FEAR NOTHING.
BE DOWN FOR THE WHOLE THING.

Yankee Invaders Run Amok in Panama

Romania: Rage Takes Out Revisionist Dog

Support The People's War in Peru
Special Poster

New York: ABC Center Takeover "Grand Opening"
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 79 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. Amsterdam* and *E* 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 indicating and ridicule 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 in June as a way that the enemies of the people almost seemed to be indicting and ridiculing themselves.

De frequently referred with great respect to Mao Tse-tung, 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 "trouble" and "enemies." 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

1) 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 this system — and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only more with another 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, and those who dare to dream and act about a completely new and better world. Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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The 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 "suspected." Thousands reportedly have been arrested. U.S. tanks and armored personnel carriers roll through the streets in fatigues point their M-16s at armed 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. The 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. Tjm Kelly, the director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said: "It look us about ten days to clear Detroit when we clamp down on civil disturbances."

U.S. military officials openly compare the "mopping up" operation in Panama City with the putting down of the Detroit uprising of 1967. 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.

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

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

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. government. 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 plaintext 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 killed. 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 same logic that the bigger the lie, the bigger the clue. And the Yankee 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. forces was buried under the invasion and clampdown in Panama.
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 reports of U.S. soldiers killing Panamanian civilians 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 kind of political leader would accept being "installed"—like American plumbing—into their country by 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 oppressive 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 #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 by the blood of the people and under the gun of 22,000 U.S. troops? A lowdown bootlicker, that's what kind.

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.

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

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 Contras 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!

**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 Contras 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 the U.S. intervention, but big-power bullying against the people.

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. But this is not the case. The reality is that the U.S. is stepping up intervention in Latin America and around the 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 will gain 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!
Run Amok in Panama

"crimes" and that he may no longer be 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, possibly such a task force could be used for military intervention at any time.

- U.S. officials have made threats about Panama and the "drug war," and the "anti-drug summit" in Colombia apparently will go on as scheduled with drugs 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 fol lowing up their "success" in attacking Panama by bullying and threatening others in the region, and the Bush administration could use the invasion to launch more military intervention under the "war on drugs." 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—especially more determined political protests with broader participation to make clear that essential sections of the people opposed to the U.S. in Panama will not stand idly by. The political protests must take on an even sharper anti-imperialist edge. It is beyond doubt that the Bush administration now is using the Congress and liberal politicians it is not just playing into the hands of the enemy. The Liberal Democrats have remained silent or apalled 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 to reports of dozens of more U.S. military intervention. Panama needs to mobilize now to stop the war against the people of Panama."

The School of Coups had trained nearly 100 students from Latin America's officer corps of "anti-drug" operation in Peru and Ecuador. There was a "Flag Riots" when the Panama Canal was turned over to the Panamanian government in 1999. The protesters in Panama have been invaded since the canal, and they have the memory of the Panamanian people last year. This time a big force of police prevented a takeover, but many banners were hung on an overpass. Several youth groups "flag-burning kits" were handed out by the Seattle Committee to Support the Flagburners, and many of Latin America's officer corps of "anti-drug" operation in Peru and Ecuador.

Demonstrations Condemn U.S. Invasion

Immediately after the U.S. invaded Panama on January 20, thousands of protesters marched in cities across the U.S. In San Francisco, New York, and Seattle thousands of protesters rallied in downtown on January 20 and then took to the streets to march to the Army Recruiting Station and the White House to protest the invasion of Panama. The protesters are demanding that the U.S. stop its military intervention and that the Panamanian government be respected. The protesters are calling for a demonstration on January 23 organized by the Seattle Committee to Support the Flagburners. This is a demonstration against the invasion of Panama.
CROWNS ARE ROLLING
BUT WHO WILL PICK THEM UP?

Crows 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. Crows 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 drag 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-killing...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 Tse tung called out the capitalists who took over the Soviet Union thirty years ago! Revolutionary communism—Marxist-Leninist-Maoist—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. At some point, 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 Marxist 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 “plurality of pranks”—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 crows—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 morose seasoning—a predictably droll.

Ross Gandy
author of Marx and History

"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 appear to serve everyone's interests. Avakian presents incisive critiques of the standard arguments for democracy in such classics as 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 fall to the prionism. A valuable work..."(".

Raymond Lotta
author of America in Decline

"Avakian has written a clearly argued and highly original work that explodes the root assumptions of democratic theory. He combines an impressive mastery of material with an unfailing 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.

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10129
In the last weeks of December, thousands of Romanians rose up unarméd 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 organisation, 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 more: 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.

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 organise a public rally. He intended to teleview 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 this 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 had 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
Our 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.

The 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.

It'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.

That'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.

We 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.

Check it out: In the ghettos and barrios of the U.S. the 'War on
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.

Our 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.

Support the People’s War in Peru!

Down with U.S. Intervention in Peru!

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
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 these 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 breaking out the rulers who look down on 4th Street and are feeling the acrid bite of ABC. And in went the rulers who look down on 4th Street only to see those they've pushed to the bottom of society entering 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 attire, a giant artwork of cave paintings. Painted slogans declare: “F*ck the Police.” “In Hell With Rambo,” “No Police State!” The word “Squat” appears in green with the tail of the “q” sinking plant roots growing 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. Otherapy gather to talk, sharing how they see things. One of the arrivals, 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 situation 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 powerful and in front of you, and this is one of them.” A young woman from the Revolutionary Community 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 barriers 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 demand 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 to affect the way they are calling 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 police presence and cutting holes in the rooftop of the school they threaten to be no deals with the police!”

And the police come to clear Tompkins Square Park, homeless people have hung a banner that says, “This Building Supports ABC!” 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 to affect the way they are calling 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!”

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10:00 p.m. Someone brings a big Christmas tree to ABC but the police don’t want to let it in. The tree, put together by a local center, is 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 Mission 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 Eastie 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: “Displacing Rockland and the NYYPD have had a strategy for the ABC occupation. Their system would like the homeless to be invisible—headed off into concentration camp type shelters. So to make ABC invisible, suppressing information and hoping to ignore and starve the ABC Occupied 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.”

Early Thursday, December 14—As Parks Department and police come to clear Tompkins Square Park, homeless people hang their own banner in defiance.
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?

"R.H.O.: 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 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. 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 any 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 to do Continued on page 12
On the Lozano Verdict and Fighting the Power

Last January Miami cop William Lozano murdered two Black men in cold blood. On December 3, 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, and he will be sentenced on January 30 and people will be watching closely on this day to see if the powers-that-be can weaken the people’s victory by sending Lozano on the streets or giving him a light sentence.

In the days after the guilty verdict come 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: This struggle shows how the people who are concerned, the revolution in that is squatting. That’s all I have to say. Talking 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 indispensable 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 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 there are other ways of getting all these priorities and stuff, like Poland and Lenin. We’re the people who look at homeland like nothing in a hole. Most people look at homeland like drug addicts. They’re no good. They’re thieves. They’re burns. 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.

"WE CAN’T LET IT QUIET DOWN"

A 30-year-old Black woman from Overtown: "That’s the only way we could get our message across. 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. It’s like a little donation box that the rich give to the poor to say, ‘Oh, we have enough money and they complain about how 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.

We must expose how the people who are pushed to the bottom of society can actually run it. If you go in there you like you’re going to just anyway. They have all these metal detectors. They’re locking for knives and all that. And then they give—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. It’s like a little donation box that the rich give to the poor to say, ‘Oh, we have enough money and they complain about how 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.

"Red Flag": They’re warehousing all these buildings. People are homeless. People are dying. People’s tents are getting pushed away. 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 it basically all messed up but we cannot let them stomp us and let us be crushed.

"Red Flag": The taking of this center and the battle in Temptis Square Park has helped to deride the rulers of one of their main weapons: their ability to drive the homeless out of sight and make it a non-question.

"Red Flag": The system really wants to take us 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 burns. 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 homeless 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. And I couldn’t do anything else I wanted to either. I’d rather be homeless than live in a shelter.

"Red Flag": I am also homeless and I’ll 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 just anyway. They have all these metal detectors. They’re locking for knives and all that. And then you give—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. It’s like a little donation box that the rich give to the poor to say, ‘Oh, we have enough money and they complain about how 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.

"Red Flag": This struggle shows how the people who are pushed to the bottom of society can actually run it.

"Red Flag": That’s the main thing that we want to show. We want to show that we could free 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 real- ly sure to say I want to run something. I don’t want to control anything. I want to control myself. I want to be
JUSTICE FOR THEM IS NONE FOR US

A 42-year-old Black man who was alive in the '60s and growing up in Selma, Alabama.

After a week of bickering between the Black and Spanish pigs, the pigs now are reunited. We've got to get our act together. If we aren't united, they're gonna kill us.

Therefore, I want to say something about the situation and the point that is being made.

When I say that we have to fight to see that the youth should be proud of themselves too for what they have done. I mean that we have to fight to see that the youth should be proud of themselves too for what they have done. We have to fight to see that the youth should be proud of themselves too for what they have done.

The youth should be proud of themselves too for what they have done.
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 1967, Ceausescu offered his services to America's Zionist settler-state in the Middle East.

He claimed to be keeping his country "fiercely independent" while he enslaved his people. He kept Romania in the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact, but he refused to let the armies of the two imperialist blocs walk 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 phony "independence" bluffed 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 "man of peace" and a "reformer." Western kings and queens loved to swap snaps and drink famous wine 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 his short cuts to Western-style "development" and "modernization." He sought massive loans from Western capitalist lenders. By 1983 Romania was $13 billion in debt in the West. Like many other countries who made similar capitalist gambles, Romania found itself utterly bankrupt. But Western bankers refused to loan any more.

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, cloth, 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 through 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 massive loans 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 bloodlessness 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 in Tamanuor-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 class ties to the West. This is the same media that gave headlines to the massacre of many hundreds of civilians by Romanian troops but chose to downplay the massacre of many hundreds of Romanian 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 that 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 Romania. The same army that loyally carried the bloody red, white and blue Burning Flag to the police. But isn't this exactly what the U.S. government is seeking to impose here?

In the wake of the U.S. flag's "blazing," the U.S. government quickly because major forces within the existing Romanian ruling class joined it and claimed it for its own purposes. Then in predictably imperialist army that used its and ripped up. This is some real progress! Bold actions delivered a half revolution, half coup—but so far no fundamental change.

Unfortunately, the heroic sacrifice of the masses in Romania did not produce a new socialist revolution. But when bloody repression did not end and the imperialists withdrew most of their forces from the old regime could see the writing on the wall. They turned against the Ceausescu regime. A U.S. ambassador 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 state.

With each passing day, the new government starts to look like the old regime, minus the Ceausescu family. The upper class in Romania is trying to quickly because major forces within the existing Romanian ruling class joined it and claimed it for its own purposes. Then in predictably imperialist army that used its Argentina and Brazil.

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

However, several things do seem clear. First the uprising were "Down with Ceaușescu" and "We are all Romanians." As in much of Eastern Europe, many among the masses have seized this opportunity to express their anger against an imperialist minority government.
bombed the flag. And the homeless in Tompkins Square Park also put the flag to flames in the midst of pig at-
tacks 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. Viet-
nam Veterans Against the War AL led
a "Festival of Defiance" of 500
people. A flash mob of flag-burners
"napalmed on behalf of the 2-1/2
million Southeast Asian people
murdered in Indochina by U.S. impe-
rials." 

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
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New Regime,
Business As Usual
The new provisional government
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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 AL,
Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

¡Celebremos el quinto aniversario del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista!