

# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

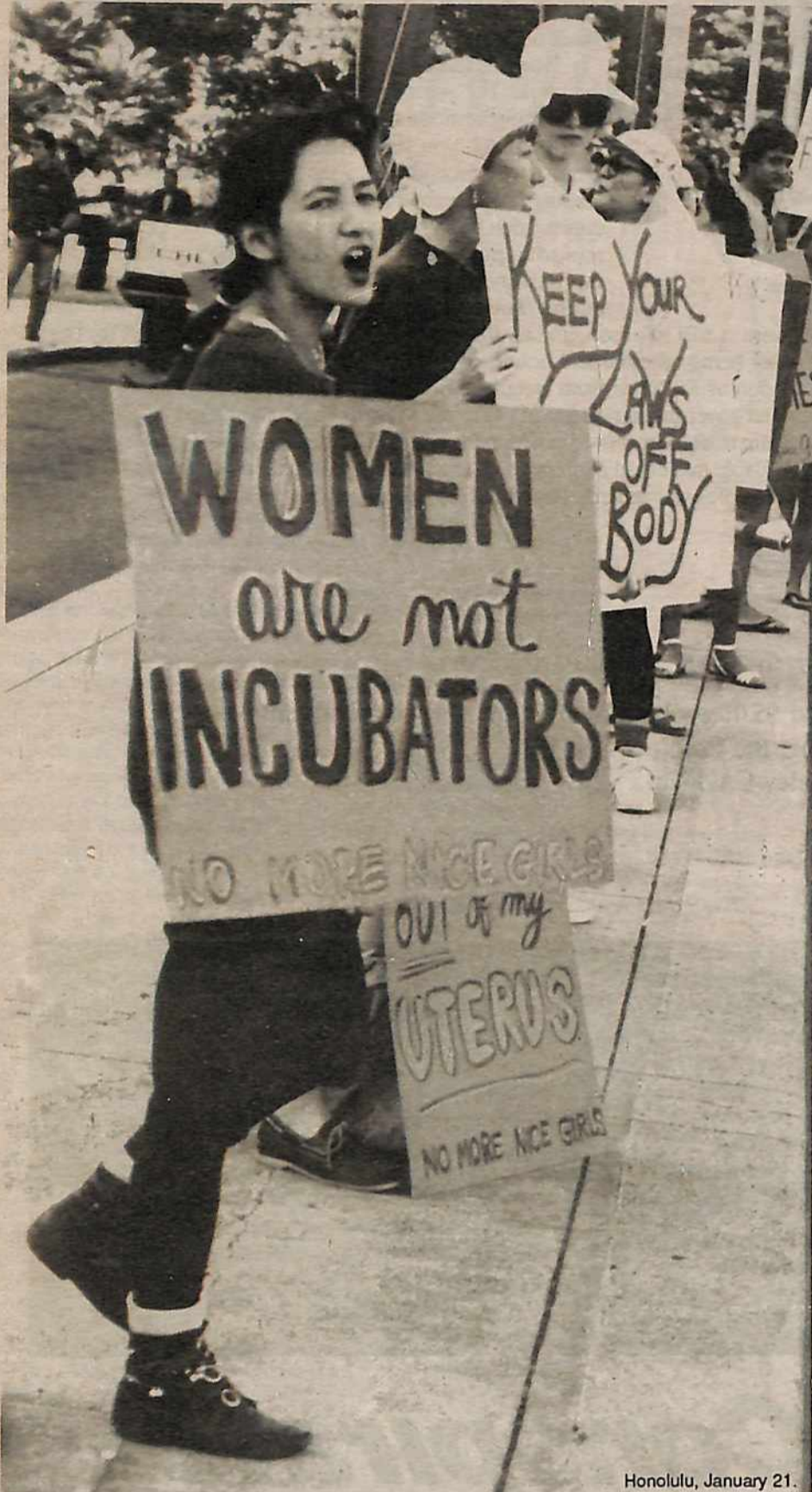
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Honolulu, January 21.

Special to the RWOR

## Women Must Have the Right to Choose!

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## HAITI'S PHONY COMMUNIST



Peru—Graffiti portrait of Chairman Gonzalo.

## New English Translation! Now Available!

In July 1988 the Lima daily newspaper *El Diario* hit the streets with a very special feature—an exclusive interview with Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru (called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press). In this 12-hour interview, conducted by *El Diario* co-editors Luis Arce Borja and Janet Talavera, the leader of the Maoist people's war that has been shaking Peruvian society from top to bottom emerged and put forward in his own words his vision and insights for hundreds of thousands of Peruvians to read for themselves.

News of this historic interview hit the wires all over the world. For years the Peruvian government had been floating out stories that Chairman Gonzalo was dead and that the revolution was being defeated. Here was living proof that Gonzalo was alive and well and powerfully leading the movement forward. Two editions of 100,000 copies each were sold out quickly. Then the government moved to put a stop to this, confiscating the third printing, destroying *El Diario's* presses and incarcerating co-editor Janet Talavera and other members of the

newspaper staff. (Janet Talavera is still in prison, and an international campaign is being waged for her release; Luis Arce Borja, after being attacked and hounded by the Peruvian government, is now putting out an international edition of *El Diario* from Belgium; *El Diario* itself is still being published in Lima, in the face of continued government repression.) The interview has been published in pamphlet form and is currently being distributed in countries around the world. This new English edition makes this important document available to a broad audience just at a time when the international spotlight is increasingly focused on the people's war in Peru. Paperback, 109 pages.

# Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

Interview with the Chairman of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of Peru

Conducted by the editors of *El Diario* newspaper

To order copies, send \$5.00 each, plus \$1.50 for shipping and handling, to:  
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## Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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RW/OR photo

Chicago, January 21.

# TIME TO TURN THE TIDE!

by Li Onesto

January 22, 1992 marked the 19th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision that gave women the right to abortion. Two days before this, the U.S. Supreme Court issued another slap in the face to women. It announced it will review a Pennsylvania law that is one of the most restrictive state abortion laws in the country. Everyone hearing this knew immediately what it meant: New and even bigger attacks are about to come down on women's right to abortion. The court claims they aren't going to use this case to make an overall ruling on *Roe v. Wade*. But this is a deception, designed to confuse and disarm the people. By upholding the Pennsylvania law, the court could kill *Roe* without having to issue a formal death sentence.

Over the last two decades abortion rights have been chipped away through legislation, funding policies, court decisions and outright terror against women's clinics. Things are at a critical point now where "chipping away" is about to become "completely taken away." And the court is now poised to deliver a major blow that would affect millions of women.

The women's movement, and all those who want to fight the oppression of women, need to strategize and figure out how to take this attack on in a major way. There needs to be national and local mobilizations, coalitions and new forms of struggle. And millions of people need to be recruited into the fight to stop the court from using this case to deliver another attack on abortion rights. This will take new levels of leadership and organization.

## The Election Trap

The top powers in this country are determined to use the Pennsylvania case to attack women's right to abortion. But they want to do this without major social disrup-

tion. So they have delivered a "political smart bomb" to try and *de-mobilize* and *dis-orient* the people. As soon as the Supreme Court announced it will hear the Pennsylvania case the press put a "spin" on the whole story. The big question became: "How will this affect the elections?" Millions of people watched their TVs to try and find out how the court's decision would affect the lives of women. But what they got was endless talk about the impact of all this on the fight between the Democrats and Republicans and speculation about how much or how little the abortion issue will affect George Bush's campaign. This aimed to narrow and confine the whole struggle around abortion into bourgeois, safe, electoral politics. It was enough to make you sick.

Several leaders of the mainstream women's movement added to all this by putting out new calls for women to put their faith in and get involved in the electoral process: Kate Michelman, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), said, "This is one of those issues that can make a critical difference. It can provide a margin of victory in key states that a pro-choice Democratic candidate needs to win." A national women's group began circulating a list of six women it says the eventual Democratic presidential candidate should consider for vice president. Faye Wattleton, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, said, "We will show our strength on Capitol Hill. We will show our strength at the polls." Michelman told the press, "With our right to choose on the chopping block, the only road left for the pro-choice majority is the political road—and 1992 is a critical election year." Other pro-choice leaders urged the passage of the Freedom of Choice Act of 1991—a bill pending in Congress that would codify the rights established in *Roe*.

If there is one thing we should learn from the Court's announcement, it is this: It is long overdue, and certainly time for the people to break out and break free from the demoralizing and dead-end road of fighting in the bourgeois political arena of elections and lobbying. What is urgently needed is a mass outpouring of rage that threatens the powers with a major crisis. This is the only way to really *beat back* and *defeat* the attacks on abortion.

The dangerous logic of fighting on the enemy's turf, with the enemy's rules, has influenced many people in the women's movement and it needs to be defeated if the people are going to win the battle before us. So let's look at the main arguments of this line point by point and understand why it is not only a *losing* strategy on abortion rights, but a strategy that creates dangerous illusions among the people about how things can ever fundamentally change.

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1. The "electoral" argument says: *The court is going to overturn Roe or rip the heart out of it by upholding extremely restrictive state laws. The powers have been chipping away at Roe v. Wade for two decades and Bush has packed the Supreme Court with judges who are known to be against abortion. At this point, there is no way the people are going to prevent this, so the movement needs a more "long-range strategy" of building up a pro-choice constituency aimed at electing more pro-choice politicians and eventually electing a pro-choice president. The Pennsylvania case is an opportunity to push this whole electoral agenda forward in the pro-choice movement. Even if the court defeats Roe, this will provide people with a way to influence the elections and get more pro-choice democrats elected.*

Wrong. The situation is bad but the question is NOT settled. A line that declares *in advance* that we've lost the fight can only

lead to (and has led to) demoralization, defeatism and demobilization of the people. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy logic that says: We've already lost *Roe* so let's act on the assumption that the next stage of the fight is at the local level against state anti-abortion laws. This is a losing strategy by definition! If the masses of people don't fight against these attacks, women will lose the right to abortion. But the question is NOT settled and we can't act like it is. The ruling class can be forced to back off their wholesale attack.

2. The "electoral" argument says: *The Democratic Party candidates for president are pro-choice. Getting more Democrats in office, and ultimately getting a Democratic president, is the only way to reverse the anti-abortion tide and protect women's right to abortion. Short of getting pro-choice Democrats elected, the women's movement should unite with and build up the Republicans who are pro-choice. Ultimately, women need a third party in order to more effectively fight in the political/electoral arena, elect more pro-choice (and generally more liberal) politicians into office and get things passed like a pro-choice constitutional amendment. Because this is a big election year the Pennsylvania case should be used to defeat as many Republicans as possible, pressure Democrats (and Republicans) to take pro-choice positions and work to get them elected.*

Wrong. While the dominant line in the government is against abortion, there are politicians with a "pro-choice position." But these politicians are against taking away the right to abortion because they think this would threaten the social and economic stability in this country. These politicians are part of the power structure and serve ruling class interests—including the need to find the most effective ways to maintain the status quo and keep the people

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# D.C.: Pro-Choice Forces Confront Anti-Abortion

Reactionaries from Jesse Helms and Cardinal O'Connor to Operation Rescue and "Right to Life" anti-abortionists converged on Washington, D.C. the week of the 19th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. But wherever they went they were met by angry protests and opposition. This was a good beginning and an important step towards building the kind of nationwide strength and militancy needed for the coming battle to defend women's right to abortion.

On January 21 and 22, the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force mobilized hundreds of women and men to protect clinics. On both days, the police ordered clinic defenders away from the doors and allowed OR to briefly blockade several clinics both days. But the clinics opened with only slight delays and women who had appointments got in. Operation Rescue did, however, succeed in their goal of dominating the media for several days, with a total of nearly 500 arrested.

The evening of January 21 Cardinal O'Connor's "Mass for the Unborn" at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Concep-

tion was disrupted, and on January 22, Queer Nation and OUT! organized a loud protest of about 100 people at a fancy anti-abortion dinner where Jesse Helms was speaking.

The most concentrated and visible opposition to the anti-women forces was on January 22, the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion. The Ad-Hoc Committee to Rain on Their Parade, initiated by Refuse & Resist!, had called for a counter-protest to the anti-abortionists' "March for Life." The anti-abortionists have been holding marches in D.C. on January 22 for the last 19 years, since abortion was legalized. But this was the first time they were met with this kind of mass opposition. While the Associated Press (AP) outright lied and said there were only 100 counterdemonstrators, CBS more accurately reported 1,500 and the UPI wire service said there were "thousands" of pro-choice demonstrators.

The Ad-Hoc Committee had put a full-page ad in D.C.'s City Paper the week before, and the rally was endorsed by many

different organizations, including NOW chapters from Baltimore, Bethesda/Potomac, D.C., No. and So. Prince Georges County, and Takoma Park; Refuse & Resist!; OUT!; Queer Nation; DCLARE (D.C. Lesbians Against Racism Everywhere); Metro D.C. Coalition for Choice; National Council of Jewish Women, National Capital Area Section; and WHAM (Women's Health Action & Mobilization) from NYC and LA.

A lively pro-choice rally was co-chaired by Alicia Lucksted from the Ad Hoc Committee and Mary Lou Greenberg, spokesperson for the RCP, NY Branch. Other speakers included Katrina Hopkins of Maryland NOW and co-organizer of the Ad-Hoc Committee; a representative of Refuse & Resist!, and an older man whose mother had died from an illegal abortion. At an open mike many others also spoke: lesbian and gay rights activists; representatives from D.C. Men Against Rape and D.C. NOW; religious activists; Ginny Montes, Secretary of National NOW; medical students from George Washington University; women from Florida and Pennsylvania; and a representative from the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee from Detroit.

Nearly everyone in the crowd wore "Abortion on Demand and Without Apology" stickers brought by Refuse & Resist! members from New York City, D.C. and Baltimore. The crowd included WHAM activists from New York City, high school and college students from D.C., women who work in the downtown D.C. area, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade members from Ohio and NYC and other RCP supporters.

When the "March for Life" came around the corner onto Constitution Avenue, a torrent of anger and rage exploded from all these diverse forces. *New York Newsday* reported:

"As they rounded the corner on a chilly afternoon, bundled-up schoolkids from places such as Powdersville, S.C., and Altoona, PA, suddenly found themselves



Washington D.C., January 21.

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facing the jeers and taunts of activists from groups such as the National Organization for Women, Queer Nation and B'nai B'rith Women. Many of the marchers were clearly stunned at the encounter, standing slack-jawed for a moment until they remembered to begin shaking their posters of aborted fetuses and shouting 'Murderers!' and 'Baby killers!'

"The counterdemonstrators, shaking their placards of coat hangers, shouted back their slogans until the block was a cacophony of passion."

While the anti-abortionists captured most of the media, many reporters and camera crews interviewed Rain on Their Parade spokespeople and other pro-choice forces. Mary Lou Greenberg, spokesperson for the NY Branch of the RCP, was interviewed on the local CBS TV channel and quoted in a UPI press release.

At the rally, a call was made for massive protests and disruption the day the Supreme Court hears the Pennsylvania case. A leaflet put out by Refuse & Resist! stated:

"The actions we launch must put them  
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Chicago, January 21.

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## TIME TO TURN THE TIDE!

Continued from page 3  
down. While there may be differences within the ruling class over abortion, they still act as a class in their class interests.

The need to dominate and oppress women is woven into the very fabric of the capitalist system. This is why the political mechanisms set up by the powers to rule over the people can never be used to end women's oppression. The courts, elections, the Constitution and the whole legislative process are run by the ruling class in the interest of the capitalist class. In this society elections are *not* a way for the people to have control over those in power. They are a way for the ruling class to control the people.

3. The "electoral" argument says: *The only way to reverse the attacks on abortion is to get better politicians elected at every level, from local City Hall to the White House. If more women are elected, the laws and policies of the government will reflect the needs of women. Even if pro-choice candidates are not successful in getting into office, the battle to get them elected may force anti-abortion politicians to change their position because they will be afraid of not getting re-elected if there is a strong pro-choice lobby.*

Wrong. This logic is a fantasy. The only way the ruling class can be stopped from taking away abortion rights is by the masses of people creating a situation where the government faces serious social and political consequences if they carry out their plans. The powers will go full-steam ahead in their class interests (and against the interests of the people) if they think they can get away with it. But history has shown that when the powers think they will have to pay too big a political price for their actions they may be forced to back down. In the 1960s it was mass political action and turmoil in the streets—and the threat of even more serious political instability—

that forced concessions from the ruling class.

If the ruling class thinks that the only price they'll have to pay for overturning *Roe* is that more women will get involved in bourgeois politics—they will overturn *Roe*. But people can't let things go down this way! The question of a woman's right to choose must become a burning national issue, and we have to *turn the tide* by politically mobilizing the people to let the government know that if they take away abortion rights the people are not just going to "go to the polls."

To take away the right to abortion is like making women slaves. This is the serious nature and stakes of this battle and people need to respond accordingly. If the Supreme Court were on the verge of bringing back slavery for Black people, there would probably be some scoundrel who would argue that people should go to the polls to "vote against slavery," but history has shown that this is not how things change.

We also have to learn from the experience around the Gulf War where there were powerful anti-war protests but the U.S. still went to war. Even if the masses of people wage a militant political fight, the ruling class may still use the Pennsylvania case to deliver a death blow to abortion rights. The attacks on abortion are part of a whole reactionary and repressive agenda being carried out against different sections of the people. And the powers face compelling interests to press ahead with their attacks. So people need to be prepared to respond in a powerful way if there is another anti-abortion ruling by the Supreme Court and make a huge counter-offensive. The "electoral strategy" would leave people completely unprepared, unorganized, and unable to respond effectively to such a challenge.

4. The "electoral" argument says: *Pro-choice forces have to focus in on bourgeois*

*politics because this is the only way to build a broad enough movement to defend abortion rights. The movement must be respectable and not alienate middle class forces and others who are "turned off" by more confrontational and radical politics. In order to unite broadly, the pro-choice movement should stay away from controversial, moral issues like "fetus rights" and concentrate more on uniting people around the basic issue of "choice." By doing this the movement can unite those people who are against abortion but recognize the right of women to make their own decision about an unwanted pregnancy.*

Wrong. This kind of defensive orientation disarms the people. The "coalition" the pro-choice movement must build needs to be based on the broad masses of people in this country who are outraged at the attacks on abortion. The attempts to build this fight on the basis of electoral politics *weakens* the ability of the people to unite broadly and in an uncompromising way. Consider this: the strategy of building unity on the basis of "getting anti-abortion Republicans out of office" has led to a situation where some people have put more effort into uniting with pro-choice Republicans than rallying the broad masses of poor women and women of color who have been most hard hit by the attacks on abortion.

There is tremendous potential to mobilize millions of women and men in this struggle. But this isn't going to happen by telling people to "work through the electoral system." People are cynical and disgusted with electoral politics in this country, and this electoral road is not going to inspire and energize anyone! Especially not the youth, who should be at the forefront of this battle. What will inspire people, though, is the vision of a mass militant movement that can go on the *offensive* and really *change the terms of this struggle*.

The powers have gained far too much ground over the years and many people in this country are *poisoned* by all the lies that have been put out about "fetus rights" and

"abortions are selfish." But we can and must turn this around by fighting to tell the people the truth. Fighting in this kind of uncompromising, militant way is actually going to allow us to unite more broadly and influence the greatest number of people. Just look at the anti-war movement of the '60s. The more militant and radical the movement got, the more *all* of society was pushed forward and influenced by the anti-war position.

5. The "electoral" argument says: *Ultimately what the women's movement needs is a stronger power base within the system. The goal of women's liberation is to be equal partners with men in running this society. We need more women politicians, judges, lawyers, police chiefs and generals. And this abortion fight is a way to advance on this path.*

Wrong. As long as people wage the struggle in the context of "the capitalists run society and always will," they will be stuck in the position of constantly trying to loosen the chains of women's oppression instead of fighting to get rid of the chains altogether. The present battle to defend abortion needs to be waged in a way that raises to *millions* of people the question: what will it take to *fundamentally* change the power relations in this country and liberate women? Women in the U.S. need to see that their oppression as women comes from a capitalist system based on dominating and exploiting people all over the world. And until women fight to break *all* the chains, they will never be free. Once the masses of women really understand this, how can they identify with the Senators and Congressmen who preside over this bloody system, and how can they aspire to an equal share in the plunder?

Today we stand at a crossroads in the fight for women's liberation. Women must become a mighty force to bring this system down and bring about a new revolutionary power and a whole new society. And revolutionaries are confident that through today's battles, many women will rise to this historic challenge. □

# HOW THE PENNSYLVANIA CASE THREATENS ROE V. WADE

The Pennsylvania law now being considered by the Supreme Court is a dangerous and insidious measure that would put serious restrictions on women's rights to abortion in that state. A series of Supreme Court decisions have already chipped away in a major way at the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision that said women had a right to abortion. The Pennsylvania law is one of the most restrictive anti-abortion laws in the country. Last October a federal appeals court upheld most of the provisions of this law. This set the stage for the current Supreme Court appeal, which could be the first direct test of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision.

## The Dangerous Provisions of the Law

A look at the contents of the Pennsylvania law—officially known as the Abortion Control Act of 1989—makes it clear why it poses such a deadly threat to women's lives:

- **"Informed Consent":** This provision requires that doctors discuss "alternatives" to abortion with women before proceeding with the abortion. Each woman must be given a state-produced pamphlet with pictures of fetuses taken at two-week intervals during the gestation. She must also be told that medical assistance benefits may be available for prenatal care, delivery and neonatal care and that, unless pregnancy resulted from rape, she may be eligible for child support. The phrase "informed consent" may sound like something positive that helps a woman make a better decision. But it is really a directive from the state that doctors should attempt to talk women out of having abortions. It should actually be called "mandatory coercion."
- **Forced Delay:** A woman is required to wait 24 hours before getting an abortion—even if she is sure about her decision, even if her doctor determines that a delay is unnecessary or medically dangerous, and even if she must travel hundreds of miles to return to the clinic. Because many clinics only perform abortions several days a week, the delay may be more than a day.
- **Forced Parental Consent:** A young woman under 18 who is unmarried or unemancipated must have one parent give written consent before she can get an abortion. The only way to avoid telling a parent is to obtain a court order. Because the "informed consent" and 24-hour delay provisions apply to both the young woman and her parent, the parent must



Washington, D.C., January 21

come to the clinic to give consent to the procedure. This gives parents opposed to abortion another arena to coerce their daughters into having a baby. All this makes it even more difficult for teenage women to have abortions. Parental consent means the nightmare of enforced motherhood and dangerous self-induced or illegal abortions for many teenage women.

- **Husband Notification:** A married woman is required to notify her husband of her decision to get an abortion. Women who make false statements about having given the notification can be jailed for up to a year. There are some narrowly defined exceptions to this rule, but testimony has shown that battered women and marital rape victims would rarely be able to take advantage of them.
- **Narrow Definition of "Medical Emergency":** Most of the restrictions provide exceptions in the case of "medical emergency," when an abortion is necessary to prevent a woman's death or when a delay will create serious risk of substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function. But "medical emergency" is so narrowly defined that it is inconsistent with medical practice and poses dangers to women's health.
- **Records Open to Public:** Doctors are re-

quired to keep detailed records of each abortion, and these records are subject to public disclosure. According to an ACLU source in New York, this provision does not call for keeping names of individuals in these records. But it is clear that these records are not being kept in the interests of the women. They are going to be used by "Operation Rescue" types in their campaign against women and abortion.

After the Pennsylvania abortion law was passed, a Federal district judge ruled that two provisions of the law—on parental consent and on "informed consent"—were unconstitutional. The judge said that these provisions would impose an "undue burden" on women seeking abortions. This decision was in turn overturned by a U.S. Court of Appeals. The Appeals Court decision upheld the parental consent and "informed consent" provisions, but it also held that the husband notification requirement was unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court is now considering the Pennsylvania law as a whole, including the husband notification provision. The *New York Times* (which is a voice of forces within the bourgeoisie who don't agree with overturning *Roe v. Wade*) notes: "If the Court upholds this provision, it will have abandoned a central premise of *Roe v. Wade*, whether it says so or not: that an

adult woman, exercising her constitutional right to privacy, can decide in consultation with a doctor to terminate a pregnancy."

## In the Wake of the Webster Decision

Pennsylvania was the first state to impose restrictions on abortion after the Supreme Court ruling in the watershed *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* case—which gave the states authority to put restrictions on abortion as long as the laws do not create "an absolute obstacle or severe limitations on a woman's decision to have an abortion." In *Webster* the Court upheld a Missouri law banning abortions in public hospitals and imposing other restrictions.

The Pennsylvania case shows the impact of recent Supreme Court rulings against abortion rights—in terms of both chipping away at women's reproductive rights under the *Roe v. Wade* ruling and setting legal precedents to pave the way for the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* altogether.

In the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals on the Pennsylvania law, the judges argued that recent decisions of the Supreme Court used language that set a different standard from the legal standard set in *Roe v. Wade*. In *Roe v. Wade* the Court held that abortion was a "fundamental right" of women under the U.S. Constitution. But the Pennsylvania decision argues that in more recent Supreme Court cases—*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* and *Hodgson v. Minnesota* (the decision giving states the right to enforce parental consent laws)—Justice Sandra Day O'Connor has used different language, referring to abortion as a "limited fundamental right" and saying that state laws would be considered unconstitutional only if they cause an "undue burden" on a woman's decision to have an abortion.

Furthermore, the Court of Appeals argued that Justice O'Connor has written that "an undue burden occurs when a regulation imposes an absolute obstacle or severe limitation on the abortion decision, and not merely when a regulation may inhibit abortions to some degree." So the Appeals Court argued that since different language has been used by Supreme Court Justices in cases since *Roe v. Wade*, lower courts are no longer bound to follow the *Roe v. Wade* decision. In other words, the Appeals Court said that the Supreme Court itself has already reinterpreted *Roe v. Wade* and therefore the states and lower courts no longer had to follow the decision legalizing abortion.

This was basically an end run around *Roe v. Wade* by the Court of Appeals, and it paved the way for a possible direct legal challenge to the law legalizing abortion.

## An Assault on the Right to Abortion

Governor Casey of Pennsylvania has already announced that if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned by the Supreme Court, he would sign a bill banning all abortions except "where the life of the mother is at stake." However, there is some talk that the Supreme Court may not explicitly address the *Roe v. Wade* decision in taking up the Pennsylvania case. In other words, they may not openly say, "*Roe v. Wade* is overruled." Such a decision would come from political calculations by the ruling class that overturning *Roe v. Wade* would arouse widespread outrage and would be too risky a step to take right now.

But even if the Supreme Court does not directly address *Roe v. Wade* in the course of the Pennsylvania case, a decision to uphold the provisions of the Pennsylvania law would be a massive assault on women's right to choice and control over their reproduction. The *New York Times* wrote: "*Roe v. Wade* may survive as a shell of a case with no content or force."

The lives of women are at stake. The Pennsylvania law is a crime against women, and it must be opposed and defeated. □



Washington D.C., January 21.

Special to the RWOR

Special to the RWOR



Concord Naval Weapons Station.

# Protests Mark Gulf War Anniversary

On January 16, people across the San Francisco Bay Area remembered the year anniversary of the beginning of the bombing of Iraq and protested the U.S. War of Shame. In different ways people mourned the murdered Iraqi people, supported the GI resisters and expressed determination to fight the powers and all their crimes. A year ago San Francisco was the scene of the biggest antiwar demonstration in the country as well as some of the boldest actions such as taking over the Bay Bridge and blockading the Federal building.

About 350 people gathered at the same spot in downtown San Francisco where emergency demonstrations against the war were held a year ago. The Emergency Committee to Stop the War in the Middle East and a coalition formed by Food Not Bombs and Roots Against War issued a joint call for the demonstration. This coalition included people from the Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network and many of the most defiant and bold fighters against the war and the victory parades. Many youth joined the protest.

At the rally, speakers denounced the continuing sanctions against the people of Iraq. GI resistance was a major focus, and Jeff Paterson and other resisters spoke out. One Persian Gulf vet, who now works with the group Queer Nation, called out the crimes of the entire system including attacks on abortion rights. A Black Vietnam vet who works with Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist gave a rousing speech with the message "Revolution is the Hope of the Hopeless."

Three hundred police were mobilized against this demonstration, but the rowdy, spirited youth were determined to march. Drums sounded the beat at the front, banners formed up and people took the street. The cops tried to keep the protesters on the sidewalks and would corral a section of the

march, but people would surge back into the street. Seventeen people were arrested.

Across the Bay at the Concord Naval Weapons Station a group of more than 100 religious/peace activists gathered. This station shipped a third of the bombs and missiles used to murder the people of Iraq. The protesters planted 100 white wooden tombstones on the lawn in front of the main gate. Many of the protesters were dressed in black for mourning and carried large photos of Iraqi people. The group moved onto the base and knelt in prayer, blocking the main entrance. Thirty-one people were arrested.

At UC Berkeley 500 people attended a program with anti-war speakers, co-sponsored by the Middle East Children's Alliance and the Pledge of Resistance. The message was to renew resistance, with the focus on opposing the continued sanctions against the people of Iraq. Before the program people rallied on the campus and held a candlelight vigil.

In Fremont, a suburb which has never been known for radical activity, a small group of people staged a die-in at a busy intersection at rush hour. The protesters said they wanted people to remember all the pain the U.S. bombing caused and the suffering that continues today in Iraq. At the UC Medical Center in San Francisco 300 health care workers vowed to refuse military service.

In Seattle about 600 to 800 people answered a call by a broad range of groups to demonstrate on January 15. The official sponsors for the action were: Church Council of Seattle, Central America Peace Campaign, Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, Washington Vets for Peace, Citizens for Overt Action, and Washington SANE/FREEZE. There were strong calls for unity with the Iraqi people and a sense of urgency among the dem-

onstrators about the need to stop further U.S. interventions and invasions around the world. The rally at the Seattle Central Community College featured speeches by GI resisters, the Seattle spokesperson for the RCP, a Greenpeace member speaking on environmental damage in Iraq, a Black rap

poet, a Black minister and others. After a spirited march people gathered for another rally and a discussion to grapple over questions raised by the Gulf war, the dangers of new U.S. interventions and the way forward for the movement. □

## NOW AVAILABLE

Pamphlet from Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network

### Some Lessons of the Struggle Against the Gulf War

On the year anniversary of the bombing of Iraq, the Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network has issued a position paper evaluating the struggle against the U.S. war in the Gulf. The paper was prepared and edited by the National Office of the Action Network, with the help of many people in the anti-war movement. They write: "Its purpose is to learn from that battle in order to do everything possible to stop the U.S. from waging other wars of aggression. We encourage people to read, discuss, comment on and critique this paper, as well as broadly reproduce, distribute and publish it. The point is to sum up the past in order to change the future."

#### Co-signers of the Action Network paper:

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Rahim Azizarab, Iranian activist, Chicago  | Laurie Tormey Hasbrook, Palestine Human Rights Ctr-International   | James Marsh, Prof. of Philosophy, Fordham University  |
| Anna Brown, Dept. of Political Science, Fordham University   | Sean Hellier, War Parade 18, Amnesty International staff, ACT UP (facing felony trial for joining war protest)         | Dr. Mohammed T. Mehdi, Pres. of Arab-American Relations Comm., author of "The Gulf Victory War: Myth and Realities" |
| Comm. to Stop the War in the Gulf/Comm. to Defend Jeff Paterson, Hawaii  | Richard Hutchinson, author/editor, "Life During Wartime"   | Maryam Namazie, Iranian, member of War Parade 18  |
| Thomas K. Cullerton, Coast Guard resister, Florida   | Joey Johnson, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade  | Jeff Paterson, first military resister, editor of "The ANTI-WARNOR"   |
| Carl Dix, nat'l spokesperson, Revolutionary Communist Party USA (served 2 years in Leavenworth for refusing to go to Vietnam)                  | Rev. Michael Kendall, Cathedral of St. John the Divine   | Cinny Poppen, Chicago   |
| Shawn Eichman and Joe Urgo, convicted of felony for protest at Times Sq. Recruiting Station, NYC, Sep. 11, 1990                                | C. Clark Kissinger, correspondent for Revolutionary Worker, organized first anti-Vietnam War march on Washington, D.C. | Vic Scutari, religious leader, Long Island  |
| Ron English, artist, NYC   | Yuri Kochiyama, community activist   | Judith Sloan, performance activist/comedian-actress   |
| Larry Everest, author/journalist, "Behind the Poison Cloud: Union Carbide's Bhopal Massacre" and produced video, "Iraq: The War on the People" | Rev. Earl Koopercamp, ass't priest, Church of the Intercession, Harlem   | L.K. Steward, attorney  |
| Rev. Keith Farnham, member of conference of social concerns committee, United Church of Christ, Wisconsin                                      | Ron Kuby, attorney   | Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Anti-Imperialist, Seattle Chapter  |
| Phil Farnham, RCP, NYC, War Parade 18  | William Kunstler, attorney   | War Parade 18, on trial for protesting the Parade of Shame, June 10, NYC  |
| Colleen Gallagher, Navy resister, Long Island  | Beth and Corliss Lamont  | Rev. George W. Webber, Prof. and ex-pres., NY Theological Seminary, visited Iraq with medical supplies, Dec. 1990   |
|  | Fr. Lawrence Lucas, Church of the Resurrection, Harlem   | Dan Williams, attorney  |
|  | Samuel Lwin, Marine Corps resister, NYC  | Behzad Yahamaian, Ass't Prof. of Economics, Stockton College  |

(Individuals' organizations listed for ID only)

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Waikiki, Honolulu—Protesters mark war anniversary with guerrilla theater in the tourist district.

# PUBLIC ENEMY:

## The Arizona Controversy



Photo: Shiva Oite

Chuck D

A hot debate surfaced across the nation on this year's official Martin Luther King holiday. The topic was the violence of the oppressed vs. the oppressor—right? or wrong?! The center of attention was a positive contribution on the music scene by Public Enemy—the rap group who can't seem to cut a single track these days without unleashing hot controversy.

A storm of criticism has been mounted against the PE video for the song "By the Time I Get to Arizona." The video is "a trip into the fantasy world of Public Enemy." "You know, the big payback," said Chuck D of PE. In the clip, KKK style politicians in Arizona are taken out in various ways by armed Black militants, played by members of PE. This footage is intercut with a scene reenacted from the Civil Rights struggle in the South and the killing of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The song, from the album *Apocalypse '91: The Empire Strikes Black*, is a protest against politicians who refused to allow the observation of MLK Day in Arizona. (The holiday was also rejected in a state referendum last year.) MLK Day is an official holiday in every other state of the union except New Hampshire. Chuck D said he was also prompted to write the song last year to expose the hypocrisy of the Bush administration which declared war on the Iraqi people on January 15th, 1991—the very day they were supposedly celebrating the non-violent philosophy of Martin Luther King.

An entire ABC *Nightline* program was devoted to the PE video controversy on the night of MLK day. Anchor Forrest Sawyer opened the show by presenting the terms of debate as the bourgeoisie want to frame them: "In other times this video might be dismissed as silly or accepted as an unusual artistic statement, and that would be the end of it. But these days America is on a hair trigger and Public Enemy is taking some incoming fire of its own—accused of encouraging violence and violating King's memory. It is music that's becoming more popular. So you should decide for yourself. Is this art, or dangerous propaganda?"

In other words, the powers are posing the question: *Can we afford to laugh off this subversive artwork in order to preserve the illusion that America is democratic and we let all views be aired? Or is it so dangerous that we need to do a quick mop-up operation against these rappers? And who can we mobilize to create public opinion against PE so we don't look too heavy handed?*

This was the arena Chuck D stepped into that night, appearing live and relaxed from Germany, rubbing gloved hands together, ready for action. Early on, he was asked pointblank: "Are you advocating violence?"

Chuck D: "No, not at all. I'm just advocating the fact that in America, every single Black leader, especially in this century, has been taken out by a counter-intelligence program, the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. Whether it be the ideologies of Malcolm or the ideologies of Martin."

"So what is the proper response to this?"

Chuck D: "The proper response is never to turn the other cheek, but to make people know how we feel as Black people. We're

tired of being disrespected."

Chuck later commented on the video: "There's a lot more violent movies out there, and there's violence in real life. If you consider, for instance, all the rehashing of the war last year spurring a kid on to do violent things.... This is a violent society. It was built on 500 years of violence. And people are getting ready to celebrate 500 years of genocide next year with the Columbus Day!"

But of course this is not the violence which worries the bourgeoisie. So *Nightline* had on hand their Black liberal commentator, columnist Clarence Page, to pinpoint exactly where the Black liberals think the violence must stop—when the Black youth themselves begin to fight back. This is what Page calls "breaking the cycle of violence.... [The PE video] preaches a message that violence is the proper response to violence.

when the slaves rise up against the slave-master, that this puts them in just as degraded and just as corrupted a position as the slavemaster and the exploiter. We cannot agree with this. It is not true.

"It fails to draw a fundamental distinction between the uprising of the oppressed to overthrow and finally bury their enslavement and all forms of enslavement, and the violence of the oppressor to keep the masses of people in an enslaved condition."

Back in April of 1968, the revolutionary leader Mao Tsetung said: "Some days ago Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has



Public Enemy

That is not what Dr. King taught us."

Page is right about one thing: MLK did teach that the oppressed should not rise up in violent confrontation or armed struggle against their oppressors. And this philosophy has been very important to the powers in this country in keeping people down—when King was alive and even more so after his murder. So it is surely upsetting to the authorities that a rap group can sell 2 million copies of an album which questions King's philosophy of non-violent capitulation to the oppressor. In another song on the album, "Can't Truss It," PE samples Malcolm X saying: "To be non-violent in the face of the violence that we have been experiencing for the past 400 years is actually doing our people a disservice. In fact, it's a crime...."

As Bob Avakian says: "Some people say that violence is degrading—that when the oppressed rise up against their oppressors,

taught the broad masses of Black people in the United States a profound lesson...."

This lesson—that political power flows from the barrel of a gun—found expression in mass rebellions of Black people in more than 100 cities in the U.S. And, very quickly, the idea that revolutionary armed struggle was the solution to the problems of the people became a popular notion.

The revolution many fought for and many more hoped for during the late '60s did not materialize at that time. But it is an excellent sign that this myth of "non-violence" promoted by King is being debated publicly by the people, especially the basic youth—even while Public Enemy, and much of the Black nationalist movement continue to count King as a "hero."

*Nightline* opened with a reel of comments on PE's "Arizona" video, including white bigots (both the polite and the vicious variety). Black preacher Rev. Warren

Stewart dissed the video, complaining that it would foment violence among the Black youth who were being attacked by racists daily. And Rosa Parks—a symbol of the Civil Rights Movement since her refusal to go to the back of the bus in the early '60s—was interviewed saying that violence was not King's way to get the holiday. But not all the guests responded in the desired manner. J.D. Considine, a white music journalist, defended the video's content and said: "If George Bush can get elected on the heels of a Willie Horton ad campaign, why can't PE make its point with fantasy revenge video?" Considine saw the MLK Day battle as one between those who think, "There's been enough progress on civil rights, we don't need a holiday," vs. those who want to make the statement that, "We're not anywhere close to an equal society...there's still an awful lot of racist people in this country, and this is not going to be tolerated."

Black nationalist artists telling youth not to turn the other cheek on national TV... white journalists defending them and denouncing this racist society... discussion on MLK Day focusing on whether it's right for the oppressed to rebel *with force*. All this is a problem for the rulers, even if the message of this video, and Public Enemy's philosophy, do not represent a fully revolutionary viewpoint. The fantasy commandos don't have a Maoist strategy of people's war; they portray an act of revenge—similar to George Jackson's vision of armed actions aimed at winning reforms from the system.

But clearly the youth around the country are enjoying the idea that the powers could be afraid of them. One teenage girl at a youth center in Arizona was asked, "Is the video encouraging violence?" She responded, "No, not really, they're not gonna start going out blowin up people." Then, with a twinkle in her eye, she adds, "But it's a thought!" Or, as Chuck D quipped in one interview, "When Black people make a fantasy, somehow it's taken more seriously."

Well, powerful art with an outlaw message—which actually connects with the masses of people—can indeed be "dangerous" to the power structure. Artworks of this type can envision future scenarios. They can show us people who act differently, under different circumstances, but relate in a really deep way to the people and conditions who surround us every day. Art can take things "higher than life." It can allow you to dream. And if people can dream these things, new ways of being, new kinds of people, if we can experience these ideas and images through art, then we may be that much closer to making them happen in real life.

So if a video which shows some racist politicians being threatened by a few people's commandos can spark a major war of words, what might happen if an artwork make its way onto the national stage which went beyond "revenge"? What if it showed a mass uprising of the people...like a modern day version of Spartacus where the slaves take arms in hand to overthrow the rulers and set up a new society in the interests of all the oppressed? Just a thought. □

# Chicago: Defend the Lockdown

In the next few months, three legal cases are scheduled to go to trial in Chicago. These cases are part of a campaign by the powers to crush opposition to the CHA lockdowns, and they mark an important juncture in this battle. This calls for a new important counteroffensive by the people to defend the Lockdown Fighters and to unravel the Man's plan to build jails instead of housing and turn public housing into jails.

The CHA lockdowns have become a national model. Newark has begun its own program of sweeps and lockdowns, and HUD has sent a training film of the Chicago sweeps to public housing authorities throughout the nation. Since September 1983, 76 buildings in Chicago have been locked down, and some buildings have been repeatedly raided by police. The CHA has also been rewarded by the Bush administration with a \$5.9 million grant to "eliminate drugs" and \$114.1 million to "modernize and reconstruct" buildings. At a time when \$300 million is being slashed from social services in Illinois, CHA candidly admits that "a big chunk" of that money will pay for more sweeps.

The lockdowns are part and parcel of the New World Order war on the poor. These are the same powers that are closing schools, hospitals and factories and slashing welfare benefits to the unemployed. As

a Chicago radio commentator said, "Every day on the news we hear about people starving in the Soviet Union, but if you turn 180 degrees you see that the U.S. is only a few heartbeats away from the same crisis." The powers have no solution and no future except to lock up the poor and pen them in—and hope that people from the middle classes will believe the lies that "it's all a bunch of criminals."

The lockdowns have been carried out under the cover that they are protecting CHA tenants from drugs and crime. But the truth is that the gestapo-like police "sweeps" through the buildings, ID badges, and eviction of people not on the lease are measures by the authorities to keep the people down. Because crime and drugs are real problems in the projects, there has been confusion among the people about the lockdowns. But there has been opposition to the lockdowns from the beginning, and today even more tenants are learning the realities of life in a CHA police state.

### Fighting the Lockdowns

When the lockdowns began in 1988, tenants organized protest marches at Prairie Courts and Harold Ickes Homes. Robert Taylor Homes tenants petitioned CHA to

not lock down their building. Mass speak-outs against the lockdowns were held at Cabrini-Green, and youth joined on-the-spot protests when their buildings were locked down at Ogden Courts.

In January 1990, two organizations formed to fight the lockdowns—Fight the Power and the Campaign to End the CHA Lockdowns—launched an offensive with homeless takeovers in the projects and protests at the office of CHA Chief Vince Lane. The "People's Lockdown" of CHA on May First marked a high point, when the real criminals—the CHA manager and their goons, guards and snitches—were "locked down" in the CHA office at 2400 South State Street.

This bold action roused the people, and it stung the enemy. They hit back with a two-pronged counterstroke against the people. On the one hand they are using their big-caliber weapon of eviction against the tenants. At the same time they put out a "banning order" to keep political organizations and activists from going onto CHA property to join with tenants to fight the lockdowns.

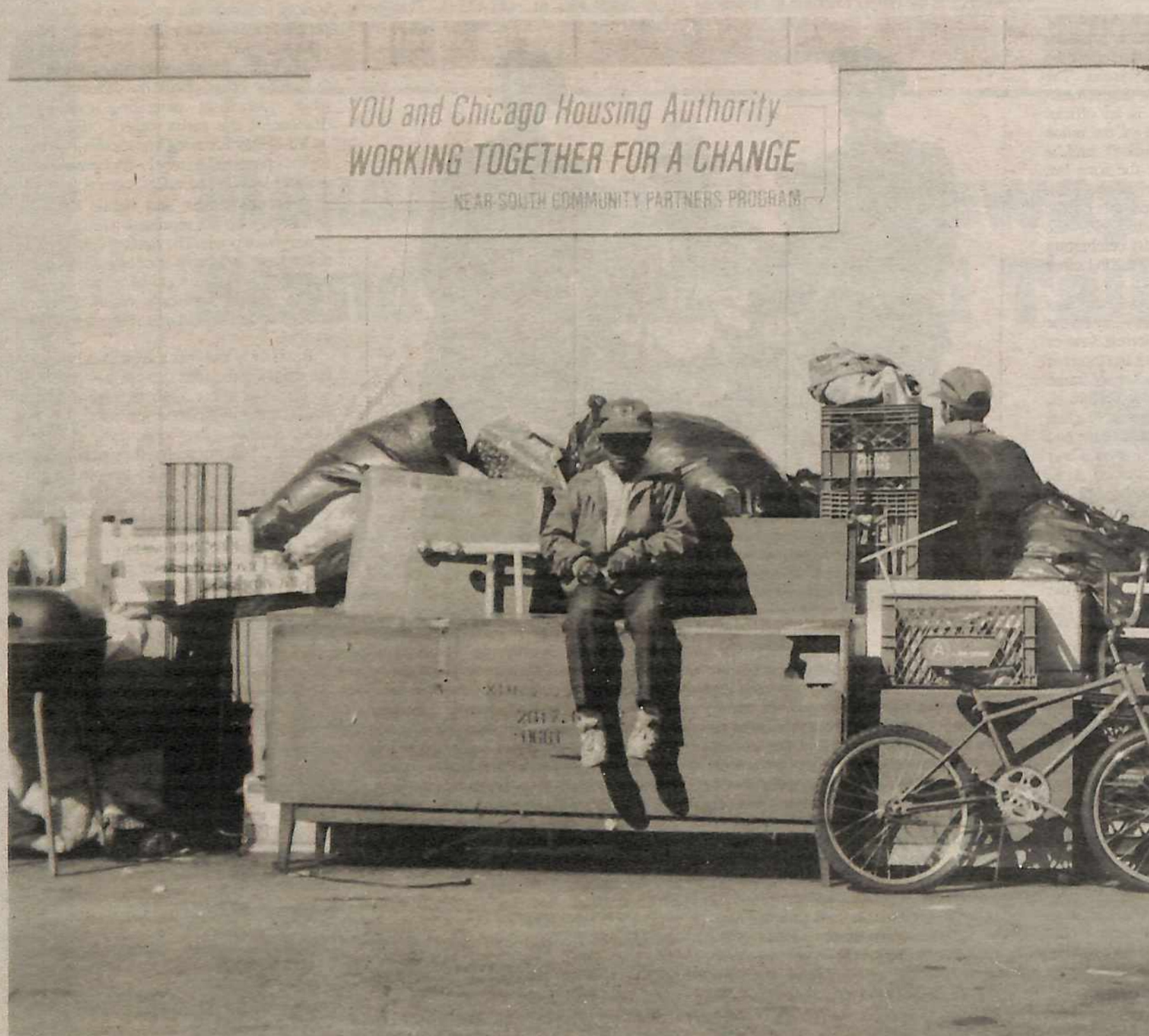
For people in public housing—90 percent of whom are one aid check away from homelessness—the threat of eviction is a powerful weapon for social control. Tenants can accumulate "strikes" for rules

as petty as barbecuing on the landings or letting curtains blow outside the windows. It is always possible to selectively enforce these rules and bring "three strikes" against a tenant and put them out. But now the CHA is using eviction as a blatant form of political repression. It may sound like the West Bank of Palestine or South Africa, but in Chicago people are being punished for political activity by being put out of their homes.

In April 1991 the CHA railroaded through the eviction of FTP activists Maurice and Lenie Richmond and their three children, even after the criminal charges against Maurice stemming from the People's Lockdown had been dropped. Now they are prosecuting three people on charges of interfering with the sheriffs who put the Richmonds out in the street. This whole case illustrates how the justice system in the U.S. is completely unjust: the criminal police and housing authorities throw people out of their homes while those



Federal HUD head Jack Kemp tours a locked down



The eviction of the Richmonds, April 1991.

who try to stop this criminal behavior are arrested and charged.

The "Eviction Reversal 3" defendants hope to show that they acted as part of a political protest to prevent an unjust eviction and to stop the lockdowns which have forced thousands of people into the ranks of the homeless. The three acted out of their conviction that in the course of a struggle it is necessary to stand with frontline fighters when they come under attack. After the People's Lockdown, it was the Richmonds who were subjected to the most severe punishment—denial of housing. The stand of those arrested during the eviction is an important statement that people outside the projects are also willing to risk a lot to stop the lockdowns.

### Civil Suit Turns into Fishing Expedition

Another tenant, Beverly Herring, was also threatened with eviction for signing revolutionaries into the building to see the Richmonds. The CHA has accused her of "aiding and abetting a subversive meeting." A major article in *The Reader* newspaper exposed this and reported that the CHA had temporarily backed off. But

Special to the RWOR



# down Fighters!

Beverly has filed a civil suit against the CHA to protect herself from a future eviction attempt.

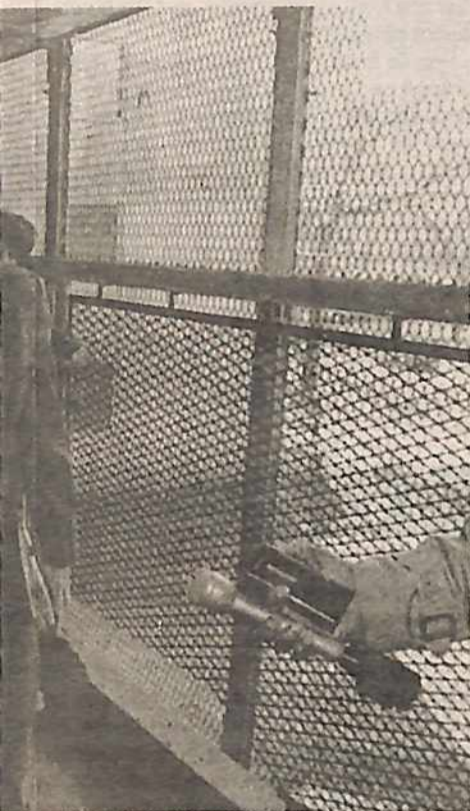
This is a case where a tenant is justifiably trying to fight the CHA police state. But civil suits are risky. The courts are the powers' arena, where they have a home-court advantage over the people. There is always the chance, especially in the absence of mass struggle and protest, that the courts will make a ruling that can be used against the people. They could also use this case to make tighter rules and regulations for visitors to the lockdown buildings.

Civil suits are also dangerous because they give the state a wide latitude for "discovery" to get information about political organizations. In this case, the CHA has already subpoenaed a revolutionary, Cheryl, who they believe was one of the visitors that Beverly signed in to see the Richmonds. At a deposition hearing in December, Cheryl was asked hundreds of questions, including about her political af-



Demonstration against the lockdowns, January 1989.

Special to the RWOR



Lockdown building with CHA Chairman Vincent Lane.

## CHA Tenants on the Lockdowns

"I oppose them. They not doing any good. The gangs and the drugs are still there. They be locked right in there with us. They got us in prison. We gotta show ID to get in. They got security guards searching you. Male guards searching women's purses. Some people just get to walk in without showing ID, including people who don't live there. Some guards don't hassle you, but others do. My daughter came to visit and they physically searched her, her bag and her purse. Two male guards did it.

"The drugs are still being sold and brought in. I can see it. I know the cops and the guards can see it, too. They're not searching the people who deal the drugs. They might even be giving these drugs to them. The guards even scan some people [using retina eye scanners] some of the time.

"Before the lockdown, your guests could come up. Now you gotta walk down (the elevators ain't working) to sign them in and walk back up. Nothing being done as far as repairs. They do house inspections every other month—on Sundays, which disturbs your relaxation—but nothing gets repaired. They painted and fixed lights when they brought Kemp [head of HUD], but that was the last time.

"When the sweep came down, people not on the lease had to go. You could put a name on the lease, but then your rent went up.

"There was a shootout out the back and the kids were trapped on the playground in the middle of the shootout because the back entrance is kept locked and only the guards can buzz it open. They were down on the floor ducking bullets at the time. At other buildings, two young children have been shot because they couldn't get in through the back entrance. In one shooting, a guard

had told the youth they couldn't enter right before they were shot. Nothing has been done about this situation."

A woman from Rockwell Gardens, the project which has been held up as a "national model" by HUD

"The guards be acting stupid. When you call people and they don't come down, you can't get in. Lose your ID and you can't get in, period. The guards let some people in without ID but they don't others. My auntie and some other women complain about being searched by male guards.

"I don't know nobody in the projects who likes the lockdowns."

14-year-old from a South Side project

"The people who support the lockdowns feel it's a way of being in a more secure environment. Nine out of ten times they find out it's not. The seniors were the ones who felt more threatened. They wanted somebody down there to protect their checks and their apartments. The majority of them have found out that this ain't true, but it takes a while. Young mothers thought their kids can go out and play without being shot at or getting their money stolen. Some of them been in a battle zone so long they think that a uniformed security guard means safety. They get a different take when the guards slap their child or the guard is shooting at someone and their kid is in the middle.

"There are youth who talk about doing stuff to stop the lockdowns. Older folks wonder what they can do. They feel they're stuck. If they help, they will be kicked out. If not, they'll still be in the same situation. There's been a scare tactic in the building. Mothers are afraid of where you go when you get put out. With younger people, if

they catch you going wrong that's a point against your mother. Or they say you just a gang member. Or they tell the gang you're in a rival gang. You get beat up. They can throw a family out for what a child does, even if it's a nephew or a grandkid visiting."

Former tenant from a South Side lockdown building

"The employment situation does tie into the lockdowns, because people who lose jobs move in with relatives or girlfriends but aren't on their leases. And these people get pushed out when the lockdowns hit. This loss of jobs sends people to doubling up with relatives or girlfriends or on the streets and homeless. Only last year did CHA start giving subsidized housing to single men on GA. That's how I got a place."

Formerly homeless man now living in the projects

"A lot of people changed their position after the lockdowns hit. Male guards were searching the women after they went to the store. They showed them orders that this was going to be the deal from now on. If you go out, no matter how brief, you get physically searched. There was another incident where a leaseholder was trying to sign in and the guard wouldn't let her and told her she'd have to go somewhere else for the night. I think the guard was hitting on her and she cut him off, and he was basically saying if you don't come across, I don't have to let you in. She didn't get in that night, in spite of she had a picture ID for that building and proof it was her apartment."

Former "illegal" resident of West Side project

filations and her knowledge of people associated with the RCP and the Campaign to End the CHA Lockdowns. This was clearly a "fishing expedition," and Cheryl righteously refused to answer all questions. She has taken the stand that she will not give information to the enemy that can and will be used against the people, and she now faces the threat of going to jail for her refusal to cooperate. Only mass political struggle and exposure of the CHA's repressive policies can keep Cheryl out of jail and prevent the CHA from retaliating against Beverly Herring.

### Against the Banning Order

The third legal case, involving two youth from the RCYB who were arrested at Robert Taylor Homes during a clampdown last summer, will be a test case for exposing and challenging the "banning order." The banning order is an internal memo which was circulated to CHA security and posted in the Richmonds' building after the People's Lockdown, instructing the guards to prohibit members of the RCP and the Campaign to End the CHA Lockdowns from entering CHA property and to have them arrested if they refuse to leave.

Continued on page 10

# Defend the Lockdown Fighters!

Continued from page 9

This banning order is a blatant exposure of the class nature of so-called political rights in this society, where the basic people are routinely denied the right to political speech and association. The banning order has been enforced against anyone that the guards *think* might be members of the RCP or the Campaign—including nuns, priests and attorneys who tried to visit the Richmond family. This is an attack on the rights of political activists, but even more so on the masses of basic people. The banning order makes it even clearer that the lockdowns are part of an apartheid setup where legal rights are being stripped away from Black people and an open police state is being imposed. It specifically aims to isolate and ghettoize the tenants from political activists and other sections of the people who stand with them against the lockdowns.

The banning order and the many arrests of revolutionaries is also a confession by the CHA and the rulers that what they really fear is the explosive combination of oppressed and angry masses with the revolutionary politics of the RCP. It is no coincidence that the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper has been banned in South Africa, banned in some prisons in the U.S., and now the RCP is banned from the housing projects in Chicago.

There is widespread outrage and opposition to the banning order, including in the progressive legal community, but this needs to translate into an active campaign to challenge it in the streets as well as in the courts.

## High Stakes Battle

These attacks in the legal arena set the stage for and demand a new offensive by the people.

There's a lot on the line for both sides. A victory for the powers could send activists to jail, legitimize the banning order as a step toward further stripping away the people's rights, and strengthen the CHA's ability to use evictions as a club to put a

CONFIDENTIAL  
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TO: Area Directors  
FROM: Vincent Lane, Chairman  
Board of Commissioners  
SUBJECT: Demonstrations by the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Campaign to End CHA Lockdown Group

There have been several demonstrations by the Revolutionary Communist Party; and a group known as the Campaign to End CHA Lockdown. These demonstrations have recently become violent in nature and have resulted in injury to CHA employees and residents, and damage to property. Accordingly, CHA Police and CHA staff in Contract Security were issued standing orders to prohibit any persons belonging to, or associated with, the above referenced groups from entering on CHA property; and to escort such persons off CHA property wherever they might be found. Staff have also been instructed to effect arrests of any person belonging to these groups who attempts to enter upon CHA property; or if found on CHA property, refuses to leave. These orders have been effective since the violent May 2, 1990 demonstration at 2400 S. State, and will remain in effect until further notice.

You are directed to promptly instruct all Managers and Assistant Managers of this directive and to ensure their understanding of same.

The above directive applies only to persons belonging to, or otherwise affiliated with, the groups named above. Other groups or organizations who enter on to CHA property to protest and/or distribute literature may do so PROVIDED THEY REMAIN PEACEFUL AND RESPECTFUL OF THE RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEES, RESIDENTS AND THEIR GUESTS; AND DO NOT ENGAGE IN ANY ACTS OR ACTIVITY WHICH THREATEN OR DISTURB THE HEALTH, SAFETY AND WELFARE OF TENANTS OR EMPLOYEES. Such groups shall be restricted to the grounds and parking areas provided that they do not impede or restrict normal pedestrian and/or vehicular use and access; and are prohibited from entering any management or work spaces or community areas, or any area above the first floor.

Staff should contact the CHA Police Department at 4947 South Federal and Contract Security at 540 East 36th Street in any instance where demonstrators or protesters gather on or near CHA property, regardless of whether the demonstration/protest is peaceful or otherwise. CHA Police and Contract Security personnel

The banning order.

chill on the masses and force them to go along with the lockdowns. The powers cannot be allowed to get away with this.

For the people's side, these cases are an

opportunity to shine a spotlight on the lockdowns, break through the confusion that has held many progressive people back from taking a stand against this attack on

the people, bring heart to the tenants and strengthen their determination to fight the powers.

A leaflet from the RCP, Chicago branch, which has been appearing in the projects, says: "These court cases have become a symbol of how the powers-that-be are attacking the people and revolutionary leadership. We will fight them in the courts and use these cases to put the CHA and the system on trial for the lockdowns, evictions and other crimes against the people. Money is needed to wage this fight, and contributions need to come from basic people who see their own future in this high-stakes battle to defeat the lockdowns and defend the frontline fighters.

"But basic people know from experience that justice won't be won in the courts by relying on mummy judges in black robes. It must be won by taking the battle into the housing projects and into the streets. Only the people can stop these attacks—and more, join battle with the enemy in ways that will take our movement higher!"

The Chicago chapter of Refuse & Resist! recently held a program at Columbia College and called on people to join this battle to defend the Lockdown Fighters and fight the police state in the projects. The RCP Chicago branch is calling on youth and students to help get the RW and flyers about this battle into the schools and the communities of the oppressed. In the lockdown buildings the people are building organization and preparing for a new round of struggle.

Nobody should have any illusions that the powers are going to free the Lockdown Fighters or "reform" the police state in the projects without a real fight by the people. This is a high-stakes battle, and the powers are not playing.

People from all walks of life need to step forward on the side of the basic people and break through these moves to isolate and crush the social base for revolution in this country. A counteroffensive around these trials is urgently needed—to expose the real criminals and hasten the day when this criminal system can be brought down. □

# Message from Stateway Gardens: Stand Up and Stand Tall

This letter came from an RW reader at Stateway Gardens housing project in Chicago:

I read about the murder of Fifo Hightower by a CHA guard and the lockdown of Robert Taylor Homes in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

I live at Stateway Gardens and they used the same excuses to raid and lockdown our homes as they did at Robert Taylor.

A guard was shot. They were trying to kill one of us. They didn't know it was one of their own, when one guard shot another at Stateway Gardens. The guard thought it was one of us. Then they use the shooting of the guard as a damn excuse for locking us down.

What in the hell is wrong with us. The pigs herd us into damn projects like sheep. Lock us up and out, then they kill us. Brother Hightower was shot down trying to get into a locked-down building not fit for dogs, and when we don't fight back we are saying go ahead it's OK. Do it again.

I can remember a time when if a white man called us niggers we would try to take his head off. But now the white man's system kick us in the ass, kill us, drop dope in our veins, take our jobs, starve us, put us in the streets and what do we do? Nothing. And so they do it again and again. Why are we letting Brother Hightower's death be in vain? Why are we letting this white man's system dope us and make us kill each other?

They said they were looking for drugs when they raided our buildings. Without cause they tore apartments apart. Seems like some apartments was targeted either because they had teenagers or in one case the leaseholder was out taking her baby to the doctor and her brother who is not on the lease was watching the other children.

The man uses the dope as another damn excuse to lock us up and treat us like dogs.

I can show you my dog tag. You couldn't get into your own apartment until you went and took your picture.

Rat-infested buildings, armed guards at the doors. Guards like the one who shot Brother Hightower. Guards like the ones who tried to shoot us and shot one of their own.

Who are they protecting? Male guards searched some of the women. I was mad. A lot of people are mad. Guys who weren't on the lease had to get out. They were standing outside calling up to the windows for their coats and other belongings. We've lost the little control we had over our lives.

Have we been beaten down so low that we can't stand up? I think not. Now is the time to stand up and stand tall. Stop kissing ass and start kicking ass. Think about it. It's time to join the Revolutionary Communist Party. I like what this party is saying and what it's trying to do. Let's join together and do what has to be done.

Reader at Stateway Gardens



# Women Are Not Incubators

There are many different reasons why women get abortions. And they are all valid. No woman should feel guilty about terminating an unwanted pregnancy. And no woman should buy the crap that having an abortion is "selfish."

The birth of a child can be a source of great joy to a woman. But it can be a nightmare for a woman who for *whatever reason* does not want to have a child at a particular time or under particular circumstances. In such cases *forcing* a woman to continue a pregnancy is extremely cruel and sadistic. It will affect her entire life and no woman's life should be twisted in such a way. No child should be born unwanted. No woman should be forced to choose between compulsory motherhood and a back-alley butcher.

Banning abortion is like rape—the violent assertion of male domination and male supremacist society over women, the forceful and violent control of women's bodies, in the most personal dimensions. Banning abortion means suppression of women by force of law and the state. It is institutionalized violence against women.

If abortions are outlawed women will continue to seek out abortions. But the difference will be that instead of going in early for a simple and safe medical procedure many women will find themselves trapped, forced to swallow poisons, mutilate themselves with coat hangers, or die at the hands of fast-buck butchers. All this was routine in the U.S. prior to 1973 and continues to be routine in many parts of the world today.

Abortion is a common and significant part of women having control over their

own lives. And women have to stop being defensive about it. No matter how late in a pregnancy, no matter how much it *might* be able to live outside a women's body, a fetus is NOT a child. And abortion is NOT murder.

"Life" is a characteristic of everything on this planet which is capable of growth, development, active transformation of its environment, reproduction, etc. It is characteristic of every animal, every plant, and every cell for that matter. A fertilized egg is "alive." But so is a human ovum, a human sperm cell, or a human skin cell! Obviously every living thing cannot and should not be preserved.

A pregnancy is a nine-month process during which a fertilized egg grows, develops, and goes through a series of transformations before it can finally become a baby—a new human being—at the *time of its birth*. BEFORE birth, it is not a child or a person with an independent existence. It is a developing mass of tissue integrally connected to the woman's vital biological processes. It is part of that woman with no separate social existence. It has the *potential* to become human. But it is not yet a separate social being that should have separate social rights. For that it must have entered society as a separate entity. That is, it must have been born.

Here lies the heart of the struggle around abortion: As long as reproduction is rooted in individual women, the basis exists for the social regulation of reproduction to be an oppressive thing for women. Exactly because of this, the overall physical and social well-being of women must take priority



Honolulu, January 21.

over any subordinate processes, such as reproduction. This is a question of women's health. But even more, it is a question of *women's right to function fully in society.*

.....

A woman who is forced to bear a child against her will is assaulted and degraded in both body and spirit. On the other hand, a woman who can control her own reproduction and decide whether and when to have children will be stronger, more independent, and better able to deal with the world at large, outside the confines of the family. She will be better able to lift up her head, better able to dream and visualize the way the world **COULD BE**. And she will be

## Women Are Not Incubators

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**a Nazi Program!**  
**Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of**  
**Women As a Mighty Force For Revolution!**

## D.C.

Continued from page 4

on notice that the outlawing of abortion threatens to make the country un-governable. We cannot wait for the axe to fall. The level of resistance must be pushed to a whole new level now. Nothing else makes sense. Make mass resistance a reality before reality becomes a nightmare!"

.....

The RW received the following reports on other pro-choice actions held on January 22:

**SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA:** About 500 people gathered in the Mission District for a pro-choice demonstration. The action was called by the Bay Area Coalition for Reproductive Rights. A spokesperson from the Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue said, "It's suicidal to rely on the system.... Look at how the Democrats rolled over for Clarence Thomas." A march was led by 20 torches, and as it went up Mission Street there was a lot of support from people in the neighborhood. Demonstrators took over a main intersection in downtown and a huge effigy of a woman made of red coat hangers went up in flames. Effigies of the Supreme Court justices were also burned as people chanted, "Court, court, court's on fire, we don't need any water, let the court burn." A speakout was held around the bonfire.

**CLEVELAND:** 300 pro-choice demonstrators—half of them young women and newly active—picketed in front of the Right to Life "Vigil for the Babies" at Cleveland Public Hall. Women artists brought a giant puppet of a woman mocking the Supreme Court's attempt to deny women's rights with a sign on its belly labeled "Supreme Court's Uterus?" Community actors beat a bass drum and chanted, "Right to Life, your name's a lie—you don't care if women die!" Some

youth tried to block the anti-abortionists from getting off buses, and the police had to escort the reactionaries to their meeting.

**PHILADELPHIA:** About 200 people demonstrated in downtown Philadelphia against the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act—the anti-abortion law the Supreme Court just announced it will review. This action was called by the New York chapter of WHAM. Women poured blood into the street and alleyways.

**HONOLULU, HAWAII:** A crowd of several hundred cross-wielding anti-abortionists were confronted by 60 pro-choice activists at the State Capitol. The police created an enforced "no man's land" between the anti-abortionists and the pro-choice demonstrators. However, a leading member of the University of Hawaii Pro-Choice Action Group was able to get to the other side, mount the stage and speak out.

Meanwhile some young women unfurled banners against parental consent laws and for "abortion without apology"—right in the anti-abortionists' territory. When the anti-abortionists attempted to march, a huge banner with "Women are Not Incubators, Fetuses are Not Children, Abortion is Not Murder" somehow got in front to lead the march.

The fact that the pro-choice forces were outnumbered was discouraging to some, and it was clear that pro-choice organizers have a lot more work to do to mobilize pro-choice forces. But many people were especially encouraged by the ferocity and creativity of the new activists, some who were attending their first demonstration. An older woman who has been active for years remarked that demonstrations like this gave her new hope for the future because the youth cut right through everything that

holds back the mainstream movement.

The RW received the following report from a reader in Chicago:

On January 22, 1992 in Chicago, the pro-life born-again-bigots meeting at the Bismark Hotel, for their conference "Speak out Illinois," were rained on! The weather held but the pro-choice activists, Refuse & Resist! and supporters, rained on their parade in a major way. The thunder from the few voices of the opposition were enough to drown out anti-abortion speaker Joseph Schielder and the bogus moral chants of the Christian fascists. It's telling that their voices and crosses were raised at the pro-life rally when there was only a handful to oppose them. But neither hide nor hair of the "moral ones" were seen at the Daley Plaza that afternoon for the pro-choice torchlight rally and march. Over a hundred supporters of abortion rights stood in the icy rain to support our cause. No one rained on our parade. No one can! Our fight will not end until the oppression has ended.

The media claims the numbers of pro-life supporters are out-growing the numbers of pro-choice supporters. Think again!

The dozen or so pro-choice people at the anti-abortion rally had the voices and anger of hundreds behind them. Their voices rising up, mixing with the voices from others that want the oppression of women to end. Rising to create great seething clouds hovering over the United States. Building into a storm of such magnitude that if the right to abortion is taken away, the patriarchs will feel the heat of the electricity unleashed from our storm.

We must fight back now! Gather forces, thunder, lightning to keep the storm of the counteroffensive strong. We will continue to rain on their parade until we have secured the reproductive rights of women and the liberation of all oppressed people.



Washington, D.C., January 21.

Special to the RWOR

## U.S. Plan for Haiti

# Phony Communist Appointed Prime Minister

On January 8 the U.S. press announced a plan to solve Haiti's current political crisis. Renee Theodore, head of Haiti's revisionist (formerly "pro-Soviet") Communist Party (known as PUCH), was appointed Prime Minister of an interim government. This agreement, between exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and members of the Haitian Parliament who supported Aristide's overthrow in a violent military coup last September 29, was openly brokered by U.S. and French imperialism. The negotiations were carried out with the "guidance" of a team of top OAS (Organization of American States) diplomats, under the pressure of an OAS-sponsored economic embargo, and under the threat of OAS military intervention. (The OAS is an organization of all governments in North and South America, excluding Cuba, and is thoroughly dominated by the U.S.) According to the *Miami Herald*, "U.S. officials expressed elation at the agreement."

Aristide, elected by a landslide in December 1990, was president for less than eight months. During that time he made no fundamental changes in Haiti. He pursued a strategy of trying to bring about changes that would benefit the people without angering the U.S. imperialists who have dominated Haiti for more than 75 years. To calm the U.S. (which had long hated him because of his strong stand of supporting the masses and their struggle), Aristide called for a "marriage between the army and the people" and support for Haiti's

reactionary constitution. He also worked to open up Haiti to more foreign investment and IMF (International Monetary Fund) control. At the same time Aristide did encourage some democratic transformations. He eliminated the power of the Chefs Du Section, rural sheriffs who served the interests of the feudal landlords. He cleaned up some of the rampant corruption in the government. And because he created an atmosphere that led people to think (incorrectly) that they held true political power, the masses were very defiant of the oppressors who continued to run Haiti overall.

The reactionary classes in Haiti struck back with the September coup. One of the first things they did was free many torturers and murderers from jail to help kill thousands of Haitian poor. The U.S. initially opposed the coup, because they thought it would further destabilize Haiti, and because it went against America's international charade of "supporting democracy over dictatorship." But as the U.S. saw all the reactionary classes of Haiti unite firmly against Aristide, it shifted its position to work with the coup government.

But the U.S. has a problem. The military government and its overthrow of a president elected in a U.S.-sponsored election is an ugly blemish on the "New World Order." And this is made worse by the fact that the U.S. initially said that the coup government "would not be recognized." Secondly, the reactionary forces in Haiti all united to support the coup out of their

hatred of the masses and of Aristide. But now power is concentrated *entirely* in the hands of the military, which is itself sharply divided among different commanders. The position of many U.S. bourgeois allies in Haiti is extremely tenuous and this reactionary unity could easily fracture, particularly if there is a new upsurge of mass struggle.

What the U.S. needs is a mask of democracy that will help to unify the reactionary classes, protect the interests of all the oppressors, allow the U.S. to restore military and economic aid and diplomatic recognition, while still carrying out the brutal suppression of the masses. But this is hard to achieve—the military has declared it will kill Aristide if he returns to Haiti in any capacity, and it is generally hostile to civilian politicians who are not complete and thorough lackeys.

So now comes Renee Theodore, the living ghost of Soviet-style phony communism. Theodore spent most of the last 20 years in exile in Moscow, and was trained at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's "Patrice Lumumba University"—an international school for training revisionist agents of Soviet social-imperialism. After the fall of Duvalier in 1986, Theodore triumphantly returned to Haiti and was greeted by a thousand people, many chanting "Long Live Communism." But the people quickly got a dose of Theodore's revisionism. In the summer of 1986, mass struggle was mounting against the military government, which the people called "Duvalierism without Duvalier." Government repression was also intensifying. When the masses staged a general strike to try and bring the government down, Theodore and PUCH played a major role in *opposing* this strike.

From that time on PUCH built its reputation as a supporter of "order" and enemies of the people. When Aristide announced his candidacy for president, PUCH attacked it. But they didn't do this from a correct, revolutionary standpoint—they didn't fight for the understanding that revolutionary change could only come through waging a revolutionary war for power, not through elections. Instead they attacked Aristide's candidacy from the *right*. PUCH raised the spectre of the masses being unleashed against their enemies in a "terroristic" and "dictatorial" way. These are the very arguments that the reactionaries later used to justify their bloody coup—a coup which Theodore actually supported!

Among the Haitian people, and especially among genuine revolutionaries and Maoists, Theodore is one of the most hated political figures. But he has earned the support of some people. Speaking of possible problems his "communist" label might create among the "conservative elite," Theodore said, "I have no concerns on that score. The positions we have taken since 1986 allow me to believe that no one would have any reticence about me."

Whether the Theodore proposal will actually come to pass is still unclear. The military has not yet spoken on the matter, but up to this point they have been adamant that they will not allow Aristide back into power, under any conditions. According to news reports, on Saturday, January 25, PUCH headquarters was attacked by a group of about 15 policemen, some in uniform and some not. And Theodore's bodyguard was shot and killed. However, the military *does* need a restoration of U.S. aid both to hold onto power and to further fatten themselves. And the U.S. does seem to be pushing hard for Theodore. If Theodore does come to power, it is an open question whether Aristide will really be brought back to lead the government with Theodore. And even if Aristide is allowed to return, under these conditions, he would

certainly have even less power to bring about any real change.

The role of the U.S. and PUCH in making this whole deal, and of Aristide in agreeing to it, has revealed three main points:

1. Revisionism, phony communism, is not just a "bad idea." It is, as Lenin pointed out over 70 years ago, the agent of the bourgeoisie *within* the working class movement. Mao Tsetung put it: "The rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."

2. While the U.S. long claimed that its struggle with the Soviet Union was a big ideological struggle between good and evil, their backing of Theodore shows that in reality it was all just a big *power* struggle between imperialist states with *exactly* the same oppressor, bourgeois ideology. Just as the U.S. had no "ideological" problem with recruiting the most criminal minds of the Nazi and Japanese scientific apparatus to work for the U.S. government program after World War 2, today it seems they are opening their arms to people like Theodore who once served the Soviet Empire.

3. The road of relying on institutions of imperialism to bring about change is a dead end. Until October 1990, Aristide advocated mass struggle *against* such institutions. For instance, he presided over a mass public "burial" of the IMF at one point. But in October, faced with an ebb in the mass struggle and a resurgence of reactionary forces, Aristide decided to participate in the U.S.-sponsored elections, and he called on the masses to channel their efforts into this arena. This represented a decisive shift, and it has led from defeat to defeat for the masses, because once you make the imperialists the measure and judge of what the people can do, you are on the road to slavery. To win the protection of imperialism, Aristide entered their elections. To preserve it, he called for the preservation of the army, and when the army overthrew him, all he could do was go back to the imperialists and urge them to "negotiate" his return to the presidential palace. Now he is apparently willing to accept such a return under the sponsorship of a hated reactionary lackey like Theodore. How can anyone at this point fail to see the big error of taking the electoral road?

The coup in Haiti and the events that followed have shocked many people. However, genuine communists, those who base themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, long ago foresaw the dangers of revisionism and reformism and warned the people about them. In their four-point "Call to the Haitian Revolutionary Movement," issued in 1986, the Maoist Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group (GRIA) and other Maoists described PUCH as follows: "...PUCH talks about the need for elections and parliaments. But they say not a word about destroying the reactionary army, which will always enforce the interests of the big landlords, the elite and the foreign capitalists. They [PUCH and similar forces] argue with one another over who should run Haiti, but they all agree that it should *not* be the masses!" This same statement warned that the U.S. and the Haitian army were preparing to drown the revolution in blood. And it called for forging a real communist party to build a people's army capable of smashing the reactionaries and carrying forward a genuine new-democratic revolution.

The exposure of Theodore's phony communism is at the same time an exposure of U.S. hypocrisy, reformism's bankruptcy, and most importantly, the correctness of genuine Maoism. All revolutionary-minded people should heed these lessons, break thoroughly with reformism and revisionism, and support the Maoist efforts to build real revolutionary organization in Haiti. □



Port-au-Prince—Conditions continue to deteriorate for the Haitian masses. Here a woman buys gasoline for \$6 a gallon.



Mohawk warrior (right) faces off against Canadian soldier, 1990.

# Canada Convicts Mohawk Warriors for Rebellion

On Wednesday, January 22, the jury reached a verdict in the case of three Mohawk brothers on trial in Canada in connection with the 77-day armed standoff at the Mohawk territory of Kanesatake in the summer and fall of 1990. Ronald Cross (Lasagna) was convicted of six counts of possession of a weapon, one count of assault for pushing a soldier and 14 other counts of assault and was acquitted of 29 counts, including death threats against Canadian soldiers. He faces up to 14 years in prison. Gordon Lazore (Noriega) was convicted of nine charges of assault and acquitted of 40 charges. He faces up to four years in prison. Ronald Lazore (2020) was acquitted of all charges.

## The Battle Over Mohawk Land

These three Mohawks, along with hundreds of other Mohawk people and some Canadian allies, heroically stood up against thousands of Canadian troops and Quebec provincial police (SQ) during the armed confrontation. The standoff began on July 11, 1990 when police attacked a Mohawk barricade at Kanesatake which was put up to prevent a golf course from being built on Mohawk land. Mohawks at Kahnawake, on the south shore of Montreal, blocked the Mercier Bridge in solidarity. In August the Canadian army surrounded both territories. On August 29 a group of Mohawks took the barricades down on the Mercier Bridge as a show of good faith towards the government. The powers' response was to send in more troops and come down even harder. The army pushed the Mohawks at Kanesatake into a small area near an alcohol and drug treatment center. They were surrounded on all sides by army troops and six-foot-high barbed wire. The Mohawks refused to surrender and put down their arms.

At Kahnawake the troops set up a military perimeter and invaded the territory several times on "search and seizure" missions. The Mohawks defeated every invasion by fighting the troops with their bare hands. At the same time Akwesasne, another Mohawk territory that straddles the border between Canada and the U.S., remained occupied by hundreds of New York State police, FBI and Canadian police. There were also threats against Mohawks at Ganienkeh, a territory in

upstate New York.

On September 26, Canadian army troops and Quebec provincial police (SQ) brutally attacked and beat Mohawk women, men and children who walked out of the treatment center (TC) at Kanesatake. Soldiers tried to grab children out of their mothers' arms. People were thrown to the ground and stomped on. Soldiers stabbed some people with bayonets and beat others with rifle butts. Mohawk warriors were grabbed out of the crowd, taken into the woods and badly beaten. Soldiers and SQ pigs beat anyone they could get their hands on. Close to 60 people were arrested.

Since the battle at Kanesatake, the powers in Canada have continued to step up their siege of the Mohawk people. Mohawk spokespeople report that Kahnawake, Kanesatake and Akwesasne are still under police occupation. The Mohawks at Kahnawake have continued to man checkpoints on the edges of their territory to prevent the police and other authorities from entering. The pigs constantly harass, beat and arrest people coming in and out of Kahnawake. Hundreds of outstanding warrants are held on people. Because of this, some Mohawks have not been able to leave Kahnawake for over a year, for fear of being arrested when they do. Non-Native people have also been harassed in what Mohawk spokespeople call an attempt to enforce an economic boycott on the territory and isolate them. The Canadian imperialists have also arrested as many Mohawk people as possible, in an attempt to cripple the Mohawks' resistance by tying up *hundreds* of people in the legal system and racking up enormous legal bills.

But despite the efforts of the Canadian and U.S. governments to crush the spirit of the Mohawk people, there is continued resistance among them. A Mohawk spokesperson told the *RW*: "The system always stands against minority people. I guess we have no alternative but to continue the fight. It's either you fight or you die."

## The Imperialists Are the Real Criminals

The Canadian government maneuvered to split the cases of Lasagna, Noriega and 2020 off from the rest of the Mohawks arrested at Kanesatake. Most of the charges against the three were in connection with a fight with Francis Jacobs. Jacobs is a Mo-

hawk from Kanesatake who is tied to the elected band council, which was put in power and backed up by the Canadian government. According to some of the Mohawks at the barricades, during the armed standoff Jacobs organized a "community police patrol" to "make sure the warriors weren't breaking into houses or destroying property." They also accused Jacobs of being an informant for the Canadian authorities as well as breaking into and looting houses in Oka and then blaming the warriors. Jacobs was the government's key witness at the trial and testified that he was attacked and beaten by Lasagna, Noriega and 2020. A lot of what he said on the stand openly contradicted earlier testimony he had given to the SQ.

The government tried to make the warriors look like common criminals in order to distance the three from other Mohawks and their supporters. It appears that some people were fooled by the tactics of the government and held back on their support for the three on trial. But what these men were *really* on trial for was defying the armed might of the Canadian powers who were stepping up their oppression against the Mohawk people by trying to steal their land! Their convictions are outrageous, and the Canadian imperialists should be exposed as the *real criminals*.

No one has even been charged, much less convicted, for the crimes against the Mohawks during the armed standoff. The government ordered the army and SQ to blockade Kahnawake and Kanesatake, allowing little or no food into the territories for days. Hundreds of Mohawk people were beaten by troops and police. Women were attacked by soldiers and police at the Longhouse, a sacred place of worship for Native people. Elected officials made racist calls for all Natives to be sent to Labrador (a remote area of Canada). Joe Armstrong, a 71-year-old Mohawk, was stoned by racists in La Salle and died of a heart attack while the SQ stood by and watched. The Canadian rulers tried to cover all this up by keeping journalists who might report the truth out of the Mohawk territories. And the bourgeois media for the most part parroted the government's lies.

While the Canadian government continues brutal attacks against the Mohawks, it has agreed to negotiate with *some* Native peoples over claims to land and sover-

eignty. This is nothing but a cynical attempt to confuse people and derail any struggle against their railroad of the Mohawks. The oppressors in Canada and the U.S. have used this age-old strategy of divide and conquer against Native people for hundreds of years, agreeing to negotiate with some Native peoples while coming down hard on others. And whatever treaties were signed by the U.S. and Canada have been worthless. Neither of these two governments has ever kept *even one* agreement they have made with *any* Native peoples!

## High Stakes in the Mohawk Trials

The stakes in this trial and the upcoming trials of the other Mohawks, which are set to begin in March, are very high. By convicting these rebels the government wants to send a threatening message to the Native peoples of Canada and others who oppose the system. This is important to the Canadian rulers since Native land claims total over a third of the total land mass of what is now Canada. The province of Quebec is forcing the Cree people off their land in order to build the largest hydroelectric dam in the world in James Bay.

The legal battle is very serious and can only be won by relying on the masses of people—Native and non-Native—to force the oppressors to back down. The people need to cut through the confusion and lies that the government is spreading and draw into this battle all those who supported the Mohawk people at the barricades and many who didn't. And given the intense attacks coming down on the Mohawk people, there is a special responsibility for non-Native people to step out and stand against this outrage.

The Mohawks report that they don't have enough lawyers for the next set of legal cases, mainly because they have not been able to raise enough money to pay for legal fees. The next trial will be in Montreal sometime in March. According to Mohawk spokespeople, letters of support and contributions can be sent to: Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1987, Account #80186, Kahnawake, Quebec, Canada JOL 1B0. For more information, people can call the Mohawk Nation Office at 514-638-4750. □

## UN Threatens Libya

The U.S.-led attacks against Libya are escalating. On January 21 the UN Security Council—the same body that approved the bombing of Iraq—passed a resolution demanding that the Libyan government hand over two Libyan citizens accused by a U.S. court of masterminding the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. The U.S. claims that the two suspects are Libyan intelligence agents and that responsibility for the bombing reaches the highest levels of the Libyan government. The UN resolution also demands Libyan “cooperation” in relation to the bombing of a French airliner over West Africa in 1989.

This is the first time that the UN has demanded the extradition of citizens of one country to another. The main evidence in the U.S. case against the Libyans consists of a microchip found in the wreckage of the Pan Am plane which was spread over 845 square miles. People who are not complete-

ly taken in by U.S. propaganda have reason to be skeptical about so-called “evidence” against Libya. In 1986 the U.S. claimed it had hard proof of Libyan responsibility in the bombing of a Berlin disco. This charge was used as justification for the U.S. bombing of Libya which killed and injured many people. Later the U.S. admitted the charges might not be true.

The Libyan government has said that it is willing to put the two on trial in Libya or to hand them over to an international body like the World Court. But the U.S. rejects this and insists that the accused stand trial in the U.S. If the Libyan government does not go along with this arrogant demand, the UN is likely to follow with economic sanctions against Libya. U.S. officials openly say that a “punitive” bombing against Libya might be carried out at some point, and the U.S. Air Force has drawn up contingency plans for such a strike.

The U.S. accusations against Libya are a cynical geopolitical maneuver. Right after the 1988 Pan Am bombing, the U.S. pointed the finger at Syria and Iran along with Libya. This was part of pressures and threats against those countries labeled as “outlaw” states by the U.S. But since then Syria has taken part in the U.S. war on Iraq and is now involved in the U.S.-directed Mideast “peace” talks. And Iran’s reactionary regime is also taking a more openly pro-West stand. So Syria and Iran have been dropped from the suspect list (at least for now), and the focus is on the Kaddafi regime in Libya.

The unprecedented UN Security Council resolution is described as based on a desire for “justice.” If this were really true, why isn’t there a demand that the U.S. military officers responsible for shooting down an Iranian airliner in 1986 and killing 286 people—a few months before the Pan Am

bombing—stand trial in Iran? Why doesn’t the UN require George Bush and the U.S. military to be put on trial in Panama for responsibility in the murder of hundreds of people during the December 1989 invasion? And what about U.S. responsibility for the tens of thousands of Iraqi people who have died because the U.S. bombed the electrical power grids in Iraq in violation of the Geneva Convention? The resolution against Libya shows once again that the UN is a tool of the imperialist powers.

A year after the Gulf War, the U.S. is once again threatening a Third World country with economic strangulation and military attacks unless it caves in completely to the New World Order. The U.S. imperialists have no right going around the world bullying smaller countries. The U.S. threats against Libya must be firmly opposed by the people. □

## Attica Trial Nears Conclusion

On January 10 the jury began deliberations in the civil liability suit against the state and prison officials responsible for planning the retaking of Attica Prison on September 13, 1971. In the assault on Attica after several days of rebellion, 29 inmates and 10 hostages were shot in cold blood, and many prisoners were injured. (See RW #621 for more on the rebellion.) Former Attica prisoners are now seeking \$2.8 billion in damages on behalf of the 1,281 inmates who were in the “D” yard at the time of the assault which included torture, beatings and deliberate lack of medical attention for prisoners.

The judge in the case, John T. Elfvin, gave a very narrow definition of liability in

his instructions to the all-white jury. Then, in a callous and contemptuous move, Elfvin left on a vacation to Barbados, telling the jury and lawyers to call him on the phone if they had any questions! This outrageous act by a judge in a complicated and important case has angered many people. Because of the uproar the judge was forced to return last week to Buffalo, N.Y. where the trial is being held.

Upon his return, the judge pressured the jury to hurry up with their deliberations. He told them, “Yours is not the job to cross the t’s and dot the i’s in history.” His attitude showed a total lack of respect for the jurors and the plaintiffs.

In her closing statements Liz Fink, a

lawyer for the plaintiffs, said that this case was about freedom and whether the right to rebel against intolerable conditions applies to prisoners. She told the jury, “People in authority have to be held responsible when things go awry. The defendants were there. They planned the assault and they wanted the brutality of the retaking as a punishment for the rebellion.”

During the three months of testimony by over 70 witnesses, ex-inmates, National Guardsmen and doctors gave vivid accounts of brutality they saw during the assault and the aftermath. Former inmates talked about beatings and torture at the hands of state troopers and correction officers. These accounts were corroborated

with testimony from state police and National Guardsmen. Several doctors called to Attica after the assault testified about inadequate planning for medical care and recalled that they were not allowed to remove critically injured prisoners and were harassed while trying to treat the wounded. One doctor who testified at an earlier trial said that he was visited by state police who threatened him not to testify again.

In the face of the strong evidence brought forward by the plaintiffs, the defense lawyers tried to justify their clients’ actions by shifting the blame. They asked jurors not to fault the defendants for a tragedy that involved wrongdoing by many. Michael Deutsch, an attorney for the plaintiffs, characterized the defense case this way: “Even though we were in charge, we didn’t know what was going on.” Deutsch said, “If you believe that, I got a bridge in Brooklyn to sell real cheap.”

The Attica rebellion and the massacre of prisoners and hostages were deeply felt by broad segments of people. It is significant that so many witnesses came forward after twenty years to tell the story of this brutality by the state. Deutsch said, “Attica will live in the hearts and minds of all those who abhor the lawlessness of those in authority.”

When Judge Elfvin first left for vacation, he said he planned to seal any verdict reached in his absence until his return on Feb. 10. Because of the angry uproar over his absence, he agreed to have the verdicts announced immediately.

Akil Al-Jundi, a plaintiff and a revolutionary brother who is still scarred by bullets he took during the assault on Attica, says: “A positive outcome would be nice, but it is more important for people to know the truth about what happened at Attica—and to remember.” □



September, 1971—Demonstration in Harlem supporting the Attica Rebellion.

## Tompkins Square Activists Stand Trial

The trials of the May Day 29 are now underway in New York. On May Day 1990 a festival of resistance was held in Tompkins Square Park. This was at a time of diverse and new resistance in New York. People angrily demanded justice for Yusuf Hawkins, CUNY students took to the streets to protest budget cuts, and homeless people and activists in Tompkins Square Park waged resistance against the city’s attempts to clamp down on the area.

On May Day evening the police decided to end the concert at Tompkins Square Park by pulling the plug and moving on stage. What followed was a back-and-forth street battle between the people gathered in the park and the pigs. The police arrested 29 people and brought them up on various charges. Currently three of the May Day 29 are on trial facing charges that include felony riot, second degree assault, and incitement to riot. Some of the 29 pled guilty to lesser charges, and others were charged

with misdemeanors.

Tompkins Square Park had come to be seen as a center of radical political activity around homeless and other questions in New York City, and the powers wanted to shut it down. Since the May Day police attacks the struggle has continued. There have been evictions and resettlements of the homeless who came to live in the park. In June of last year the forces of the state moved in, evicted the homeless again, closed a large part of the park, and fenced in the area. The trials of the May Day 29 have been part of this struggle. One activist currently on trial talked about the message the powers want to send with the trial: “If you defend Tompkins Square Park, you’ll go to jail—and if you don’t believe that, just look at the May Day people. So it’s a way of trying to deter resistance.”

Another activist who was arrested on May Day 1990 told the RW: “The government has been trying for a long time to beat



American flag burned outside park after police broke up May 1st concert, 1990.

this area down, keep it under control.... The difference between the riot of '88 [when the police rioted against the people] and the riot of '90 was that people resisted a great deal more, that the spirit of resistance was much

higher.... The mood of the people was much stronger that the police were not going to control the situation.” This spirit of resistance needs to be upheld and defended. The May Day 29 must go free. □

# Support the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund!

The RW received the following letters from prisoners in support of the RCP Fund Drive:

Revolutionary greetings:

I am taking this time to compose this letter of support of the Revolutionary Worker, from inside one of the many Koncentration Kamps in Amerikkka. I/we want to call on the people to support the RCP/RW and contribute funds to them so that they may not only continue to reach into these Koncentration Kamps but continue to lay a foundation for revolution and set the stage for the revolutionary task that we all must prepare for.

There are many people in these kamps who came in at a very youthful age, who recognized the legitimacy of this illegitimate kapitalist system. The RW has been very instrumental in stripping away this legitimacy and exposing the U.S. government crimes against humanity. The RW is a weapon and tool of the people to be used to not only expose U.S. imperialism but to beat it down and strike strategical blows against it with cold liberating truth and facts.

The RW is a source of news and knowledge that exposes the ruling class lies, alibis, deceits and contradictions of a bourgeois and corrupt system. Hence those of us who are serious and committed should support organizations like the RCP who are active and representing the people's legitimate interest in fighting these imperialist dogs.

Inside these koncentration kamps a lot of times those of us who are locked down deep in the bowels of the belly of the beast, we do not have books because the pigs either will not let them in or we are on some type of restriction. Yet the RW gets through most of the time and we often take up the issues and analysis contained within and collectively discuss them. We use the RW as a focus point to carry on ideological struggle and to develop a firmer grasp of revolutionary politics. Therefore, it is a great thing, a revolutionary thing/task that the RCP is doing and the only way this can continue is if we give our support and demonstrate our solidarity with them by giving contributions, donations of our time and energy, etc. The only way a revolution can be won is if we support revolutionary organizations. Do not shut us out or turn your backs because we are of you. Show solidarity!

..... A luta continual

Thank you for asking for my letter of support for the RW, but first of all let me say that I am a person who was wrongly convicted and unjustly sent to prison for life for a murder crime I did not commit or had anything to do with. *Completely a victim of society.*

And since then, there has been accounts of prison officials (guards) efforts to victimize me for allegedly violating regulations, which are extensive and are enforced arbitrarily by authorities to keep the inmate population in line.

Like all prisoners, I have faced a number of such allegations. Some were arbitrary. Some were conscious efforts by officials to victimize me and involved fabricated charges.

So I do understand the dehumanizing and alienating character of the U.S. regime. And I am aware that the American media will feed the American people a great deal of lies. *Not all media, but some, which is why I like and enjoy*

reading the RW because it is a form of information I can trust. Without a doubt. And I like that.

Before closing, I must say that I read about the RCP fund drive, and I will make sure that other people in this prison and on the streets become aware of the RW newspaper.

And I am sure that the people that I know personally on the streets will buy subscriptions in support of the cause. I'm sorry that in my situation (being in prison) that I do not have any funds—but at least I know people that do.

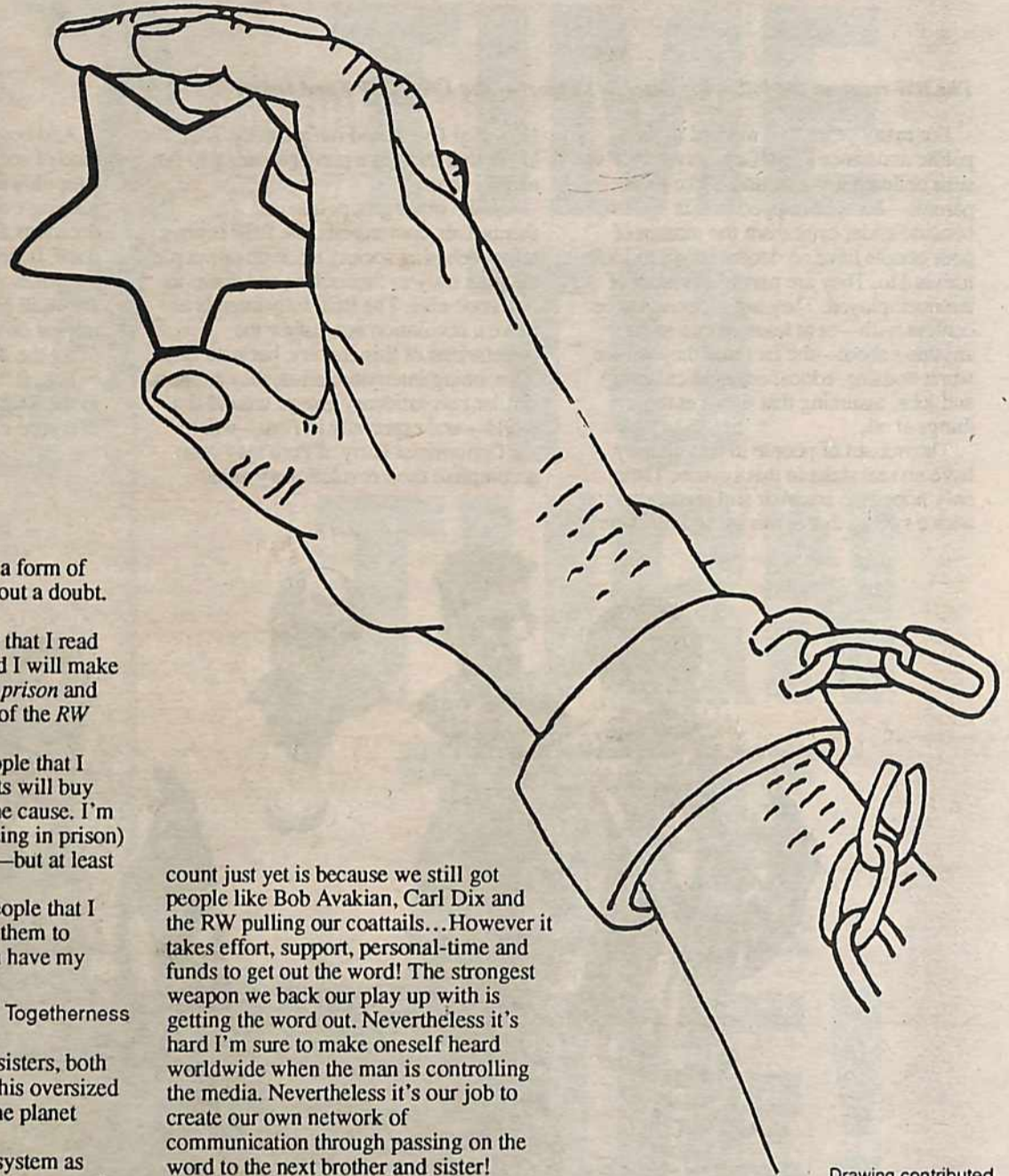
I will send letters out to people that I know on the outside and ask them to support your newspaper. You have my trust and support.

..... Togetherness

Greetings my brother and sisters, both on the outside and inside of this oversized melting pot we all know as the planet Earth.

I XXX now known to the system as number XXX have taken the pleasure of writing this letter in support of our party RCP Fund Drive! My fellow brothers and sisters, I'd like to first thank the RCP Chairman Bob Avakian for making such a powerful individual as well as group effort to push forever ahead with what should be all people of color struggle. However that's not to suggest that the struggle is about race against race or black or white as most people both informed and uninformed try to make it appear. I feel personally that we could really win! In the previous issues of the RW this was a most interesting question brought to life in the article that started me asking myself the obvious question "can we?" I think we can! However we must support the party! (the RCP). Without a strong head (executive body) we can't prevail!

The man is standing on our neck, kicking us when we are already down, but not out. The reason we are not out for the



Drawing contributed by a prisoner.

count just yet is because we still got people like Bob Avakian, Carl Dix and the RW pulling our coattails... However it takes effort, support, personal-time and funds to get out the word! The strongest weapon we back our play up with is getting the word out. Nevertheless it's hard I'm sure to make oneself heard worldwide when the man is controlling the media. Nevertheless it's our job to create our own network of communication through passing on the word to the next brother and sister!

Readers: In conclusion to my awkward letter I must mention that I am a prisoner subscriber to the *Revolutionary Worker*. I am unwilling to mention my previous incarceration because my present conditions and circumstances that lead to them isn't of no great alarm or importance, other than to clearly show and obviously illustrate the overall objective our capitalist government is trying to get at—lock 'em up, stock 'em up and warehouse our youth or simply murder and kill them in the street. Remember this is a raw government that takes no prisoners when it comes to their beliefs of government politics etc. Before I was a subscriber of RW newspaper I knew the man (White House) was full of shit, but once I got up with the RW I felt even better and stronger in my beliefs, because here was a paper setting the man's ass-out in public, in a way of speaking... In ending my letter I'd just like to say the RW needs all our support.

Readers: I am currently serving a natural-life-plus thirty year sentence given to me by the man's most useful kriminal kourt system of black man's grief Rich-man's Justice.

I am presently thirty years of age I've been in prison three and a half years. I've lost three very important members during my brief period of confinement. My mother, father and grandmother passed away, finally free of the man's grip! I've found a friend when I found and subscribed to the RW newspaper. My brothers and sisters, homey and homets. Let's help the fund drive and continue the struggle. Remember we are down but not out, it's the same fight just a different round! Therefore as I exit from this letter to those who should be concerned I make known my personal pledge to be down for the whole damn thing....

In struggle...

The Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund provides subscriptions to the REVOLUTIONARY WORKER/OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO newspaper and other revolutionary literature to prisoners in 35 states. This material is shared by thousands of prisoners each week. It is a vital lifeline to these men and women, who hunger for its timely analysis of world events and news of social movements and revolutionary struggle on the outside.

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund, c/o RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654



# The Revolutionary Communist Party Fund Drive 1991

**We Dare to Dream! We Dare to Struggle! We Dare to Win!**

*The RW received the following letter in support of the 1991 RCP Fund Drive.*

For many years I've worked in the public assistance ("welfare") system. I've seen children grow up and—like their parents—become trapped in this system, because under capitalism the masses of poor people have no decent future to look forward to. They are part of the army of the unemployed. They are supposed to be content with—or at least unable to do anything about—the fact that they get the worst housing, education, medical care, and jobs, assuming that they get these things at all.

The masses of people in this country have no real stake in this system. Their only hope is to smash it and replace it with a system that is run by and for them.

Now that I've found out about the RCP I know that there is a party preparing to do exactly that.

Unlike other groups that call themselves communists, the RCP is not a leftist debating society made up of people that talk only to themselves and down to everyone else. The RCP fully intends to make a revolution not just for the proletarians of this country, but with them. Also, being internationalists, they support similar revolutionary groups around the world—and especially in Peru—where the Communist Party of Peru may soon accomplish their revolutionary aims.

And because the RCP is Maoist, the kind of society they will build will not be a top-down society with a privileged elite running everything, making all the decisions and accumulating privileges for itself. Instead, the RCP will not only make a revolution by relying on the masses, but they will build a truly communist society relying on the basic masses' ability to make the decisions that affect their lives.

For all these reasons I'm contributing to the RCP Fund Drive—and I urge everyone else to do so, too.

A social worker



Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog, people-killing, spirit-crushing system. Something much better is possible. There is a REVOLUTIONARY way! Where the people work in common for the common good. We saw this in the high tide of the Cultural Revolution in Mao's China. And we can see it today in the mountains of Peru.

It's a fact: when the common people get connected with revolutionary politics, the New World Order can

be brought down. The Revolutionary Communist Party is out to make it happen here.

We are striving to make some very big leaps in the revolutionary movement, to strengthen the people's side in the battles being waged now and get in position for THE TIME.

We need your financial support to make this happen. Many more party organizers and agitators need to be trained and sent out to wherever people are fighting back—organizing,

mobilizing, strategizing and getting ready to lead people in revolutionizing. Networks of readers of the *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* newspaper need to spread everywhere—in the ghettos and barrios, schools, factories, on campuses and among all those fighting the outrages and abuses of this system.

Get behind the RCP's 1991 Fund Drive. Contribute. Raise funds from your friends.