



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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After Genoa?



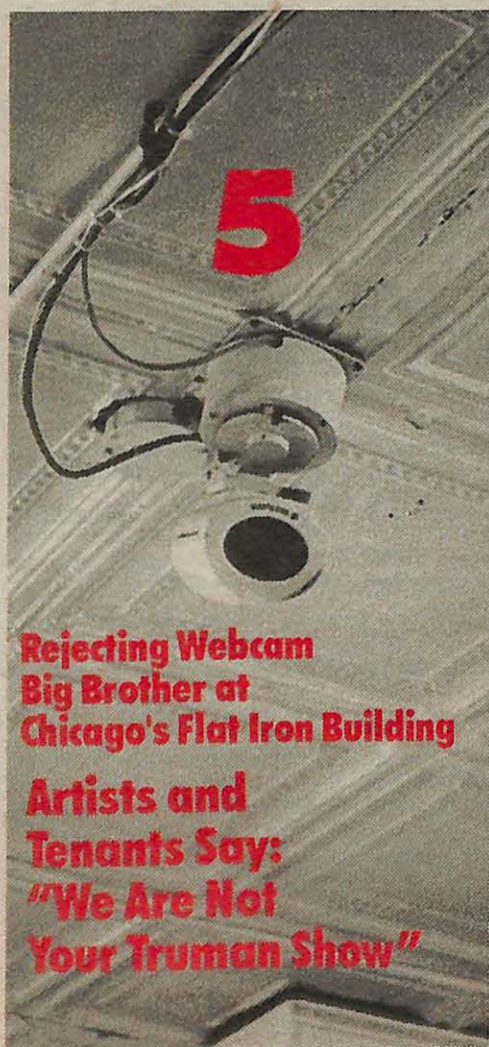
Genoa, July 21, 2001.

**We Only Want the World!
For Carlo Giuliani and
the Fighters of Genoa**

**Genoa:
Clenched Fists,
Iron Fist**

See page 3 and 4

5



**Rejecting Webcam
Big Brother at
Chicago's Flat Iron Building
Artists and
Tenants Say:
"We Are Not
Your Truman Show"**

6

**Defending Choice
in Wichita:
Up Against the
Anti-Women Preyers**




8

**Bob Avakian:
Revolutionary Science
vs. Reactionary
Religious Lunacy...**

**A Ruling Class
That Is Forced
to Deny Reality**

10

**Exploring the
RCP's Draft Programme:**



**Housing in the U.S.A.:
Nightmare of the
"American Dream"
and the Dream
of Revolution**

Flash!

Cincinnati Police Kill Again

Twenty-one-year-old Rickey Moore was shot dead by Cincinnati police late Thursday night, July 26. Moore is the 16th person—all Black—killed by Cincinnati cops since 1995, and the first since the powerful rebellion this past April when thousands in Cincinnati rose up against the police killing of Timothy Thomas. A memorial rally for Rickey Moore was held on Friday. Check next week's *RW* for further news.

Available Now!



Complete text of the new
**Draft Programme
of the RCP, USA**

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As of June 29, 2001 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for



8 Years, 270 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and rela-

tives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. Fujimori changed Peru's constitution to legalize the death penalty, which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

Fujimori has repeatedly claimed that Chairman Gonzalo has made a call for negotiations from prison. In this situation, what possible excuse can Fujimori now offer for continuing to deny Comrade Gonzalo independent contact with lawyers, doctors and friendly and neutral visitors from outside the prison in a way that meets the basic international standards for treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war? It is vitally important for people in Peru and around the world to hear what Chairman Gonzalo's views are from Chairman Gonzalo himself—directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet and talk directly with him.

**Support the People's War in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!**

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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We Only Want the World! For Carlo Giuliani and the Fighters of Genoa

Youth from across Europe came into the streets of Genoa full of daring and determination to oppose and disrupt the G8 imperialist bloodsuckers. Amidst smoke and gas, against police clubs and guns, they stood up with rocks and molotov cocktails in hand.

In the street battles against thousands of Robo-cop riot police, Carlo Giuliani, a 23-year-old living in Genoa, was murdered in cold blood by the Italian national police—the carabinieri. What was Carlo's crime? He joined up with other anti-globalization resisters who refuse to believe that one billion people living on a dollar a day is the "best of all possible worlds." Resisters who won't accept a world where all the modern means of production—which offer an unprecedented potential for eliminating poverty and hunger—are perverted into the means for a lopsided accumulation of wealth and the insane destruction of human life and the environment. Resisters who want a different future than one of polluted seas, ruined ecosystems, deadly global warming and the wrenching human tragedies of infant mortality and child labor—a future of more sweatshops, shantytowns, and other expanding crimes of capitalism.

Carlo and the fighters of Genoa refused to accept the lies and bribes of the system about "free trade" and the wonders of the "free market"; they have seen that globalization under this system only expands the misery of billions for the benefit of a few rich and powerful. They put their lives on the line to denounce the horrors of this system and fight for a different future—like tens of thousands of other youth have done from Seattle to Quebec to Papua New Guinea to Gothenberg. He was martyred by a police bullet. He could have been any one of us.

The *Revolutionary Worker* condemns the cowardly murder of Carlo Giuliani by the Italian police, and we condemn the capitalist system that arms, trains, directs and unleashes these brutal enforcers. Carlo fell in a just and righteous cause, and his death won't be forgotten or forgiven by the people. He and the other resisters of Genoa are connected by a thousand threads to the lives and deaths of fighters throughout the world—from the Turkish jails to the streets of the West Bank, from the courageous revolutionary fighters of Nepal and Peru to the masses battling structural adjustment in Bolivia, Mexico and India, from the landless peasants of Brazil to the street fighters against police murder in Cincinnati and Los Angeles. His death is another reason for revolution.

In the new millennium every human exchange is being commercialized—to ensure that maximum profit is extracted. Scientific inventions—from computer technology to modern biology—are turned into new ways of extracting wealth, of delivering bombs and making weapons, of patenting life and putting it at the service of money. The capitalists not long ago hailed their system as triumphant and eternal, "the end of history." With the *new wave of worldwide protest, as one author has said, we must be seeing "the end of the end of history"!*

Now, wherever the corporate empire builders and heads of state go, they face a firestorm of opposition. WTO, IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, European Union, World Economic Forum, G8, Summit of the Americas—whatever forms the imperialists and capitalists take up as they plot and act to rob the people, they are confronted. They are hounded even in the heartland of the imperialist beast—and this is an excellent thing. Every time they set loose their brutal armies of cops against the protesters in the streets, they face fierce mass resistance—and turn more people against their system.

In the wake of the battles in Genoa, the murder of Carlo and the vicious beatings of broad ranks of protesters, there is intense debate in the anti-globalization movement. In many ways this is a profound moment of decision. Millions are asking deep questions. What kind of system are we up against? How do we fight it? What will it take to end the injustices?

Genoa makes clear the reality behind the mask of bourgeois democracy: It's democracy for the rich and powerful, the capitalist class, which rules by armed dictatorship against the masses of people. In countries like Italy (or the U.S.), the bourgeoisie may disguise its dictatorship—but they quickly reveal themselves as bloody-jawed beasts when they feel it necessary to protect their interests. The system has demonstrated this lesson time and time again—from the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the massacres in Vietnam, the starvation of millions in Iraq, and the assassinations of the Black Panthers in the U.S.

After the police shooting of Carlo Giuliani, some of the imperialist heads of state tried to sound a note of "concern." President Chirac of France, for example, said that "one hundred thousand people don't get upset unless there is a problem in their hearts and minds." Such "concern" does not arise out of real feelings for the anti-globalization protesters and the issues they are raising. Those like Chirac are worried about the interests of their class—and competition with other imperialists, even while they collude against the people of the world.

These imperialists can't fundamentally change the murderous nature of their globaliza-



Genoa, July 21.

tion drive—because their whole system can only survive by exploiting human labor ever more ruthlessly, on a world scale, in order to expand profits. The people involved in the anti-globalization movement have many different views on what is the source of the problem and what is the solution. But their actions at Genoa and other imperialist summits objectively call out the fundamental crimes of this system—and that's why the rulers are lashing out so viciously at the anti-globalization resisters.

The sharp and intensifying battles against capitalist globalization raise the question: how do we actually defeat the corporate and government forces of world imperialism who cause so much harm to humanity? We Marxist-Leninist-Maoists believe that those who hold this planet in their grasp will only be swept away by the most intense forms of struggle—by revolution.

Capitalism claims the only future is its globalization and its rule. But the planet is full of people who have no future under this system, whose only future lies in globalizing revolution. Their hope—our common hope—lies in wrenching the world from the grip of those who exploit the labor of others. It lies in making revolution—proletarian revolution—in every country, and taking the first historic steps toward a liberated global society, where the masses of people work in common for the common good of all. It is to this end that the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and the participating parties and organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) are dedicated.

Anti-Globalization Protesters Killed in Papua New Guinea

It has been widely reported that Carlo Giuliani was the first anti-globalization protester killed by police. In last week's issue, our article on the Genoa protests also described him in this way. Since then, comrades in Hawaii have brought to our attention the fact that three people protesting against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Papua New Guinea (located in the southwest Pacific, north of Australia) were killed by the police in June. So while Carlo Giuliani is the first known victim of a police killing during the major protests that have taken place at meetings of imperialist powers and their international financial institutions since Seattle in 1999, there have been other martyrs in the overall anti-globalization movement.

According to news reports, there were several days of protests in late June in Port Moresby, the capital of the island nation of Papua New Guinea. The protesters

opposed the government's plan—under directions from the World Bank and the IMF—to privatize the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation, the only government-owned bank. The country's water and electrical systems have already been sold to private capitalists.

After several days of sit-in protests by thousands of university students, workers, and unemployed people, clashes broke out when police used tear gas to disperse demonstrators. Youth threw rocks at the police and burned police cars. The police barracks and several other buildings were reportedly burned down.

After the number of protesters in the streets dwindled, the police surrounded a group of several hundred and ordered them to disperse. Then police fired tear gas—and then fired shotguns and automatic weapons. The police bullets reportedly killed three protesters and wounded 17.



Genoa, July 20.

Genoa: Clenched Fists, Iron Fist

The aftershocks from the fierce resistance in the streets of Genoa against capitalist globalization are being felt worldwide.

The heads of the world's richest countries—the so-called Group of Eight (G8)—met in the northern Italian city from July 19 to 22. While U.S. President Bush and other G8 heads of state talked and plotted behind 13-foot-high metal fences, 20,000 riot police were set loose on the people in the streets.

In June, police in Papua New Guinea (in the southwest Pacific) opened fire on students protesting against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. That same month, Swedish police in Gothenburg shot and seriously wounded one of the protesters against the meeting of the European Union. In Genoa, the clampdown against anti-globalization protesters once again led to blood in the streets when police bullets killed 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani.

The massive and violent police mobilization was an attempt to stop and quash the protests. But tens of thousands took to the streets of Genoa in powerful actions that indicted the many crimes of international capitalism—from the widening gap between rich and poor to widespread environmental destruction.

Police Terror and the Fury of the Youth

On July 20 and 21, fierce street battles erupted as tens of thousands marched in an attempt to penetrate the fenced-in "red zone" protecting the G8 meeting. Groups of young rebels fought back against the police with cobblestones, molotov cocktails, and anything else they could lay hands on. Police vans were smashed and torn apart, buildings and cars set on fire and, according to one report, a jail was attacked.

Rows of riot police charged into crowds, beating anyone they could catch. Tear gas and water cannons were shot into groups of protesters—whether they were anarchists, pacifists, revolutionaries, environmentalists, etc. It was during the height of the protests on Friday that a member of the carabinieri, the hated Italian national police, killed Carlo Giuliani. After shooting Carlo in the head, the cowardly police ran over his body with their jeep while fleeing the people's wrath.

On the border at Ventemiglia, a French woman was reportedly killed in some type of accident after the police prevented her and others from entering the country. Various other reports, as yet unconfirmed, have said others have been killed or beaten into a coma by police violence. According to various reports, 500 to 700 protesters were injured by the police during the days of protest—and some 100 cops were also said to have been injured.

Diversity and Determination

The Genoa protests kicked off on Thursday the 19th with a march of 50,000 people protesting the immigration policies of the G8 countries. An Independent Media Center (IMC) news report said, "Migrants, greens, anarchists, communists, members of non-governmental organizations and many more demonstrated against the G8 meeting and policies that open the borders to trade, money and power while closing them to poor immigrants, refugees and dissenters."

The Friday and Saturday protests included the Tute Bianchi (white overalls), pacifist direct action protesters from the European anti-globalization group Ya Basta; thousands associated with the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), the broad umbrella group that organized the major marches and rallies; "Drop the Debt" activists from the Jubilee 2000 campaign; many anarchist affinity groups from throughout Europe; Kurdish, Iranian and Turkish immigrants and revolutionaries; and people from many different political organizations. Supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) were in the mix. While there was great diversity among the protesters, there was also basic unity in opposing the G8 and their cruel globalization policies.

On Friday 50 to 100 thousand people took to the streets. Thousands started from a stadium that had been turned into a campground and protest headquarters.



A banner reading "Assassins" carried by a demonstration of thousands in Rome, Italy, July 24.



Riot police attacking demonstrators, Genoa, July 21.

The goal of many was to stop the G8 meeting by tearing down the fence at the red zone. Fierce street battles with police went on throughout the day and into the night.

After the battles of Friday and the cowardly murder of Carlo Giuliani, anticipation built about what the next day would hold. The authorities and the bourgeois media tried to set sections of activists against each other, targeting in particular the anarchist black blocks and lying that the police only "responded" to violence and killed in "self defense." But the large protest called by the GSF went on as planned—and again the riot police attacked crowds of people with tear gas, water cannon and truncheons. Some reports said tanks were brought into the streets against the protesters.

Throughout the day on the 21st, a wave of outrage against Carlo's murder came alive in the streets in confrontations and fights against the riot cops. Many people wore black armbands in tribute and called out the police as "assassins." The Plaza Alimonda, where Carlo was murdered, was turned into an informal shrine with flowers, candles, and messages on paper and T-shirts.

Stung by the defiance of the masses, the Italian authorities hit back brutally in the early morning hours of July 22. Hundreds of carabinieri invaded the alternative Independent Media Center (IMC) and the Diaz school—a center being used by the Genoa Social Forum. An IMC reporter from Britain suffered serious injuries from a police beating outside the center. At the IMC, police lined people up, destroyed equipment, and reportedly seized audio mini-disks, videotapes, and computer hard drives.

Across the street at the GSF center, people who were sleeping at the school raised their hands to identify themselves as pacifists. But the police set upon them with batons, beating people mercilessly for 45 minutes. At least 20 people were taken out on stretchers, according to the IMC. Lawyers for the activists reported that the police destroyed computers and apparently stole organizational information and testimony about police violence that had been gathered.

When people entered the school after the carabinieri left, they found the walls

and the floors covered in blood. Pictures and stories of what happened were broadcast worldwide. The police claim the purpose of the raid was to search for weapons and "violent protesters." But the real aim of this outrageous police-state action was to intimidate the broader forces in the movement and to coerce them into putting political distance between themselves and the rebellious youth on the street.

Over 280 people were arrested during the days of protest in Genoa. There are a number of reports that people were beaten and tortured in the jails. According to reports from the IMC, many demonstrators were afraid to seek treatment for injuries at the hospitals because the police were arresting people who had "unexplained wounds." The Italian authorities have been hunting activists down around the country, arresting and beating people, ransacking people's homes, and detaining people trying to leave the country on charges of being "violent protesters."

Worldwide Impact

The images of Carlo's murder and the police raid on the GSF flooded Italian television. According to the *New York Times*, right-wing Italian prime minister Berlusconi had hoped that he would emerge from the summit as "a master of ceremonies" of a major meeting of the top global powers. But instead, he stepped into a political firestorm like Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley faced after the police rampage at the protests against the

1968 Democratic Convention

There have been protests throughout Italy denouncing the government, the police repression and the murder of Carlo Giuliani. Tens of thousands marched in Rome and Milan. Thousands attended his funeral in Genoa. Around the world there have been reports of protests in more than 100 cities. Demos were held in many cities in Germany, Canada and the U.S. Other protests took place throughout Europe as well as in Turkey, Argentina, Mexico, Australia, and South Korea.

The Genoa resistance and the viciousness of the Italian capitalist state are having a deep impact on millions worldwide. There is much questioning and debate among the anti-globalization forces worldwide. Some say the movement should distance itself further from radical actions in order not to give the police "any excuse" to attack people. But broadly within the movement and beyond, the murder of Carlo and vicious police attacks—even on pacifist forces—have sparked much anger at the kingpins of imperialist globalization who plunder the world while sending out the armed enforcers against those who stand up for justice and against oppression. On the IMC web site, comments on Carlo's death—expressing outrage and condemning the authorities—poured in from around the world.

The ferocity of the Genoa protests have clearly rocked the imperialists. G8 leaders and bourgeois papers worried that future summits will have to be run differently or even done away with because they have become lightning rods for mass resistance. Canadian prime minister Chretien announced that next year's G8 meeting will be held in a tiny resort town in the Rocky Mountains where there is "less around to destroy." The next meeting of the World Trade Organization is due to be held in the remote Persian Gulf kingdom of Qatar.

Unable to suppress the movement against their globalization plans, the forces of world capitalist order are stepping up their reactionary violence. But Genoa showed the determination and courage of those who want a new and different world.



San Francisco march in solidarity with the Genoa protest and against the police murder of Carlo Giuliani, July 25.



The Flat Iron Building

Rejecting Webcam Big Brother at Chicago's Flat Iron Building

Artists and Tenants Say: "We Are Not Your Truman Show"

by Tom Michaels

Wicker Park has long been a center of Chicago's art and alternative scenes. Spoken word has been showcased at the Mad Bar and now gets read in the park itself. Jazz drifts out of late night clubs. And there are massive piles of used books to go through at Quimby's and Myopic.

Artists, hipsters, crusty punks, Latino working people, homeless poets, weekend partiers, kids breaking out of mayonnaise-land and growing numbers of middle class professionals all crowd the sidewalks and cafes.

Even after years of creeping gentrification, art has stubbornly remained. And a big reason why is the artist community in the famous Flat Iron Building.

You can't miss the Flat Iron: it's a huge, white, triangular, three-story flat iron right at the key intersection of Wicker Park—inside, from basement to roof, it is a catacomb of creativity—a winding maze of studios, hallways, lofts and galleries—involving over a hundred artists.

And alongside the "wall art" is a busy "skin art" parlor for tattoos, a basement practice space for rock bands, plus a recently arrived occult bookstore. And, for 11 years, the Flat Iron Building has been the home to RCP Publications Public Relations Office, a crucial outlet for revolutionary news and literature in the U.S.

The Flat Iron is the center of the annual Around the Coyote art festival. For many years, this was the home of a radical Puerto Rican art scene. And it remains a constant whirl of gallery openings and art events. The first Friday of every month all the art galleries and studios are open to the public, featuring sculpture, oil paintings, water colors, puppets, collages and comic book art. The Note club features jazz, blues, and world beat.

Diverse views share space at the Flat Iron—gay and lesbian artists; anarchists;

feminists. The atmosphere has been friendly to radical politics. Flat Iron is where "Against the Nightstick," the art show against police brutality, had its first opening. It is the home of an annual International Women's Day art show. And it is where Li Onesto's photos "Nepal: Faces of the People's War" were first shown at the ATC Space.

And then, one day, Big Brother just showed up.



In the Unblinking Eye

In June, the tenants of the Flat Iron noticed landlord Bob Berger roaming the building with a technical crew to install cameras everywhere. His plan was mind-boggling: he intended to capture the lives of the artists in a "real TV" style. There would be a whole system of cameras in the hallways, in the ground level café and nightclub, on the stairs, at the entrance—

scanning, recording, transmitting constantly through a high-tech bunker in the basement.

Bob Berger is a landlord who many had thought was a friend to the artists—after he bought this lively center a few years ago and continued to make affordable space available as rents rose in Wicker Park. But now, suddenly, he revealed his ambitions to turn the artists into cultural capital.

In his grand plan, each camera would be fed to a web page on the internet, so that anyone "around the world, around the clock" could tune in, real time, to the comings and goings of the Flat Iron. And Berger was going to set up a huge 7-by-7 foot TV screen at street level—so that anyone passing by could watch the artists working, or hanging out, or heading for the bathroom—and listen to their conversations.

In Berger's "Flat Iron of the Future" every argument or hug in the hallways, every late night visitor, every moment when someone dressed up to step out their studio door, would be recorded and broadcast for everyone standing in the street and watching on the internet. He planned to put their lives on display to every stalker, potential rapist, and burglar on the street, to every nosy cop with professional interest in radical events, to every voyeur with a web browser.

Berger had no plans to discuss anything with the tenants or ask for their consent.

In Chicago's Flat Iron, people quickly saw they were in a situation chillingly similar to the *Truman Show*—the popular Jim Carey movie where every detail of Truman Burbank's life is filmed without his consent and broadcast to the world as highly profitable "entertainment" by Christof (a slick corporate TV producer played by Ed Harris).

To the artists, this Flat Iron is a living

Continued on page 14



Refuse & Resist! members disrupting a meeting of the anti-abortion OSA.

Defending Choice in Wichita

by Osage

The RW received the following correspondence from Osage, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

During the week of July 15, pro-choice activists from around the country converged in Wichita, Kansas to defend the abortion clinic run by the courageous Dr. George Tiller. This clinic was the site of a vicious siege 10 years ago in 1991, when "Operation Rescue" organized hundreds of anti-abortion fanatics to blockade the entrance and effectively closed the clinic for over a month.

"Operation Rescue," which has now become "Operation Save America" (or OSA), recently decided to return to Dr. Tiller's clinic for their "Summer of Mercy" to, as they stated, "prepare for the battle, and be ready to fight. It is time to go back. This time we finish it."

But this time, OSA would not go to Wichita without the strong opposition of women and men determined to safeguard women's reproductive freedom! Rebels from Refuse & Resist! and Anti-Racist Action were there alongside folks from the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice (RCRC), the Feminist Majority Foundation and members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade—as well as many pro-choice locals who were outraged that OSA dared to return to their town. There were usually about 200

people at the general meetings of the pro-choice activists during the week. On the other side, the major rally by the OSA on Monday reportedly had 600 to 800.

Flying into Wichita, we didn't really know what to expect. We knew what the antis had done 10 years ago. We also knew that since 1991, seven abortion providers, including doctors and clinic escorts, had been killed, and that's only the most deadly attacks. Daily, at probably every clinic nationwide, Christian fascists harass doctors, threaten women entering clinics, follow doctors home, vandalize and bomb clinics, etc. But we also knew that this wasn't going to be like the last time when the Christian fascists invaded Wichita. This time, pro-choice forces were preparing to confront the antis and defend the clinic. Yet we weren't sure what that would really require of us.

Even though the antis were not scheduled to start their week of activities until Monday, many of us were there days ahead of time to help take the offensive. In preparation, there were clinic defense training sessions run by RCRC and the Feminist Majority Foundation. The night we arrived, we attended one with over 100 people.

Each of the organizations had different tactics in taking on the anti-choice fascists, and we forged a broad unity that allowed for those differences—which was a strength. The youth were rowdy, taking up the sidewalk in front of the clinic with banners that read, "Dr. Tiller's a hero!",

"Honk for Choice!", "Abortion on Demand and Without Apology!" and signs that remembered those killed in attacks on abortion clinics. We took on the antis, exposing their lies and anti-woman rhetoric, calling them out for who they really are.

RCRC folks formed a defiant, silent presence holding signs that read, "Pro-faith, pro-family, pro-choice." Their presence was a pointed affront to the antis who use religion to place shame and guilt on women for controlling their own bodies. Controlling women is exactly what they're about—and they made little attempt to hide that.

Whenever the media swarmed around Flip "Venom" Benham (head of OSA), we'd gather behind him with our signs that that read, "Abortion Saves Women's Lives!" During one of Benham's press conferences on our first day out on the field, one woman from R&R! tried to stick a bright orange "Abortion on Demand and Without Apology!" sticker on him, and a photo of that encounter was in the paper the next day. Many of OSA's national and regional leaders were there (as well as at least one person from the "Army of God," another Christian fascist group). They definitely see how important this battle is—and so do we!

The anti-choice fascists yelled at us about "immoral" sexual practices (basically anything women choose to do with their bodies); the "fact" that women are the "weaker vessel" (exactly what you want to say in front of furious rebel women and men!); and that we'd burn in hell for fighting for women's liberation. They called gay men and women on our side "heathens" who'd burn in hell if they didn't repent—which exposed the antis' hateful goal to enforce traditional values, especially traditional gender roles.

We countered their "Jesus is the Standard" T-shirts with chants of "Women are the Standard!", "The people have spoken! The clinic is open!" and "Stop the Christian Fascists, No Matter What It Takes!" One of the antis was overheard yelling back, "Women are property!"

At one point, an RCYB member took out the RCP's new *Draft Programme* and began reading from it, countering the lies antis spread with the liberating vision revolutionary communists have for women and the world. A number of people defending the clinic were very interested in the *Draft Programme* and were glad to have revolutionary communists on their side. One young woman from Wichita said she had never before thought about what it'd take to actually stop the antis and liberate women for real. Some of the people we talked to had already begun reading the *Draft* and sharing it with their friends.

Of course, the antis weren't alone in their struggle to keep women subjugated. The police were there to help them. A journal entry written by R&R! activists who were there said: "As clinic defenders attempted to prevent the antis from

swarming around the cars of patients approaching the clinic, the police told us to stay on the sidewalk, to not 'make trouble.' Trouble? As we attempted to defend women's freedom, the cops made deals with anti's to allow them to harass women with their literature full of lies and distortions. Trouble? ...every day women and clinic workers are harassed, threatened, and intimidated. The antis have created a climate of shame around women who get an abortion—a decision that is already made difficult enough by the pressure society places on women to procreate. Trouble? These people are the ones making trouble for women and doctors every day. And today the police in Wichita conspired in that."

The police really got serious and vicious toward us when more rebel-looking youth arrived on our side. They restricted us from doing things they'd permitted earlier and curbed us any time we confronted an anti. When I confronted one anti who stepped up in my face, I apparently used one too many colorful words because the police came over and threatened to fine me for obscenity! One youth said the police hated to hear women's fury, no matter what language we use.

Then on Tuesday, July 17, the antis' strategy was to heighten tensions, jostle, shove and barricade pro-choice clinic defenders with large, heavy wooden signs, and cry "foul" to the police every time a clinic defender held her or his ground. This strategy, and their anti-choice alliance with the police, succeeded in getting a pro-choice sister and brother arrested and charged with assault.

The antis clearly put on two faces. One was the peaceful, self-righteous face they showed the cops and the media, with their praying and mournful expressions, flanked by women and children. The other was the one they exposed to us, when they would whisper threats. At one point, I was trying to block one of them with a poster to keep him from videotaping all the people on our side, and he whispered to me, "It'd be really easy for someone to kill you right now. You wouldn't mind that, would you? Someone could kill you right now." One anti-choice woman whispered to an R&R! activist, "We're praying more [doctors] die."

Many of us in Wichita learned very quickly that the antis' silent, peaceful presence was nothing short of a tactic—as they rely on lies, threats and intimidation, and outright violence. Some of the lies our side heard were: "Pro-choice people don't have children because they're all lesbians or homosexuals"; "All women who have abortions regret it for the rest of their lives"; "Abortions are painful and dangerous and women die from them"; "Hitler was pro-abortion"; and "It's racist to be pro-choice." Antis often likened their struggle to the anti-slavery struggle, as well, quoting MLK and even stooping to using posters of a lynching alongside a

Continued on page 15

A man walked up to several pro-choice women at different times, holding a small girl by the hand telling the women "when this beautiful young girl grows up she's going to have lots of babies and submit to her husband, just like her mother."

Reported on the Wichita Choice Alliance website (wichitachoice.org)



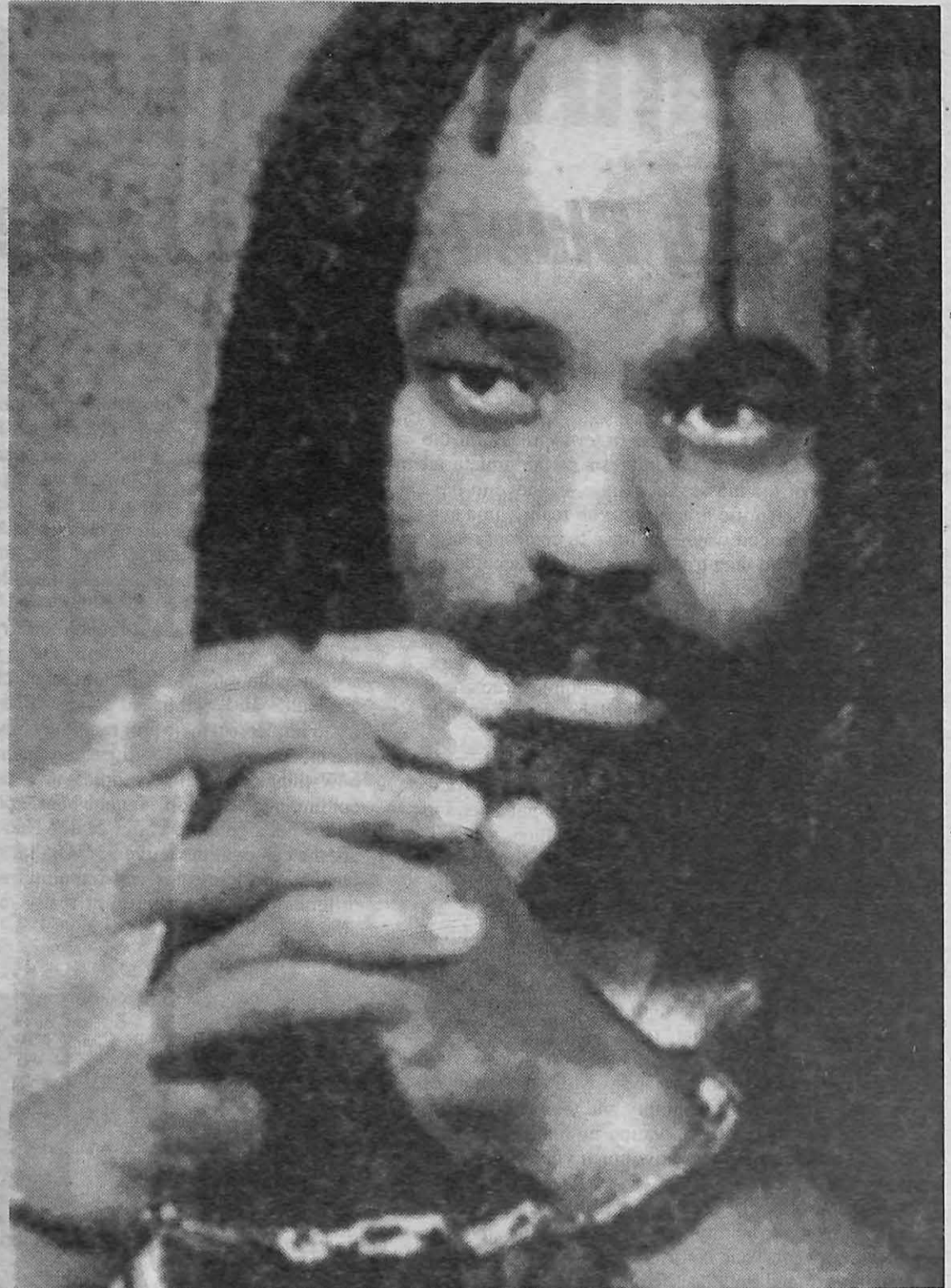
Clinic defenders in Wichita.

Photo: R&R! website

Government Targets Mumia for Death:

Outrageous New Court Ruling

by C. Clark Kissinger



Mumia Abu-Jamal

In yet another step in the government's plan to railroad Mumia Abu-Jamal into the death chamber, a federal court has refused to take testimony from a man named Arnold Beverly, who has come forward to state that he is the person who actually shot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. A man has come forward to say that he committed the crime, and Federal District Judge William H. Yohn will not even listen to what he has to say.

If anything were to happen to Beverly before he can come to court, his testimony would now be lost. The purpose in requesting his deposition was to protect that testimony for the record. A deposition is much like the appearance of a witness in court. The witness is sworn in, is questioned by both sides, and his testimony is recorded. Such a deposition can later be used in court if the witness is unavailable.

In denying Mumia's request to depose Beverly, the July 19 federal court decision went far beyond a simple "No." Judge Yohn took the occasion to write a 12-page lecture on how the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act will be used to block virtually every avenue of appeal by Mumia.

When a man's life is on the line—especially a revolutionary who represents the aspirations of the people—the courts have a moral obligation to hear any and all evidence that might support his case. The people must now demand that they do just that.

Using the Effective Death Penalty Act Against Mumia

In denying Mumia's request, the federal court repeatedly cited the 1996 Effective Death Penalty Act, a law whose very purpose was to cut off the ability of persons

wrongfully convicted in the state courts to seek justice through the federal courts.

If the court were truly interested in justice, wouldn't it want to hear a witness like Beverly? Wouldn't the law make it easy for that to happen? On the TV show *Law & Order* we are told every week that the District Attorney doesn't just try to convict, he seeks the truth. But is that what happened here? No. The Philadelphia DA strongly opposed deposing Beverly. This is the DA who had told the press that Beverly's statement was ridiculous. Now, when given an opportunity to cross examine him under oath and "expose" him, this same DA said "no way." In agreeing to this, the federal court gave the Pennsylvania prosecutors exactly what they wanted, and much more.

The court went out of its way to list every conceivable reason why the testimony of Beverly should not be recorded. The decision listed all the various ways that the Effective Death Penalty Act applied, even speaking to issues that had not been raised. Why? Because the court is sending a message to Mumia, to his lawyers, and to the people that it is deadly serious in seeking to execute Mumia, and it intends to apply the Effective Death Penalty Act in the strictest manner to this case—knowing full well that the purpose of that law is to prevent appeals and speed up executions.

The court's decision threw everything except the kitchen sink at Mumia's request. The court said that Mumia had not shown "good cause" to take a deposition of Beverly. It said that Mumia was not entitled to an evidentiary hearing on Beverly, therefore he could not be deposed. It said that Beverly's testimony (which contradicts claims of prosecution witnesses) was not relevant to any constitutional claims made by Mumia. It said

that the time deadline for raising the Beverly testimony was past. It said that the state courts had to rule first on the Beverly testimony. And it said that Beverly's testimony would not have influenced a jury to acquit Mumia anyhow.

Then the court got to the heart of the issue by saying that the Beverly testimony points to "a potential claim of actual innocence." Citing the infamous *Herrera* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1993, Judge Yohn stated that "such a claim, absent an independent constitutional violation, may not be the subject of a federal habeas petition." What he is saying is this: Don't even think about claiming that Mumia is innocent in this court, because the Supreme Court has ruled that actual innocence is not an issue for the federal courts to review.

Almost 100 people have now been freed from death row in the United States after it was shown that they were innocent. This has required enormous effort by attorneys, journalists, students, and activists, because the federal courts increasingly refuse to protect the innocent. As Chief Justice Rehnquist wrote in the *Herrera* decision: "In criminal cases, the [state] trial is the paramount event for determining the defendant's guilty or innocence.... Federal courts do not sit to correct errors of fact, but to ensure that individuals are not imprisoned in violation of the Constitution."

Finally, in a most revealing move, Judge Yohn added that the Pennsylvania state courts also ought to reject the Beverly testimony, even going so far as to suggest to the Pennsylvania courts what sections of Pennsylvania law they should cite in rejecting Mumia's petition. Here the federal court is simply giving the green light in advance to the state courts to block any testimony by Beverly.

Take Mumia's Fight to a Whole New Level

All this shows once again the seriousness of this struggle, and the fact that we can never depend on the courts for justice. It brings home in sharp terms just how determined this government is to take Mumia's life, and the sort of struggle that it's actually going to take to stop them and to free Mumia. It will require a movement that presents this government with a political situation where they stand to lose far more in trying to carry out their vicious execution plans than they could ever hope to gain.

The ruling class of this country has made it clear that the expanded use of the death penalty is a big part of their whole political agenda. It is an instrument of their dictatorship. It was hailed by both Bush and Gore in the last election. But that does not mean that they cannot be defeated. The system is vicious, but it is also vulnerable. Everywhere people are rising up against them from youth battling the police in Genoa, to Philly Freedom Summer in the streets of Philadelphia, to the high schools and colleges fighting to hear Mumia at their graduations, to the prominent people and foreign governments demanding justice in this case.

Speaking to the Mumia mobilizations on May 12, I said it will require us "to raise the specter of determined resistance, that combines our rich social diversity with the audacity of the youth in a movement that will never step back from the challenge that is before us." Now we must make good on that challenge.

**Stop the Execution!
Overturn the Conviction!
Free Mumia!**

Revolutionary Science vs. Re

A Ruling Class That Is Forced to Deny Reality

by Bob Avakian

In order to make revolution, in order to transform the world in accordance with the interests of the proletariat and the needs of the masses of people, we have to base ourselves on a scientific grappling with reality, in a systematic and all-around way—we have to confront reality as it actually is, and then transform reality in accordance with the way it can actually be transformed.

To see from another angle the importance of this scientific method—of historical materialism and MLM in general—let's take another famous statement by Marx: Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the culture conditioned by that economic structure.

What the fuck does that mean? Well, let's take an example I gave in the "Democracy" book *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?*: the right to put an end to starvation. People all over the world—millions and billions of human beings, who are starving—do not have the right to put an end to starvation, under this imperialist system; and people in the imperialist countries themselves who are outraged by this mass starvation and feel very strongly that it should be and could be ended—they also do not have the "right" to put an end to this starvation, under this imperialist system.

Why do they not have that "right"? Because IT CANNOT BE DONE UNDER THIS SYSTEM, by its very nature, because of the structure and way of functioning of this capitalist-imperialist economy and the whole system you cannot put an end to starvation no matter how outraged you might be by it or how much you might suffer from it.

In the same way, the communist principle "from each according to their ability to each according to their need"—where everyone contributes to society according to their ability and gets back from society according to their need—this basic principle cannot be implemented under the capitalist-imperialist system, obviously.

In fact, it cannot be implemented fully until the economic structure of society, and the social relations and ideas that accompany that economic structure, have been radically transformed to eliminate and move beyond a system of production and accumulation in which one part of society, a small part, exploits the masses of people; until inequalities in society (such as that between people doing intellectual work and those doing manual work) have been eliminated; and until we have overcome and moved beyond the necessity and basis for goods and services to be produced and exchanged as commodities, as things to be exchanged through money—until there is no more need and basis for money itself.

And here you can think of a line from a song by Peter Tosh—"The Day the Dollar Dies": "The day the dollar dies, things are gonna be better; the day the dollar dies, won't need no pockets." Think about that—why won't you need any pockets? That's really a very deep statement. What does it mean? You won't need any locks on anything either. All this "beep, beep, beep"—gadgets to lock your car door, alarms, and all these other devices—there won't be any need for all that. It's worth thinking about—why won't we need all that? But, the point is, before the necessary revolutionary transformations have been carried out, the "right" for people as a whole, for the masses of people, not to be exploited, or not to be subjected to inequality, cannot be realized; only through the communist revolution, to transform "the economic structure" and the culture conditioned by it, can this actually become not only a "right" but the guiding principle and the "norm" in society as a whole, all over the world.

Now, if we are just going to go by what we would "like" to be true, then let me say that I would REALLY like it if we could overthrow imperialism and all its lackeys, and all the enforcers of oppression and exploitation, TOMORROW (I say "tomorrow," rather than today, only so that all of us who would love to be part of this would have just enough time to get prepared to join in)! THAT would make ME feel really good! Unfortunately, that does not conform to reality, no matter how "good" it might make any of us feel. And actually trying to do that would NOT lead to good results! But, fortunately, we are in the era of human history where this can be done, where reality can—and must—be transformed to uproot all exploitation and oppression, throughout the whole world, on the basis of applying MLM.

As another illustration of the importance of confronting reality as it really is—AND of the fact that only with the outlook and method of the revolutionary proletariat can this be fully done—just look at the utter and complete bankruptcy of this system that has to have, as prominent representatives of its ruling class, people and forces who refuse to accept reality—who have to deny and attack some of the most fundamental truths about reality, about nature and society.

Here I'm talking about fools like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, and the rest of them. These people can't even accept evolution, which is not just an abstract theory but a scientifically established and verified fact. In order to try to implement their program, they have to attack one of the most fundamental truths about nature and society and how things, including people, have developed and are continuing to develop. What a bankrupt bunch of people! And what's going to come next? That the earth is, after all, the center of the universe? Or that it is, after all, flat? Or that all these ruins and remains from thousands and millions of years ago are not really real? Well they're already saying that.

They've already got—what the fuck is it called—"the Young Earth Society" (or some shit like that) where they argue that not only is evolution not true but all the evidence of archaeology and geology that shows that human society has been around for tens of thousands of years, that the earliest direct ancestors of human beings existed several million years ago, and that the earth is billions of years old—that's all wrong too because the Bible says that the world, that all of "creation," was only brought into being, by the act of "god," less than 7,000 years ago. And if you're going to do a literal interpretation of the Bible you not only can't allow for evolution, you can't even allow for how mountains were formed, how certain seas were formed and then dried up, how glaciers moved forward and then receded...you can't allow for any of that.

And by the way let me say this: if you're going to be religious, if you're going to adhere to the doctrine of a religion, you should, logically, go by a literal interpretation of the scriptures of that religion. If you're going to believe in that religion—and by definition religion means something that is divinely inspired—you're not free to go around "picking and choosing" what you will believe,



Fossilized footprints made by *Australopithecus afarensis* (a hominid species which is thought to have evolved into humans) 3.5 million years ago in the Laetoli area of east Africa.

Reactionary Religious Lunacy...

and what you will not believe, from the Supreme Being (or the divinity or divinities) of that religion. If you believe in an all-knowing, all-seeing, all-powerful Supreme Being, and if your basis for believing in that Supreme Being lies in the scriptures (and mythology) of the religion that worships that Supreme Being, then logically you should believe in everything that the scripture of that religion says. That's the bind that a lot of religious people find themselves in, or at least those who are somewhat enlightened but still cling to religious ideas: they cannot accept a lot of this shit, but they're stuck because they want to believe in an all-knowing Supreme Being, and the scriptures of any given religion are supposed to be the divinely inspired word of this or that God or Allah or whatever.

That's what these Christian Fascists are about—they're trying to resolve this contradiction in a very simple-minded way, in a very clearly reactionary way, by just saying, "It's all literally true—every word in the Bible is true—and if the facts contradict the Bible, then the facts are wrong!" That's why evolution is wrong, that's why archaeology is wrong—that's why reality is wrong. That's their "logic."

Imagine if these people actually came to be the predominant forces in the ruling class, if they came to fully dominate in society—if the bourgeois moved in the direction of fully adopting their outlook and program!! Imagine if you went to see some sort of "natural wonder": where they now have these signs explaining the geological processes that shaped these things, over millions and millions of years, it would have to say instead: "And God created the heavens and the earth and everything on the earth, just as it is today." They'd have to replace all actual scientific explanations with something like that. This is the kind of people we're dealing with!

But the profound point is why are they doing this?

Because they cannot put forward their program without denying reality on this fundamental a level and they're going to go farther and farther with this because there's a logic to it—a thoroughly reactionary logic.

Now let's contrast that reactionary shit of theirs with the future that we are fighting for and represent. Let's look to the future—let's go ahead, say, 300 years—just pick a figure like that. Instead of their signs "and God created the heaven and the earth, blah, blah, blah," what would there be?

As an example, let's take this beautiful place Bridal Veil Falls in Yosemite National Park. Let's take a person from today and let's "transport them to the future"—the future society. So, all of a sudden, they're plopped down among some other people in this future society, looking at these beautiful falls, and they say: "Isn't this beautiful, this Bridal Veil Falls?" And the people from the future would look at them and say: "What the fuck are you talking about? Bridal Veil?"

"What the fuck is a **bridal veil**? And for that matter what the fuck is a **bride**?" Think about it—all this bridal veil shit and everything is all part of this notion of women as property—it is reflection of social relations that essentially, if not literally, treat women as the property of men. You cover them, they're "protected property"—they're under the domination of their father who keeps them virginal and pure—all this virginal bullshit, you know, the Virgin Mary, the Virgen de Guadalupe, all this stuff—it's all part of a system of thought and a system of social relations in which women are treated as property—they're kept under the protection of their father who what?...who gives them away at the wedding ceremony to the man who now takes them over and has them as his property—the husband. And in many societies and cultures, still

today, there's a whole system of control, with the mother-in-law playing a key role as an enforcer of the husband's will, and everything else.

But if we transport our person from today to the future—there won't be no "Bridal Veil Falls"! There will be a whole different name for it—it's not going to be no "bridal veil"! That'll be out. That'll be gone—bridal veils and brides in the sense that they exist now—as a kind of social institution representing the patriarchal family and all that—that will be gone! That's the future that we're fighting for, and that will be brought into being—none of this shit about "and god created the patriarchy" and so on and so forth.

What a contrast—between what these reactionaries represent and seek to impose on people, and the future, the liberating future that we represent and are fighting for. Again, it is a sign of the **utter bankruptcy**, the complete worthlessness and the thoroughly outdated nature of this system that it has to promote forces like this and treat as **legitimate** these forces who can't even accept reality—who are forced to deny some of the most basic truths about reality, such as evolution. Even the *New York Times*—the "high-brow" paper of the bourgeoisie—they'll treat as legitimate these views and the people who aggressively put them forward; the *New York Times* and the rest will include these forces as part of reasonable discussion and debate—"creationism," that's a legitimate idea contending "in the market place of ideas"—even though the publishers and editors of the *New York Times* would almost certainly tell you privately that "creationism" and the rest of this religious obscurantism is nonsense.

But think about a system that has to bring forward representatives who fight for this, that has to treat this as legitimate and **encourage** ridiculous notions and superstitions like this and ignorance of how the universe works, of what reality is.

Never mind all their gloating and boasting about how their system has triumphed over all others, and particularly over communism—how their system represents the best of all possible worlds and the only possible way. Here this is supposed to be such a "modern" society, and they never tire of talking about the "high-tech world" they claim to have created. *Yet this is a ruling class whose system stands as such a profound obstacle to the advance of humanity, that they are afraid for the masses of people to understand fundamental things about reality, even about basic things in nature, such as evolution.*

Oh yes, they make use of advanced scientific discovery and technology in pursuit of profit and to build up their machinery of death and destruction to enforce their rule, but at the same time they still have to promote religious obscurantism—the clouding and shrouding of reality in ignorance and blindness. Here they have command of all this highly developed technology—which, regardless of what they say, is the product of the combined and collective efforts, physical and intellectual, of humanity as a whole, over thousands of years and throughout the world.

(As Marx put it: capitalism embodies and enforces "the domination of dead labor over living labor." By "dead labor" he means the things that have previously been produced by human labor—all the machinery that is used in all the different branches of production, and so on. In other words, in the hands of the capitalists the machinery and in general the technology that is produced, through the mental and manual labor of the masses of humanity, becomes a weapon to enslave and drive the present generation of living laborers who must work on this machinery and technology—and have it "work" on them.)

So here are these capitalist-imperialists with command over all this highly developed technology—and look at the **backward and reactionary ideas they promote and the social relations those ideas serve and reinforce**. This is a declaration on their part, in reality, of the bankruptcy and outmoded character of their system and the fact that it belongs in the garbage dump of history.

This is a ruling class that, from the standpoint of humanity's historical development, has already **forfeited the right to rule**. It is a ruling class, and a system, that must and will **COME DOWN**—be overthrown and swept aside so that the productive forces of humanity, and most of all the people and their knowledge and ability, can be liberated and unleashed.



Photo of deep space taken by Hubble telescope, showing galaxies as they existed 12 billion years ago.

The RCP has published its new Draft Programme, and the Party is inviting people to join in the study, discussion and wrangling over this roadmap and battle plan for revolution.

In this new RW series, "Exploring the RCP's Draft Programme," we will look at different key problems in society, and what the Draft Programme says about how people can solve them through revolutionary change.

Exploring the RCP's Draft Programme

Housing in the U.S.A.: Nightmare of the "American Dream"

The possibility of owning your own home is held up as proof of the "American dream" and the notion that capitalism can provide everyone—even the masses of working people—with a decent life.

But today, for millions of working and oppressed people, the possibility of home ownership is barely even a "dream." In reality, just paying the rent is becoming more and more difficult, if not impossible. And for many millions more, including sections of the middle class, it's becoming more difficult to buy or keep a home.

Any just society in the world today should provide for peoples' basic survival—things like food, shelter, and health care. After all, it isn't as if the resources and know-how to provide food, build shelter, and prevent many diseases don't exist!

In the course of doing research and social investigation for the new Draft Programme, the RCP found that:

- Hundreds of thousands of people are homeless on any given night, and many others are homeless at different times.
- The economic "boom" of the 1990s has neither lessened homelessness nor made housing more affordable for poor people.
- The waiting time for getting federal housing assistance has dramatically increased in recent years.
- The availability of subsidized housing for poor people may well be decreasing even further in the years ahead.
- Some 30% of U.S. households spend more than 30% of their income on housing, a level that is considered a real strain on household budgets. Millions of poor people spend more than half of their income on housing.
- Today, compared to 30 years ago, it more often takes two incomes—and often long hours—to pay a home mortgage, and many are falling deeply into debt to buy and keep a home.

The Persistence of Homelessness

Most recent indicators point to a worsening crisis for working and oppressed people, and incredible hardships on children. The most savage expression of the housing crisis in the U.S. is homelessness.

According to a recent study by the Urban Institute, "at least 800,000 adults and children are homeless at any given point in time, while at least 2.3 million experience it at least once in a year." (emphasis added) This is nearly 1 out of every 100 people in the U.S.!

Of the 2.3 million who experience homelessness sometime in a year, about a third are children. A recent survey by the U.S. government found that, contrary to popular belief, nearly half of homeless people had some paid employment in the previous month. ("The State of the Nation's Housing—2001," by the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University.)

A December 2000 survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, titled "Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities" found that the average demand for emergency shelter in 2000 had increased by 15% from 1999—the highest one-year increase of the 1990s. In 50% of the cities surveyed, officials also said that the length of time people are homeless increased during the past year.

While the survey reported a variety of causes of homelessness, "nearly every city in the survey cited the lack of affordable housing as the primary cause of homelessness." In 72% of the cities surveyed, officials expect that requests for emergency shelter will increase in 2001. Some 36%

of the homeless are families with children and 7% are children under 18 living on their own.

The Burden of Rent

For many poor and low income people fortunate enough (at least temporarily) to afford shelter, paying the rent or mortgage is extremely difficult. "The State of the Nation" study found that in 1999, over 14 million households, about *one in eight*, were spending more than 50% of their income on housing—a level which is considered a severe burden. Most—about 11.5 million—are low-income households.

Another 3.3 million poor rental households are spending between 30% and 50% of their income on rent. This means that 85% of all poor people who rent are either severely or moderately burdened by housing costs.

The study also found that poor people are "the most likely to live in overcrowded and/or structurally inadequate housing"—a situation faced even by many people working full-time jobs. Another recent report found that on average, there must be more than two full-time minimum wage workers in a household to afford an average two-bedroom apartment. ("Out of Reach," September 2000, National Low-Income Housing Coalition.) One reason is that in 1997 and 1998 rents increased at twice the rate of general inflation.

Even the U.S. government admits that there's a crisis of affordable rental housing for the poor. In a report issued in January 2001, the Department of Housing and Urban Development acknowledged that roughly five million households of people who are renting have "worst-case" housing needs—in other words they spend more than half of their income on rent. The report also said "substantial shortages of rental housing continue, and in some respects are worsening," and that between 1997 and 1999 the number of affordable units available to poor people dropped "at an accelerated rate..." ("A Report on Worst Case Housing Needs in 1999: New Opportunity Amid Continuing Challenges")

The U.S. housing crisis hits African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and other oppressed nationalities, especially hard. For instance, the U.S. government has reported that African Americans had the highest rate of severe financial needs among renters who receive no subsidies or other government housing support.

Slashing Federal Housing Subsidies

While this situation is already bad enough, it could get even worse in the years ahead. Federal rent subsidies on 1.3 million apartments will be ending over the next five years. These subsidies enable low income tenants to pay 30% of their monthly income on rent, with the government paying the difference. At the same time, the government is slashing new federal housing programs for low-income people.

These cuts also mean that families are waiting longer and longer for subsidized housing—if they get it at all. The average waiting time had increased from 22 months in 1996 to 33 months in 1998. In many cities, the wait is on the order of many years. For example, in New York City the waiting time is eight years, and in Los Angeles and Newark the waiting time is 10 years.

Crisis of Affordable Homes

The percentage of households owning a home rose slightly during the 1990s, from about 64% in the 1980s to 67% in 1999—



Demolition of a public housing project building in Chicago.

a rate just above the level of home ownership in the late 1970s. For the bottom half of society income-wise, the rate of home ownership is about 53%.

But these statistics mask deepening polarization between different sections of the people. There is a widening "housing affordability gap" between those who have benefited from the "economic expansion" of the 1990s and those who were left behind. Low- and moderate-income homebuyers are finding it harder and harder to find affordable housing and are spending more of their income on housing. Many households, including in the middle class, are going deeper in debt to buy a house.

One reason is that home prices rose faster than overall inflation for seven straight years, from 1993 to 2000. During that period inflation-adjusted house prices soared 16%—and in some urban areas the increase was even steeper.

While home prices and mortgage payments steadily increased between 1993 and 2000, incomes for much of the population did not keep pace.

"The State of the Nation" study concluded that "Both housing prices and higher average interest rates in 2000 made home ownership less affordable for new buyers coming into the market... Last year's buyers saw higher housing costs consume nearly all their income gains."

In part because of these trends, more and more households depend on two incomes (or more) and/or working longer hours to pay the rent or mortgage. The number of American households that now depend on two incomes to pay for housing is on the rise. Yet, even with both spouses employed, more than one in five low-income married couples have "severe cost burdens," paying more than half their incomes for housing. And overall, about

8.3 million poor home-owning households are paying over 30% of their incomes for housing, or living in severely inadequate housing.

People from oppressed nationalities in the U.S. have a much harder time buying a house than white people. "State of the Nation's Housing" notes that "Despite the economic good times of the 1990s, minority homeownership rates still lag those of whites by a wide margin.... The Black ownership rate now stands at 47.6%, the Hispanic rate at 46.3%, and the Asian/other rate at 53.9%—all considerably below the 73.8% rate of whites."

Rising Debt in the 1990s

Debt and debt payments dramatically increased in the 1990s, and one big reason was rising mortgage payments. The authors of *The State of Working America 2000/2001* concluded:

"The media casts much attention on the stock market. But for most households, rising debt—not a rising stock market—is the real story of the 1990s. Burgeoning debt has squeezed the net worth of the typical household, which saw only small gains in wealth in the 1990s. This growth in debt has put real economic strains on a significant number of low- and middle-income families, leading, in extreme cases, to personal bankruptcy."

The mortgage component of total debt is increasing—rising from 45% of total debt in 1979 to 67% in 1999.

One particular problem facing African Americans, Latinos and other oppressed nationalities is that they are locked into extra-high payments on housing loans. This is because in poor and minority neighborhoods there is a whole "sub-prime" lending network, made up of loan

Continued on page 12



and the Dream of Revolution

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

The capitalist market, with its "profit above all" logic and workings, cannot meet the demand for decent, affordable housing. A basic human need—shelter—is made into a commodity: turned into an object of private ownership, sale, and profit.

Under capitalism, society does not assume responsibility for the well-being and all-around development of the population. Under capitalism, housing needs are subordinated to capitalist land speculation, builders' profits, and lending and mortgage institutions. In short, under capitalism, housing is an investment. The law of supply and demand does not respond to the social demand for decent housing, but rather to the demand of money: who can and will pay. Housing is sold through the market and is subject to the boom-and-bust cycle of capitalism. As a result, housing construction goes through big swings. Government housing-support programs for the poor are totally inadequate; historically, they have wound up enriching developers and they have been part of the system's mechanisms for controlling the masses. Discrimination in lending and segregation in unfit housing are some of the most outrageous expressions of national oppression in U.S. society. For sections of the working class and for large sections of the middle class, individual homeownership puts them in deep debt and reinforces the atomization and isolation of social life.

Turning a social necessity into a commodity is no way to run a society.

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

In Part 2 of the Draft Programme of the RCP, the appendix, "The New Socialist Economy" contains the following sections

(page 119-120) that speak directly to how the proletariat will solve the problem of providing housing under socialism.

"Meeting Pressing Social Needs, Mobilizing People to Rebuild and to Create a New Economy" says:

The masses will be unleashed to rebuild the economy and to solve all problems that come up. Mobilizing the masses will make seemingly impossible "miracles" happen under socialism.

The absurd contradiction represented by the ever visible sight of masses of unemployed people hanging out on the streets of their broken-down neighborhoods—this too will be ended with the seizure of power by the proletariat. Instead of being held apart by the law of profits, the formerly unemployed will be put together with the materials needed and be set to work on these neighborhoods. All of their creativity and knowledge will be valued and unleashed.

Many workers skilled in construction, for example—who, as it is now, largely work on glass-and-steel office towers, when they are allowed to work at all—will be immediately shifted into rehabbing and construction of housing for the masses.

Middle-strata people have specialized knowledge and skills that are hard to replace, and which the new economy will need in order to function. Former managers and technical personnel and small plant owners who are willing to aid socialist reconstruction will be utilized in an ongoing way to contribute their skills to production, including actually working right alongside the other workers....

Raising the Bottom Up

The new proletarian state must take special measures for "raising the bottom

up." After the devastation and dislocation of civil war, first priority will be given to rebuilding and improving the ghettos and barrios and other areas where capitalism forced oppressed people to live.

The priorities in distribution of needed social goods and services will be guided by the principle of overcoming historic inequalities—for example, decisions about what sections of people and what areas of the country will be first to get new health care centers, state-run stores, public transit, and decent housing and schools. And, over the long term, the socialist state will give preference to the less developed and backward areas in coordination with and on the basis of the overall development of society.

The whole society, people from every strata, will be mobilized to overcome these inequalities left over from the old society. For instance, doctors will staff new clinics in areas which had no health care for decades. And some former professionals will get the new training they need to take literacy, education, and cultural programs to devastated urban and rural areas.

Meeting the Right to Housing

One of the most pressing questions the proletariat will face as it takes control of society will be providing housing for the masses that is fit for the shelter and comfort of human beings. Segregation will be smashed. The financial policies previously employed by the banks and insurance companies, which feed and profit off segregation, will have been ended, along with their control of financial resources.

Both the principle of mobilizing the masses and the principle of "raising the bottom up" will be used to solve the housing crisis.

One of the proletariat's first steps will be to take over the remaining mansions of the capitalists, as well as their fancy hotels, convention centers, and even office buildings—much of which are unused—and move in masses who are literally homeless. Some of these structures will be permanently transformed into housing for the masses, while as rapidly as possible new housing is also built.

Apartment buildings and complexes owned by large capital and slumlords will be taken over quickly and without compensation by the revolutionary state. In these situations, as well as in the emergency housing described above, the masses will be mobilized to protect and manage them.

Small landlords who own only one or a few units will be allowed to continue collecting rents for a period of time. But small landlords will have no power to evict, and the rents will be set by the state. If there are problems, representatives of the Party, state, and the masses will work together with tenants and landlords to resolve them. As soon as possible, as more housing is built, and as the socialist economy as a whole develops, the state will gradually buy out these small landlords and convert these units into state-owned property.

People in the working class and its allies in the middle class will have the right to live in the homes they currently occupy, and all their debts and mortgages will be canceled. For those who own more than one home, the policy towards small landlords will apply to those properties that the owners do not occupy.



In a Cleveland housing project.

SF/Bay Area: "Se renta piso"

Economic growth in the 1990s was in part fueled by the rapid growth of the high-tech industry, much of which is centered in the San Francisco Bay Area (including the city of San Francisco and Marin County in the north, Oakland and Berkeley in the East Bay, and San Jose and the high-tech Silicon Valley in the South Bay). This rapid growth has turned the Bay Area into one of the tightest, most expensive housing markets in the U.S. Housing costs have skyrocketed, while most wages and salaries have failed to keep pace.

Between 1994 and 1999, Silicon Valley added 133,700 jobs—but not the needed housing to accommodate these new workers. Instead, for every nine jobs created in the 1990s, only one housing unit was built. While this wild overall unplanned expansion was taking place in Silicon Valley, most of the cities ringing the Valley had conscious no-growth policies. The result has been an explosive rise in housing prices in Santa Clara County. Here, the median new home now costs five times the median household income—nationally, new homes cost on average three times median income. And apartment rental prices have soared 29% in the last three years—above overall inflation.

This crisis has hit proletarians—the backbone of the high-tech industry, often working for under \$8 an hour—very, very hard.

Immigrant workers have been especially hard hit. One Bay Area researcher found that the typical immigrant living situation in Silicon Valley was four working adults and three children living in a two bedroom apartment. Of 32 Malaysian immigrant working mothers interviewed—all making \$8 an hour, doing overtime, and working a second job—not one could afford to rent their own apartment. All had to double up with another family and typically they lived seven people per two bedroom apartment, with at least four adults present and working.

Many immigrants are forced to forego a home altogether and just rent space to sleep on someone else's floor. The *San Jose Mercury News* (6/16/99) described how this has become a major feature in the Latino community. In laundromats and on bulletin boards everywhere, signs are

posted—"se renta piso" (floor for rent). Over a recent two-week period 35 similar ads ran in local Spanish-language newspapers. The going rate is \$150 to \$200 a month, which buys you eight hours a night in the corner of somebody's living room. In Santa Clara County some 28,000 families are waiting for federal housing assistance.

The Bay Area's housing crunch is not only making life extremely difficult for the proletariat, it's also sending shockwaves through the middle class and surrounding regions. Many in the Bay Area's broad middle class—teachers, technicians, professionals—have found that in order to find houses they can afford, they must buy 50 or 100 miles or more from where they work. Many working in Santa Clara County and Silicon Valley have been forced 70 to 100 miles east to cities like Tracy and Stockton in the Central Valley or 50 to 70 miles south to towns like Morgan Hill, Gilroy and Hollister. Some are giving up their jobs and moving out of the Bay Area altogether because they can't afford a home.

In the 1960s young people moved to San Francisco's Haight Ashbury district—to join the counter-culture and because housing was inexpensive. Today the average house in the Haight costs \$1 million! Rents in Alameda County in the East Bay increased 44% between 1993 and 1999, bringing the average monthly apartment rent to \$1,096; in Contra Costa County to the north, rents went up 36%. Recently, rents in San Francisco have started to go down slightly due to the "dot com bust." But rents are still far, far above what they were a decade ago, and in much of the Bay Area rents are still increasing.

The anarchic economic upswing in Silicon Valley has also outstripped the existing infrastructure of roads. Public transport is almost non-existent—so commuters, especially long-distance commuters, are often forced to spend two and even three hours stuck in traffic getting both to and from work. One software engineer told us that when he and his colleagues have to work late into the night, they often sleep under their desks rather than drive home only to face a grinding commute in the morning.

A *New York Times* article titled "Homeless on \$50,000 a Year in Luxuriant

Silicon Valley" described people working three jobs or making \$15/hour who slept on busses because they couldn't afford an apartment in Silicon Valley. The article noted that "people who make more than \$50,000 a year and would be comfortably middle-class in many other places are seeking the services of area homeless shelters."

Gentrifying People out of San Francisco

High-tech growth in Silicon Valley and San Francisco itself, as well as growth of financial, legal and real estate services industries, has led to a brutal housing squeeze in San Francisco. There the median price of a home on the market is \$530,000. This means that only one home in 16 is affordable for the average household—despite the fact that the Bay Area's median household income is \$74,900! Rents have followed suit. Between 1995 and 1999, the median rent for a vacant one bedroom increased more than 56%—from \$800 to \$1,245 per month. Only 38% of all San Francisco households could afford the median rent for a vacant apartment today.

As rents have increased, there has been a feeding frenzy of landlords trying to find ways to profit. One way has been a sharp rise in the number of "owner-move-in" evictions—up 345% from 1996 to 1998 alone. Since San Francisco has rent control, these evictions are one of the main ways that owners get rid of lower-paying tenants and raise rents or sell homes or apartments—often as condominiums.

And just when the poor are in need of

governmental housing assistance, the state is helping to drive them out of the city. Five public housing developments in San Francisco have been or are slated to be demolished. And one-third of the 778 residents, mostly Black, who have lost their public housing have been forced to leave the city. In 1993 San Francisco had 100,000 low income tenants in need of affordable housing. By 1997 only 369 such units had been built.

San Francisco has a long, rich tradition of being a place where diverse populations and creative communities can find a home. It was, after all, a birthplace of both the "Beat" movement in the 1950s and the counter-culture movement of the 1960s. Yet now, escalating real estate prices are driving out many artists—such as bands who rented lofts as rehearsal spaces. The *S.F. Bay Guardian* argues that San Francisco is now turning into "a one-dimension city, a more conservative city" with the new arrivals "younger, wealthier and transient... displacing long time working class residents who have a 'folk-memory' of the city."

More and more people are ending up living on the streets. In 1989, the city estimated that 6,000 people were homeless on any given night. A decade later the number stands between 11,000 and 14,000. Homeless deaths increased from 16 in 1987 to 153 in 1996 and 183 in 1999. In 1998 the city vetoed a \$75,000 eviction-prevention program for families—even though it had a \$100 million budget surplus.

A 1995 profile of the homeless in San Mateo County in the San Francisco Bay Area (in the shadow of the high-tech Silicon Valley) revealed how many different kinds of people are impacted by homelessness:

- 71% were male, 29% female
- 37.7% were white, 33.7% Black, 18.5% Latino, 4.7% Asian, and 4.2% native American
- 44% said they were homeless because they couldn't make the rent payment; 39% said losing their job made paying the rent impossible
- about 1/3 of these homeless were employed
- 37.3% had children and 75% of them were still caring for their children while homeless
- their ages ranged from 15 to 78 years old; 65.2% were between the ages of 26 and 45 (the "prime" of life)

Exploring the RCP's Draft Programme

Continued from page 10

and finance companies which specialize in making people with poor credit histories pay high rates and fees for consumer loans.

The 1990s "Boom" and Urban Housing Crisis

Affordable housing is scarce enough across the U.S. as a whole, but in many urban areas the situation is even worse and there is open discussion of a housing affordability crisis. Areas such as Boston; the San Francisco Bay Area; Sacramento, California; Tacoma, Washington; and even the states of Maine and Minnesota all report sharply increased housing costs.

In these areas, the economic "boom" has boomeranged on many proletarians, and even among many in the middle class, because home prices and rents have been driven sky high by the anarchic, profit-driven workings of capitalism. In these areas, home prices have become less and less affordable to most new buyers, except relatively small numbers in the upper sections of the middle class—or the capitalists—who have benefited from the economic expansion of the 1990s. In these areas rents are also skyrocketing, and many—especially the oppressed—are being driven out of these urban areas altogether.

An economic downturn could make the already precarious housing situation much worse. Layoffs could cause many to lose their homes or be unable to pay rent. This is true even of two-income families where one person is still working. "The State of the Nation's Housing" notes that "Rising unemployment could also jeopardize the ability of millions of two-earner house-



Silicon Valley workers living in a converted garage.

holds to meet their housing costs."

The fact of the matter is that there is a deep crisis of affordable and decent housing in U.S. society. In the richest country in the world, after the longest economic "boom" in the post-WW 2 era, hundreds of thousands are homeless every night, millions can barely afford their rent, and many others can barely afford the mortgage on their homes.

It's a damning indictment of capitalist society that it cannot provide affordable, decent housing for tens of millions of people. There is a crying need—and the resources exist—to build new housing that people can afford. But because the "free market" is guided by profits, not the needs of the people, huge sections of the people in the U.S. are burdened by deep debt, on the edge of being evicted, or on the streets.



A homeless family in New York.

Now Available

A New Paper for Discussion
by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, 2001

On The Position on Homosexuality In The New Draft Programme

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- On Human Sexuality in General, and Homosexuality in Particular
- Homosexuality in Societies Like the U.S.
- What Can a Look at History and Various Cultures Tell Us About Homosexuality?
- Underlying Material Bases of Sexual Orientation in Human Beings
- Patriarchy, Male Right and Cultural Norms and Attitudes Regarding Homosexuality in Class Society
- Modern Gay and Lesbian Culture in U.S. Society
- Homosexuality and Socialism and Communism
- Gender roles
- Identity Politics
- Homosexuals in the Struggle for Revolution and the Question of Party Membership
- Our Past Analysis of the Question of Homosexuality—What Was Right, What Was Wrong, How We Came to Recognize Our Significant Errors, and What We Can All Learn From This
- * Appendix on related biological research

"We, as Maoist revolutionaries, want to liberate all of human expression and social relations from the weight of thousands of years of traditional (oppressive) morality and institutions. So when it comes to matters of sexuality, we do not approach things in the manner of a "bedroom police." We recognize the great variety and complexity of human sexual expression—including historically—and that the practice of human sexuality is not a static or unchanging thing. We also know that there is much that is not yet well understood—and there is therefore much to learn still—about the many different characteristics of human sexuality at both the individual and broader social levels. And, while there has been important experience in socialist society, which needs to be further summed up, we also understand that it is not possible for anyone to fully predict what forms sexual expression might take in socialist and then in communist society (and what the social "meanings" and significance of various practices might turn out to be in these new social contexts).

"But we **do** think there is a basis—and that we have a responsibility—to try to sort out what kind of larger social impacts and effects different social practices among the people may be having, and to help distinguish what may be relatively socially insignificant from what may actually be objectively harmful, or objectively helpful, to the overall struggle to fundamentally transform and thoroughly revolutionize society in line with the objective interests of the revolutionary class in society, the proletariat, and with the whole of humanity."

from On the Position on Homosexuality in the New Draft Programme

"While many sexual and other intimate relations can obviously bring many positive benefits to the individuals involved and to society overall, it is our view that since the emergence of private property and of class distinctions, **all** sexual relations have borne the stamp of the historical oppression of women, and continue today to be shot through and through with this fundamental feature of class society. They will **all** need to be transformed in important ways, in order to fully achieve a radical strategic breakthrough on this question.

"This is what continues to make sex in the modern world such a tricky proposition! It is not easy for individuals to form positive intimate social and sexual bonds that go against the tide instead of going along with, or even mirroring, aspects of the general societal subjugation of women which characterizes bourgeois society and all societies marked by exploitative and oppressive relations. It is not easy for individuals to form bonds characterized by mutual love, respect and genuine equality, when what prevails in the society at large tends to promote and reinforce just the opposite!

"Like everything else worth striving for, this requires struggle, as well as a wide-ranging vision of a radically better future; and fundamentally it requires, once again, the radical up-ending and revolutionizing of society as a whole, of all social relations."

from On the Position on Homosexuality in the New Draft Programme

From the *Draft Programme of the RCP, USA*

"As for intimate relations, socialist society will promote values of, and create the conditions for, personal, family, and sexual relations based on mutual love, respect, and equality.

"The revolutionary proletariat is staunchly opposed to the attacks on homosexuality by reactionary forces such as religious fundamentalists, and to all physical assaults on, discrimination against, and government repression of homosexuals, which is so widespread and vicious in the U.S. today. In the new society, discrimination against homosexuals will be outlawed and struggled against in every sphere of society, including personal and family relations.

Draft Programme, Part I (p. 22)

"Sexual and intimate relations between men and women in bourgeois society are largely reflective of and dominated by the ideology of male supremacy and "male right"; they exist within and are influenced by the overall framework of social relations in which the oppression of women is an integral and fundamental part. All this is something that the proletariat will be mobilizing the masses to radically transform in the process of uprooting the oppression of women and all oppression and exploitation. In the realm of intimate relations, socialist society will encourage people to strive for standards that are consistent with and contribute to uprooting the oppression of women."

From the appendix "The Proletarian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women," p. 106

"Under socialism people will not be stigmatized because they are homosexuals or because of their sexual orientation. Discrimination will not be tolerated, and the repression and violence against homosexuals that has been so prevalent in capitalist society will be firmly opposed and dealt with.

"At the same time, it is important to grasp that same sex relations do not escape and do not exist outside of the prevailing family and sexual relations and the corresponding ideology of male supremacy that oppress women in this society. In many ways the outlook that characterizes male gay culture in bourgeois society is not a departure from—and in fact there are elements in which it is a concentration of—male right. Lesbianism is in many ways a response to the oppression of women in class society, but in and of itself it is not a fundamental solution to this oppression.

"The outlook that one partner in an intimate relationship must be devalued, dominated, abused, or owned is a reflection of the oppression of women in society; and forms of male right, in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships, will be targets of criticism and transformation."

From the appendix "The Proletarian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women," p. 106

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Online at www.rwor.org

Artists and Tenants Say: “We Are Not Your Truman Show”

Continued from page 5

thing, a stronghold of creativity. For the owner, it is property—his property—to be used any way he wants, to be turned into entertainment and used to make more money.

What Kind of World Are We Going to Live In?

“We are not your Truman Show!”

Media alert from the Concerned Tenants of the Flat Iron Arts Building

“This happened without our input. We could not say anything about it. We were outside the whole thing. No compromise has been possible with the building owner. It was just his way. If you don’t like it you have to get out of the building. And that’s not cool. It’s good this battle is still being fought.”

Billy,* speaking to the RW

“That’s blowing it up out of my own personal life. You’re stripped of your ethereal rights—the right to your presence you now share with whomever owns the strip you’re walking on. That’s staggering to think about. It is the same issue you have everywhere. The people who have money maintain their civil rights. People without money are slowly being stripped of them in a very comfortable and quiet way. God, you know, you’re stuck, you have to pay rent, you’ve got to live somewhere.”

Regina artist and tenant, speaking to the RW

“It’s intrusive. There are many artists who don’t want to be filmed walking back and forth from the showers, and some women in the building are worried about their safety.”

J., painter

“Bob Berger likes to think he is a patron of the arts or whatever, and some ways I suppose he is. But this place would be like a zoo-thing that he has fun with, and that’s not respect at all—for the lifestyles, for the artists, for what we are trying to do here. Our lives are not about being put up 24/7 without our consent. You know what I mean? You feel disempowered. It is a cheapening kind of experience. People are going to look at this building as more of an entertainment center rather than having something that’s quality or people who actually are working towards something deeper. It’s funny to me but not in a funny way. It’s

very exploitative, the whole situation here, exploitative of life styles.

“I don’t really want people, whoever would, to click on, watching my coming and going. It is an icky feeling. It gives me a chill when I think about it. The cameras are just panning you everywhere and there is somebody watching and me not having a choice. It kinda creeps me out. People just gawking at us, you



One of the cameras installed by landlord Bob Berger throughout the building.

4x4½ inch notice put up by Berger.

know? Also, you think about your safety as a woman. A lot of people sitting on the computer are very strange men that may have strange fetishes or whatever and all it takes is just one guy that sees you and is able to take in your comings and goings.”

Alice, speaking to the RW

“This is a place that prides itself in creativity, free-thinking and a definite outlaw spirit. If this kind of intrusive filming can get over here, then where will anyone be safe? If we in the Flat Iron allow ourselves to be robbed of privacy and protection from snooping eyes—what does that say about the kind of future we all will face? We have already seen this kind of spying done by corporations, and police, and government agencies. And now, are our lives going to be turned into entertainment by our landlords? Is this

the kind of a world we want to live in?”

Jessie Davis, office manager for RCP Publications P.R. Office

America 2001 is a country where everyone is increasingly and constantly recorded, tracked, monitored, and spied on. This is a place where crowds of people—on the streets and at football games—are scanned by experimental new face-recognition software and compared with police and FBI records. This is a place where medical records are bought and sold, where computer systems routinely track our online preferences, where the keystrokes of office workers are monitored minute-by-minute, where webcams watch babysitters and even kids at school, where email is monitored and cell phones are triangulated, where huge credit-card-databases and subway passes record our movements. And more and more, in stores, at ATMs, workplaces, jails, schools, street intersections, and on parking lots, people throughout the U.S. are routinely videotaped as they go about their lives.

In one sense, this “surveillance society” has come on us all in a rush in just the last few years—and at the same time it has arrived piecemeal, silently, even secretly, with far too little controversy or publicity. Much of what is happening is unknown to anyone but the watchers—done by secret computer subroutines, and hidden webcams, and silent spying systems. And many of us are only half aware of how much of our lives are recorded and sold for profit.

Jessie Davis told the RW: “We’re naturally outraged that a landlord is assaulting this wonderful creative community here at the Flat Iron. But we have also been talking about how this involves much more than just this one building. To me, this is really not basically about technology or the obvious perversity of our specific landlord, it’s about how capitalism continues to twist everything, including all this potentially promising new technology and communications, into another way to control the vast majority of people. And it’s about how people, and their creative products, are reduced to nothing more than things—to be manipulated and exploited for money and profit. This is really part of the much larger conflict over what kind of society we are going to live under—and who will determine that future.”

Whose Life Is It?

“I know you better than you know yourself.”

Christof, fictional mastermind speaking to Truman Burbank

“I know what’s best for the artists.”

Bob Berger, real-life big brother speaking to Flat Iron tenants

“I hate it. I hate it so much. I hate it. I was standing in front of the elevator, by myself, nobody in the hallway. I go to pick underwear out of my ass, and there’s the fucking camera, right there! And oh god—can’t even be private in the halls now. I’m frustrated that the money is being spent where it is, that it means that property owners have the right to broadcast non-property owners. That’s not just a frustration, that’s like a deep-seated fear.”

Regina, painter, speaking to the RW

When the tenants of the Flat Iron organized a “speakeout” it quickly became obvious how un-popular these cameras are. Some artists offered to allow cameras in their spaces, but only if they could turn off the cameras when they wanted. None of that was acceptable to Berger.

The “Concerned Tenants” put out a media alert entitled “We Are Not Your Truman Show!” And immediately this whole affair became a major local news story—with each side arguing its case in the media.

The landlord argued in the press that his webcams would help sell the art in the building. One painter countered in the *Chicago Sun-Times*: “It’s not exposing my art, it’s filming me!”

In the alternative weekly *Chicago Reader*, Berger laid out that this webcam project was just the first step of a money-making scheme to sell the lives of these artists as the raw material and the background for a television sitcom. The first scripts are already written. “We want to have a year on the Internet under our belt,” Berger said. “Then this show will go to television!”

His answer to the resistance of the tenants was to threaten everyone. The morning of the speak-out, Berger announced that he was evicting RCP Publications P.R. Office from the building—ordering them out by July 31. “These people are dangerous,” he told the *Reader*. One artist told reporters during a press tour of the building: “It is ironic that in a building where free-thinking, alternative lifestyles and art are supposed to flourish, that at the first sign of dissent people get evicted.”

As we go to press, nothing has been settled yet. The cameras are being installed, but are not yet broadcasting. The eviction has been ordered, but has not yet been carried out.

And the questions are still demanding answers: Do our lives belong to whoever owns the property where we work or live? Is art just raw material for the money-making machinery? Are our future lives going to be spied on constantly by everyone from employers to government agents to bored voyeurs?

For more information, to express support, to offer help, to send funds: contact Jessie Davis at RCP Publication P.R. Office 773-227-4066, FAX 773-227-4497, P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart, Chicago IL 60654

* Names of the artists have been changed to protect the people.

WE ARE NOT



TRUMAN ATTEMPTS TO FLEE FLATIRON WORLD

YOUR TRUMAN SHOW

The Imprisonment of Dr. P.

On July 24 the 11th Circuit federal court in Florida denied Dr. James Pendergraft bond pending appeal and ordered him to report to prison. The next day Dr. P. began serving an outrageous 46-month sentence—for the “crime” of providing hundreds of thousands of women with safe, affordable abortions.

Dr. P. is an African-American abortion provider who operates five women's health clinics in Florida—one of a small number of physicians specially trained to do late-term abortions. He has made tremendous sacrifices to provide women abortion services—which he did seven days a week right up until he went to prison. He is proud of what he does and totally unapologetic. He believes strongly that a woman should be able to get an abortion for any reason she chooses—and that without the ability to control their own reproduction, women can never participate equally in society. Because of this courageous and determined stand, Dr. P. became a target of anti-abortionist forces—including government officials.

When Dr. P. announced plans to open a clinic in Ocala—a center of anti-abortion activity—local anti-abortionists tried to keep him out. County officials sent him a letter to let him know he wasn't welcome. Anti-women church officials organized their congregations to protest the clinic opening. Dr. P. was determined to provide women the abortion services they needed and opened the clinic in the summer of 1988.

From the first day the clinic opened, the antis laid siege to the clinic. Dr. P. and his staff were threatened. Patients were harassed as they came into the clinic. When Dr. P. threatened to sue the county



Dr. Pendergraft

for failing to protect patients at the clinic, he was charged with extortion.

The trial was a joke. The judge claimed the trial was about extortion, not abortion. But everyone in Ocala knew Dr. P. was on trial because he was an abortion provider. The judge refused to move it from Ocala. The prosecutor and the key witnesses against Dr. P.—an FBI agent and a county

official—belong to the anti-abortion churches that organized to prevent Dr. P. from opening his clinic in the first place. Defense attorneys were not allowed to question jurors about their views on abortion or racism. The prosecutor told the jury Dr. P. “shucked and jived” on the stand. The judge overruled the defense objection to this grossly racist remark. In

this atmosphere, it's no surprise Dr. P. was found guilty. His attorneys appealed his conviction and requested he be freed on bond pending appeal. The judge denied this, so Dr. P. appealed to the next higher federal court. On July 24 this appeal was denied and the next day Dr. P. went to jail.

The attack on Dr. P. is part of a systematic onslaught led from the highest levels of government to deny women the right to abortion—an attack that began as soon as abortion was legalized in 1973. One important focus of this attack has been to target abortion providers—who have been threatened, shot and murdered. A few weeks after Dr. P. was sentenced, Louis Freeh—the head of the FBI under President Clinton—gave outstanding citizenship awards to two of the county officials who set up the case against Dr. P. By jailing Dr. P., the authorities want to send a message to other physicians that if they perform abortions they will pay a very high price.

Dr. P. is determined that this attack will not stop him from providing abortions for women. A few weeks before he went to prison he told the *RW*: “They can stop me for a few minutes. But they can't shut me down and they can't stop us. All this is meant to frighten me, to make me back away. But all it's doing is making me dig deeper trenches and hold my ground. I'm not backing up. I'm not being quiet. Because I'm right.... This is outrageous abuse and there should be nobody that has to go through this. Nobody. But if I have to sit in prison for what I believe in, then that's what I'll do.”

For more information on Dr. Pendergraft's case see *RW* #1093, 1103, 1105 and 1110 or visit rwor.org.

Defending Choice in Wichita

Continued from page 6
supposed aborted fetus.

The antis also had other tactics. There were photographers for the Christian Gallery website (which has photos of patients, clinic staff, cars with license plate numbers, and pro-choice protesters). An R&R! activist reported, “We turned the camera on them too! One activist did a video interview with Army of God member Jonathon O'Toole, an anti-abortion extremist featured in the HBO documentary *Soldiers in the Army of God*. O'Toole [told] us on tape that the killing of abortion providers was justifiable homicide and a blessing from God.... To top it all off, there were reports that one clinic defender was followed home the day before, and a prominent member of RCRC was crank-called and victimized by a drive-by assault at her home. WE WILL NOT BE INTIMIDATED! Doctors and clinic staff risk their lives every day to defend abortion rights for all of us. We will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them no matter what it takes.”

Some people could get the impression that these antis are just lunatics, but they have a deadly agenda, and their “peaceful, anti-violence” rhetoric that calls abortion murder lays the basis for the *real* murder of doctors and the harassment of women. How can a woman be expected to make a real choice concerning her reproduction when every day she hears the lies that “abortion is murder,” “a fetus is a baby,” and “it's natural and necessary for women to be mothers”?! It's no coincidence that



Clinic defenders getting ready for a counter-vigil against the anti-abortionists.

while OSA was in Wichita, Tiller's clinic got a bomb threat.

Every day was a heated battle—sometimes it was in front of the clinic, in front of pro-choice churches (including the church Tiller attends), on busy overpasses or in public parks. The RCRC folks and the local churches they represent really stood up to the antis, even when the fascists brought their nasty fake-fetus posters to their churches. The antis specifically targeted the children of the parishioners—saying to them, “Your parents support murder,” while pointing at their graphic posters.

Though some of us left on Monday, many others remained in Wichita for the remainder of the week. On Thursday, OSA held their infamous, disgusting “fetus funeral.” R&R! activists reported, “A tiny white coffin was surrounded by the familiar bloody fetus signs and a long procession of antis passed by the open casket, picked up the fetus jar, and kissed it! On a grassy knoll in the park, Refuse & Resist! held a pro-choice speak-out to remember the real human lives lost in the struggle for abortion rights: the seven abortion providers who have been murdered at the hands of the antis and the thousands of women who died from illegal abortions prior to *Roe v. Wade*. We also gathered to honor the courage of Dr. George Tiller and learned a little about his life from Rev. George Gardner who formed the Kansas Religious Leaders for Choice. Sara Miller, from the National Abortion Federation, told us that George

Tiller often waives the entire fee to provide abortions for low-income women. We also spent time talking about our own experiences with abortion. Our stories countered the lies designed to make women feel ashamed for making the responsible choice to have an abortion and determine the destinies of our own lives.”

While confronting the antis and struggling to protect the women entering the clinic, we also strategized on how to take things higher, how to push them back even further. When they moved to one corner of the sidewalk, we pushed forward to gain it back. When they sat and kneeled by the clinic entrance in a prayer circle with trumpets and guitars, we entered the center and surrounded them from outside, yelling and chanting and with our own song, “Women have a right to live, women have a right to choose, women have a right to have a child and they have the right to refuse!” We showed them what we meant when we chanted, “Control over women is what you want! Furious women is what you've got!”

Being in such close quarters with them like that—with them praying/preying over us, trying to tell us how “real women know their place,” was intense! I was NOT thinking, “Oh, they're harmless.” I was thinking, “These people promote the most vicious attacks on doctors and clinics! They want to keep me docile and quiet!” And all the young people I was with weren't having that! It made me think of the intensity of the anti-globalization protests—and that what these anti-

abortion fascists are about is definitely not what the new generation is about!

Alongside the heated battles, we also had discussions among ourselves about who the antis are, what they represent and what their goals are. Some wondered if their goal was to convert us all to Christianity. Some wanted to respect them and hear them out. We talked a bit about how to figure out which is the right side, and to rely on reality and not rhetoric and feelings. The antis have a real way of cornering people, taking their space and finding out personal information from you to use against you, like your name, where you're from, if you're religious, or if you've ever had an abortion. But it really throws them off when you ignore them or call them out on it.

At night, we countered their vigil and “fast” with singing and eating (with wonderful food provided by the RCRC volunteers). We went to Wichita to keep the clinic open and open it stayed! Despite being often outnumbered, we were clearly victorious. Dr. Tiller hung an inspiring flag outside his clinic that said “Reproductive Freedom Outpost!”

While we were in Wichita, Tiller, who rarely gives interviews, told a local paper, “It is not unplanned pregnancy, it is unwanted motherhood that shipwrecks people's lives. Make no mistake, this battle is about self-determination by women of the direction and course of their lives and their family's lives. Abortion is about women's hopes and dreams. Abortion is a matter of survival for women.”

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