Announcing a New Book by Bob Avakian

PHONY COMMUNISM IS DEAD...
LONG LIVE REAL COMMUNISM!

BOB AVAKIAN

see centerfold

10 Excerpts: The Myth of Free Markets

U.S. Calls for More Racist Border Roundups

Peru: Ruined and Robbed by Imperialism

Straight Talk on the Tyson Verdict

Malcolm X, MLK, and the 1963 March on Washington
Ohio Supreme Court Threatens Cleveland Flagburner

In the state of Ohio, a person convicted of flag burning and political speech has now been denied bail based on his political opinions. A February 5 ruling by the Ohio Supreme Court gave sweeping power to the state to imprison revolutionaries and others who aren't down with the New World Order program. This calculated and vicious decision came as part of the flag-burning case against Cheryl Lessin, a Cleveland spokesperson for the Revolutionary Communist Party. Cheryl Lessin was convicted of "inciting to violence" for burning a flag on August 10, 1990 in protest of the U.S. preparations for war against Iraq. The conviction is now under appeal. This is an important case for revolutionaries as well as all who oppose to political repression. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled in the Joey Johnson case that burning U.S. flags is a legitimate form of political speech. But the ruling class has been trying to outlaw flag-burning in other ways, such as trying to try flag-burners under "criminal" codes.

On October 29, 1990, the day Lessin was convicted, the judge released bail on openly political grounds. The judge said, "I think she has demonstrated her contempt not only for this system of government but obviously for our system of justice. I don't believe she would appear for sentencing in this matter." Lessin was remanded immediately to county jail, even though she had no prior record, held a job and had shown up for court appearances required. The defense immediately filed a writ of habeas corpus against Cheryl Lessin. Three days later, in a hearing on the writs in the Court of Appeals, the prosecution admitted what they had tried to deny: this was a political trial. They argued that Lessin should not receive bail because she wore a Mao Tsetung T-shirt to court. They quoted the judge's statement that Lessin had "contempt for our system of government." And they claimed she was a "flight risk" because of her membership in the RCP. One of the appeals judges, taken aback by the prosecution's blatant arguments, asked, "That's not illegal, is it?" The Appeals Court ruled that Lessin had been legally detained but granted the writ of habeas corpus and allowed her out on a bond of $5,000 pending sentencing.

On December 28, 1990 Lessin was sentenced to one year in prison and immediately sent back to jail when the trial judge again denied bond. She argued in the state女人's prison that she was never in jail for the Appeals Court finally granted bond and she was released. Her case is now on appeal.

In the meantime, on December 31, the prosecution filed an appeal with the Y Ohio Supreme Court against the Appeal Court's original decision to grant bond to Cheryl Lessin after her conviction. Many legal observers even thought the issue was most (legally irrelevant) because there had been nothing moved beyond that point in the case. The fact that the Supreme Court acted on this appeal under these circumstances again pointed to the fact that every move by the authorities in this case has been highly politically charged and that they have been real intent on jailing Lessin and outlawing flag-burning. In its February 5 ruling, the Supreme Court approvedly cited the trial judge's use of Lessin's political stand as reason for denying her bail.

Cheryl Lessin remains free awaiting a decision on the appeal. But according to one attorney involved in the appeal, the Ohio Supreme Court ruling could have "dire implications for defendants seeking bond" and is a "dangerously conservative opinion." Another lawyer said, "For leftists, basically means you can be kept in jail because of what you believe." The ruling is another warning that the New World Order is getting its legal machinery in line for dealing with future upheaval.

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

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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 powers will protest and rebel against 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 lead 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.

Three Main Points

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

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

David Duke, the Ku Klux Klan grand wizard turned presidential candidate, claims credit for pushing Bush toward making these new border moves. This reveals just how extreme and reactionary the class interests behind the plans—and the response to these moves. An economic crisis that deep threatens to produce political instability in the country is accompanied by a wave of fascist, racist ideology. This year two extreme right-wing candidates are running for president—Pat Buchanan and David Duke. Duke has a long history as a white supremacist leader of the KKK and the American Nazi Party. He believes the government should carry out an extreme, all-out civil war against the oppressed people. He claims he could improve the situation of white middle class people by driving Black people and other groups deeper into poverty and oppression. In short, Duke is an open fascist. Buchanan has similar politics—except his career has been high in the official power structure, as speechwriter for Nixon and Reagan and as a TV commentator on CNN. The fact that these two candidates get access to the national media and major funding says a great deal about the current direction of official politics in the USA. But they are doing more than running.

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

The Duke campaign is also right when it points out that the White House has adopted the main racist corewords of the Duke campaign in Bush's own themes for this election year: "Welfare, affirmative action and immigration control." Consider: Throughout 1991, President Bush identified himself with the opposition to "affirmative action" policies that require hiring black people into jobs where they were formerly excluded.

On the U.S. Mexico border, the border clampdowns to enforce existing immigration laws, including the deportation of military hardware.

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

Why is the Ruling Class Using Slogans from the Klan?

Answer: Because border clampdown policies meet the needs of the system. And some of the racist and chauvinist rhetoric of the fascist right also meet the needs of the system.
U.S. Calls for More Racist Roundups on the Border

Continued from page 3

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

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

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

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

**Immigrants Are Not Causing the Economic Crisis**

The capitalist system needs to exploit the labor of proletarians, and no one likes to work. As U.S. capitalist rulers have made themselves rich by exploiting Third World people both in their home countries and within the borders of the U.S. itself.

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

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

The very fact that many of these workers are "illegal" means that their capitalist employers can pay them below standard wages by holding the threat of deportation over them. The truth is that capitalists are not the backbone of whole industries like vegetable and fruit production. The economy of the whole "Sunbelt" and many northern urban areas draws heavily on their large-scale suffering and exploitation.

**The Powers Want to Control the Immigrants**

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

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

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

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

This is another old game. "War on crime" has been used by powers inside the U.S. for decades. And now this game is being extended to the suppression of immigrants. These border plans are part of a broader crackdown on all the most exploitive sections of the people within the U.S.

The powers are pumping out bullshit statistics to support their talk of "criminal aliens." They talk like illegal immigrants are conducting some major crime wave in the U.S.—and they say that people who hate crime should support their new clampdown on immigrants.

This is another old game. "War on crime" has been used by powers inside the U.S. for decades. And now this game is being extended to the suppression of immigrants. These border plans are part of a broader crackdown on all the most exploitive sections of the people within the U.S.

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

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

The powers are taking aim at our immigrant sisters and brothers. And we can't let it go down like that.
the ruling class and then Thomas was wanted and needed him on the Supreme Court. William Kennedy Smith is part of a family of rich, powerful politicians and capitalists, and this had everything to do with business, not justice or guilt. Because we live in a class society, jurors in rape cases are bound to be deeply influenced by questions of class and race. Male privilege in this society is very bound up with these questions. For example there is always a lot of talk in such cases about whether or not the accused really killed. When he was prosecuted and in the case of Clarence Thomas—William Kennedy Smith was on trial the press talked about how his whole career would be ruined if he was found guilty. And in the case of Clarence Thomas—white men saw that the ruling class was not going to allow Anita Hill to ruin their plans for getting a Black conservative on the Supreme Court. But this was the case with Tyson—he is not of the same class as these men.

The powers don’t see Mike Tyson as the proper “role model.” He is too “street” and “uncontrollable.” And he has a past that many Black youth identify with. For those reasons he is not qualified to be an “American role model” like Maple Thompson and other Black men who project a more refined bourgeois image. There has been talk in the media that perhaps this controversy will “get the street” out of the “street” out of him. And this is not just the public—when the whole world is going down to put the clampdown on Black youth who are too “street” or have the “gangsta” image. Despite all the publicity and media coverage, it is thought that it might have made clear that he wants sex from them. His basic arguments was that during his visit to Indianapolis, a young woman had saw his evade, even behaved, therefore, his defense attorneys have been aware of what “Tyson had on his mind.” But she still agreed to go out with him. Therefore, she can be considered to his sexual advances. But in Tyson’s testimony argued that this couldn’t have been a case of rape. He said, minutes after meeting her, he wanted to take her on a romantic date. And what better “role model” than another Black male athlete whose support was sponsored by the National Baptist and Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam. Male privilege in this society is very bound up with these questions. For example there is always a lot of talk in such cases about whether or not the accused rapist—whether the justice system in this country to the other. And everything he did during his trial only showed how he raped anybody, it is clear he has done a lot of times he just raped without even realizing what he was doing. Mike Tyson as a role model? Just because he made money. Meanwhile Tyson’s support was taken by these arguments.

For example there is always a lot of talk in such cases about whether or not the accused really killed. When he was prosecuted and in the case of Clarence Thomas—William Kennedy Smith was on trial the press talked about how his whole career would be ruined if he was found guilty. And in the case of Clarence Thomas—white men saw that the ruling class was not going to allow Anita Hill to ruin their plans for getting a Black conservative on the Supreme Court. But this was the case with Tyson—he is not of the same class as these men.

The powers don’t see Mike Tyson as the proper “role model.” He is too “street” and “uncontrollable.” And he has a past that many Black youth identify with. For those reasons he is not qualified to be an “American role model” like Maple Thompson and other Black men who project a more refined bourgeois image. There has been talk in the media that perhaps this controversy will “get the street” out of the “street” out of him. And this is not just the public—when the whole world is going down to put the clampdown on Black youth who are too “street” or have the “gangsta” image. Despite all the publicity and media coverage, it is thought that it might have made clear that he wants sex from them. His basic arguments was that during his visit to Indianapolis, a young woman had saw his evade, even behaved, therefore, his defense attorneys have been aware of what “Tyson had on his mind.” But she still agreed to go out with him. Therefore, she can be considered to his sexual advances. But in Tyson’s testimony argued that this couldn’t have been a case of rape. He said, minutes after meeting her, he wanted to take her on a romantic date. And what better “role model” than another Black male athlete whose support was sponsored by the National Baptist and Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam. Male privilege in this society is very bound up with these questions. For example there is always a lot of talk in such cases about whether or not the accused rapist—whether the justice system in this country to the other. And everything he did during his trial only showed how he raped anybody, it is clear he has done a lot of times he just raped without even realizing what he was doing. Mike Tyson as a role model? Just because he made money. Meanwhile Tyson’s support was taken by these arguments.
From A World To Win: Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru

Peru: Ruined and Robbed by Imperialism

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

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

The intense penetration of imperialist capital which haunts the Peruvian economy in the past decades threw Peru's economy into a deep pit, economic stagnation and inflation that began in the mid-1980s and have yet to show any signs of improvement. The government cut Stimulating and lavish spending and added to the growing debt, with $22 billion dollars owed to the U.S. and other rich countries — loans which for the most part went to finance further enslavement of the economy to imperialism. This debt is about equal to the country's entire production for one year. It is also more than twice the estimated cost to the government of carrying out its reactionary war for the last decade. As expensive as the counter-revolutionary war has been, economic subservience to imperialism is even more expensive. These debts must be paid because under the present system Peru cannot survive unless it gets new loans. One Peruvian president after another, including the newly elected Fujimori, has tried to deal with this problem by devaluing Peru's currency in order to boost exports while restricting imports and enforcing "shock" measures to cut living standards.

Fujimori had stood for election on a platform opposed to the devaluations and "shock" cutbacks proposed by the odds-on favorite in that campaign, Mario Vargas Llosa. But within days of taking office he turned around and implemented the sort of measures he had just denounced. This was no surprise to the kind of people who read the financial foreign papers, which reported Fujimori's private meeting with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) bankers and Peru's other creditors in New York, where the term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devoured by a million percent since the mid-1980s. The government is trying to reverse the stand that had got him elected. But it was a cruel deception to many of his middle class supporters, who looked to the streets alongside Lima's poor in several days of outraged protests. The term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devoured by a million percent since the mid-1980s. The government is trying to reverse the stand that had got him elected. But it was a cruel deception to many of his middle class supporters, who looked to the streets alongside Lima's poor in several days of outraged protests.

The term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devoured by a million percent since the mid-1980s. The government is trying to reverse the stand that had got him elected. But it was a cruel deception to many of his middle class supporters, who looked to the streets alongside Lima's poor in several days of outraged protests.

In the last decade Peru has been hit by a very kind of "shock" measures that have shocked people around the world, but it was less because it was a natural disaster, an IMF-ordered disaster. To comply with the IMF's demands to slash public spending and channel the money to foreign banks, the government cut funding for Lima's sewage plants and the wave of pollution poured into the ocean soon smothered the city's beaches. Cholera was the inevitable result.

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

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

The intense penetration of imperialist capital which haunts the Peruvian economy in the past decades threw Peru's economy into a deep pit, economic stagnation and inflation that began in the mid-1980s and have yet to show any signs of improvement. The government cut Stimulating and lavish spending and added to the growing debt, with $22 billion dollars owed to the U.S. and other rich countries — loans which for the most part went to finance further enslavement of the economy to imperialism. This debt is about equal to the country's entire production for one year. It is also more than twice the estimated cost to the government of carrying out its reactionary war for the last decade. As expensive as the counter-revolutionary war has been, economic subservience to imperialism is even more expensive. These debts must be paid because under the present system Peru cannot survive unless it gets new loans. One Peruvian president after another, including the newly elected Fujimori, has tried to deal with this problem by devaluing Peru's currency in order to boost exports while restricting imports and enforcing "shock" measures to cut living standards.

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

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

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

FEBRUARY 22, 1 PM
HUNTER COLLEGE
HUNTER WEST, ROOM 615
NEW YORK CITY

For more information:
CSRP, 151 First Ave, Room 230, New York, NY 10003
(212) 466-8857 (leave message)
National CSRP Office: PO Box 1246, Berkeley, CA 94701
(510) 845-2206 ext 101 (leave message)
Bob Avakian has written a bold and challenging work that cuts right to the debate of our times. Over and over we are told that history has judged communism to be a "grand failure," and that there is no use fighting for a different world. But is capitalism the best of all possible worlds? Avakian contrasts the brutal realities of the free market to the claims of its defenders. Has revolutionary communism proven to be a disastrous nightmare? Avakian refutes the charges that socialist economies are unworkable and that communism suppressed individuality and freedom.

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

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

If you want to know what real communism is about, and if you wonder whether society really has to be run as a dog-eat-dog enterprise, then you will find this book as timely as it is provocative.
PHONY
COMMUNISM
IS DEAD...
LONG LIVE
REAL
COMMUNISM!
BOB AVAKIAN

advanced orders and to collect donations for the book.
THE MYTH OF FREE

By Bob Avakian

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

Reply: What world is he describing?!

What does "free markets" really mean? And what is the deal with growth and prosperity, as Bush refers to it, under this system, particularly in this era of imperialism? Is it really the case that this goes on as everyone can gain but not at the expense of others? That prosperity gained in this way is beneficial to all and encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators? Perhaps (to paraphrase Lenny Leon) Bush would like to pass a law preventing laughter in public so that his comments cannot be drowned out by the bitter laughter that such statements are bound to provoke all over the world, especially among the masses of people. 

"Free markets," to take one aspect, means freedom of trade, without governmental restriction. This can never exist in the most literal, absolute sense, since some governmental regulation of trade under capitalism will always be necessary (which all bourgeois representatives recognize in practice if not always in their pronouncements). But, like every other freedom under capitalism, even this "free trade" is never really free—it is never without inequality, whether we are speaking of trade within a particular country or international trade—it will always involve an aspect of domination and plunder. And all this becomes still more the case when capitalism reaches the imperialist stage. But to take a more fundamental aspect, "free markets" refers to the "labor market," to the selling and buying of human labor power. As spoken to earlier, Marxism refutes capitalism is not simply some kind of system of commodity production and exchange where all have the chance to take part equally. This is a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few—based, specifically, on the exploitation of wage-labor by capital. It is a society in which labor power, the ability to work, has become a commodity to be sold and bought, and it is the purchase and use of this labor power that enables some, a minority, to achieve prosperity or the expense of many others. Here again is "the dirty little secret of capitalism," and when people like Bush talk about the right to property as a fundamental right, they mean, above all, the right to exploit others. That is the essence of capitalism, the soul of bourgeois.

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

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

Real Socialist Planning

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

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

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

Reply: What world is he describing?!
MARKETS

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

The other freedom of the workers under capitalism is that they are "free" of ownership of the means of production—they do not own land, or factories, machinery, means of transportation and communication, and so forth, which can be employed in the creation of wealth. They are "free" of any means to make a living through their own self-employment as well as being "free" of any ability to employ other people to work for them on a profit basis. The only thing they possess with which they can create wealth is their labor power, but in order to do this they must sell that labor power to the capitalist, and the wealth that is created through the employment of that labor power belongs not to them, but to the capitalist: the workers get in return a wage that is enough to keep them alive and able to continue in this relationship. In short, the workers are free to be exploited by the capitalist class in pursuit of capitalist profit. And they are "free" to starve (or to eke out a desperate existence for, as we have seen, an essential ingredient of capitalist accumulation is the existence of a "reserve army" of unemployed workers, whose ranks swell to huge numbers in times of crisis. What results from this is not the fairy tale world that Bush describes, where people are free to benefit not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others, and where generalized prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. What really occurs is precisely what Marx described—that is, the development of two poles, where at one pole, among a small minority of people, is wealth, power, and the concentration of capital; and at the other pole, misery, agony of toil, poverty, and so on. This applies even within the so-called advanced capitalist countries themselves.

Let's look at some examples from recent events and everyday reality in the United States: Ask the homeless people in the United States what they think of George Bush's description of the outcome of the operation of the capitalist system. Ask those forced onto unemployment and welfare. Ask the workers at the chicken plants (we could call them the exploding chicken plants) in North Carolina, where on top of that and as a result of the inhuman conditions of labor, workers have been trapped—literally locked—inside burning buildings. Ask the workers at workplaces all across the country where people are murdered and maligned in their millions generation after generation by the capitalists in the endless pursuit of profit. Ask the immigrants and others slaving in the garment sweatshops and other hell-holes. Ask the workers even in the "core industries" of what is becoming the "rust belt" of the United States, those who perhaps thought they had "job security" but now find their jobs being eliminated under this great system of "free markets." Ask the small farmers and other small producers and traders who are continually threatened with ruin or are actually ruined. Ask the masses of Black people, Latinos, and people of other oppressed nationalities, ask the original peoples of America (the "Indians") about how capitalism does not involve one group of people preying on others! Ask the masses of women who are subjected to the relations of male domination, and everything that goes with this, under this capitalist system. Ask the young who are commanded to kill and die in the unjust wars mandated to kill and die in the unjust wars imposed by the imperialists continually send them off to. Ask all these people. These and countless other examples point to the essence of any system based on bourgeois property relations and capitalist accumulation, even though it is true that in the imperialist countries, and particularly in a major world power like the U.S., the accumulation of wealth, not only from the exploitation of the proletariat at home but beyond that the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people—and the domination of whole nations—in all parts of the world, is made possible the existence of fairly sizable "middle class" sections of the population, some of which are relatively well off economically. We must view this whole question above all on a world scale. Which takes us to the next argument in George Bush's UN speech...
Uncle Sam’s hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He’s the earth’s number-one hypocrite. He has the audacity—yes, he has—imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world!—and you over here singing, “We Shall Overcome.”

Malcolm X April 3, 1964

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

“But then you had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was a Negro in the minority. The masses—the field Negroes were the masses. They were in the majority. When the master’s sick, they prayed that he’d die. If the house caught on fire, they’d pray for a wind to come along and fan the breeze. Malcolm X, 1963

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

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

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

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

1963 March on Washington

If you can't head it off, head it up.

This was the situation that prompted the rallying class to act. In June of 1963, Kennedy—just a few months earlier had stated that he would not introduce an anti-segregation civil rights legislation that year—quickly introduced civil rights legislation for the first time in Congress. But the rallying class still faced the task of discovering the focus and energy of the Black people in the South. Kennedy had introduced the significance of this legislation and attempting to reestablish the "Respectable Leaders" at the head of the movement.

Robert Kennedy said that it was necessary to "not only the passage of legislation, but what in my judgment was even more important, to obtain the confidence of the Negro population in their government...I thought there was a great danger in losing that unless we took a very significant step..." There's obviously a revolution within a revolution in Negro leadership. We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger leaders, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government...and thought that the way to deal with going to war or with the proposed Civil Rights Act added fuel to the fire. The return of the Negro to the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution.

For several years there had been a growing sentiment for a mass demonstration. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation in defiance of police orders—"democratic anticolonial" power. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.

The U.S. imperialism was facing a new situation. Million Man Marches of Black people were rising up to challenge segregation on all levels. At the same time Afrika and elsewhere, there was a huge upsurge in the national liberation movements, which had given rise to legal segregation in South Africa. The U.S. imperialism was forced to make some significant changes in the situation of the masses of Black people.
Teaneck Killer Pig Walks

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

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

The trial was a study in racism and injustice:

• Spath was not charged with murder but with manslaughter. He was suspended with pay after the killing. According to the New York Times, the Township Council of Teaneck authorized $100,000 for legal fees.
• An all-white jury was chosen in a selection process closed to the public. Two of the jurors have relatives that are cops.
• A key eyewitness, a Black man, had testified that Pannell was attempting to stop and give up when he was shot. He was another eyewitness at the scene.
• The youth escape from Pannell and the one who conducted the search of the youth walked out of the courtroom.
• The all-white entourage that accompanied Spath to the trial were allowed directly into court, while Phillip Pannell's family and supporters were subjected to searches by metal detectors. An article in New York Newsday pointed out that the only protection the defendants had was metal detectors in NJ.
• A crucial attempt to influence the jury, a pamphlet cop was wheeled into the court. This cop was shot some years ago by a Black youth and is now confined to a wheelchair. When he entered, Spath broke into tears.

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

After deliberating for only nine hours the all-white jury found Spath not guilty of manslaughter. He was suspended with pay after the killing. According to the New York Times, the Township Council of Teaneck authorized $100,000 for legal fees.

On February 4 the verdict came down in the civil liability suit against the state and prison officials responsible for planning the taking of Attica Prison on September 13, 1971. Attica's former deputy warden, Karl Pfeil, was found liable on two claims of torture and beatings and was deliberately injured many prisoners. After the prison rebellion said: "No one, of any race or nationality, should tolerate the war this country is waging against Black youth and others today. They say this is a 'War on drugs' or 'War on crime.' They LIe! It's war on the people. And it needs to be more than one-sided, not less. Your rebellion was not 'negative.' Your rebellion was a righteous step in the right direction. What's needed now is to step it up and see it through. Take it higher. That's positive.'

Murder Approved in Attica Trial Verdict

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

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

The 1971 assault on Attica in upper New York state happened after several days of rebellion by the prisoners. In the attack to retake Attica, the state police killed 29 inmates and 10 hostages in cold blood and injured many prisoners. After the prison was secured, the inmates became targets of torture and beatings and were deliberately denied medical attention. More than 50 witnesses for the plaintiffs—including former inmates, doctors who were called to Attica at the time, National Guard soldiers and others—testified vividly about the brutality they saw during the assault and the aftermath. The argument by the defense was basically that even though the state officials were in charge, they "didn't know." About the atrocities and were "not responsible.

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

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

The powers are very worried that the attention of the nation has been focused on the Attica prison. The Township Council of Teaneck authorized $100,000 for legal fees.

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

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

Teaneck rebellion, 1971.
Thousands Protest U.S. Return of Haitian Refugees

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

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

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

Widespread political support for Dhoruba and outrage at the way the powers are treating the prisoner have forced the judge to rule in Dhoruba's favor. Petitions have been circulating demanding that Dhoruba remain free. After supporters collected over 5,000 signatures; the petitions were sent to the judge and the district attorney. Over 150 people of all nationalities packed the courtroom for the hearing. An FW reporter asked Dhoruba how he felt about the attempt to lock him up again. He replied, "I gotta be strong, brother, because I've got to fight the powers that be." Dhoruba's next court date is April 20. The people must do everything possible to make sure that Dhoruba remains free. For information, people can contact the Campaign for Free Black Political Prisoners and POWs in U.S., Kingsbridge Station, P.O. Box 339, Bronx, New York, 10463-0339, Phone (718) 624-0800.

U.S. #1 in Prisons

The United States has widened its lead over every other country in the world in the percentage of the population that is put in jail. According to a recent study by the Sentencing Project, there are now 1.1 million inmates in U.S. prisons, giving the U.S. an incarceration rate of 445 people per 100,000. This is a 6.8 percent increase over the year before. The country with the second largest percentage of people behind bars is South Africa, with a rate of 311 inmates per 100,000.

During the 1980s the number of people in U.S. prisons doubled. According to U.S. federal and governmental officials, the number of people in jail in this country is expected to rise 30 percent by 1995. Moreover, about half a million of the current inmates in U.S. jails are Black males. This gives the U.S. an imprisonment rate for Black men five times higher than that of black men in South Africa! There are 3,570 Black men per 100,000 in jail in the U.S., as compared to 681 per 100,000 in South Africa.

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

At the same time, while Black people make up about 13 percent of the U.S. population, they account for about 23 percent of all crimes, while uncompensated in all branches. During the Gulf war, Department of Defense investigations found that 46 percent of all troops and 36 percent of the Army troops sent to Saudi Arabia were Black men and women.

Jail and military are the only two "career opportunities" where there is a larger percentage of young Black men than in the population as a whole. Amerikkka is not a land of "equal opportunity"—it is a land where millions of people face discrimination and oppression because of the color of their skin. Why should anyone fight to preserve this prison house?
Kazuo Togita, a prisoner in the New Jersey prison in Trenton known as "Supermax," has been part of a struggle against inhumane and brutal prison conditions. Recently he asked for a razor blade. But instead of serving his time, he shaved his face. He shaved off his left side at the first knuckle and put an envelope addressed to him to an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. In a near cell another inmate, Paul Komyatii Jr., was successfully tried to cut off one of his fingers that he had intended to send to Governor Don Beyer.

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

FIGHT THE POWER!!

"IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE ATTICA REBELLION"

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

We want to connect the people of the U.S. and the World that even though it has been 20 years, the same barbaric conditions and contradictions of the criminal justice system still remain, still exist in 1991. The same dehumanizing and often racist policies and conditions of the state that existed then, still exist today, often in a more intense and sophisticated fashion.

Thus, we initiate this hunger strike to expose the state of Indiana's genocidal and inhuman practices and policies within its state prison system in general, and particularly at the Marion-style Maximum Control Unit in Westville, Indiana.

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

The political ramifications of the maximum control complex, the newly constructed control unit is Indiana's debate into the areas of a scientific approach to behavior modification through use of sensory deprivation, intimidation, psycho-pharmacological drugs, and overall use of the methods of psychological warfare to produce a desired result in the subjects (prisoners) as well as to instrumentalize and conformity in its most revolutionary or vocal prisoners. Indiana has practiced these methods in this control unit and it is the first time that a $12 million unit has been built strictly for such purposes, this being the first time a second control unit triple in size and cost is being built in the southern part of the state, hence as we journey into the decadence of the 90s we see the beginning stages of a pattern to crush and silence any human beings. We see Indiana following in the footsteps of the George Bush ruling class-controlled Supreme Court in denying prisoners even the facade of constitutional and human rights. Therefore, Indiana has joined the ranks of many other states that have launched into behavioral sciences and controlled units, i.e., modern-day slave chambers to repeat the grotesque resistance and call for human rights in the U.S. penal system. These control units of the state propaganda machine try to say it is control the unhumanitarian prisoners in is actually to control those influential and oftentimes revolutionary prisoners who are inside the prison, organizing and calling for human and democratic rights. Prisoners who refuse to be treated as mere chattel slaves, prisoners who are resisting the hypocrisy and contradictions of a prison system that not only is unable to rehabilitate its inmates but has no desire to do so. The 13th amendment* designates all prisoners in the U.S. as slaves and/or indentured servants and this is the essence of the entire relationship of prisoners to prisoner. It is a stigmatization to slave relations based on the exploitation of the prisoners' labor and the profit motive of the state.

In Lexington, Kentucky, a Federal judge ruled in the case of the Lexington Women's Control Unit that the state was using a dangerous punishment to segregate prisoners because of their political beliefs, and in Marion, Illinois, the warden stated that the Marion Control Unit, which has been completely locked down for the past 10 years, was designed to control revolutionary ideas/attitudes. Here at M.C.C., we as prisoners enjoy no rights, constitutional or otherwise. We are locked in stark white cells, with a shining bright light that burns 24 hours a day, which is designed to bring about stress and anxiety in the prisoner, over a period of time. It is also designed to deny you any type of sensory stimuli. In a 7-day period, we are only allowed at the maximum 2-1/2 hours of recreation even sometimes this is restricted two more hours on end. Our incoming and outgoing mail is read and often held up for days, before being processed. We are not allowed to seal our outgoing mail! There are no checks and balances on the power of the warden, who can order that you be put in mechanical restraints (bodjocks), shackles and waist chain) in a cold cell without provocation. Who can order a body weight search and will do it by force if you are found guilty of the improbable cause, which constitutes rape anywhere else in the world!! Here, U.S. prisons and food are an instrument of punishment and oppression, all in violation of bourgeois U.S. and United Nations treaties. We are allowed a very limited amount of clothes and but we are forced to endure the freezing of cold conditions. We have to work 7 days, 7 days a week with temperatures sometimes dropping to the 30s and 40s in these cells.

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

* Article 3, Section 37 of the State of Indiana Constitution mandates that all prisoners are treated humanely. Article 3 contains the following: "...There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the state, otherwise than as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."