, who burn with a passion for liberation, who refuse to be enslaved. For all who feel this way, Damián García has come to symbolize a fearless devotion to the cause of all-the-way revolution—the only true road to freedom from the degradation and oppression of the imperialist system that comes down on the people of the whole world. We cherish and honor his memory.

This year—at a time when the LAPD has shown its ugly nature to the whole world in the beating of Rodney King—the memory of Damián García's life and his death inspires us, in the words of RCP Chairman Bob Avakian, to "Fear nothing, be down for the whole thing."



March 20, 1980—Damián García raises the red flag on the Alamo.

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

Every day we are murdered bit by bit
I am 40 years old
A veteran, and a Black man
My brother has been murdered
Cold-blooded, gangster scum death
I'm running out of patience

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

He held the blood-red flag as his own blood flowed
I never knew I had a flag
Until Damián García died
Rage is nothing new to me
And I've seen death before
But I'm 40 years old and running out of patience

Damián García is dead
What you gonna do?

I'm gonna take his place, motherfuckers
And if you slit my throat and open my belly
I was dying anyway bit by bit
I lost an eye in the army, got shot in the back by a pig
I'm 40 years old, run out of patience
Ready for Revolution

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

Pass me a red flag
Hand me a gun
And when the time comes and we all ready
I'll be one with millions
And I'll whisper to myself
This one's for you, Damián
'Cause in your death I came alive

In the spring of 1980 a major battle took place right here in the U.S. which was part of, and designed to serve, not only the advance of revolution in this country but the world proletarian revolution. This was the historic battle for Revolutionary May First, when an advanced section of the proletariat put its stamp on the political landscape in this country and gave heart to proletarians and oppressed masses around the world. As a part of this, three revolutionaries scaled the Alamo—a symbol of the U.S. theft of nearly half of Mexico to create the "American Southwest," a symbol of the continuing oppression of people of Mexican descent in that part of the country, and a symbol of U.S. domination over Mexico today.

The three threw down the Texas flag and raised high the bright red flag of revolution over this despicable shrine of the U.S. empire. While the pigs fumed, the red flag flew for an hour that day as the revolutionaries proclaimed the determination of proletarians the world over to fight relentlessly for the downfall of capital.

The red flag on the Alamo was a big statement of internationalism. Right on a strategic border of the U.S. empire—a border dividing the so-called first world from the third world—the red flag on the Alamo let it be known that there were people in this country who stood in revolutionary unity with the people of Mexico and all of Latin America. People who wanted to "break down" these oppressive borders.

This was a call heard and welcomed around the world, symbolic of what must be done to the entire system of imperialism—and soon! As welcome a sight as this was to the oppressed everywhere, so was it equally hated by reactionaries of all stripes.

Damián García was one who feared nothing and was down for the whole thing. He was one of those three revolutionaries who stood proudly on top of the Alamo. When he was murdered by police agents in Los Angeles one month later, Damián was already known to millions, although to many not by name but by his picture on the Alamo. By murdering him in cold blood, the pigs were not only retaliating for Damián's righteous stand and courageous defiance of those who rule over the people, but also desperately hoping to stop the gathering momentum for revolutionary May First and send a message to the oppressed that we can't fight the powers

with our eyes on the prize of all-the-way revolution. But immediately, as word went out about this cowardly political execution, the people were angered and outraged, even while some understood that this is the nature of the enemy. Many millions lifted their heads, stiffened their resolve and opened their eyes to look more clearly at the cherished cause for which Damián García lived, and gave, his life. As a prisoner in the Atlanta city jail wrote at the time, "Damián García is dead but in his death I came alive."

Now, 11 years later, the stakes are higher, for them and for us. Since 1980, things have not developed in a straight line forward for revolutionary forces around the world, and many things have not turned out as we expected. This U.S. war on Iraq has brought great suffering to the people of the Middle East. But in a very real sense, and important to grasp, there has been real advance and progress in the level of struggle, ideological and political clarity, and organization of the international proletariat. Of major significance has been the unity forged in the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement—enabling revolutionary communists to find each other, to join forces and lead the proletariat and oppressed people of the world to fight with a common purpose and goals, with true proletarian internationalism. It is a profound tribute that no matter how hard the reactionary ruling classes try to stomp out and bury revolution, resistance bursts forth anew—often when and where it is least expected. Outstanding in this regard is the revolutionary warfare being waged in the Andes mountains of Peru, led by the Partido Comunista del Peru (Communist Party of Peru), which is bringing great joy to the revolutionary forces around the world and invoking the hatred and wrath of the reactionaries. And this year a world wide campaign has been called to make 1991 a year of international solidarity with the People's War in Peru.

From the vantage point of the imperialists, the situation in the world is too much out of control. But from the viewpoint of our class and the oppressed around the world it is not yet enough out of their control. Efforts to change the agenda to forge a different future must be urgently taken up.

In this country, the RCP,USA has called on the revolutionary masses to: **Take a bold stand, with cold revolu-**

tionary politics in command, and not let them carry out their plan: to pen us in, lock us up, hammer us down, and kill us off, while they're putting up that front, telling that Big Lie that this is what we want!

A war on the people is being carried out under the guise of the "war on drugs." "Residents only" barricades are installed in neighborhoods to isolate and ghettoize (gestapo-style) the oppressed, allowing all manner of pigs free rein behind the walls. Whole neighborhoods in Los Angeles are slated for gestapo-style police control programs. Housing projects are turned into prisons, while new prisons are built and quickly filled. Police murders and police sweeps hit the people on a daily basis. A war on women threatens the return of back-alley butcher shops and demands that women submit to male domination. A war on immigrants means barricades, roundups, concentration camps and deportations. Racist pogroms and assaults on Black youth are happening. The video of Los Angeles police beating Rodney King told the world a story about the real purpose of police in Amerikkka—to keep Black people in a state of oppression. And all this as sickening calls to celebrate the war insult and assault the oppressed.

In the face of the enemy's clampdown, there is growing struggle and increased desire—especially among the youth—to take on these attacks. It seems there are many brothers and sisters out there who would like to see this monster brought down and today wouldn't be any too soon, but we have to pull together, organize and politically train those forces today to stand in the forefront of many millions more who will be there when the time comes. This was the role that Damián García joyously chose to play. Today many more are needed to take up his example, join the vanguard, and lead the masses. As Chairman Avakian has said: "As we lead masses in going up against the system in militant political struggle today, we have to build for the actual people's war of tomorrow."

In these times, the example of Damián García shines brightly and lights up the only course worth taking—a determined preparation to be able to seize the time and make revolution right here in the U.S., so that the specter that so terrified and enraged the rulers, of Damián and his comrades atop the Alamo, can become a raging material force that

makes their worst nightmares—and our fondest dreams—a reality.

Our class, the international proletariat, has throughout history and from all over the globe brought forward many brave fighters, heroes of the people. And among those the most precious of all are those who not only rebel but who make the whole content of their lives the fight to abolish all class divisions and all oppression from the face of the globe so that humankind can be free to advance to a higher form of society. There have been many revolutionary martyrs whose lives were cut short in the service of the struggle, taken from us too soon. The commemoration of these comrades is an important part of the class struggle. Each side has their symbols, their models to look to and learn from.

Damián García está presente. Damián García is among us. He is in the ghettos and barrios, the factories and schools, the prisons of the South Bronx and Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area and all the other cities of this country. And he is in the mountains of Peru, waging People's War under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, and in the Azanian townships fighting against South Africa, and in the war-torn landscape of the Middle East, everywhere in the world where people chafe under the burden of oppression and rise up against it. A Puerto Rican brother said it quite well: "I think Damián García was a great revolutionary. His soul will never die, his spirit will never die. It's among the masses of people now and it will always be there. It's a great expression of what the working-class people should be doing. If he was the man to take a stand like that, I know there's more out there who could take a stand like that and show the bourgeoisie that we can put them in their place, which is nowhere. I know we can overthrow this system if we just try hard enough and want it bad enough, which I know everybody does. But we can't fight only with anger, we have to fight with consciousness and overthrow the system. Because for the future to come, if we want a future, we'll have to overthrow the system, period."

On April 22, the anniversary of the police assassination of Damián García, it would be right on time if the red flag of revolution, the flag of our people that Damián held high over the Alamo, were flown everywhere that Damián García está presente. □



Damián García, second from right, talking with Los Angeles packing house workers in 1980.

The Tunnels of Cu Chi

To shelter themselves from the U.S. bombs, the Iraqi army dug into the sand and built fortifications in the desert. The Iraqis dug themselves into passive defense away from the masses of people—a big strategic mistake. The Iraqis gave up initiative, and the troops became sitting ducks for U.S. attacks.

A very different kind of digging went on during the Vietnamese war of liberation against the United States. In the district of Cu Chi, only 25 miles from Saigon (the capital of the reactionary U.S. puppet regime and headquarters of the U.S. forces), the Vietnamese people dug a vast complex of tunnels. These tunnels were used not only to defend the people and the guerrilla forces but to stage daring and effective attacks on U.S. troops. Tunnel warfare in Cu Chi was part of the people's war in Vietnam that defeated the U.S. powers.

The U.S. army tried every means to control the Cu Chi area, because it was a stronghold of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and because of its strategic location near Saigon. The 25th Infantry Division set up a huge base right in the area. Villagers were herded into "strategic hamlets." According to the book *Tunnels of Cu Chi*, by Tom Mangold and John Penycate: "The district of Cu Chi, in what was South Vietnam, became the most bombed, shelled, gassed, defoliated, and generally devastated area in the history of warfare. For years, most of Cu Chi suffered the fate of being a 'free strike zone.' That meant that random artillery fire, known as 'harassment and interdiction,' rained upon it by night; bomber pilots were encouraged to offload unused explosives and napalm over Cu Chi before returning to base."

Tunnels of Cu Chi is based largely on interviews with participants of the war waged by the NLF against the U.S. The authors' method is not to "take sides" in their account of the Vietnam war—which was completely unjust on the part of the U.S. and clearly just on the part of the Vietnamese people. But a picture of the courage of the Vietnamese fighters of Cu Chi and the effectiveness of their tunnel warfare does come through. Here are some excerpts.

A Daring Plan

There was nothing new about the use of tunnels by defenders against attackers. Indeed, Chinese guerrillas had successfully used tunnels in Hopei Province during the Japanese war in the thirties. Whole counties were linked by underground defensive and communications networks.... Extensive tunnels built by the Korean and Chinese forces across the waist of Korea near the 38th Parallel, were widely used during the Korean war in the early fifties. However, never before had so daring a plan been conceived, as a result of which central government authority simply did not extend to a huge area of seventy square miles just outside the nation's capital. The tunnels made Cu Chi a no-go area by night and effectively out of bounds by day, without the use of extensive military support. It was as if Washington's authority did not reach to Philadelphia.

Serving Combat

On 28 September 1967 a detachment of the Korean 28th Infantry Regiment of the 9th (South Korean) Division captured a remarkable enemy document during a sweep north of Saigon.... The document appears to be, on internal evidence, the only tunnels manual ever issued by the Communists. It is a ten-page technical and political booklet, revealing many secret details about the tunnels' structure and strategic purpose....

The primary role of tunnels is stressed and restressed. "They are for the strengthening of combat vitality for our villages. They also provide more safety for our political and armed units, and for the masses as well. But their sheltering purpose is only significant when they serve our soldiers in combat activities. As mere shelters,

their great advantages are wasted." And, even more significantly: "There must be combat posts and equipment inside the underground tunnels for providing continuous support to our troops—even if the enemy occupies the village."

Simple and Effective

As the captured document reveals, the system was to be simple and effective: "We must plan for the eventual impossibility of fighting from inside the underground tunnels. A secret passage must then be available from which our troops may escape and fight in the open, or reenter the underground tunnels if necessary." The passages of the tunnels were not to be either straight or "snakelike," but were to zigzag at angles of between 60 and 120 degrees, "because if the enemy detects the entrance to the underground tunnel, he will set off mines and banglores (chain explosions) or pour in chemicals, both of which are certain to have disastrous effects on our troops."

A clever and finely engineered trapdoor system was devised by the Communists to create entrances and exits to secret passages and from one tunnel level to another. Where the water table allowed and local conditions necessitated it, tunnels complexes of as many as four separate levels were built. This remarkable feat was a tribute not only to the stamina of the diggers but also to their extraordinary practical application of certain physical principles, which allowed people to stay alive for years deep inside the ground, because the very rudimentary life-support measures actually worked. Air, sanitation, water supplies, and cooking facilities were sufficient to maintain a primitive but reasonably safe existence. It was crucial to the whole plan that even if the first tunnel level was discovered, the secret trapdoor that led down to the next would remain hidden from the



Digging the tunnels.

enemy. That meant making trapdoors that were virtually invisible.

Secret Openings

Entrances to the tunnels were carefully and precisely engineered to cater for various contingencies. The Communists' tunnels manual explained:

Because the activities of the militia and guerrillas require appearing and disappearing quickly, the entrances to the underground tunnel must be located like the corners of a triangle, so that each can support the other in combat. Our troops must also be able to escape from the under-

ground tunnel through a secret opening so they may continue to fight.

The entrances also had to be able to resist fire, flood, and chemical warfare: "for this reason, we must locate the entrances to the tunnels in dry, elevated, and well-ventilated areas. Such an entrance will not be blocked by the chemicals that will otherwise kill the occupants. Also rainwater will not stagnate in the entrances so located."

Digging the Tunnels

And how were the thousands and thousands of tons of earth removed from the tunnels to be disposed of, hidden so that

CUNY Students Rebel Against Cutbacks

Continued from page 5

Reynolds (nicknamed WAR by the students) threatened to suspend the students occupying buildings and have them arrested. Students were suspended at a number of schools. Cuomo said, "If they think having a strike and being lawless is going to get them anything, they're dead wrong." The old farts at the *New York Times* editorialized against the striking students and warned, "Lawless behavior that threatens the public interest calls for a swift and decisive response."

At Lehman, New York Tech, and Bronx Community College the police invaded the buildings and removed the protesting students. According to strike leaders, at Bronx

Community College a few hundred police descended on a building that was occupied by 25 students early in the morning on Wednesday. They brought in ambulances and pigs in riot gear, hoping to provoke students.

A student inside the occupied building described the scene: "We were in the building all day and evening. There was 25 of us, Black and Latino, men and women. Security was coming around screaming and banging on the doors trying to intimidate us. We were threatened by the president of the college that if we took over the building we'd be suspended and arrests would be made. The administration had a polaroid camera and took pictures of the students,

the barricades and our signs. At about 3:00 a.m. Roscoe Brown (president of the college) and three deans led 50 police into the building. The president said that anyone who wanted to remain would be arrested. The police had their hands on their holsters and were swinging their nightsticks, smirking at people, like come on, come on."

Most of the mainstream media, playing their part in attacking the students, downplayed the protests. Some news stations didn't even report the student actions in their nightly news. There was little or no mention of the police forcing students off campuses. At the same time, a number of news reports focused on students who opposed the strikes because they were

"preventing them from getting an education." Some of the press has called on CUNY authorities and police to remove the students from the buildings.

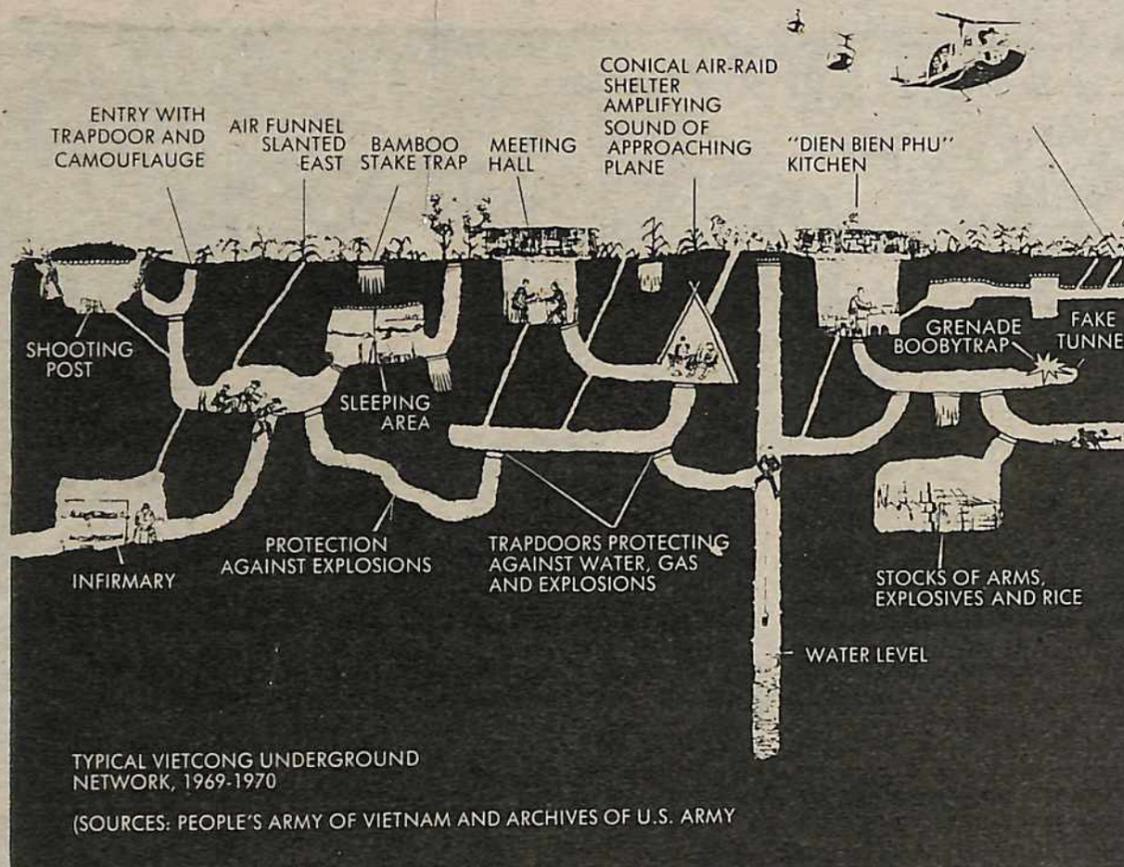
Mayor David Dinkins tried to play both sides of the street. He wrote a letter to Governor Cuomo urging him to "assist CUNY in maintaining its commitment to the people it serves." But he also called for an attack on the protesters by saying that the students "ought not do it [protest] in a fashion that does not permit education to continue."

Stepping Up the Struggle

The hard-line response of the powers has



An entertainment troupe performing in the An Nhon Tay tunnel base.



fitted our own, and changed the shells into powerful weapons, of which the Americans were very afraid..."

Attack on U.S. Base

As late as February 1969, after three years of Cu Chi base's [the U.S. base's] existence, the camp was the victim of a daring and destructive Viet Cong attack that penetrated right inside the security perimeter. It came from the least expected quarter: not from the notorious Ho Bo woods or Fil Hol sides, but from the side facing Cu Chi town, which was normally government-controlled. Local guerrillas like Mrs. Mo had guided the Viet Cong main force around the belt [of tunnels around the base] to the side chosen for the attack. They slept the previous day in the tunnels. In the dead of night, Dac Cong, or special force, sappers crawled forward to clear a path through the protective minefield and barbed wire, unobserved by the patrolling sentries. Then the thirty-nine Viet Cong, three squads of thirteen, some of them women, entered the base. Their main aim, as with so many Viet Cong attacks, was to destroy the enemies' most feared and hated weapon—helicopters. They knew exactly where to find them. Using satchel charges, the guerrillas blew up fourteen of the big troop-carrying CH-47 Chinook helicopters on the ground, all those in Cu Chi at the time. The realization that the Viet Cong were "inside the wire" created some panic. The defenders fired ghostly parachute flares into the air to illuminate the base and help spot the attackers.... Thirty-eight Americans were killed, but all but thirteen of the attackers escaped safely and unharmed when they melted away before dawn.

People Win Against American Firepower

"The tunnels began from a logical strategy," explained Major Quot. "First they were for individuals, then for families. Each family had responsibility for its piece of tunnel. Then various huts within the hamlet were joined by the tunnels, and soon we began to build tunnels that connected one hamlet with another. In the end there were main communication tunnels, secret tunnels, false tunnels. The more the Americans tried to drive us away from our land, the more we burrowed into it..."

As the intensity of the war in Vietnam escalated, Cu Chi district and the Iron Triangle area increasingly became the focus of attention for the frustrated Americans. Unable to dominate or secure these areas, they were to resort to the one factor in the military equation that was always in their favor—the ability to bring overwhelming firepower to bear upon the land. With artillery and air strikes, using high explosives, chemical defoliants, and CS gas, the Americans pounded the surface, while below, whole battalions of regional and regular Communist troops waited patiently. The earth cracked, groaned, and in places gave way. The landscape changed from jungle to dusty desert; entire villages disappeared and their inhabitants were moved out. But the physical integrity of the tunnels was to survive long enough for a shadow civilian and military Communist administration to live in the tunnels, conducting business and defying nearly every attempt to force it up and out. It was an extraordinary triumph of the primitive in a decade that saw man walking on the moon.

the Americans would not find the telltale evidence? The Communists knew full well that the Americans had spotter planes, and sophisticated new aerial-surveillance techniques that could easily "see" great mounds of freshly dug earth. High resolution photography combined with infrared sensing techniques were sufficiently refined in the early sixties to pose a serious threat. The tunnels manual did not make a great fuss about earth disposal. It simply said, Get rid of that stuff, using your common sense:

Notice: The earth removed from the underground tunnel should be made into basements for houses, furrows for potato grow-

ing, or banks for communications and combat trenches. It may also be poured into streams but must never be left heaped in mounds. In short, the utmost care must be taken to conceal the underground tunnel from the enemy's discovery.

And it was.

Underground Weapons Factory

As Captain Linh noted, a great deal of ordnance fell on Cu Chi. And considerable numbers, as is the nature of these things, failed to explode. For once it was the Viet Cong [derogatory name used by the U.S. for the NLF] that began a course of on-the-

job training. "We tried to understand the American science," explained Captain Linh. "We would have teams of watchers during a bombing strike, looking for the bombs that did not explode. They would try to mark the location. Then after the raid we would hurry to the spot and try to retrieve the TNT.... The Americans used their weapons to fight us and we used their weapons to fight back."

Captain Linh's cottage industry began to grow. "There were unexploded shells everywhere in the Cu Chi area. We organized special workshop chambers in the tunnels and we learned to take the ordnance in there. We dismantled their detonators,

drawn many more students into the battle and compelled many others to support the takeovers. Hostos College was shut down. Students at Brooklyn College and Lehman retook the buildings they had been forced out of. Gypsy cab drivers in the neighborhood around CCNY have been patrolling the streets to help the students keep track of police movements. Unions said that if the cops come into the schools, they will shut down the transit system and shut off the electricity. Students from Columbia University have brought food and helped take over CUNY college buildings. (Columbia is a very expensive, elite school not far from CCNY.) The students have received messages of support from CUNY faculty and staff, unions, community groups, musicians and students at University of Michigan, University of Washington, San Francisco State, University of Rhode Is-

land. Students at the University of Mexico called with a message of solidarity.

There is much debate among students over what is the basic problem and what is the solution. Students are checking out different political groups and their programs. More than a few are reading Malcolm X. Many are angry that the U.S. government spent \$1 billion per day to fight what they see as a "racist," "genocidal" war against the people of Iraq and is now cutting the educational opportunities for poor and oppressed people in this country.

A lot of Black students spoke bitterly about Black elected officials. One Black brother from BCC told the RW: "Mayor Dinkins, he's nothing but a puppet. Capt. Lee Brown [the police commissioner], he's nothing but a puppet. He's not helping. He's allowing police brutality." A Latina sister spoke about Roscoe Brown, president

of BCC: "I just feel he's a guinea pig. They just use him as a figure. The same shit that's gone on down through history. You know, with the field nigger, the house nigger. You know how that goes, right? They use them to pacify us who try and look for a better way. Every time things get rough they throw out another pacifier."

On Friday about 500 students from a number of the city colleges gathered at CCNY for a rally and march through the Harlem community. Bold colored banners, many in red, black, yellow and green, hung from the sides of the building occupied by students. The crowd was about 90 percent Black and Latino. A Black student speaking at the rally said: "I'm very, very proud to be Black. I know the Latinos out there are very proud to be Latino. Then we have the Asian brothers and sisters. . . . The white people out here, they with us right now. This in-

cludes everybody. All colors, all races." Dozens of students wore stickers saying "Money for education, not for war" and red and black ribbons to express opposition to the U.S. celebration of its "victory" in the Gulf.

The students took to the streets of Harlem chanting "Hey Hey, Ho Ho, Cuomo has got to go," "They say cut back, we say fight back" and "Racism by the hour, what do we do? Fight the power!" As the students marched through Harlem, Black men and women of all ages came out of their houses and stores to cheer the march on. There was a look of pride on the faces of many people. About a hundred people joined the march.

Students aim to continue their strike until the Governor agrees to drop all the cuts. They have called for a city-wide student meeting to plan how to step up the struggle.

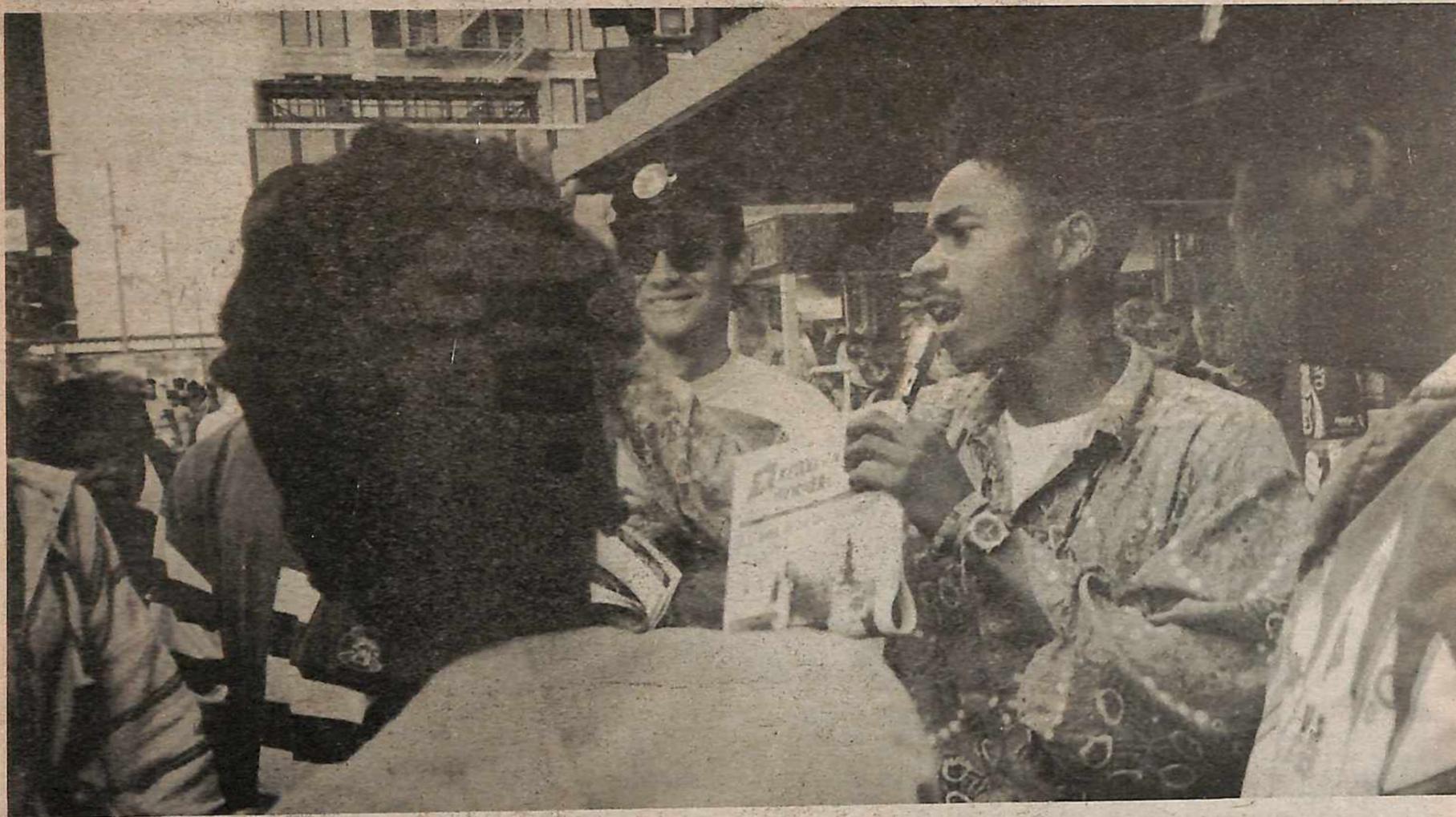
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