



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 537

(Vol. 11, No. 25)

January 1, 1990

Editions in English and Spanish published weekly

\$1.00

FOR  
WAR

**FEAR  
NOTHING.  
NOTHING  
BE DOWN  
FOR THE  
WHOLE  
THING.**

Support The  
People's War  
in Peru  
Special Poster

**8**

Romania:  
Rage Takes Out  
Revisionist Dog

**7**

Yankee Invaders  
Run Amok  
in Panama

**3**

New York:  
ABC Center  
Takeover  
"Grand Opening"

**10**



# In Memory of Emil de Antonio

With great sadness we learned of the death of Emil de Antonio on December 15, 1989. Filmmaker, writer, internationalist... at 70 years old, "de"—as his friends called him—stood with his whole heart on the side of the oppressed people of the world. His death is a real loss to those around the world who were enlightened and inspired by his work and to all those who fought shoulder-to-shoulder with him against imperialism.

De was a revolutionary filmmaker who used his creative fire to genuinely "serve the people." From his path-breaking documentary *Point of Order*, about the anti-communist McCarthy hearings of the 1950s, to his just-completed *Mr. Hoover and I*, about the FBI's surveillance and harassment of de Antonio through the decades, de brought to his art an uncompromising commitment to show the truth about historical and political events. He unmasked the powers-that-be, exposing their oppressive nature and hypocrisy. And he pioneered a documentary style which combined footage and candid interviews in such a way that the enemies of the people almost seemed to be indicting and ridiculing themselves.

De Antonio's film *In the Year of the Pig* was an important cultural weapon against the Vietnam War—bringing the reality of the U.S. government's war of aggression to the screen for a whole generation and building support for the Vietnamese war of liberation. Screened in the U.S. and several countries in the middle of that war, the film was under fire from the government and reactionaries who used bomb threats and other means to try to keep people from seeing it. But the more the enemy attacked the film, the more the people wanted to see it. And today the video version of *In the Year of the Pig* has drawn new audiences in the United States and around the world, as youth look for real answers about the revolutionary period of the 1960s.

De Antonio was a Marxist from his early days at Harvard University and he was a firm internationalist. Unlike so many others of his generation who gave up on revolution, de Antonio continued to stand with the oppressed. Those who worked closely with him knew him as a veteran who refused to get old—fresh with outrage at the crimes of the system, not jaded, and full of life. In the 1980s de took an active and initiating part in the movement against imperialist war and "Resurgent America." He was an initial organizer and sponsor of No Business As Usual Action Network and served on the NBAU National Response Committee. He took part in the "Living in Pre-war America" symposium at NYU in 1986 and he played a key role in founding the Refuse and Resist! organization. In the summer of 1984, upon hearing of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, de suggested a showing of *In the Year of the Pig* in New York City in tribute to the RIM. And he would remark to friends, "If I didn't have such bad knees, I'd be doing a film on the revolution in Peru!"

De frequently referred with great respect to Mao Tsetung, and we recall



here what Mao said in honoring a fallen comrade in the midst of revolutionary warfare... that some deaths are light as a feather, other deaths are heavier than a mountain. Losing Emil de Antonio was a heavy one. To the powers-that-be, he was "renegade" and enemy. To those who "fight the power" in the U.S. and around the world, he was a comrade. We will miss his warmth and wit and above all his love for the people and his undying hatred of lying and oppression, especially by the state and its media. But his life and work will continue to bring light to the people of the world—he has left a legacy to learn from. □

## 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. □

### SUBSCRIBE NOW!

- One Year—\$40  
 English Edition       Spanish Edition  
 3 months — \$12       One Year, U.S., Institution — \$52

Write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654  
Send inquiries regarding international rates c/o RCP Publications, to the above address.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

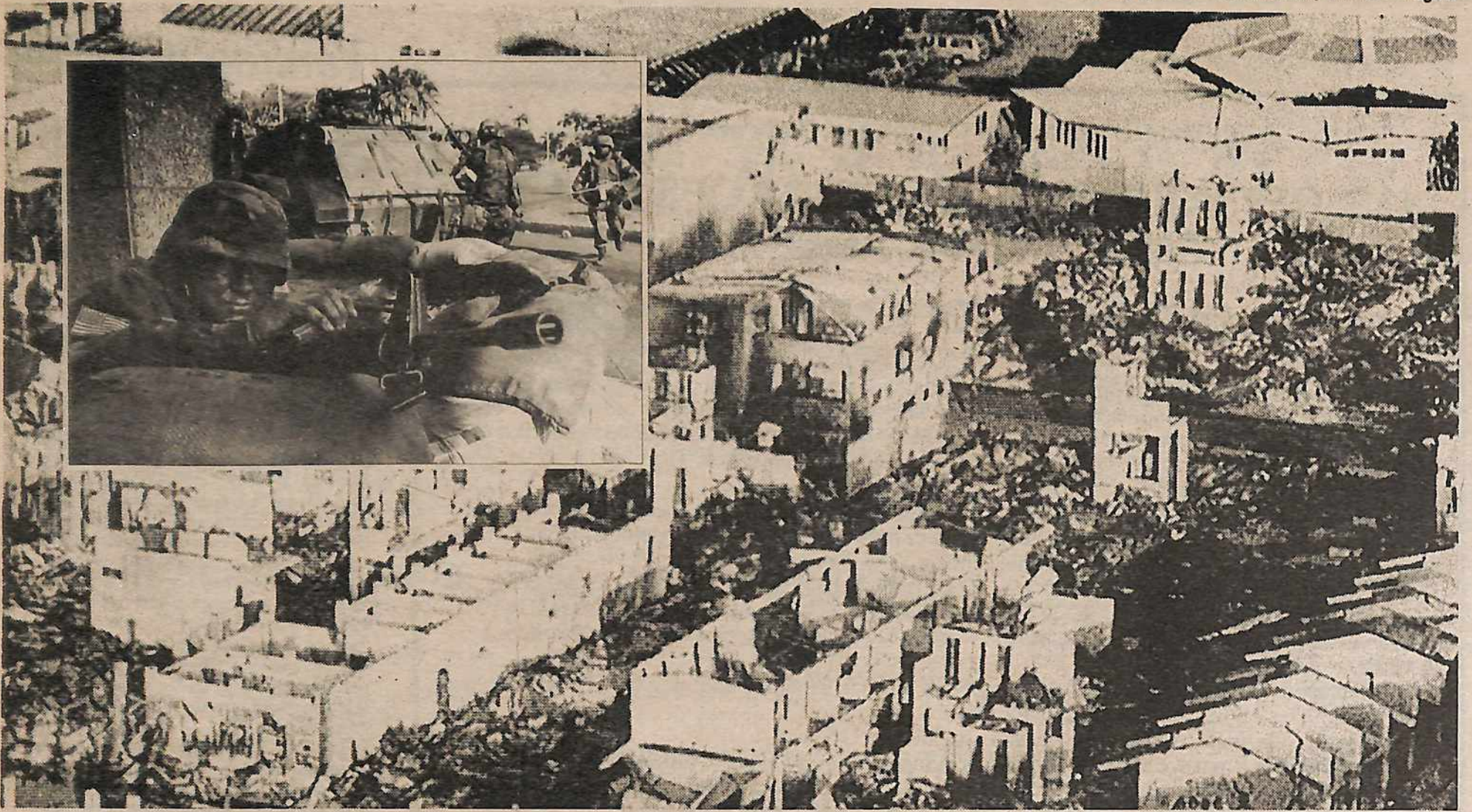
For office use only: Date rec'd \_\_\_\_\_ Amt rec'd \_\_\_\_\_ Expires \_\_\_\_\_

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive \_\_\_\_\_ copies per week.

### CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- California:**  
 Los Angeles Area: c/o Libros Revolución, 312 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90014 (213) 488-1303  
 San Francisco: Watch the RW for new location.  
 Berkeley: c/o Revolution Books, 2425C Channing Way, Berkeley CA 94704 (415) 848-1196  
**District of Columbia:** c/o Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969  
**Florida:** Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 016065, Miami, FL 33101 (305) 529-7108  
**Georgia:** c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 483 Moreland Ave. N.E., Atlanta, GA 30307 (404) 577-4656  
**Hawaii:** c/o Revolution Books, 2567 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96828 (808) 944-3106.  
 (Send mail to: P.O. Box 11228, Honolulu, HI 96828)  
**Illinois:** c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657 (312) 528-5353  
**Maryland:** Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203  
**Massachusetts:** 38 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-5443  
**Michigan:** c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 4712 Cass Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 (313) 832-4430  
**New York & New Jersey:** c/o Revolution Books, 13 East 16th St., NY, NY 10003 (212) 691-3345  
**Ohio:** c/o Revolution Books, 2804 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 (216) 932-2543  
**Oregon:** P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208  
**Pennsylvania:** Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 44024, Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 961-1595  
**Texas:** P.O. Box 230112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 640-6733  
**Washington State:** c/o Revolution Books, 5519A University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$40 a year, \$12.00 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. (\$52.00 for institutions)  
Postmaster: send all changes of address to Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.





Residential area of Panama City destroyed by U.S. bombings. Inset: U.S. invasion troops.

# Yankee Invaders Run Amok in Panama

## U.S. Threatens More Intervention in Latin America

The U.S. has declared the invasion of Panama a "success" and is enforcing an iron military rule in that country. At the same time President George Bush and the rest of the U.S. big-power bullies are threatening more aggression and intervention in Latin America. They are a bunch of murdering criminals and liars, and they need to be stopped.

### U.S. Rule at the Point of the Gun

A few days after the U.S. invasion forces landed, Manuel Noriega took refuge in the Vatican Embassy in Panama City. The Bush administration announced that the U.S. forces are conducting "mopping up" operations. What's really happening is that the U.S. is carrying out fascist martial law. U.S. troops are doing house-to-house searches and setting up roadblocks in the streets of Panama City, detaining anyone "suspicious." Thousands reportedly have been arrested. U.S. tanks and armored personnel carriers roll through the city. GIs in fatigues point their M-16s at arrested Panamanians who are shackled, blindfolded, and forced to lie face down on the ground.

The U.S. is forcing a new running-dog government on the Panamanian people at the point of the gun. The Endara government, which was "installed" by the U.S. to replace Noriega, was sworn in at a U.S. base just as the invasion began. Endara made his first national speech in English. In the first hours of the invasion, a Panamanian TV station captured by the U.S. forces broadcast the seal of the U.S. Defense Department. The U.S. occupation force is trying to build a new local army and police, mostly out of the old Noriega army and police. Except for a few new faces at the top, the Endara government and military will be the same U.S.-backed oppressors of the people as the Noriega regime was.

U.S. military officials openly compare the "mopping up" operation in Panama City with the putting down of the uprisings of Black people in U.S. cities in the 1960s. Lt. Gen. Tom Kelly, the director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said: "It took us about ten days some years ago to clear Detroit when we had a functioning government and police department, which we don't have in Panama right now." Kelly was talking about the use of troops against the Detroit uprising of 1967.

This comparison with Detroit from the pig's own mouth exposes what the

U.S. is doing in Panama. The U.S. invasion and clampdown in Panama have nothing to do with "getting rid of drugs" or helping the Panamanian people overthrow a hated ruler and take things into their own hands. Noriega used to be a good running dog for the U.S., but the U.S. masters decided to get rid of him in order to get tighter control over Panama—the location of the strategic Panama Canal and the Southern Command, the headquarters for U.S. military forces in Latin America. And in trying to get their way, the U.S. imperialists cold-bloodedly killed many Panamanians.

Several areas of Panama City lie in ruins, testimony to the brutality of the U.S. invasion. Whole neighborhoods were destroyed by U.S. bombs and

burned down in fires. Bodies and bones continue to be dug out from the rubble and buried in mass graves. Chorrillo, a neighborhood around Noriega's former headquarters, is so devastated that the people are now calling it "Little Hiroshima." Estimates of the number of Panamanians killed during the U.S. invasion range from several hundred to several thousand.

### The Parrot Press

From the start of the invasion, the U.S. bourgeois media has acted as a direct operation of the Bush administration and the U.S. military. Like trained parrots, they repeat and broadcast the lies and distortions of the U.S. govern-

ment. Just a few examples:

- One of the justifications put out by Bush officials for the invasion was that Noriega had "declared war" on the U.S. What the resolution by the Panamanian National Assembly passed a few days before the invasion actually said was: "It is declared that the Republic of Panama is in a state of war while there is aggression against the people of Panama from the United States of America." This was in response to the increasing provocations against Panamanian troops and people by the U.S. military in Panama. But the U.S. press virtually ignored the actual wording of the resolution and just echoed the Bush claim that Noriega had "declared war."

- The shooting of a U.S. Marine in Panama City was another pretext used by Bush for the invasion. The officer actually was part of a plainclothes team scoping out Noriega's headquarters for an attack. They were caught by Panamanian soldiers and tried to run away by running a road block, but the Marine was shot dead. Again, the media ignored the actual events and just parroted the line coming out from the White House.

- The many deaths and casualties suffered by the Panamanians through the invasion are grossly underplayed in the U.S. media. A Spanish news agency reported that thousands of Panamanians may have been killed. But over a week after the invasion, the reports in the U.S. only say that civilian casualties "may have been greater than originally thought."

- U.S. officials appearing at news conferences and on news shows blatantly lie that there is "no precedent" for someone like Noriega to get asylum in another country. The media just lets such outrageous statements go on air and into print, without even bringing up how the U.S. government helped many vicious puppets—Marcos of the Philippines, Somoza of Nicaragua, the Shah of Iran, and Baby Doc Duvalier of Haiti, to name a few—escape from the people after their U.S.-backed regimes fell.

### "War on Drugs" Hypocrisy

As the Panama invasion shows, the U.S. ruling class and their media operate on the principle: the bigger the need, the bigger the lies. And the Yanqui imperialists have a lot of dirty work to hide in Panama.

The news that Mike Harari, a top aide to Noriega, had been arrested by U.S.

Continued on page 4

**"I'm sick and tired of all these lies that are perpetrated by the U.S. We have been invaded since the start of the Panama Canal, and it's an ongoing thing."**

*A Panamanian living in the U.S.*



Panamanian civilians killed during the U.S. invasion are buried in mass graves.



This leaflet came out right after the U.S. invasion of Panama and was distributed around the U.S.:

The Revolutionary Communist Party says:

## U.S. GET YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF PANAMA AND CENTRAL AMERICA!

### U.S. OUT OF ALL OF LATIN AMERICA!

A U.S. force of 10,000 troops has invaded Panama. They bombarded civilians and put the Panamanian people under U.S. military occupation. They bragged: "We're kicking ass tonight." There are now 22,000 U.S. troops in this small country. The U.S. invaders killed and wounded hundreds of Panamanians just in the first day. U.S. soldiers will also die in this unjust war. The blood is on the hands of commander-in-chief George Bush and the rest of the U.S. rulers.

The U.S. government has tried to justify this invasion, but people with their eyes open can see through the lies. This invasion is nothing but big-power bullying against the people of Panama. Once again U.S. imperialism is violating the national sovereignty of an oppressed country.

**THIS CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO GO DOWN. THE PEOPLE IN THE U.S. MUST RESPOND WITH THE WIDEST AND STRONGEST POLITICAL PROTEST AND OUTRAGE.** They must show the people of Panama and the whole world that they do not support such crimes by the U.S. government.

The Bush administration said that the military move in Panama had four goals. These so-called goals are nothing but lies and justification for the U.S. dominators.

**Lie #1:** The U.S. invasion was necessary to "defend U.S. lives."

**Cold Truth:** What are 35,000 U.S. citizens doing in Panama? They are there as part of U.S. domination of that country: military, political, economic, and otherwise. Protecting this dominator politics is not in the interest of the masses of American people. It is only in the interest of oppressors.

The U.S. used an incident where an American soldier was shot to justify the massive invasion. But it is the U.S. forces in Panama that have been bullying and threatening the Panamanian people. Weeks before the invasion, U.S. troops ran full-scale military "exercises" in the streets of Panama City. They pointed guns and bayonets at civilians and set up blockades to prevent Panamanian people from moving around their own city. U.S. soldiers insulted and threatened women troops of the Panamanian army. A Panamanian who was recently in that country told a reporter from the *Revolutionary Worker* that U.S. military vehicles ran over the mayor of the town of Arraijan when she stood in the road and tried to prevent them from going through.

**Lie #2:** The U.S. is helping to install a "democratic" government in Panama.

**Cold Truth:** What kind of political leader would accept being "installed"—like American plumbing—into their country on the blood of the people and under the gun of 22,000 U.S. troops? A lowdown bootlicker, that's what kind.

Both Noriega and the newly installed president Endara represent different sections of the oppressor classes in Panama. When Noriega was useful to the U.S., the elections he held were approved by the U.S. government. Now the U.S. denounces Noriega as a "dictator" and is trying to move him out.

**Lie #3:** The Panama Canal was being threatened, and the U.S. has a right to move militarily to protect the Canal treaties.

**Cold Truth:** Number one. Panama used to be part of Colombia, but in 1903 the U.S. stole the land by force of arms to make the Panama Canal! The U.S. also built many military bases in the canal zone, including the headquarters of the Southern Command which is in charge of U.S. military forces in Latin America. Now, under U.S. treaties with Panama, the Canal is supposed to be eventually returned to Panama. But the U.S. government wants to make sure that they call the shots at this strategic canal. The U.S. especially wanted to get rid of Noriega right now because, according to the treaties, Panama is to appoint the canal zone administrator on January 1, 1990.

**Lie #4:** The U.S. is going after Manuel Noriega because he is a drug trafficker. This is part of the "war on drugs."

**Cold Truth:** The U.S. imperialists were the ones who made Noriega into the top pig in Panama in the first place and propped him up for many years. George Bush and other U.S. officials knew full well that Noriega was involved in drug trafficking. But this was acceptable to them, because the U.S. government itself has been an even bigger drug trafficker and has used profits from the drug trade to finance the Contra armies against Nicaragua and other covert operations in Central America.

The oppressed people say: **BIG MAFIOSO DRUG LORDS HAVE NO RIGHT TO INDICT MEDIUM-SIZED AND SMALL MAFIOSO DRUG LORDS!**

The people must be vigilant! The invasion of Panama could turn into a stepping stone for more intervention in Central and South America. A week before the invasion of Panama, the Bush administration came out with another move in their so-called "war on drugs": they said the U.S. "has the right" to go anywhere around the world to capture or kill drug traffickers. But the people have to get it straight! The whole "war on drugs" is nothing but a power move against the people—in the U.S. and worldwide, especially in Latin America. In Peru, where the revolutionary people's war is advancing, the U.S. is sending in more "anti-drug" troops and has built a Vietnam War style firebase. This firebase has a runway longer than the airport in the capital of Peru! Clearly "drugs" is not the target of U.S. intervention there.

The U.S. government has carried out three military interventions around the world in the last month: the sending of the Delta Force to El Salvador, the intervention on the side of the Aquino regime in the Philippines, and now the invasion of Panama. The powers-that-be say that the world is entering an "era of peace" as the '80s end. The reality is that the U.S. is stepping up intervention in Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World in order to keep up its domination of oppressed peoples. All those who oppose U.S. intervention around the world have every interest in supporting the Panamanian people in their resistance and hope that they give a righteous ass-kicking to the invaders.

The whole history of Panama is an example of what Mao Tsetung said: **POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN.** The U.S. was unable to get rid of Noriega by other means, and now they sent 10,000 troops to go after him. But doesn't this show something about the strategic weakness of the U.S. imperialists? **IF NORIEGA—THAT INGROWN TOENAIL IN THE FOOT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM—CAN CAUSE THE U.S. RULERS SO MUCH TROUBLE AND PAIN, THINK WHAT A REAL REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S WAR IN PANAMA WOULD DO!**

## Yankee Invaders

Continued from page 3

troops in Panama gave a glimpse of what Bush and Company want to hide. Harari was a high-level intelligence officer in the Israeli military before he went to work for Noriega. He put his connections with Israel to good use in his work for Noriega. He reportedly obtained the aid of active Israeli intelligence agents to protect Noriega during trips overseas. And during the Iran-Contra scandal, it came out that Harari was involved in using profits from drug trafficking to finance arms shipments from Israel and elsewhere for the U.S.-backed Contras in Nicaragua.

U.S. officials, including Bush, knew full well that Noriega and his men were involved in drug trafficking. Such activities were fine with the U.S. as long as they served the interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, as the Iran-Contra affair showed, the U.S. government itself was directly involved in using drug money for the Contras and other covert operations. For Bush and his men to now use the "war on drugs" as an excuse to get rid of Noriega and invade Panama is shameless political hypocrisy and cowardice. But this also shows how thin and rotten their lies are.

In public, Bush claims that he wants to bring Noriega to trial in the U.S. on drug-running charges. But Noriega had a long and tight relationship with the U.S. military and intelligence agencies, and he holds a lot of information that could be very damaging politically to Bush and the U.S. government. The U.S. invasion forces clearly meant to kill Noriega—his headquarters was leveled by air attack, and commandos hit all the other places they thought he was at. Commentators in the media are speculating that Noriega would not make it alive to the U.S. if the U.S. troops got a hold of him. The U.S. might also be trying to cook up a deal with Noriega so that he would shut up in return for a safe exile somewhere. And as we go to press, U.S. officials announced that the news of Harari's arrest was

The Heritage We Renounce

## U.S. in Panama: A History of Invasions and Murder

The Yanqui imperialists say that they have a "special role" in Panama, starting from the very beginning of that country to now. The so-called "special role" is supposed to justify any arrogant behavior and brutal crime by the U.S. in Panama. This Big Lie needs to be exposed by some straight talk about the brutal history of U.S. big-power aggression and murder against the Panamanian people.

### The Canal and the U.S. Takeover

The U.S. first invaded Panama when Panama was still part of Colombia. In 1855 a railroad that connected the two ocean coasts of Panama was completed. The railroad was owned by New York financiers. In the next ten years the U.S. army intervened five times to protect the railroad from the Panamanian independence movement.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 marked the rise of the U.S. as an imperialist power in the world. Around that time, U.S. officials decided they needed a canal through Central America so that U.S. gunboats would not have to go all the way around South America to travel between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Panama—where a French company had already tried unsuccessfully to build a canal—was picked as the best site. When the Colombian Senate rejected a U.S. request to build the canal, the U.S. instigated a revolt. President Theodore Roosevelt used this as an excuse to send ten U.S. warships against Colombia. U.S. troops fought against Colombia and



# Run Amok in Panama

"erroneous" and that he may now be no longer in Panama.

## U.S. Threats and Provocations

As the U.S. forces run amok in Panama, the U.S. government is threatening more aggression and intervention in Latin America:

- Bush administration officials say that the U.S. is planning to station a carrier task force off the Caribbean coast of Colombia as part of the so-called "war on drugs." The operation could begin in the next several months. The task force will be made up of an aircraft carrier and several support ships. Clearly, such a task force could be used for military intervention not only in Colombia but in other areas of the Caribbean and Central and South America.

- U.S. troops in Panama City have been surrounding the Nicaraguan, Libyan, and Cuban embassies and the homes of Nicaraguan and Cuban ambassadors. On Friday, December 29, U.S. troops broke into the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence and vandalized the home. The U.S. justification for this bully action—the GIs were "looking for weapons." This outrageous claim comes from a power which has just invaded a small country with thousands of troops and all kinds of high-tech weapons! In response, the Nicaraguan government expelled some of the U.S. embassy staff from Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government also reported that two unidentified jets, probably from Honduras or El Salvador, violated the air space over the capital, Managua. These acts of harassment and provocation by the U.S. could lead to even bigger attacks on Nicaragua.

- The U.S. intervention in Peru—where the Communist Party of Peru is leading a growing people's war—is continuing to escalate under the "war on drugs" cover. When the U.S. invaded Panama, Peruvian President García declared that he will suspend the U.S.

"anti-drug" operation in Peru and boycott an upcoming "Andean drug war summit" in Colombia as a protest. But this was just a tactic by García to cover up the fact that he is a bootlicker who collaborates with the Yanqui power in attacking the Peruvian revolution. A few days later the U.S. "anti-drug" forces in Peru officially went back into operation, and the "anti-drug summit" in Colombia apparently will go on as scheduled with Peruvian participation.

## U.S. Out of All of Latin America!

The people in the U.S. cannot let Bush and the ruling class get away with their criminal attacks on the Panamanian people. The U.S. is already following up their "success" in Panama by bullying and threatening others in the region, and the Bush administration could use the invasion as a "precedent" to launch more military intervention under the "war on drugs" cover.

There were demonstrations in many cities across the U.S. in the days after the invasion. But the developing situation in Central America demands new levels of opposition—even more determined political protests with broader participation to make clear that important sections of the people here oppose what the U.S. government is doing and stand with the oppressed around the world. And the political protests must take on an even sharper anti-imperialist edge. It is becoming clearer than ever that relying on the Congress and liberal politicians is not just useless but only plays into the enemy's logic. The liberal Democrats have remained silent or applauded in support as the Bush administration just in the last month conducted direct military intervention in El Salvador, the Philippines, and now Panama.

The situation in Central and South America is tense and full of dangers of more U.S. military intervention. People need to mobilize *now* to stop the Yanqui aggressors. □



Seattle

## Demonstrations Condemn U.S. Invasion

Immediately after the U.S. invaded Panama on January 19-20, thousands of protesters marched in many areas across the U.S. There were demonstrations in cities from San Francisco to New York.

In San Francisco 1,000 people rallied in downtown on Wednesday, January 20 and then took the streets to march to the Army Recruiting Station and the Mission District, an area where many Latin American immigrants live. The Pledge of Resistance held a picket at the Travis Air Force Base near the SF Bay Area, one of the bases which sent invasion forces to Panama.

Two hundred people—including many youth and those new to political activity—protested in Seattle on January 20. They marched through downtown and to the freeway which was taken over during a November demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. This time a big force of police prevented a takeover, but many banners were hung on an overpass. Several youth got "flag-burning kits" being handed out by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist and set them on fire. Outrage at the invasion of Panama also came out at a rally in downtown Seattle on January 23 organized by the Seattle Committee to Support the Flagburners.

In Los Angeles a newly organized coalition called Panama Sovereignty Support Committee organized a protest of about 200 people. Among the demonstrators was a group of anti-U.S. Panamanians. Actor/singer Kris Kristofferson spoke out against the invasion at a press conference by the coalition.

On the other side of the country, 500 protested in New York City on January 20. Two days later there was another demonstration of 500 people in New York. They marched from Rockefeller Center through Times Square and blocked traffic on the streets. In Long Island, New York, Catholic sanctuary activists have been picketing military recruiting stations.

Demonstrators in Cleveland, Ohio marched through downtown streets and briefly blocked traffic entering the major highway along Lake Erie.

According to reports from participants in some of the demonstrations, there was a lot of support from people on the street for the protests against the invasion of Panama. The bourgeois media has been claiming that their polls show that 80 to 90 percent of the people in the U.S. solidly support the invasion. At the same time, the media is almost completely blacking out news of the protests against the U.S. intervention. □



Panamanian students demonstrate against the U.S., 1978.

took over Panama by force.

The Yanqui imperialists twist this history around and say they helped the "independence" of Panama. Roosevelt put it more blatantly: "I took the Canal Zone and let the Congress debate."

Five days after Panama's "independence," a treaty giving the U.S. ownership of the soon-to-be-built Panama Canal "in perpetuity" was signed. The treaty was NOT signed between the U.S. and Panamanians but between the U.S. and... the French! As one Panamanian living in the U.S. bitterly told the RW: "I want to destroy the fallacy that the Panamanians signed over the canal in perpetuity to the USA. It was the French that did that. They started building the canal, they ran into trouble and then the Americans took it over. They're the ones that signed that treaty to give up that canal in perpetuity, not the Panamanians, and the Panamanians have been fighting it ever since. I'm sick and tired of all these lies that are perpetrated. . . . We have been invaded since the canal, and it's an ongoing thing."

The Frenchman who signed the treaty had financial interests in the five-mile-wide strip of land on either side of what was to become the Panama Canal. This area, known as the Canal Zone, became a U.S. colonial enclave, directly ruled by U.S. authorities until 1982. It is still home to thousands of U.S. citizens who live in a colonial lifestyle while the majority of people in Panama live in deep poverty.

The U.S. continued to invade Panama whenever there was a chance that Yanqui control might be threatened. In 1908, 1912, and 1918, U.S. troops were on hand to make sure that Panamanian elections brought about the results the U.S. and the Panamanian rulers demanded. Later, in 1918, U.S. Marines invaded the province of Chiriqui to put down an uprising against the United Fruit Company. The Marines stayed in Chiriqui for two years. In 1925, 600 U.S. Army troops marched into Panama City to break up a rent strike and stayed for twelve days until the struggle was put down.

In 1942 another treaty allowed the U.S. to set up over 100 new military and telecommunications facilities in the Canal Zone. That began the permanent presence of nearly 10,000 U.S. troops in Panama. The headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), which commands U.S. forces in Latin America, was at Quarry Heights overlooking the Canal.

One of SOUTHCOM's more notorious installations was the School of the Americas. This school was known widely in Latin America as "La Escuela de Golpes" (School of Coups) because many of Latin America's officer corps of torturers and murderers—including those who lead death squads—received their training there. This was also where Manuel Noriega received his training. The School of Coups had trained nearly 45,000 Latin American officers by 1985, when it was moved to Fort Benning, Georgia.

## Flag Rebellion

January 9, 1964 is a day that burns in the memory of the Panamanian people. That is the day of the "Flag Riots" when Panamanian students tried to fly the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. An amendment to the canal treaty said that the Panamanian flag could be raised wherever an American flag was raised. But the U.S. forces showed utter contempt for Panama's national sovereignty by shooting Panamanians down in cold blood for raising their country's flag.

A Panamanian who was there described the scene to the RW: "I was a student, 13 years old. . . . The Eisenhower administration decided it was all right for us to fly our flag next to the U.S. flag. We went over to the Balboa high school to do that. The American students decided that they didn't like the idea of the Panamanian flag next to the U.S. flag. They proceeded to tear our flags up. The American police intervened and attacked the Panamanian students. The Panamanian students went back to Panama, got some reinforcements, and came

back with stones, sticks, and molotov cocktails. And a battle ensued. . . . U.S. disinformation took it as a mob riot. What it was was an uprising for the self-determination of the Panamanian people to fly their national emblem in all their territory."

Thirty thousand Panamanians rebelled in the streets of Panama City. The uprising spread to the city of Colon on the Atlantic side of the canal and then to the rest of the country. Over \$2 million in U.S.-owned property was burned or destroyed. In putting down the rebellion, U.S. troops killed at least twenty-two Panamanians and wounded several hundred more. There was so much outrage among the Panamanian people that even the U.S.-dominated government of Panama was forced to temporarily break relations with Washington. Worried about the situation in Panama and the possibility of the upheaval spilling to other places under their domination, the U.S. imperialists agreed to allow the Panamanian flag to be flown at the Balboa high school and to negotiate a new canal treaty.

These negotiations led to the 1977 treaty signed by the Carter administration. These treaties call for a number of steps leading to the canal being turned over to the Panamanian government in the year 2000. But until then, the U.S. has the "right" to manage and operate the canal and to keep its key military bases and training areas in Panama. The treaty forbids any U.S. interference in Panama's domestic affairs. But in an amendment to the treaty, the U.S. gave itself the "right" to intervene militarily in Panama "if the Canal is closed, or its operations interfered with. . . ." In other words, the U.S. could cook up any "threat" to the canal to use its troops in Panama. And that is exactly what George Bush did in sending 12,000 troops to Panama.

George Bush's invasion is the latest and one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of U.S. crimes against the Panamanian people. This is a heritage that we renounce. □



# CROWNS ARE ROLLING... BUT WHO WILL PICK THEM UP?

Crowns are rolling in Eastern Europe. From East Berlin to Bucharest, bankrupt and reactionary regimes are falling. But revolutionary communists know that this crisis in the Soviet empire is not a crisis of socialism and revolutionary Marxism—it is a crisis of state capitalism and revisionism. In reality it is part of a global crisis of imperialism that could grow to consume many other regimes—far from Eastern Europe—and bring more possibilities for truly revolutionary change. Crowns are rolling. But the question for the proletariat is: who will pick them up?

In the West the upheaval in Eastern Europe is called the “collapse of communism,” and government and media figures brag over the so-called “triumph of capitalism and democracy.” But our people, the proletarians and oppressed people, know what it is like to live under this system. This is the system which brought the Black people to America in chains, the system which put a price on Indian scalps, the system which stole one-third of the land of Mexico. We know that poverty. . .homelessness. . .murderous woman-hating. . .racism. . .political repression. . .police crackdowns. . .barricades in immigrant neighborhoods. . .INS concentration camps. . .people dying of AIDS. . .and all kinds of pollution are what this “free market” system is all about. And this is just what the rulers have in store for the people in the East. Just look at what is happening in Poland—where Western capital is coming in with *promises* of unemployment and poverty!

In the East, the upheaval is called a step toward “revitalizing socialism.” But Mao Tsetung called out the capitalists who took over the Soviet Union thirty years ago! Revolutionary communism—Marxism-Leninism-Maoism—stands for the abolition of class society, for the abolition of all exploitation and oppression. And it has been a criminal confusion in the world that people who call themselves “communists” have been practicing oppression and exploitation. But now that these “social-imperialists” are finally dropping the name of communism, the people of the world need to stop being confused!

Some people think Gorbachev is a prince of peace. But he is just a pig with a plan. Gorbachev is trying to deal with a deep economic and political crisis in the Soviet Union and the whole bloc of countries in Eastern Europe—in order to be in a stronger position to compete with the imperialist powers of the West. As part of trying to carry out his program, he is taking the “social” out of “social-imperialist.” He wants an alliance with the countries of Eastern Europe like the alliance the U.S. has with the big exploiter powers of Western Europe and Japan. Only a fool or a pig would say there is anything revolutionary or “revitalizing” about that! The local

ruling powers in Eastern Europe also have their own agendas—to try and improve their dog-eat-dog standing in the world market. As some fall, others are trying to capitalize on the discontent among the people. But events could get out of the control of all these oppressors, West and East.

What do the earthshaking events mean for the proletarians and oppressed people of the world? It is right to rebel against reaction. Millions of people in Eastern Europe have been drawn into political action against ugly bourgeois and imperialist regimes. But the people of Eastern Europe think they are rebelling against socialism. They do not have a Maoist tradition and a revolutionary proletarian frame of reference. Many think that Western-style democracy plus social welfare economics will solve their problems. Many search in the past for national symbols to express their hopes for the future. But as Chairman Bob Avakian has pointed out, “The problem is how to transform a rebellious but bourgeois-democratic negation of revisionism into a revolutionary negation of capitalism and the bourgeoisie in *all* their forms, disguised and open.” We have to say straight-up to the proletarians of the East: Sisters and brothers, your new-found “pluralistic enfranchisement”—this voting thing—is just another form of enslavement and control. The people need a radically different future—a radical rupture with all the property relations and all the ideas of the bourgeoisie. The people need proletarian internationalism not backward-looking, mean-spirited, bourgeois nationalism. Sisters and brothers: the proletarians have a Revolutionary Internationalist Movement—there’s room for you too!

Around the world—from the mountains of Peru to Palestine to South Africa, the revolutionary struggle of oppressed people is sharpening up. The U.S. government is stepping up its interventions against the people of Central and South America. According to U.S. imperialist logic, the United States is “supporting democracy” by going into the countries in its “backyard,” and the Soviet Union is “supporting democracy” by pulling out of its “backyard”! Isn’t it time this whole rotten, outmoded order was swept away? Isn’t it time for real revolutionary communism to have its day?

It’s 1990, the beginning of a new decade, and the words of the *Communist Manifesto* ring out and they ring true:

**“THE PROLETARIANS HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS. THEY HAVE A WORLD TO WIN.”**

May even more crowns—East and West—fall to the streets in the ‘90s. And may the revolutionary proletariat be prepared to seize the hour and take the power!



If these two men are “supporting democracy” all over the world, the real question is. . .

## DEMOCRACY: CAN'T WE DO BETTER THAN THAT?

A book for these times by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP.

“With marxist analysis Avakian takes apart the saints of liberal democratic theory: he guts Stuart Mill and shreds John Locke. To these ingredients he adds a dash of maoist seasoning—a *picante* dish!”

Ross Gandy  
author of *Marx and History*

“Avakian has written a closely argued and highly original work that explodes the root assumptions of democratic theory. He combines an impressive mastery of material with an unflinching and provocative radicalism. This is a sustained philosophical and historical reflection that never shrinks from drawing political conclusions. *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?* should take its place among the landmark Marxist treatments of the subject.”

Raymond Lotta  
author of *America in Decline*

“In political discussion, ‘democracy’ is normally treated as a simple, unquestioned, timeless good against which all forms of political life can be objectively tested. Avakian attempts to go to the root of democratic theory and practice by a detailed examination of its sources and history, and, as a result, to show whose class interests are served by democratic institutions that only *appear* to serve everyone’s interests. Avakian presents incisive critiques of the standard arguments for democracy in such classics as de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* and Arendt’s *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. In addition, the author engages radical and socialist reinterpretations of democracy which he finds still tied to the prevailing bourgeois theories. Avakian argues his position on the decisive limitations of democracy in such a way that careful readers are compelled to clarify and rethink their own views. Avakian has written a serious and demanding work of political philosophy and political practice.”

Norman K. Gottwald  
editor of *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics*



\$10.95 paper  
\$29.95 cloth  
(include \$1.00 postage).

Order from:  
Banner Press  
P.O. Box 21195  
Midtown Station  
New York, NY  
10129





Romanians cheer the overthrow of Ceausescu.

# ROMANIA: RAGE TAKES OUT REVISIONIST DOG

In the last weeks of December, thousands of Romanians rose up un-armed into the face of machine guns. The hated ruling regime broke under the pressure. A military coup led to a brief civil war. Despite heroic fighting, the proletariat was *unprepared* to seize the opportunity. It did not have the political and ideological line, the organization, or military preparedness to take the lead and establish its own state power in place of Ceausescu. So the proletariat was left as cannon fodder for other class forces.

When the shooting quieted down, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu had been executed and a new government declared itself in power.

U.S. propaganda tries to claim this is the latest triumph of Western-style democracy over "hard-line Stalinist" socialism. But no lie could be more upside-down: Romania was not socialist; it had been capitalist for over thirty years. Ceausescu was not a Stalinist but an anti-Stalinist and revisionist.

And, what the U.S. has tried to hide most: Ceausescu was in many ways *their* creature. Of all the revisionist rulers of the world, he was one of those most closely tied to the West. In many, many ways, the revolt in Romania was triggered by brutal conditions forced on the country by American and other Western banks.

\*\*\*\*\*

On December 15, in the northwestern Romanian city of Timisoara, government agents came to arrest a man known as the agitator for the rights of the Hungarian-speaking minority. His supporters were dispersed, but the next day protests grew and raised many different anti-government demands—including especially protests against police terror and harsh living conditions.

Protesters expected Romania's ruler, Nicolae Ceausescu, to respond with brutality. Months before, he supported the vicious Tiananmen massacre in China—it had been a warning to his own people. Troops and tanks moved in and opened fire on a crowd of thousands with machine guns. No one knows how many were killed, but reports say many hundreds, including many children, were buried in mass graves. The massacre failed to restore order. Demonstrations continued, and new massacres took place.

A wave of anger and courageous

defiance swept over western Romania and spread quickly throughout the country. On Dec. 20 tens of thousands filled the streets of Timisoara chanting "Give us our dead!" Similar events rocked at least eight other cities. Crowds of thousands marched right up into the faces of armed troops who had orders to murder.

The next day, on December 21, massive protests broke out in the capital as well. Ceausescu tried to organize a public rally. He intended to televise it to the country as a show of strength. But as he tried to speak, he was shouted down, and all Romania could see that his rule was crumbling.

On December 22 his own army turned against Ceausescu in a coup and installed a new provisional government. Bitter fighting continued for a few days after the coup. When it was over, Nicolae Ceausescu's forces had been defeated; he

and his wife Elena Ceausescu had been executed.

The country seemed to have shaken off this regime in a violent shudder.

## Ceausescu Was a Pro-Western Monarcho-Revisionist

The official U.S. media gave massive attention to these events. Hours of interviews, film footage, and so-called "analysis" have run over TV in the last weeks. But that coverage was to bury the truth and make it almost impossible for most viewers to guess the real meaning of events.

The basic U.S. propaganda lie runs as follows: "*Romania was the last Stalinist stronghold, a dictatorship cut off from the rest of the world and run by a hard-line communist. The fall of Ceausescu climaxes the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe. Freedom has triumphed. This*

*opens the way for Romania to rejoin the rest of the world. The main danger now is continued disorder in the country.*"

Every word is a lie.

First off, there was nothing socialist about Ceausescu's Romania: Romania has been a capitalist country for well over thirty years and remains one today. Socialism was destroyed throughout Eastern Europe in 1956, when the counterrevolutionary clique headed by Nikita Krushchev came to power in the Soviet Union and restored capitalism.

Ceausescu claimed Romania was a "Socialist Republic." Yet he set up a system wrapped in the trappings of traditional Romanian monarchy. He set up a corrupt family dictatorship. He packed dozens of top offices with his relatives and groomed his son like a crown prince to succeed him. He continued many other ugly traditions of Romanian reac-

Continued on page 14



Residents of Bucharest face Securitate sniper fire.





## To Our Proletarian Brothers and Sisters:

**O**ur enemy, the U.S. government and the red, white and blue system of murder and oppression that it fronts for, are a bunch of lying dogs. They are telling us a straight-up, cold-blooded lie when they say they are sending military agents to Peru to stop the drug flow.

**T**he real deal is that the flow they want to stop, the flow they fear, is the flow of Maoist revolution and people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru—often called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press. Today this flow is spreading all throughout Peru. We can't let the powers get away with trying to stop this flow.

**I**t's no ordinary revolution that's in effect in Peru today. It ain't no half-stepping revolution. That revolution is led by our class, the proletariat, and we don't half-step. We go all the way with revolution. Our oppressor tells us that some things can never change: Things like Amerika oppressing other countries, the haves living as parasites off of the have-nots, the oppressor ruling over the oppressed, the rich sucking the lifeblood of the poor, men dominating women. But all this is being knocked to the ground and overthrown in Peru. Power is being violently taken out of the hands of the oppressor and put into the hands of the oppressed—the workers and peasants. And it's only through people's war, a war of the masses, a righteous revolutionary war, that such a revolutionary change can come about—and is coming about.

**T**hat's our class turning the world upside down from deep down in the Andean mountains of Peru. That's our struggle. It belongs to us. It belongs to the proletariat and the oppressed of the world. It's what we, the oppressed and slaves, have dreamed about for centuries. For us this is the most important and precious revolutionary struggle in the world today. The struggle to end ALL oppression.

**W**e call upon our proletarian sisters and brothers to go all out and bust our heart if need be in support of our sisters and brothers, in support of our revolution in Peru.

**C**heck it out: In the ghettos and barrios of the U.S. the "War on





Drugs is the code word for mass roundups, lockups and lockdowns. It is used to justify police murder of Black and Latino youth. In this case, "War on Drugs" is the code word for war on the oppressed. In the case of Peru, it is the code word for war on revolution.

**O**ur oppressor, the U.S. government and imperialist system, must be exposed and opposed on their desperate but murderous move against the revolution in Peru and called out for the dogs they are everywhere.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

**Support  
the People's  
War in Peru!**

**Down with U.S.  
Intervention in Peru!**



# ABC Center Takeover Celebrates "Grand Opening"

December 10 a Manhattan, Lower East Side abandoned school, renamed the ABC Community Center, was seized and has since been held by homeless and others. (See RW No. 536.) On Christmas Eve the daring occupation of the ABC Community Center took another in-your-face step. The ABC Occupational Force, the name of those inside the center, announced the Grand Opening of ABC for Christmas Eve. Police officials had threatened that no one would still be inside ABC by Christmas. But come December 24 the barricaded front door of ABC was opened up. And in went people—more homeless people and activists—right under the ever-present eyes of the police.

The taking of ABC has defied the ruler's plans to drive the homeless out of sight. The taking of ABC has witnessed homeless people taking things into their own hands to deal with the problem of housing that this system cannot solve. And this is a stinging indictment of the system. The homeless have taken a stand and drawn forward allies. And it is freaking out the rulers who look down on 4th Street only to see those they've pushed to the bottom of society exerting a different authority.

## IN-YOUR-FACE GRAND OPENING

Christmas Eve. 7 p.m. The front door of ABC is opened up. Not only is ABC still occupied—the occupiers are throwing a party! The walls of one large room have been transformed by artists into giant artworks. Bold, colorful images jump out from the solid black walls: A hammer-wielding woman in combat boots, blue jeans and a red tank top, asking "Is dis da party?" A giant red figure throwing aside blue police barricades. Pink human and animal figures dance on the walls like cave paintings. Painted

slogans declare: "Fuck the Police," "To Hell With Rambo," "No Police State!" The word "Squat" appears in green with the tail of the "q" sinking plant roots going down the wall and green shoots growing up. "Fight the Power!" is signed by the Revolutionary Homeless Organization (R.H.O.). Music blares from a cassette player and people dance in celebration and to ward off the cold. People who haven't seen each other since the two-week-old occupation began greet each other with hugs.

People yell out the windows and taunt the police. Others gather to talk, sharing how they see things. One of the artists, a squatter who worked on the walls, reported, "When we opened our squat last year, we did it the slow, easy way, without too much publicity. But this place was always high-profile, so we support it. You know, it's time to not be discreet anymore because the homeless situation isn't discreet. People dying in the cold isn't discreet." A homeless man from Tompkins Square Park said of the significance of the ABC takeover: "My hope is that this will help all of us who are without homes get back more of our dignity, that it will help us get homes. Actions speak louder than words, and these days our actions are definitely speaking quite loudly. It gets notice." A woman, an activist from the neighborhood, felt that "ABC is a way of taking a stand, it's a way of showing resistance against this really fucked-up, cruel society and culture that we live in. . . . It's not that often that you get the opportunity to do something really good, right there in front of you, and this is one of them." A young woman from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade said, "After being here, after going through all this, I am not about to give up this building. We're not losing this place. I feel like I'm a changed person, that I've

learned so much about everything, from what's the best way to use a drill to what's the best way to go about making unity with people through discussion and struggle without yelling. . . ."

As more people arrive the police put up barricades and station themselves in front of the center. The people close up the front door—but at one point it is quickly opened up as another dozen or so people rush to get in past the police. As the cops try to push their way in too, shouts ring out, "No police!" The door is quickly shut and the cops are forced to stay out. The police don't dare storm it—the takeover of ABC has pushed the hard, cruel reality of homelessness right into the public eye. It's the holidays, and the authorities are over a barrel. Can they risk the exposure of arresting a homeless Christmas party? No. But they still try and act like they are calling all the shots. A rumor gets around that the pigs will "allow" anyone who leaves the party by 8 p.m. to go unharassed. A young woman from ABC answers that with a firm, "NO DEALS. . . . There are going to be no deals with the police!"

And now the police have two parties on their hands—one inside the center and one outside as a crowd gathers and a huge bonfire is lit in the street. Despite the police barricades, threats and constant patrol of the perimeter of the building, a band, their equipment, and a new stream of people manage to get inside. Meanwhile people inside and outside the center keep an eye on the police, communicating with each other with walkie-talkies.

10:00 p.m. Someone brings a big Christmas tree to ABC but the police don't want to let it in. Still the tree gets hoisted into the Center. Deputy Inspector Julian urges the crowd on the street to go home, declaring that there wasn't going to be any party or any music. Just

as he's saying this, the "industrial noise" of the Missing Foundation band comes pounding out of ABC and a band member yells out the window, "No police state!"

\*\*\*\*\*

As we go to press, the occupation of ABC continues. The homeless and supporters have taken a bold stand at ABC and in doing so they have drawn forward important allies to their cause. On December 18 theater producer Joseph Papp brought actors Tracey Ullman, Kevin Kline, Lee Grant, and Colleen Dewhurst to ABC in a show of solidarity. Singer Michelle Shocked sent a message of support to ABC. Over WBAI radio public service announcements have been made, announcing the ABC Soup Kitchen in Exile that's been set up in an encampment across the street from ABC. From a proletarian tenement building on 3rd St. people have hung a banner that says, "This Building Supports ABC."

In a message to the homeless, the RCP in New York wrote: "Dinkins/Koch/and the NYPD have had a strategy for the ABC occupation. Their system would like the homeless to be invisible—herded off into concentration camp type shelters. So too, they have tried to make ABC invisible, suppressing information and hoping to ignore and starve the ABC Occupation Force out. And with constant police presence and cutting holes in the roof of the school they threaten reactionary violence! But they are profoundly wrong. This action has brought forward the courageous actions of hundreds and soon thousands more to stand with the homeless. Our people, who have felt the system's boot for hundreds of years, have strong backs. When we stand up in our class's interest we will not bend." □



Photo: Q

Early Thursday, December 14—As Parks Department and police come to clear Tompkins Square Park, homeless burn their own tents in defiance.





Photo: Matt Stohower

10 p.m. Christmas Eve inside the ABC Center while the band Missing Foundation plays. Person with bullhorn is an ABC occupier.

The four-story abandoned school looks like a lot of unused buildings, with its windows all filled in with cinderblocks. But on Manhattan's East 4th Street, from the school's top floor hangs a banner: "Fight the Power." It is signed by the Revolutionary Homeless Organization, R.H.O. An anarchist symbol hangs from a banner on another floor. And across the street an encampment of tents, shacks, and the "ABC Soup Kitchen in Exile" has sprung up. Clergymen have come here to deliver food and been arrested. Father Kuhn, a Catholic priest who's been arrested three times for delivering food to ABC, led a congregation of largely Spanish-speaking masses to ABC with bags of food. Actors from TV, film and theater have come to ABC to make known their sympathy and support for the homeless. A gospel choir arrived to sing carols on Christmas Eve. Food, clothing, and money is being donated by proletarians and people from the middle class. Statements from the ABC Occupational Force have called on homeless throughout the city to join the struggle. The story of ABC is beginning to make it into the press—occupiers of ABC talk to reporters over a walkie-talkie and for the first a TV news crew recently went inside ABC and broadcast on the nightly news interviews with occupiers of ABC.

Who has taken over ABC and why? Margot Harry recently interviewed homeless and others in the thick of the struggle for ABC. And here are excerpts from these interviews:

## Some Cold Truth from the ABC Occupation

By Margot Harry

**RW:** One of the groups involved in this struggle is the Revolutionary Homeless Organization (R.H.O.). Could you talk some about this group and how it looks at the ABC occupation?

**"T":** Our main cause right now, and our main objective right now, is to get the homeless people to rise up out of the streets, to rise against the government and to take what is legally theirs. If the system cannot give it to them, there's only one way for them to accomplish it, and they got to fight for it like we are fighting. We are not just fighting the system. We are fighting for freedom throughout the world that all homeless, whether it's in America, in Europe, wherever they are. We are trying to show them an example from what we accomplish to rise up against the imperialist government and take control of their lives. R.H.O. was founded to help the homeless people. And our first objective in R.H.O. is revolution is the solution. Second, we cannot depend on the system. We got to depend on the mass of people outside the system. And the brothers and sisters that are homeless in the world, we would like for them to know, to do the same thing that we are doing right now. We got to fight. We got to unite.

**"Red Flag":** I am also from the R.H.O. and I'm an organizer of the homeless revolutionaries. We're trying to give strength to those that need strength. Politicians always take over a building. They warehouse buildings and stuff like that. And they don't give people a chance to live together. They're always trying to push you into the shelter system. And we're trying to find a way where we can liberate ourselves from that oppression because shelters, they're basically no good. They're drug-infested. They have many diseases. And you cannot have no type of control over your life. And we are trying to break away from that. We're trying to show the homeless that there are other ways of dealing with the system. And taking over a building gives you self-empowerment, self-esteem. And most of the shelters take away that.

**Kurt:** My name is Kurt and I'm a member of the Anarchist Direct Action Network, one of the organizations that is supporting this particular occupation. One of the things that I want to stress is that both those inside and those in the encampment outside are fighting

for the same thing. It's one struggle on two fronts. The encampment of supporters has been growing day by day. There are about a dozen structures now and more and more are being built every day. We've had people from Canada building structures. We've had people from all over the city who have come by to lend their support in terms of providing food, clothing, and other materials.

It shows that people can take direct action to affect the situations which they are faced with such as homelessness. Instead of asking politicians for reforms, we're taking direct action and seizing what we need.

**Anarchist youth:** I'd like to say something about the R.H.O. and what it means and what it has a lot to do

Continued on page 12



Photo: Q

Father Kuhn catching a basket to send another load of supplies to ABC occupiers.



## On the Lozano Verdict and Fighting the Power

Last January Miami cop William Lozano murdered two Black men in cold blood. On December 7, 1989 Lozano was convicted of two counts of manslaughter. The rebellious Black masses and especially the youth had set the tone for Lozano's trial, and the guilty verdict was truly a people's victory forced out of the enemy. Lozano was immediately released on bail. He will be sentenced on January 24 and people will be watching closely on this day to see if the powers-that-be can weaken the people's victory by keeping Lozano on the streets or giving him a light sentence.

In the days after the guilty verdict came down the RW talked with people in Liberty City and Overtown. The following excerpts are from these interviews.

### "LOZANO WAS GUILTY FROM THE BEGINNING"

A Spanish youth who was active in the battle against the police murder:

There is unity between Black and Spanish, they all be together here, in this neighborhood. The police don't agree with it, they try to separate, they try to keep us from crossing into the all-Black neighborhood. They don't want us to get involved together. If it gets altogether with Overtown and Allapattah, then they got more heat for their ass. They'd be really fucked up then. If we have Overtown and Liberty City and Allapattah in between, then they are through.

I got involved in this battle because Lozano was guilty from the beginning, he was a murderer, got away with manslaughter. He got off easy with the verdict. They harass us when they see even three on a corner. No such thing as hanging out, they act like three people are a gang. They tell Black youth you belong in Liberty City or Overtown and we belong here (in Allapattah). But we do hang together at school and in the community, no matter what they try to do. Look at how the Cubans come here and are welcomed but the Haitians come and are forced back, drowned, or jailed. We need more unity, we are all poor people, and if the revolution is for all poor people, I am down.

### "WE CAN'T LET IT QUIET DOWN"

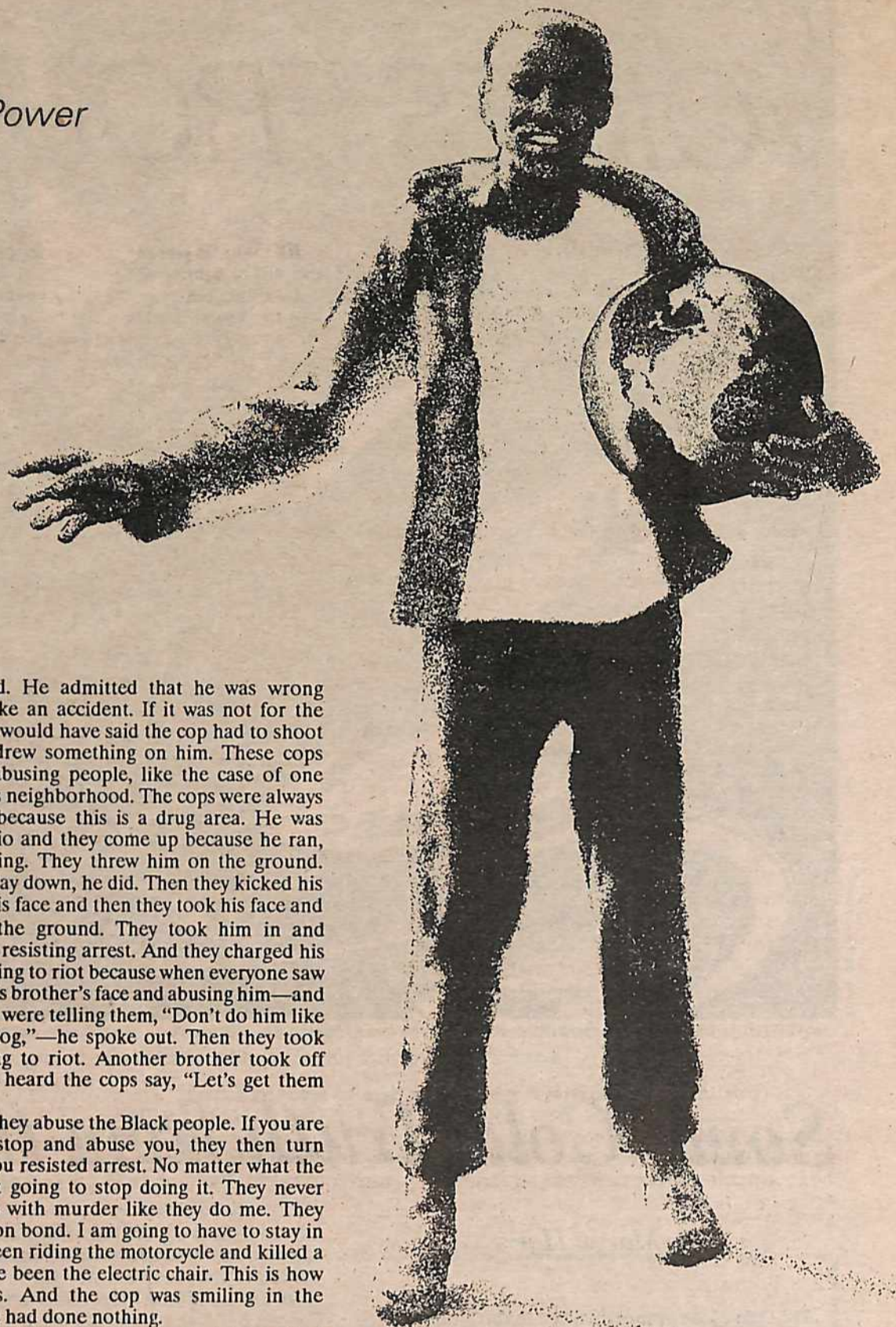
A 30-year-old Black woman from Overtown:

Another incident that just happened was yesterday in Fort Lauderdale where a cop shot a Black man in the

back of the head. He admitted that he was wrong making it look like an accident. If it was not for the Lozano trial they would have said the cop had to shoot him because he drew something on him. These cops here have been abusing people, like the case of one 13-year-old in this neighborhood. The cops were always aggravating him because this is a drug area. He was listening to a radio and they come up because he ran, seeing them coming. They threw him on the ground. They told him to lay down, he did. Then they kicked his arms away from his face and then they took his face and scratched it on the ground. They took him in and charged him with resisting arrest. And they charged his brother with inciting to riot because when everyone saw them scrubbing his brother's face and abusing him—and about fifty people were telling them, "Don't do him like that, he's not a dog,"—he spoke out. Then they took him in on inciting to riot. Another brother took off running when he heard the cops say, "Let's get them niggers."

What they do, they abuse the Black people. If you are riding and they stop and abuse you, they then turn around and say you resisted arrest. No matter what the verdict, they ain't going to stop doing it. They never charge the police with murder like they do me. They wouldn't put me on bond. I am going to have to stay in jail. If they had been riding the motorcycle and killed a cop, it would have been the electric chair. This is how the system works. And the cop was smiling in the courtroom like he had done nothing.

On my job there were a few Cubans who told me that they hope the bastard (Lozano) gets just what he de-



## Some Cold Truth from the ABC Occupation

Continued from page 11

with—and it's squatting. Because the revolution for homelessness is taking back the buildings that have been taken away from the people. And as far as I'm concerned, the revolution in that is squatting. That's all I have to say. Taking back the land from the land grabbers.

**RW:** I think people who really hate this society are very inspired by the ABC takeover. This action has shown in a very powerful way what an indictment it is of this system that there's people who have no place to live and that this system cannot meet the needs of the people.

**Anarchist youth:** I feel that it's good that we're doing this even if we don't get the building because of the fact of all this media. . . . It's a worldwide problem. They got the problem in Czechoslovakia. They got the problem everywhere. They got it in Mexico. But the takeover is good to do because maybe it will show these other countries that are protesting and getting all these new prime ministers and stuff, like Poland and Lech Walesa, it will show them that American democracy isn't really what they're fighting for. I just felt like saying that because maybe it will show people that whatever is coming through on their television set on the Pepsi commercials isn't exactly true.

**RW:** It's kind of like you really "stuck it to the Man?"

**"T":** That's the only way we could get our message over. It's like a boxer in a ring. You cannot stay on the outside of the ring and win a fight. You got to get inside

the ring. Staying on the outside you will not accomplish nothing. To get inside and have a battle, that's when you stand your ground. So, you know, if we do not take this step, who will take it for us? Who will uplift us if every time we turn around the government says, "Oh, yeah, we have shelters, we have death camps." This is not Hitler time. This is a new generation. And this generation, just like we have new technology, we got to advance. And we got to advance fast. If not, we stand nowhere.

**"Red Flag":** They're warehousing all these buildings. People are homeless. People are dying. People's tents are getting pushed down. People have to wake up and smell that coffee. People gotta know what's basically going on, the way the system oppresses us and the way it shows us—oh, this is the way—but that's not the only way. And we are part of ABC. We're showing hope to the hopeless. We're showing that the system is basically all messed up but we cannot let them stomp us and let us be crushed.

**RW:** The taking of this center and the battle in Tompkins Square Park has helped to deprive the rulers of one of their main weapons: their ability to drive the homeless out of sight and make it a non-question.

**"T":** The system is trying to put the homeless in a crunch. Like, for instance, when you go to a shelter you are completely valued nothing. Your pride, your last little bit of pride that you have, has really been stomped on when you go to a shelter. . . . How much does the system really want to take away from you? Being homeless is like a disgrace to society. Because most people look at homeless people like nothing in a hole. Most people look at homeless like drug addicts. They're no good. They're thieves. They're bums. We want to bring people off the streets, get them off the drugs, get your life back together. There's a place in this society for you. ABC Community Center will try to have all these facilities to help.

**A young woman:** One of the people he's speaking about happens to be me because I used to be homeless and I used to be on drugs. And right now I'm not home-

less and I'm not on drugs anymore, so I know what he's saying. As far as living in the shelters, I tried that and I didn't like it and I couldn't go for it. I had to eat and sleep when they say. I couldn't sleep when I wanted to. And I couldn't do anything else I wanted to either. I'd rather be homeless than live in a shelter.

**RW:** What does the ABC center mean to you?

**Young woman:** It means a place to me to have a new home and have a lifestyle that I want to control and not have controlled for me. And so far that's what it's been doing and I'm all for it and I'm going with it because it's something that I like to do for myself as well as everyone else.

**"Red Flag":** I am also homeless and I'd rather sleep in the park than sleep in the shelters. Seems like when you go in there they treat you like you're going to jail anyway. They have all these metal detectors. They're looking for knives and all this. And then you go in—they got these hotels on the Bowery that all kinds of people go in there. I think you have to sleep with one eye closed and one eye open. They shoot dope in there. They smoke crack in there also. I think it's like a small donation too that the rich give to the poor to say, "Oh, we have enough money and they complain about they have no homes. Let's give them a little home on the Bowery and this will take care of the problem." But there are so many homeless people that they cannot even deal with the homeless issue because it's masses of people. They don't even have the solution. . . .

**RW:** This struggle shows how the people who are pushed to the bottom of society can actually run it.

**"T":** That's the main thing that we want to show. We want to show that we could rise ourselves. We could lift ourselves if given the right chance. If given the right opportunity to do it, we could do it. The system is standing in the way.

**Anarchist youth:** Could I say something? I'm not really here to say I want to run something. I don't want to control anything. I want to control myself. I want to be



# VOICES FROM MIAMI

serves. And there was an incident on the job where a white supervisor said she supports Lozano, then a Cuban woman stepped in to strongly protest this. The people should demand, "No bail, straight to jail," in the next month. We can't let it quiet down. If we don't let it quiet down then it won't quiet down. They did have to back down at least for now. We need to get change and also get rid of the whole system because it's corrupt. And we now need to go ahead and fight to see that Lozano goes to prison. Convicted ain't shit unless you are behind bars. He might be convicted but what is it, he's in his house.

## "JUSTICE FOR THEM IS NONE FOR US"

*A 42-year-old Black man who was active in the '60s and lives in Overtown:*

After a week of bickering between the Black and Spanish pigs, the pigs now are reunited. Now we got to get reunited. If we ain't united they're gonna kill up everything they see. Anything that moves that's Black, look out. Better get yourself together. Once they come back, that's it. And where they gonna start at? Overtown, Liberty City. Look out. To deal with this, you got to go all the way. I was watching the news the other day and they were giving Lozano two half sacks of money for his appeal. And that was a police organization. For them, killing a Black is like killing a bird. The police are supposed to have all the justice. We supposed to have none. Justice for them is none for us. It's been that way ever since we've been brought over. A pig is a pig all the way through his blood. All my life I've believed in the revolution. I thought it was gonna come sooner. We have different color skin but we are all one.

Every policeman has to hide behind a damn badge. He can kill you. He can kill me. And he don't have to go anywhere. But you let me kill one of them and my ass is on death row. In terms of the verdict, it would have been first-degree murder, not manslaughter. The man had no weapon, here comes the motorcycle and the police can't get out of the way of a motorcycle. But the pigs feel like this is the way we're gonna kill all "niggers." And if they start some shit, we got something for them.

**RW:** Why was this a victory for the people?

The first time around not enough strength. The second time around not quite. And now this time there was enough strength. I was happy to see this verdict because it's about time we got a little justice. We've got to fight to see him go to jail. He should have been in jail from the day that he did it to the day he gets sentenced.

**RW:** Why do you say you have more hope now than in the '60s of fighting the powers?

I see the '60s as an opening for the '80s. Back in the '60s the brothers were together, but these days they're more together than back then. The '60s did open it up for the younger generation to come along now. So the young generation these days don't give a damn now. And I'm right down with them. They don't give a damn, I don't give a damn. I never did give a damn. These days when the kids bump their bones they're smart. It's like they born with education in 'em. I'll give it to 1992 or 1993. All their lives Blacks and poor whites have been pushed around. And it's about time now that everything should be leveled. You ain't up above me and I ain't up above you. If I live long enough, it's gonna come and it's here. You got to tell the people what it's all about. You got to go after them. We got to take them by surprise. They know we're coming but they don't know the day we're coming. The only thing we got to say is, "Let's go y'all. Let's go, it's our time. Keep pushing, don't slow down, we've got to speed up."

## "PEOPLE WILL LISTEN TO THE YOUTH"

*A 13-year-old Black male youth, member of the RCYB:*  
**RW:** Why are you involved in preparing for revolution?

I think that Black people should have rights like white people and I feel proud of myself that I could keep doing what I'm doing to make the revolution come, that Blacks and whites could have unity and work together—that there won't be no more killing. Like two days ago in Fort Lauderdale, a white officer killed a Black man for no reason. He said it was an accident. He put the gun straight to his head. But I know it wasn't no accident. I say he did it on purpose because he like put it straight to his head, no questions asked about it. I think he just went to him and shot him. Just like the Lozano trial. That's what I think. That's what I say.

**RW:** Around the Lozano verdict, how were youth drawn into this struggle through what you and others in the RCYB did and how did you show a way out of all this?

I think that the youth with the spray painting and all that is not just for the fun of it but for good reason to show that the revolution is the hope of the hopeless for Black people and many other people. I think that other Black youth should understand why we're doing the revolution. Ain't no joke or nothing but to help other Black people, to help all of us, to come together. I say

the youth should be proud of themselves too for what they're accomplishing. That the word spread and hopefully it get over the news. I feel that I helped spread the word to other youth so they could spread it all over, to other schools and to the news so that the whole world can know. We spread the message that revolution is the hope of the hopeless. This shows that youth can do something and be adults too. I think the way we're gonna come to the day of revolution is gonna be from the youth. People will listen to the youth. I say it's more youth than adults. I think it encourages the adults to do what the youth is doing. I say the Party and the RCYB is helping all of us. And youth do catch on a lot quicker. I think the teachers felt that maybe they should listen to these kids or something like that. One teacher did say that when police kill Blacks for no reason they should be locked up. This school security guard felt proud of a Black youth explaining this to him and spreading it all over. He felt good about it. He felt that all Black youth should come together and go everywhere to talk to people about the revolution.

There won't be no justice for nobody without the revolution. When I was younger there wasn't no revolution, just a lot of Black people getting killed. We can't have no justice, that's the way I came up. No money, we be getting low wages, my daddy had to go to the pawn shop to sell his jewelry. I never thought it was gonna get better, I thought it was just gonna be the same. Never have no revolution, no hope before I met you. I was a regular Black person, just did everything regular. No way out. We always living in the ghetto, no nothing. The only thing I thought was to kill all white people. That's the only way I thought. That's what I thought from watching TV, seeing movies. Just fight back. I didn't think no white person would come together with no Black person. When I used to go to school, the white dudes would jump us. All we could do was run. We had no hope, no nothing. If we could have gone back we would have tried to kill 'em.

**RW:** At this point, do you think there are others, besides Blacks, that can be united with?

All Puerto Ricans and poor whites and poor Cubans. I know when I see a prejudiced white. I can just feel it. The way they look at you and everything. I think it would be better if we could unite with some whites. Poor whites, Jamaicans, Haitians, and all over the world.

**RW:** What would it look like after the revolution?

It would be a colorful world. It would be good to just go into a white area and not get beat up. It would be like having more white friends and Puerto Ricans too and all like that. We should control the government, the economy, the schools, the media. □

able to take responsibility to say, "Hey, look at this abandoned building." I'm going to open it up. I'm going to say, "Oh, there's a problem with the roof." I'm going to go out and get the plywood. I'm gonna get a hammer. I'm gonna get nails and I'll fix it up and that's controlling, in my opinion. I don't want to run society. I don't want to run things. I just want to be able to have my own responsibility for my ownself because that's what I think people should do.

**RW:** What about the question of getting allies in a revolutionary struggle like this?

"T": Yes, we got to. We got to have a united front. Without a united front we might as well leave the bird sitting in the cage.

"Red Flag": I believe as you unite people, that is a weapon against the system: voices. Even though we don't have guns, we have voices. And that is a tool that we have. We have our minds to think for ourselves. And as we come together, that is a tool against the system. We're taking a stand: We're not going to take this bullshit. We're not taking this crap that this system imposes on us. The system blinds people into believing that we have to depend on our "leaders." We have to depend on Bush, we have to depend on Dinkins, we have to depend on Mayor Koch. And that is not true. We have to rely on self-esteem and our self-judgment. We cannot rely on the court system because they're all working for the system. . . .

What are they afraid of? What are they trying to stop? They're their own creators of homelessness. They create homelessness because if they don't give you the opportunity to get a job, which they say, "Oh, why don't you get a job?" You need a home to get a job. You need a home to get cleaned up. You need a home to shave. You need a home to cook. You need a home to wake up and look at yourself in the mirror. You cannot be in the park and expect to do all these things. So they are oppressors. They are not realizing that, I feel that when you try to do something for yourself, they say the only alternative is our alternative—that's the shelter system. And that's

bullshit. Because I'm an electrician and I still can't get a job. I went to school. I graduated high school. I'm still homeless. I still don't have a job. . . . I do other things. I'm a carpenter. I'm an electrician. I know plumbing. And I have my own room in here—it has a big hole in there now because they're trying to come in and wipe us out. And I feel that anytime that anybody becomes aware of the situation and comes together, you're always going to have the enemy trying to overrule you and overpower you and say, "Oh, what are those squatters doing? What are those drug addicts doing?" Everybody that is homeless is not a drug addict.

"T": The center is for people to get their life back together. There would be arts, crafts, and everything else. There are so many talented homeless people. They have very good talents. What they really need is a guideline, and ABC Community Center will be that guideline for them.

**RW:** How will it do that?

"T": We will offer them the opportunity to get their life back in perspective by having arts, dance classes, karate classes, cooking classes. I'm a chef myself.

"Red Flag": We'd also have shops for woodshop, all kinds of shops. Clothing where you could get free clothing. We'd have karate school. This school is so big that you could do so many things with it. We could have nurses. We could have doctors, health programs where we could fight AIDS and help people that are on drugs and alcohol. This center is mighty big, and it's been abandoned for ten years. . . . It's like fighting the government at the same time that you're trying to make something come new.

Our real strength is in relying on the people and not on the system. This is like a sacrifice that we are doing for the homeless to show them that where there's weaknesses there's also strength. We're not about to give up. We're about resisting.

**RW:** How has being a part of this changed you?

"Red Flag": I say I feel I have changed because politi-

cally I changed a lot. I mean I used to be against abortion. And I used to be against a lot of things that the system imposes on me. And I think I have changed a lot. I no longer do the things I used to do and that the powers-that-be make me do because this is the way that we have grown up to believe, you know? Oppression of women. A lot of things have changed. I never did drugs and stuff like that. But I used to do other things. I used to steal. I used to do other things that I didn't even realize that I was doing. As I became a political activist of the R.H.O. and the homeless, it's changed my life and it's helping me to fight other struggles.

**Young woman:** It's changed my life in here because when I was outside I just didn't care anymore. It got to the point where things didn't matter. Nothing mattered. I got my self-dignity back. Things do matter. And they don't just matter to me, they matter to other people that are out there and just don't know they can achieve their own self-righteousness and their own self-dignity that they seem to have just forgot about." □

## CORRECTION

In RW No. 536, in the article "Mass Protest at the Cardinal's Mass," on page 5, the first sentence of the first paragraph of the second column should read: A very important show of unity took place when several hundred people decided to march several miles to Tompkins Square Park in support of the Concert of Resistance organized by a number of groups and individuals known as the ABC Community Center Network.

In the article, "Tompkins Square Festival of Defiance," page 4, the second sentence of the first paragraph of the second column should read:

Last year the authorities evicted the homeless of Tent City from the lawn of City Hall; Tent City defiantly resettled in Tompkins Square Park.





Joey Johnson

# The Year of the Burning Flag



Pro-choice demonstrators after Supreme Court decision in July.

1989 was a year to usher in the new decade, and appropriately in this year, flag burning became the right thing to do for all those going up against Amerikkka. From coast to coast the bloody red, white and blue was torched, walked on, stomped on, and ripped up. This is some real progress! Bold actions delivered a defiant answer to the rulers' attempts to shove patriotism down our throats.

Flag burner Joey Johnson became a people's hero and the Supreme Court was forced to back down in their attempts to put him in jail. Artist Dread Scott Tyler helped to inspire a whole round of struggle by artists against state censorship with his art piece "What is the proper way to display a U.S. flag?" (which invited people to step on the flag in order to contribute comments). There have been anti-patriotic art/flag shows in several cities. Women protesting the Supreme Court's attack on abortion

## ROMANIA: RAGE TAKES OUT REVISIONIST DOG

Continued from page 7

tion, including close ties to the Romanian Orthodox Church. He outlawed abortion and forced women to have children or face prison.

What made Ceausescu's Romania different from other Eastern European revisionist states was that Ceausescu kept the Soviet Union at arm's distance. Ceausescu and his admirers called this "independence," but there was nothing independent about this road: Ceausescu kept one foot in each of the two imperialist blocs.

Ceausescu announced his "independence" from Moscow by making an open bid to the West: after Israel's brutal aggression against its neighbors in the Six Day War of June 1968, Ceausescu tightened his ties with America's Zionist settler-state in the Middle East.

He claimed to be keeping his country "fiercely independent" while he enslaved it to Western banks and money-lenders. He kept Romania in the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact, but he refused to let the armies of his "allies" maneuver on his soil.

There is no trace of any principles in all these foreign alignments except one: he represented the narrowest national interests of the Romanian ruling class by walking a tightrope between the two major imperialist blocs.

Now that Ceausescu has fallen, the Western media claims this is a triumph of Western values over Stalinism. Nothing could be more upside-down, hypocritical or ridiculous. There was nothing "Stalinist" about Ceausescu or his government. Ceausescu came to power in 1965 as an *anti-Stalinist*. Like other Eastern European revisionists in the mid-fifties, the Romanian regime denounced the Soviet revolutionary leader Joseph Stalin.

In power, Ceausescu mimicked the road of phony "independence" blazed by Yugoslavia's Tito who broke with Stalin twenty years earlier. For decades this

made Ceausescu the *darling* of the Western powers. They praised him as a "maverick" and a "reformer." Western kings and queens loved to swap medals and honors with him. Queen Elizabeth of England even made Sir Ceausescu a knight of the British realm!

Even more: *Ceausescu was an early pioneer of the economic policies the West now wants to impose on all of Eastern Europe.* Through the seventies and early eighties, Ceausescu tried to finance a short-cut to Western-style "development" and "modernization." He sought massive loans from Western capitalist lenders. By 1982 Romania was \$13 billion in debt to the West. Like many other countries who made similar capitalist gambles, Romania found itself utterly bankrupt. But Western bankers refused new loans.

Faced with this crisis, Ceausescu moved to erase Romania's foreign debt using extreme internal austerity. He took everything Romania could produce and sold it abroad to pay debts—food, clothing, consumer goods, anything that wasn't nailed down.

For the last six years Romanians have lived under brutal conditions of poverty *in order to pay off Western bankers!* Although Romania's agriculture is rich, food was rationed. Many children have never seen fruit. Electricity was turned off for major parts of the day. Coal and oil were sold abroad, so the masses of Romanians had to survive with virtually no heat though the last winters.

### Whose Beast Was He?

For two weeks now the U.S. media has been reporting on these awful conditions and acting as if all this was a result of some communist tyranny and the *absence* of a Western-style "free market." But the opposite is the truth! This brutal poverty and exploitation exists because Ceausescu's capitalist road led Romania fully *into* the Western-dominated world financial markets where the country was picked clean.

Ceausescu was trying to restore Romania's credit rating to *re-enter* the world financial markets with better standing. The austerity program in Romania is *precisely* the kind of program the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been forcing on countries dominated

by Western imperialism like Brazil, Peru, and Mexico.

A genuinely socialist society would not embark on an economic strategy of mortgaging its future to international lending institutions. A genuinely socialist state would not squeeze the masses and distort economic and social priorities in order to pay tribute to international capital.

Ceausescu was a creature of world imperialism, forced to brutalize and exploit his people at the command of international capital.

The special closeness of Romania with the West may even account for the particular bloodiness of the last weeks in Romania. For his own imperialist reasons, Gorbachev forced other Eastern European governments from power and even intervened, as in East Germany, to stop civil war or Tiananmen-style massacres. The Ceausescu regime, by contrast, was able to use its ties to the West to maintain some political distance from the USSR and therefore thought it could avoid being swept up in Gorbachev's reform plans. In short, two revisionist countries that had the bloodiest massacres this year, China and Romania, were also the countries where the revisionist governments had the most extensive ties to the West.

### No One Matches the U.S. in World-Class Hypocrisy

It should not be surprising that the U.S. media covered up Romania's close ties to the West. This is the same media that gave headlines to the massacre of many hundred civilians by *Romanian* troops but chose to downplay the massacre of many hundreds of *Panamanian* civilians by *U.S.* troops. *Even though the two events were going on at the same time!*

The U.S. media reported in horror that pregnant women in Romania were afraid to see doctors because physicians were required to report any suspicious miscarriages to the police. But isn't this exactly what the U.S. government is seeking to impose here?

If George Bush were honest he would get up in public and weep over the fall of this pro-market, pro-Israeli, anti-abortion freak with a long record of friendship with the U.S. But such honesty doesn't serve U.S. imperialist

interests.

### Half Revolution, Half Coup—But So Far No Fundamental Change

Unfortunately, the heroic sacrifice of the masses in Romania did not produce a genuine revolutionary regime.

When bloody repression did not end the mass protests, powerful forces within the old regime could see the writing on the wall. They turned against the Ceausescu clique. A military coup took place with the blessing and support of both the Soviet Union and the United States. The same army that loyally carried out massacres now joined with armed civilian rebels throughout the country in routing units of the militarized *Securitate* secret police.

The revolt of the military gave the masses an intoxicating sense of power and unity. The regime seemed to crumble with only scattered fighting. But the uprising quickly fell under the control of forces that would fight to prevent anyone from really uprooting the social, political, and economic roots of the old order.

With each passing day, the new government starts to look like the old regime, minus the Ceausescu family. The uprising was able to triumph so quickly because major forces within the existing Romanian ruling class joined it and claimed it for themselves. The same reactionary oppressive army that used its weapons against the people so often in the past now emerges as the backbone of the new government. The reactionary bourgeois army of the old regime has not been defeated and broken up by the armed forces of the oppressed led by a revolutionary party.

Information comes to us through the distorting filter of the Western media. Reports claim that at least ten new political parties have been formed in the last few days. But beyond that there are few reliable details available about the political and ideological views of the Romanian masses.

However, several things do seem clear: The most prominent battlecries during the uprising were "Down with Ceausescu" and "We are all Romanians." As in much of Eastern Europe, many among





Dread Scott on Capitol steps.



Seattle veterans torch flag, October 30.



Pro-choice demonstrators, New York.

burned the flag. And the homeless in Tompkins Square Park also put the flag to flames in the midst of pig attacks on their encampment. When the rulers passed a law making it illegal to burn the flag, people in many different cities openly defied the law. In Seattle Vietnam vets led the way—at the stroke of midnight on the day the law went into effect, Vietnam Veterans Against the War AI led a "Festival of Defiance" of 500 people. A thousands flags were "napalmed on behalf of the 2-1/2 million Southeast Asian people murdered in Indochina by U.S. imperialism."

October 30, four people walked up the steps of the U.S. Capitol in Washington D.C. and burned and trampled on American flags. They

said the new flag law, which had just gone into effect, was a fascist law "to shut people up and shut people down in the name of the red, white and blue." The four—Dave Blalock of Vietnam Veterans Against the War AI;

Shawn Eichman, member of Refuse & Resist! and Coalition Opposed to Censorship in the Arts; Joey Johnson; and Dread Scott—were immediately arrested. The next day the government cowardly dropped

the charges against Joey Johnson, supposedly because of "insufficient evidence." The other three were all charged under the Flag Protection Act.

November 29, after weeks of investigation, federal authorities began making arrests in Seattle for flags burned during the "Festival of Defiance." Seven people, mostly youth, have been charged under the new flag law.

As the rulers try and jail people for defying the fascist flag law, now is the time to make things even more difficult for the powers-that-be. Lines need to be drawn between: those in favor of compulsory patriotism and enforced reverence to the flag and the government on one side, and all those who oppose this on the other.

**FIGHT THE FASCIST FLAG LAW!**

Contact the Emergency Committee to Stop the Flag Amendment and Laws at: 189 Franklin Street, New York, NY 10013, (212) 941-5474.



the masses believe they were fighting against socialism and communism, and ugly old nationalisms have reared their head.

**New Regime, Business As Usual**

The new provisional government seems to be making every effort to declare the revolution "over." The first order of the new National Salvation government was decreed: "The army is the only one to possess arms, the firm arm defending the interests of the people. All those who, these days, have come into the possession of arms and ammunition, regardless of the circumstances, have to urgently deliver them..." Even while the Securitate was still launching terror assaults from their various strong points, all civilians were ordered to disarm.

Even the rapid executions of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu served the interests of those eager to restore bourgeois order. On the one hand, these executions had clear military value in the midst of civil war conditions. It deprived defenders of the old regime of their most crucial figures and contributed to the demoralization and surrender of die-hard forces. But on the other hand, the killings also meant that there would be

no public trial, no chance to point out that many of their new jailers had, until very recently, been prominent, loyal, and active members of the old regime.

Some reports describe how army troops are removing armed civilian rebels around key points and roadblocks, and how, as the exhausted insurgents who commandeered the radio and television go home to sleep, their places are taken by the same people who ran them for Ceausescu.

After the fighting died down, demonstrators gathered in the capital to protest that the new government contained too many familiar faces from the past. The demonstrators were accused of being "terrorists," the word used to describe the pro-Ceausescu fanatics of the Securitate.

The Western media are already hinting that the most likely outcome is some form of military rule.

Under Ceausescu, Romania was formally called "The Socialist Republic of Romania." Within days after he fell, the new government took the word "Socialist" out of Romania's formal name. Corneliu Bogdan, Minister of State in the Romanian Foreign Ministry, said in a press conference, "This was never a Communist country. This was a country that pretended to be Communist." The new government also took

the word "Republic" out of the name—this suggests that some forces also want to stop pretending that Romania is a republic. There are hints that the old monarchy may be restored.

Meanwhile foreign powers of all kinds are rushing in—all declaring themselves old enemies of the Ceausescu regime, and offering close ties and "aid."

**Gorbachev: An Opportunity to Tighten Up Warsaw Pact**

Gorbachev did not come to power to dissolve the Russian empire but to strengthen it through restructuring. And there are some signs that the Romanian events may lead to a small-scale victory in that plan.

The anti-Soviet sentiments that lie close to the surface in virtually all the other Eastern European mass movements are reportedly missing in Romania. And it is widely reported that figures in the new government have close and friendly ties with Gorbachev and the Soviet Union.

On December 29 Corneliu Bogdan, a foreign affairs spokesman for the new Romanian government, stressed that the new government had no intention of withdrawing from the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. And Bogdan went out of his way to credit Gorbachev personally for changes sweeping Eastern Europe, including Romania.

There is speculation that the events in Romania may intensify the crisis within the Soviet Union, since ethnic Romanians (in the Soviet Republic of Moldavia) may increase their demands for secession from the All-Soviet Federation. But, at the same time, with or without Moldavia, the Soviets plan to maneuver for closer ties with Romania itself.

**Western Program: More of the Same**

And what does the West now propose to do in Romania? Why, they promise to "help" the country...with new loans! The day after Ceausescu was overthrown the French imperialists called an emergency meeting of the European imperialists to make sure they would be the first to rush in with investment money. After the meeting these Common Market

bloodsuckers issued a statement: "So that Romania can reclaim its destiny, the European Community and its member states solemnly reaffirm their will to give it immense aid and cooperation of which the Ceausescu regime has unjustly deprived it."

Some experts have even remarked on U.S. TV that the new provisional government is in a sweet position precisely because Ceausescu so ruthlessly carried out his austerity program. In Poland, by contrast, the new Catholic/Solidarity government is in a quite different position: Western bankers demand that it prove its worthiness by carrying out an austerity policy quite similar to the program Ceausescu was carrying out for the last six years!

In other words, Ceausescu wrung the Romanian people dry to pay off the debts. The suffering of the Romanian people produced a revulsion that simply swept Ceausescu away. And now the Western imperialists can't wait to start the process all over again.

**The World Is Being Turned Upside Down**

At the same time, there is no reason to believe that Eastern Europe is about to settle down, regardless of what reactionaries of all kinds say they want. The turmoil and change in Romania is just beginning, not ending. No one can say for sure who will inherit the power. The army and the provisional government have it now—but already there are grumblings among the people.

The French imperialists are rushing in. The U.S. imperialists and the Russians, too. Powerful competing interests are sure to keep things stirred up.

Crisis suddenly brought down a hated tyrant who many thought was invincible. It revealed to millions how rapidly things can change, and how quickly power can shatter. Reactionaries of all kinds tremble when such truths become common knowledge. These events will echo throughout the world in unpredictable ways. There are many Ceausescus and many brutal austerity programs in the world—imperialism has seen to that.

**REVISIONISM IS DEAD!  
LONG LIVE  
MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISMI**





**Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**

**¡Celebremos el quinto aniversario del  
Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista!**