



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Mohawks battle Canadian troops, September 18.

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Fighting the Power

What Is a Revolution?

What Is a Revolution?

A revolution is when the rulers of a state and the groups in society they represent are forcibly overthrown and new ruling forces, representing different groups in society, seize power.

What Is a Proletarian Revolution?

A proletarian revolution is the most thorough revolution there is. Proletarian revolution means that the exploited and oppressed — especially the most dispossessed group in society, the *proletarians*—rise up and fight, consciously, *in their own interests*, to seize power from the exploiters and oppressors. Proletarian revolution is the overturning of society, from bottom to top, not just a change of rulers at the top. Proletarian revolution means the most complete transformation, the most radical changing, of the economic, political, and social relations, and the ideas and thinking of the people.

Proletarian revolution does not stop with the overthrow of the old order and the seizure of power by the proletariat. Proletarian revolution does not stop until, throughout society—indeed, throughout the world—there are no more exploiters and exploited, no more oppressors and oppressed, no more slavemasters and slaves. Until people are no longer divided into hostile groups—until divisions and conflicts between classes and between nations have been overcome, and in their place cooperative relations among people have taken root. Until there is truly a world community of freely associated human beings. Proletarian revolution is the road, the only road, to the liberation of the exploited and oppressed, to the liberation of all humanity.

Proletarian revolution is not just a nice idea or a beautiful dream. It is the forward direction in which society is moving. It is the historical mission of the proletariat as a class. It is the goal for which politically aware, class-conscious proletarians must fight.

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP

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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Gulf Crisis: Powers Talk War Talk

The United States is continuing its double-edged war moves in the Persian Gulf. The military buildup is getting larger and more threatening by the day. Not only are U.S. troops and weapons pouring into the Gulf region—the U.S. has also announced a huge new \$20 billion arms sale to the pro-U.S. lackey regime in Saudi Arabia. Israel will probably get an equal or greater amount of new U.S. weapons. France and Britain are sending more of their own military forces to the Gulf. "Military options" such as massive air strikes against Iraq are openly discussed by U.S. officials and media. The Pentagon authorized "imminent danger" pay for troops deployed to the Gulf.

At the same time, the Bush administration is also pursuing the diplomatic

track, especially through the United Nations. Last week the UN moved to tighten the sanctions against Iraq by adding an air embargo to the land and sea embargos already in effect. The UN also officially endorsed the stopping and searching of Iraqi ships by U.S. and British warships—after the U.S. and Britain had already taken this step on their own. In the eyes of the world's oppressed, the attempt to starve out the Iraqi people is already a war crime and a declaration of war by the U.S. imperialists.

This past week the war talk—and the raw hypocrisy—from the U.S. and other big powers was loud and blatant.

General Spills the Beans

During a tour of the troops in Saudi Arabia, Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Michael Dugan revealed to reporters that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had decided the "only answer" available to the U.S. military in attacking Iraq was massive air bombardment—including targeting the Iraqi capital and Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and his family. He said, "The cutting edge would be in downtown Baghdad. If I want to hurt you, it would be at home, not out in the woods someplace." Several days after his comments appeared in the press, Dugan was called to Bush's office in the White House and fired for "poor judgment."

The general's comments are more evidence that the U.S. leaders are plan-

a taped TV message. In the speech Bush said in part: "I do not believe that you, the people of Iraq, want war. You've borne untold suffering and hardships during the eight long years of war with Iran. . . . No one knows what Iraq might be today, what prosperity and peace you might enjoy had your leaders not plunged you into war. Now, once again, Iraq finds itself on the

brink of war. Once again, the same Iraqi leadership has miscalculated. Once again, the Iraqi people face tragedy."

That George Bush can lie so outrageously with a straight face is a measure of how cold-blooded and vicious the U.S. ruling class is. Saddam Hussein's war on Iran was completely reactionary and led to great suffering for the Iranian and

Iraqi people. But Hussein "plunged" into that war on behalf of the U.S. and other Western powers and with their help and encouragement!

Where was the concern of those like Bush when hundreds of thousands of Iraqi soldiers died as cannonfodder in the brutal war against Iran? Where was the concern when Iraq used chemical weapons against the Kurdish minority people and Iranian troops? Because the war served Western interests, the U.S. government and its allies backed Saddam Hussein and sold huge amounts of weapons, including chemical weapons technology, to Iraq.

Now, because Iraq's invasion of Kuwait threatens the strategic interests of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, Iraq is condemned as an "aggressor." George Bush is holding a gun to the head of the Iraqi people and telling them that they "face tragedy" unless they bow in obedience to the United States.

War Talk from Other Powers

In order to force embassies in Kuwait to close, Iraqi troops went into several embassies and detained some diplomats. According to one news account, "French officials, whose government had maintained the closest relationship with Iraq of any Western country over the last decade, said they were shocked by the action in view of the extensive supplies of arms sold to help Baghdad in its eight-year war with Iran."

France, along with the Soviet Union, has been the biggest supplier of arms to Saddam Hussein. A recent report in a French magazine said that French companies, working with West German manufacturers, have supplied Iraq with machinery and raw materials for chemical weapons since 1986. The French imperialists are "shocked" because Hussein—the attack dog that France and other powers fed and used for many years—is now biting their hand. France is using the embassy closing as justification for sending more warships and troops to the Gulf.

Chancellor Kohl, head of the West German government, announced that West Germany was contributing large sums of money for the military buildup in the Gulf. He said, "I hope that right after the elections [of a reunited Germany] we will be able to initiate a change in our Constitution and fully assume our share of responsibility. I am dismayed that in this present situation we are not completely free to act in the interest of the community of nations the way we'd like to act."

The current West German Constitu-
Continued on page 4

ning a devastating attack against Iraq. The talk by some military officials about "surgical strikes" or "pin-point bombing" against strategic targets in Iraq is fantasy or a deliberate lie. A U.S. war on Iraq will include hits at population centers and lead to tens or even hundreds of thousands of Iraqi deaths.

In firing Dugan, George Bush and Defense Secretary Cheney did not deny the accuracy of the general's comments. In fact, in the past few weeks there have been a number of other "leaks" to the press from "anonymous" sources basically saying the same thing—that the Pentagon had decided a major air war against Iraq was the way to go. The main reasons given by the Bush White House for canning Dugan were that the general had been too specific about the numbers and kinds of U.S. military equipment in the Gulf and that he downplayed the role of the other services in the U.S. military. By firing Dugan, Bush also added to the wartime atmosphere and put an emphasis on his role as commander-in-chief.

Bush Speaks with Forked Tongue

Saddam Hussein gave George Bush a chance to address the Iraqi people through



General Dugan

**U.S. Hands Off the Persian Gulf!
U.S. Troops Out of the Middle East!**

**Hell No, We Won't Go!
Fuck the U.S. and All Its Might,
Revolutionary War Is the One We'll Fight!**

Free Jeff Paterson!

The U.S. military is continuing its attempt to railroad Jeff Paterson, the Marine corporal who declared his opposition to U.S. imperialist wars and refused deployment to the Middle East. The government alleges that Jeff is "a national security risk" and is holding him in the brig at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. They are also trying to close his Article 32 investigation (an investigation required before a court martial) on the grounds that all witnesses have been deployed to Saudi Arabia and are unavailable to testify. The military wants to start the court martial without exposure of their highly orchestrated plan to punish and silence Jeff.

Although the government and the military have tried to prevent testimony on Jeff's behalf, some facts have come out at the investigative hearings. A lance corporal in Jeff's battalion testified that the captain of the Fox Battery asked for ten "volunteers" to serve in the Persian Gulf. The corporal heard the captain say, "Corporal Paterson, I'm glad you volunteered." Others raised their hands, but Jeff did not. Jeff's military attorney then asked the corporal if he thought the captain was "screwing around" with Paterson. The corporal answered, "It may have looked that way, but it's none of my business." Others testified they heard officers threatening Jeff. The military also had to admit that they made no provisions to comply with military regulations regarding treatment of a conscientious objector if they had deployed Jeff to the Gulf. Nor did they make arrangements for Jeff to exercise his legal right to a civilian attorney during his application for conscientious objector status or during his impending court martial.

According to the government's own laws, people can be held in pre-trial confinement only if they are "flight risks" or if they "pose an immediate risk to the community." The government had admitted that Jeff is neither. At a hearing in a federal court on Jeff's detainment in the brig, the government attorney said that Jeff's refusal to be deployed was an act of deliberate defiance and that it was

made worse by his "sneering defiance" against the military which has been made known nationally and internationally.

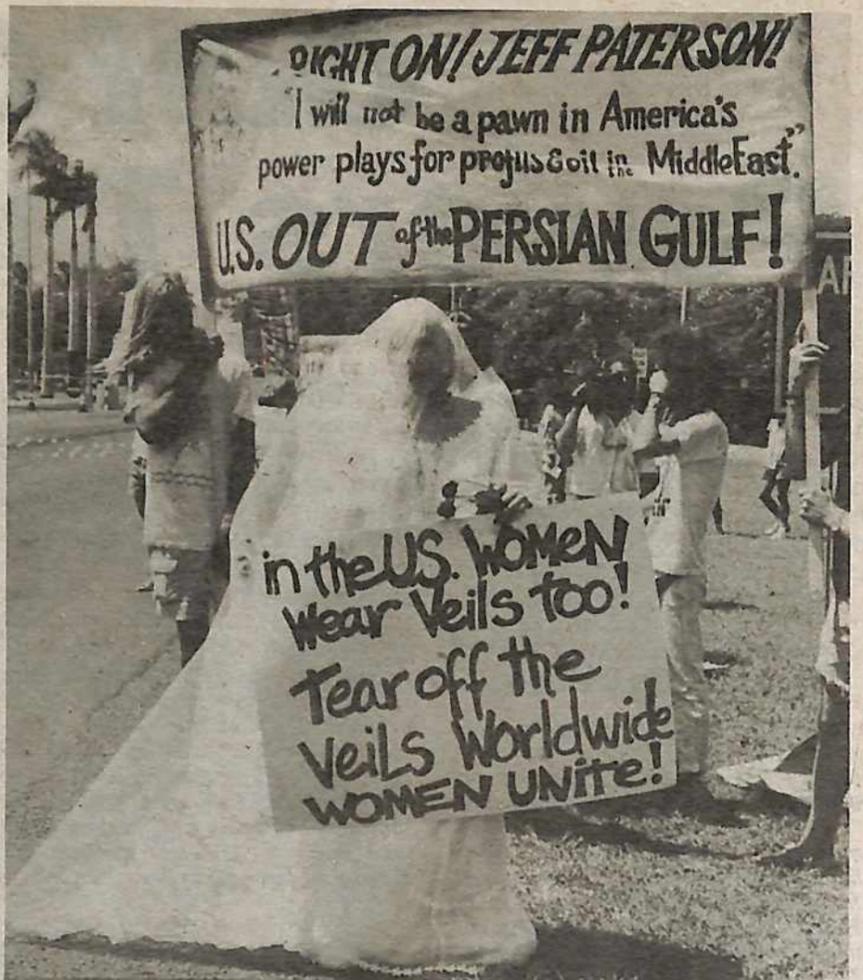
The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) entered an amicus brief at the hearing. The brief argued that Jeff was being denied his constitutional rights to expression and that he was being singled out because of his political views.

Government Applies Anti-Women Rule

The government has also tried to make it difficult for Jeff to communicate with his defense committee and supporters. They enforced an outrageous anti-women rule that no single women could visit Jeff because he is married and no married women could visit him without their husbands. Do the U.S. government and the military follow the same kind of feudal, reactionary, male-chauvinist practices as Saudi Arabia?

When the Ad Hoc Women's Committee Against the War in the Persian Gulf staged a demo on August 29 at Pearl Harbor to protest this visitation rule as well as the sexism and racism in the military and the U.S. overall, the military had to do some damage control. A military spokesman had to admit that such a rule did exist but that it would be "looked at." He also had to allow a married Refuse & Resist! activist to visit Jeff (without her husband) and promise that the visitation rule against women would not be enforced.

As we go to press the federal court has just ruled that Jeff must be released from the brig. It is not known yet what restrictions will be placed on him. The Article 32 investigation is continuing. The government's attempts to railroad Jeff must be exposed and opposed. The rulers of this country are trying to send a chilling message to everyone who wants to step out against their war moves in the Persian Gulf. But their extreme moves against Jeff also show how afraid they are of his courageous political stand.



When the U.S. military made public its outrageous rule that no single women could visit Jeff Paterson in the brig and no married women could visit him without their husbands, they unleashed a hurricane. The Ad Hoc Women's Committee Against the War in the Persian Gulf, along with their supporters, held a rally at the Pearl Harbor military base on September 16 to protest this anti-women rule and the U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf and to call for people to "stand with the women and children of the Middle East." Some protesters came in wedding dresses and veils, carrying a cake with a large file stuck through it.

The leaflet from the Ad Hoc Committee said in part: "As internationalist women, we support Marine Corporal Jeff Paterson's stand that: 'Throughout the last four years the blatant sexism, racism, and intolerable militarism has taken its toll. I will never chant in physical training formation about 'watching them burn' from napalm or 'doing' a woman this or that way. Never.'"

"As internationalist women, we mock the military 'code' that does not allow single women to visit Jeff in the brig and allows married women to visit only in the presence of their husbands. We are no man's property. We are leaders in today's movement to end this and all unjust wars."

The Marines were forced to back down from their rules and allow a woman from Refuse & Resist! to visit Jeff by herself.

The Committee to Defend Jeff Paterson is urging supporters to popularize Jeff's stand by distributing Jeff's statement (see RW 572 for a reprint of the statement), writing letters to newspapers and magazines, and sending letters and statements of support to the committee.

The committee can be contacted at:
820 Miliani St. Suite 714
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813
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Only the people can free Jeff Paterson!

Actions Oppose U.S. Intervention

San Francisco Bay Area: About 700 protesters filled the barricaded intersections around the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco when President Bush spoke on September 19. Young women rattled the police barricades and shouted, "Imperialist! Warmonger!" Many signs and banners condemned U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf while others protested the government's policy on AIDS and Bush's nomination of Souter for the Supreme Court. More than 80 people were arrested. About 150 broke away and marched double-time to the recruiting station on nearby Bush Street.

On September 14 almost 2,000 students, activists and others attended the "First National Middle East Teach-In" on the UC campus. It was sponsored by

the Ethnic Studies Department and the Ad Hoc Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East, under the slogans "No U.S. Intervention in the Middle East! Bring the Troops Home Now!" Speakers included: Ron Kovic, a Vietnam vet and author of *Born on the Fourth of July*; Daniel Sheehan, chief counsel for the Christie Institute; and Brian Willson, a Vietnam vet who lost his legs when a military weapons train ran over him during a protest against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Pledge of Resistance organized a demonstration at the Presidio on September 22. Four hundred people marched to the Army base, where reservists are being processed for deployment to the Middle East. About 30 staged a

civil disobedience action and were arrested.

Los Angeles: An ad hoc network opposing the U.S. war machine in the Middle East organized a demonstration against George Bush, who spoke on September 18 at a hotel in the downtown area. The RCYB joined the action. The police attacked the demonstrators, beat several youth and arrested at least seven. TV news footage showed an RCYB woman calling out the pig attack: "They call this democracy? I don't call it shit!"

Houston: The formation of the Houston Coalition to Oppose U.S. Intervention in the Middle East was announced at a press conference. The coalition includes Catholic activists, Central American immigrants, supporters of the RCP,

members and representatives of Houston Non-Violent Action, a member of ACT-UP, Workers World Party, and representatives of the Houston Black United Front. □

CORRECTION

In the article "Actions Oppose U.S. Intervention" on page 2 of last week's issue, there was an error in the section on the action in Seattle. The sentence "A large number of reservists born outside the U.S. were there, including those from the Middle East, the Philippines, and Africa" should have read: "A large number of activists born outside the U.S. were there. . ."

Gulf Crisis

Continued from page 3

tion forbids the use of that country's military force outside NATO territory. West Germany and East Germany will soon be reunited and become a new imperialist superpower, and a new Constitution will be drawn up. What does Kohl mean when he talks about "the way we'd like to act"? He means the German rulers want to be able to use military force to bully their way and oppress people around the world—just like the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

Oinks from the UN

The UN passed a resolution calling

Iraq's closing of embassies in Kuwait "aggressive acts and a flagrant violation of [Iraq's] international obligations which strike at the root of the conduct of international relations in accordance with the Charter of the UN." The UN then moved toward approving an air blockade of Iraq.

When the U.S. invaded Panama last December, U.S. troops used a phony excuse to ransack the Nicaraguan ambassador's home. There was no big condemnation by the UN of that aggressive act. An air blockade against Iraq will go against international aviation laws which forbid the use of military force against civilian aircraft. This rule was put on the books at the insistence of the U.S. government after the Soviet shootdown of the Korean airliner in 1982 as the U.S. rulers tried to use the incident to advance their global interests. Now that the U.S. wants to enforce an air embargo against Iraq,

including stopping planes carrying food and medicine, the UN is set to approve the measure.

These latest steps show once again that the UN does not represent the people of the world. It represents the small, medium, and especially the big oppressors of the world. It is not a body for world peace—it is an international pig sty.

The danger of war in the Middle East is real and sharp. The diplomatic maneuvers by the U.S. could very quickly give way to military attacks. The U.S. rulers want to be the top bullies and cops of the world. And they will commit horrible crimes to go after what they want. People in this country need to take a clear and determined stand of opposition to the U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf.

It's also important to remember what RCP spokesperson Carl Dix recently said in relation to the Middle East crisis: "Looking around the world today, the U.S. is sending its military to intervene in one place after the other, all over the world. While they're a bully, right down at the bottom they are weak."

"Today they look increasingly like the fool that Mao Tsetung once reportedly described back in the '60s: A man trying to catch ten fleas with his ten fingers."

"The man is doomed to failure. And, for oppressed and revolutionary people right here in the U.S., let's also remember—when the man stretches out to try to catch all those fleas, his hands become more open and more vulnerable to a stake driven right through the center of his palms. That's our job: revolution in the USA." □

Communiques from the Brig

These two letters written by Jeff Paterson in the brig were made available by the Committee to Defend Jeff Paterson.

Communique I

September 15, 1990

On August 25 I released a statement which I have come to find fault with. The previous week I made my intentions to Refuse and Resist being a part of "our" oil war on the people of the Middle East a matter of public record, and in doing so may have upset a good number of my military supervisors. I noted that although some people, with what were probably good intentions, had advised me to retract my statements and apologize to "the right people," I could not then or now, for I had nothing to apologize for. This, however, is not entirely correct.

For the past three years I have served as a field artillery fire direction controller for 155 mm and 105 mm Howitzers, and as such have been of direct assistance to the U.S. military in the war it wages daily against the land of the Hawaiian Islands. Maybe "Cold War Crimes Against the Earth" could be a possible description of these actions. I have directed cannons on Oahu at Schofield Barracks, blasted away at the Island of Kaho'olawe, which many consider sacred, and have rained White Phosphorous (a close relative of Napalm) and countless tons of high explosives on the Big Island [of Hawaii] at the Pohakaloa Army Training Area.

I have also witnessed firsthand the ongoing public relations operation the military has been ordered to

To structure our lives and identities in an attempt to appease this system is to accept defeat before the battle has begun. Change at this juncture is no longer an option. For the Earth itself cannot continue to survive under the current order of "have" and "have-not" nations. We may very well be standing at the threshold of a new era.

conduct on Kaho'olawe. For two weeks myself and two dozen servicepersons swept less than a square mile of the Island in search of war debris. What we collected was a ton per day of shrapnel, bullets of various caliber, and remnants of every ammunition imaginable, not to mention a large amount of unexploded projectiles. All of this was collected in an official "no fire zone" that had been cleared twice before. How does all of this ordnance continue to find its way into no-fire areas? How well does barbed wire fence protect the archaeological sites against this type of attack? The answers are simple. The military continues to believe that Kaho'olawe is their island and they will go as they please despite the public relations hassles.

Recently local politicians have begun to give lip service to the idea of returning the militarized target zones back to the people, all the while parroting the military's line. . . . As soon as viable alternatives are found, we may begin to look into this question in depth. The truth of the situation is very clear. The day that the Hawaiian people and the people of Hawai'i stand together to demand an immediate ceasefire and a real cleanup, "viable alternatives" will be found. But not a day sooner.

It is to the Hawaiian people and the People of Hawai'i to whom I extend my deepest apologies for being an accomplice to this needless destruction. Having pled no contest to these cold war crimes, I offer in retribution my services in the fight to stop the bombing and in the struggle to return self-determination to the peoples of Hawai'i. I extend my apologies to the peoples of South Korea, Okinawa, and the Philippines and proclaim my solidarity with them in their battle against what some consider to be the occupying forces of the United States.

Communique II

September 16, 1990

I received a letter from my father a few days ago. He wanted to let me know he was on his way from visiting relatives in Tucson and reminded me that he loves me. In closing he mentioned, "I know you're doing what you believe is right, but I can't say I buy your argument that this is all about oil and gasoline." You're right dad, it isn't. He ended with, "I hope your beliefs won't make you pay too large a price later on; you have plenty of living yet to do." I'm sure that last remark was foremost on his mind. I've thought it over myself a few times.

Central America is more than a Banana Plantation. South Africa is more than diamonds and gold. South America is much more than coffee beans, and what's at



August 29—Jeff Paterson sits on runway, refusing to board transport plane to Saudi Arabia.

stake in the Middle East is far more than just oil and gasoline. The common denominator here is people. People struggling to eke out an existence and watching the profits of their sweat and blood going to overseas investors and multinational corporations. The cut taken by their country, in the case of the Arabs, is collected in the coffers of oil emirs, sheiks and kings to prolong their monarchies, kingdoms and dictatorships. President Bush claims that nothing less than "the American way of life" is on the line in the sands of the Kuwaiti desert. This, however, does not explain why 150,000 Americans

Someone told me not so long ago to "seek out the truth, for the truth will set you free." He was wrong. The truth will not set you free, but demands that you act upon it as a person of conscience.

need to be considered expendable in an attempt to secure less than 5 percent of this nation's oil supplies. What is really at stake is who will manipulate the earth's resources to the benefit of whom in the post-cold war era, and by what decree. Bush's not so hidden agenda is in making this confrontation into precedent for establishing the U.S. as the undisputed policeman of the world, thus establishing Washington, D.C. as the capital of a "new uni-polar world order." If we allow Bush to proclaim this Manifest Destiny for this country, we will have hell to pay. Being global supercop and puppet master of resources will not come cheap in dollars and

lives. While undoubtedly Bush sees the opening for unrestrained economic and military blackmail on the rest of the world as a means of recouping these expenditures, it is in the hands of the people to derail this resurgent agenda and stop the war.

My father's concern about what price is to be paid by those of us who envision humankind's future based on justice and peace, not global domination and political blackmail, addresses a question faced by everyone who takes up the struggle against injustice on any level. Someone told me not so long ago to "seek out the truth, for the truth will set you free." He was wrong. The truth will not set you free, but demands that you act upon it as a person of conscience. The price of living by one's principles and acting on ideals may seem high, but to do less is to recognize truth and ignore it. History has proven that the potential price to be paid in doing nothing is far greater. Living in America allows us to feel free to speak on how great a nation this is, to parrot patriots, and worship the idols of nationalism. It is a far different thing to question the foundations of these rusted monoliths. Only by being inept activists can we expect the system we need to change to look upon us without disdain. To structure our lives and identities in an attempt to appease this system is to accept defeat before the battle has begun. Change at this juncture is no longer an option. For the Earth itself cannot continue to survive under the current order of "have" and "have-not" nations. We may very well be standing at the threshold of a new era. However, if we, the "commie and faggot lovin' coward idealists" do not have the courage to step through that door, who will? I love you too, pop.

Jeffrey A. Paterson

RCYB Marches on Fort Apache

The night before the Biko Lives! Festival, RCYB members, volunteers for the Carl Dix's tour, and others marched through the South Bronx. They marched through the area around the park where the festival was going to be held. And then they marched on the infamous 40th "Fort Apache" Precinct. They marched against the oppressors' plans to lock down the oppressed—like how the authorities are calling for 5,000 more cops while they run a non-stop campaign aimed at making the people on the bottom of society, especially youth, look like animals who deserve the worst.

The oppressors are coming down on the people, but they are also worried. For instance, a week before the Biko Festival, the police beat on members of a citizens crime patrol in another part of the South Bronx. People from that area marched on the precinct. Later that night the cops got a call and when they arrived at the scene of the "crime" they found themselves ambushed by people who had put up a barricade and threw rocks at the cops.

A young woman who recently joined the RCYB and came to New York to build for Carl Dix's tour help'd lead the march on the eve of the Biko Lives! Festival. She told the RW what happened:

RCYB: We went around while it was still light out, went through the neighborhood and told people what we were going to do. We had red flags and a bunch of different chants, and we said

we were going to this pig station. We had an effigy of a pig cop with a snout and a badge and he had a black piece of tape over his badge number so he couldn't be identified, like they do. Then we went to St. Mary's Park, here, where the festival was held today, and got torches. We marched in tight formation, two lines, with people leading chants, new chants! We wrote a new one: "Live for the people! Die for the people! Fight for the people! Power to the people!" We chanted, "Free South Africa! Free the South Bronx!" "What's the solution? Revolution!"

Then we went to the precinct. It was Fort Apache, the Bronx precinct...



Honestly, I didn't think we were going to make it to the precinct. I thought we were going to get popped while we were marching or the minute we got there. But when we got there they were just standing there with the door open, kind of looking at us. I don't think they had any idea that we would actually march up on their steps the way that we did. We took the red flag up on their steps and raised it up over their door. Some people got on the bullhorn and started running down all the shit that the pigs do to the people all the time. Basically we put them on notice that we're building for revolution in this country right now, that their time is pretty short. They didn't even cross the threshold of their door. They just said, "You can't come in here," as if we would try to go into the hated Fort Apache. They were stunned. After the agitators got done running down what the whole precinct was about, we left in formation, we sang the Internationale and took the street again. It was definitely a victory!...

RW: I heard it was very controversial in the neighborhood and that some people joined you.

RCYB: Some joined for different parts of it. Some youth—you know, I had no idea what youth meant. I mean, I'd think 14, 15, 16 years old, but there were these 9 and 10-year-old kids. We didn't even get to take the effigy of the pig to the precinct. About 25 of these young kids about 9 and 10 just ripped it to shreds in about a minute. It was amazing. They ran with us at different points. Also an older Latino man ran

with us and did agitation in Spanish and encouraged us to do the same, which was really good. Definitely people were checking us out... At one point, reactionaries started throwing eggs from the roof and we stood our ground. I think we gained a lot of respect from the youth that were there for not getting scared, not backing down. One young kid started yelling at them that they weren't on our side, saying, "That's food you're throwing down. You're not for the people."

When we first got here, before the festival started, some people were carrying the torches in case we would use them again later tonight. When we first got off the subway people were like, "Oh yeah, We saw you. We know who you are."

RW: How did you feel about the festival today?

RCYB: I thought the festival was amazing. I've never been here before. This is a really great thing. There was no apologizing. The number of people who stood up on that stage and called for revolution with no hedging, that that's what we need, was really encouraging. I've had this sort of idea that in coalition groups you kind of have to be more careful and some people are going to be for revolution and some people are going to be more reformist or just have a specific issue, you know, like stop police brutality, and not really want to deal with what it's going to take to really stop police brutality. Today there didn't seem to be any confusion about this. □



Margot Harry

The Biko Lives! Festival rocked St. Mary's Park in the Amerikkkan-made bantustan of the South Bronx on Saturday, September 15. Steve Biko was an Azanian revolutionary murdered by the South African regime 13 years ago. People of all nationalities, 300 to 400, a lot of them oppressed youth, came to this year's festival. The festival was very radical: talk of serious revolution was in the air!

Highlights included:

- Carl Dix, flanked by a posse of RCYB members and other youth, pumping out proletarian revolution and the "Fear Nothing, Be Down for the Whole Thing" tour set to hit NYC Oct. 6
- Too Black Too Strong doing their soon-to-be-released rap "Burn Baby Burn" as the audience torched two big American flags

- Two banners that said, "If You're Dissing the Sisters, You Ain't Fighting the Power!"—one was signed by performers and the people, another was hung up on the stage.
- Boogey Down Productions

The festival was right on time, declaring at a crucial moment when the people's struggles here and in Azania (South Africa) are at a crossroads: Azania on Fire! Take It Higher! Free South Africa, Free South Bronx! Biko Lives! See next week's issue for full coverage of the Biko Lives! Festival.

Biko Lives! Festival



Special to the RW

South Africa: Iron Fist, Hidden Hand

The deadly attacks by the ruling white powers in South Africa against the black masses are becoming even more intense and bloody. Since early August, close to 1,000 black people living in the townships near Johannesburg have been killed in what the South African rulers call "black-on-black" or "factional" violence. Much of these killings have been committed by the Inkatha, the reactionary organization led by the hated apartheid collaborator Gatsha Buthelezi.

On September 15 the South African police, claiming that they were out to stop the "factional violence," announced a harsh new crackdown on the black areas in the Johannesburg region. A police official called it an "iron fist." The police have set up roadblocks on routes leading out of the townships and are conducting searches on cars. Police from other areas are being reassigned to beef up the forces around Johannesburg, police reserves are being called up, and army units are being deployed as reinforcements. The police also announced that they are going to use concertina wire to surround migrant workers' hostels and squatter camps.

And in a new policy, machine guns will now be mounted on top of police vehicles—making it absolutely clear that this crackdown is meant to *inflict* violence on the people.

South African President de Klerk is praised by the U.S. and other Western powers as a "reformer." But the police

and the military have been just as vicious under his rule as before. On March 26 the police opened fire on residents of Sebokeng township who were marching in protest against rent increases and other conditions. More than a dozen people were killed and hundreds injured, many shot in the back. This massacre caused a big outrage and de Klerk had to form a "blue-ribbon panel" to investigate the incident. The panel declared that the police shooting was "unjustified," and it is possible that some cops might get jail terms. But oppressed people in the U.S. are all too familiar with such official panels which are only meant to whitewash police crimes.

And the claim by the apartheid police that they want to stop the Inkatha attacks is a lie. The residents of the townships widely testify that the police sit by while Inkatha bands kill and beat people. But when the Inkatha attackers are met with resistance and driven back, the police *attack the people*. Some victims of the attacks also report that they have seen some whites—their faces covered with ski masks or painted black—among the Inkatha thugs. These whites are clearly police or connected with the police.

One example was the attack on the squatter camp at Thokoza, a township southeast of Johannesburg. On the night of September 12 a group of Inkatha thugs invaded the squatter camp and burned down 400 shacks. The people

fought back with spears and sticks, but at least six squatters were killed. The squatters said that they saw the bodies of up to three whites who were killed while joining the raid. The police in armored cars reportedly gave fire support to the attackers and then came in the early morning to remove the white bodies. A white Catholic reverend working in Thokoza said, "I've got no doubts. Who would go into a squatter camp and set fire to shacks? The only people who would go in at midnight would go armed and with authority."

Two days after the attack at Thokoza, a group of black youths raided a commuter train carrying black workers from Johannesburg to Soweto and killed at least 26 people and injured over 100. This particular group did not seem to be from Inkatha. But the talk is that this attack, and others like it which are described in the media as "random violence," are being carried out by jobless youth hired as mercenaries by a "hidden hand"—certain white groups or forces in positions of authority.

The white minority rulers in South Africa have much experience with such murderous intrigues. They have built up a large network of collaborators and informers as well as assassination squads aimed at black activists. For years they backed RENAMO, which carried out terrorist attacks against the people and the black government of Mozambique, a country to the northeast of South Africa.

It is also well known that the white rulers of Rhodesia used black mercenaries to foster fear and divisions among the people before the government fell and Zimbabwe was established.

The South African rulers are shooting with two guns. On one hand, they are encouraging and actively involved in vicious unofficial attacks against black people. Then they are using this as justification to come down with more official violence and repression against the masses.

There is righteous and justified anger among the masses at the open as well as more back-handed attacks and, especially among the youth, a rising feeling that people need to fight back—including with arms. There are reports that the township youth are demanding that Nelson Mandela and the ANC lead an armed struggle and give weapons to the people.

In response, Mandela warned de Klerk that if the government does not do more to stop the attacks, the negotiations between the ANC and the regime might be in danger and that the ANC "will find it difficult to oppose" the people's demand for arms. Several months ago, the ANC accepted one of the key demands of the government and announced officially that they were stopping armed struggle. But even when the ANC was actually carrying out some armed actions, their armed struggle was not aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of the system in South Africa but used as a bargaining chip to force concessions from the government. Mandela's warning to de Klerk that the ANC might not be able to resist the people's demand for arms is still part of the maneuverings by the ANC for a better bargaining position in negotiations with the government.

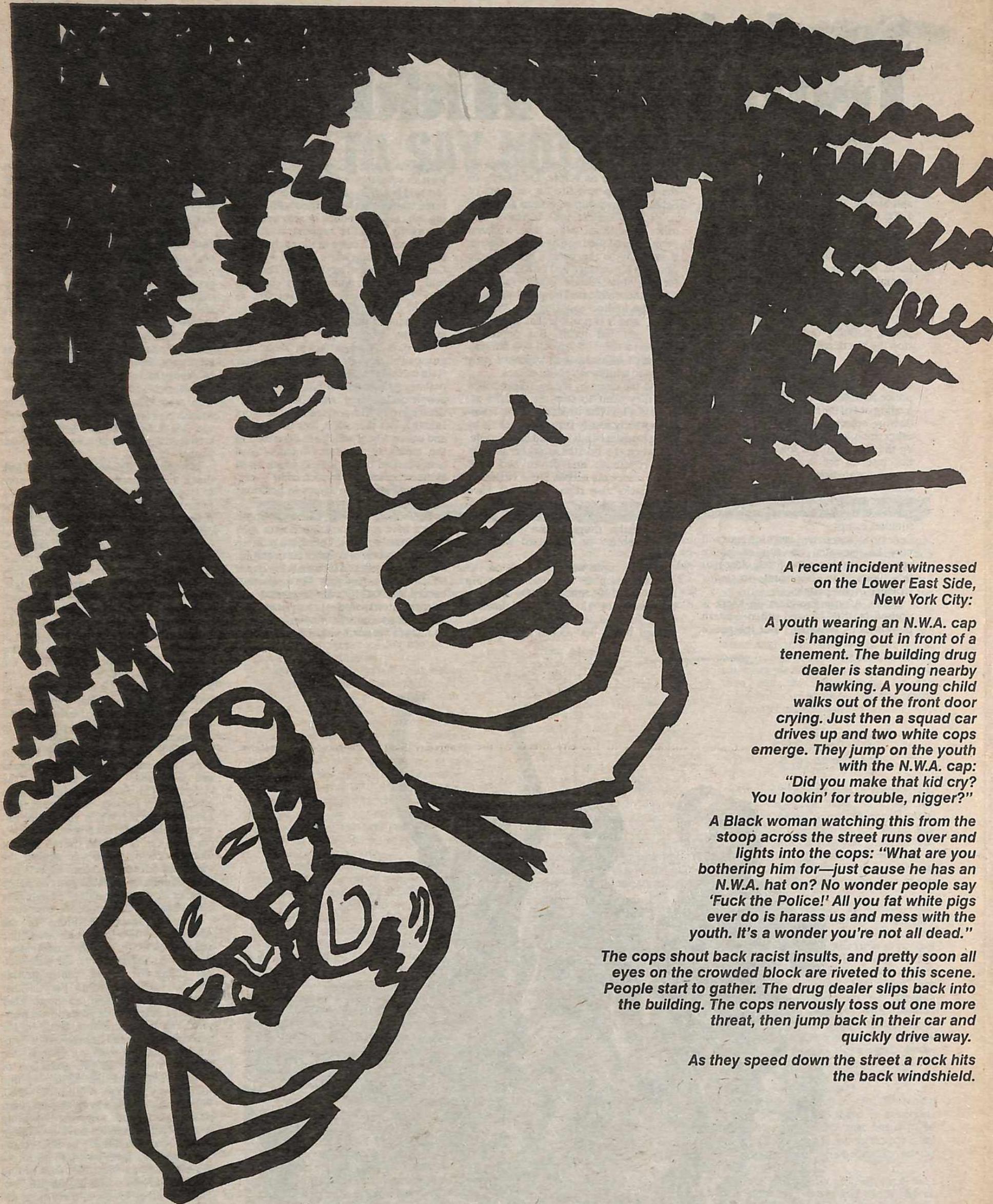
Mandela and the ANC have actually been *demanding* that the government and the police "crack down on the violence." This is like asking a mafioso godfather to protect the people from gangster attacks! When the police announced the new crackdowns, Mandela's objection was not to the overall massive mobilization of the police against the townships but only to some aspects like the mounting of machine guns on police vehicles and the ringing of squatter camps and hostels with concertina wire.

Such outrageous positions by the ANC leaders flow from their whole line and outlook of working for compromises and "power-sharing" with the white settler colonialist rulers. Since starting negotiations with de Klerk, the ANC has been taking one step backward after another in the face of government pressure. The latest pressure tactic by the government was the indictment of Winnie Mandela last week on charges that she was involved in the abduction of several youth and the killing of one youth two years ago. Within the ANC, Winnie Mandela has been the one most closely associated with the township youth. Revolutionaries have two things to say about this. One: The South African oppressors have *no right* to prosecute Winnie Mandela—just like they had no right to put Nelson Mandela in jail! Two: This is another lesson in the vicious nature of the apartheid rulers and the imperialists who back them up. They will keep fucking over oppressed people until they are completely overthrown by revolution.

Significant sections of the black people in South Africa still hold hope that Mandela and the ANC will lead a revolutionary struggle against the racist powers. But disillusion and dissatisfaction with the ANC is reportedly spreading, and people are looking for and demanding real revolutionary leadership. In this situation, the need for a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party in South Africa stands out all the more urgently. Only such leadership can unite the oppressed people, map out a revolutionary line, program, and tactics, and mobilize the masses in a war to liberate Azania. □



Barricade in Tladi squatter camp in Soweto.



A recent incident witnessed on the Lower East Side, New York City:

A youth wearing an N.W.A. cap is hanging out in front of a tenement. The building drug dealer is standing nearby hawking. A young child walks out of the front door crying. Just then a squad car drives up and two white cops emerge. They jump on the youth with the N.W.A. cap: "Did you make that kid cry? You lookin' for trouble, nigger?"

A Black woman watching this from the stoop across the street runs over and lights into the cops: "What are you bothering him for—just cause he has an N.W.A. hat on? No wonder people say 'Fuck the Police!' All you fat white pigs ever do is harass us and mess with the youth. It's a wonder you're not all dead."

The cops shout back racist insults, and pretty soon all eyes on the crowded block are riveted to this scene. People start to gather. The drug dealer slips back into the building. The cops nervously toss out one more threat, then jump back in their car and quickly drive away.

As they speed down the street a rock hits the back windshield.

"Is Ice Cube really such a ladies' man? Not according to the Revolutionary Communist Party. . . . *If You're Dissing the Sisters, You Ain't Fighting the Power* is a Revolutionary Communist Party pamphlet which faults rappers — especially Ice Cube's former group NWA — for what the party sees as a major inconsistency in rappers' otherwise admirable approach to radical social change. 'How are we gonna unite all of those who hate this system when the music puts down half of the frontline fighters?' asks the pamphlet, in reference to the 'bitches' and 'hos' that run rampant through many rap songs."

IF YOU MISSED IT THE FIRST TIME. . . WE'RE GIVING YOU A SECOND CHANCE.
An RW ORIGINAL: the controversial article "If You're Dissing the Sisters You Ain't Fighting the Power" was first printed in the Revolutionary Worker in January 1990. We are reprising it here for those readers who didn't get it the first time.

IF YOU'RE DISSING THE SISTERS, YOU AIN'T FIGHTING THE POWER

The song going through everyone's head on this block was "Fuck Tha Police" by the L.A. rap group N.W.A. The FBI has decided this rap song is so damaging to the authority of the police oppressors on the street that in September they sent a letter to N.W.A.'s record company, Priority Records. (See "FBI vs. N.W.A.," RW No. 539.)

N.W.A. and other militant rappers are drawing heat from the authorities because they call out the enforcers and racism of the system. And the people need to expose and oppose any repression coming down on these artists from the powers-that-be. The people and the artists need to unite against the oppressors. The rulers of the system, their enforcers, and their media have no right to define the culture of the masses of people, no right to suppress this culture or these artists, and no right to whine about violence, PERIOD.

But the stakes are higher than that! Our people—those who have nothing to lose but their chains—need to do more than fight the power just to survive on the streets. We need to prepare for the day when the people can rise up in revolution and seize the power—because without power in the people's hands, getting free is just an illusion.

And as the May 1st Manifesto said: "This ain't about the fight for personal power—the power to perpetrate our own and exploitate for private gain. This is the hour to get it right, emancipate, and break all the chains. It ain't about having Rambos, and Machos, brothers using sisters and out to dominate. That's the system's way: they say it's right, we know it's wrong. Brothers rising up with sisters, strong and proud, and with equality: that's our way, the way we all get free."

So all those people who really do want to fight and WIN need to get down on some contradictions among the people. We are talking about two related attitudes: the gangster mentality and dissing women.

The defiance of N.W.A. and other militant rappers carries weight among the oppressed. This means that what they put on tape matters to the people today and to the future. When they're on target, they're a mighty force; when they mess up, it's a problem for the oppressed. And the whole point of going into these questions is so that the oppressed people can be stronger and clearer on our goals and how to get there. Because we understand that people can and will change themselves in the process of changing the world.

Attitudes

"Fuck tha Police" has become the righteous soundtrack of the streets nationwide because it puts out the sentiments of many millions who hate the subhuman prison guards plaguing the people 24-7-365. These youth can devastate with a rhyme, and when they turn the tables on the enforcers it's funny and serious at the same time. The video "Express Yourself" was basically kept off the airwaves for the truth it told on the savage racism of this system—from the cottonfields to the city streets to the penitentiary.

But there are other songs on the N.W.A. album "Straight Outta Compton" that straight-up mess with the PEOPLE. They do not help the oppressed shake this system or shake loose of the load this system puts on their heads. This album is full of contradictions because it proceeds from the outlook of some very radical suppressed Black men who aspire to be entrepreneurs on their own. For better and worse, their music holds a mirror up to the life of the "boyz n the hood," who are forced to operate largely in a SUB ROSA (underground) economy. And N.W.A.'s view is: too bad if you don't like what we show you, it's true.

The problem as far as the revolutionary proletariat is concerned is NOT N.W.A.'s attitude—fearless defiance and complete contempt for those who oppress them. This is exactly on time. There are many, many youth out here who agree: there is nothing worse than what this system is doing to us right now, so why fear jail or even death?! The problem is simply that this attitude is NOT RADICAL ENOUGH! We have to go further if we're gonna overthrow this murdering system.

Some people might say, later for that, it'll never happen. They're wrong—and when revolution has its day, people see things another way! But if you're just looking out for your own ass you can never live free—you just end up standing on someone else's back. And everybody knows the system isn't likely to spare you anyhow! The gangster mentality is this same "Look out for number one" attitude, extended to a few other guys on the block. It's a bourgeois mentality, and when projected as a political strategy it is a real loser. What the people need is to liberate the PLANET, not a few square blocks of turf which are "held" by blowing away other oppressed people and maybe some of the system's enforcers.

The bourgeoisie can live with gang wars. It is actually one way they use to control the fury of all the youth they force to live as no one should have to live. It is ALLOWED activity by this system for the people at the bottom to kill each other off. Then they come around and mess with you for it!

But if the people are gonna fight and die behind this system, why shouldn't we make our lives count towards ending this monster that is killing millions here and around the world??

Members of N.W.A. have said in some interviews that they don't necessarily agree with all the characters they put on their records, that they're just "street reporters," presenting "the raw reality of life" on the streets of Compton. But what are people to make of lyrics like: "What about the bitch that got shot/Fuck her/You think I give a damn about a bitch/I ain't a sucker./This is the

Sisters Want To Be Free

A lot of sisters and brothers, especially sisters, want to ask N.W.A. and other rebel rappers as well: How are we gonna unite all of those who hate this system when the music puts down half of the frontline fighters? The endless torrent of violence against women in the music flows out of this dog-eat-dog mentality that sees the highest goal as defending your turf—whether it is as a "legitimate" entrepreneur or as gunman on the block. Women are seen as a piece of that property, and if they're "uncooperative" they have to be forced into line.

After listening to N.W.A.'s "I Ain't Tha One," a young revolutionary woman told the RW, "I hear that shit and I wanna just flick it off. It makes me lose every shred

Just how big a clock would someone have to wear around their neck to indicate how late the hour is on this question?! And who will put it on?

autobiography of the E. . . ." Nowhere on the album are these brutal social relations between men and women criticized or ridiculed (the way cops are) or challenged in any way. And this attitude towards women is true for most rap music, heavy metal, country western, and most pop music, period—even if it is not always put out there quite so RAW!

JUST HOW BIG A CLOCK WOULD SOMEONE HAVE TO WEAR AROUND THEIR NECK TO INDICATE HOW LATE THE HOUR IS ON THIS QUESTION?! AND WHO WILL PUT IT ON? The youth are the ones that have to make the change, to redefine the relations between men and women among the basic people. To hell with this code of "manliness" which makes it a sign of weakness to look on women as equals or to care about anything but yourself and maybe the brothers on the block. This ain't about nothing. IT IS A SIGN OF GREAT STRENGTH TO STAND UP AGAINST THIS MACHO MENTALITY.

Chairman Avakian recently said: "Fear nothing. Be down for the whole thing." So anybody that ain't afraid of the powers and ain't afraid to die shouldn't be afraid to take a hard look at themselves on how they relate to women!

of hope, at least for a minute. How are those guys ever gonna be part of the revolution?"

Let's be for real. All this carrying on about "dicking down the bitch" in some rap music has nothing to do with sex or having fun, anymore than rape is about making love. It is not about being free or rebelling against prudish adults or "expressing yourself" sexually. It is not some street thing that "outsiders just don't understand." It is not a hip new version of the age-old "war between the sexes." And the selfishness in some of the lyrics is astounding—the characters in these songs don't even want the sisters to have a good time! It's about power, naked and cruel power over women. It's about putting women down and oppressing them.

It is about treating women as sex OBJECTS, not human beings. Women are treated like commodities—the way the Black people were treated under slavery. Sex is viewed as something to be bought or sold or traded for favors—and all on the terms set by the men. Fat white businessmen do it too, and it's just as ugly in those Wall Street cocktail lounges and suburban bedrooms, though their murderous rituals are more acceptable to "civilized" society simply because those men exercise their power over

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RAPPERS

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everyone, not just the women in their clutches.

We live in a patriarchal system where women (of all nationalities and classes) are systematically forced into a subordinate position to men. In a thousand ways, men are brought up, instructed and encouraged to do the work of the bourgeoisie within the family by dictating to the women. It's not the fault of the people, but the people have to recognize that the system sets us up to be oppressing one another. This male-dominating setup is very key to keeping the whole capitalist system cooking and provides some undeniable "rewards" to the men. In the households of the oppressed, the domination of the woman is often presented as the only "privilege" this system offers men, as twisted as this privilege is. This is why we have to overthrow the system. But we won't be able to do it if the brothers don't unite with the sisters and fight against this male domination NOW.

Clearing the Air

Why would oppressed people who hate what this system does to them to the marrow of their bone want to turn around and lord it over the women they know, who are also under the boot of the rulers? These are some of the reasons you hear:

"A lot of women are just out to get the man's money, they use sex to CONTROL them. No self-respecting brother will let anyone or anything control them, not without a fight."

First off, when you treat sisters in this way, you ARE under control, the near-total control of the powers-that-be, who have every interest in keeping women under the thumb of men. You are simply suffering under the illusion that you're exercising some "control" over your lives by ruling over the lives of your girlfriends, wives, sisters, mothers, daughters, and friends. When these women fight back, with whatever means is at their disposal, they are labeled "bitches" and treated as the enemy. Men who do this are acting the oppressor.

It is really wack for men to accuse women of "sexual control." First off, if brothers don't really like a woman and have some respect for her as a human being, why do they get involved in a sexual relationship with her in the first place? Let's be for real. It's just plain opportunism to blame a woman 'cuz you wanted to use her sexually. This society pumps the twisted idea into men's brains that women are on this planet to have babies and please men. And then the men feel betrayed when a woman demands to be treated as a whole human being—not just a sex partner. But brothers need to wake up and stop playing by the oppressors' rules.

Finally, everybody knows that a brutal double standard operates like crazy when it comes to sexuality. If women go out on their boyfriends they are called "bitches" and "hos." But men who womanize all around town are called "players." And despite all the talk about the so-called sexual revolution, the same old shit goes down when the men get together and talk—it's the sisters that get a "bad reputation." Just like in "Dangerous Liaisons," women who try to win this macho sex game end up getting burned by society.

"There ARE women out there like that who dog men, and they ought to be dissed. I'm not like that, and I know they're not talking about me. I demand respect and they know it."

You hear this from sisters, including some rappers. But think about what it means when a lyric like "All that matters is bitches and money" gets popular and gets repeated over and over by thousands of youth around the country. Could this possibly increase the respect for women

DOWN ON THE WORD LADY (TO SAY NOTHING OF BITCH)

By Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP



The word "bitch" as applied to women plays the same social role as the word "nigger" applied to Black people.

As for the word "lady," its social role is in general not much better. Oh, it may sometimes seem more sophisticated—as in "disco lady, sophisticated mama" or "she's my lady" or "she's a real lady"—and it may supposedly indicate "class" ("a 'lady' does not do things like that"), but it is not too hard to see *which* class all this serves. It is all part of that bourgeois "style" or pretension that is supposed to be "cool" these days—part of the cynicism, hedonism (pleasure seeking) and narcissism (self-love) that is such an easy and ridiculous cop-out. And most particularly, it is part of the oppression and degradation of women and their relegation to an inferior status and role. In short, in its general social usage, it is part of the arsenal of the enemy.

in general? Or does it reinforce thousands of years of women as slaves who deserve no better than the back of the hand when they "get out of line." If any woman thinks this doesn't apply to her: more women come into hospitals with injuries from their husband or boyfriend than from car accidents. There are real reasons why there's no big demand for battered men's shelters.

About the word "bitch." This word has specific social content at this time on the planet. Despite Ice-T's attempt on a recent *Nightline* show to redefine it as anyone (man or woman) who's just after the money, the word is really about men saying to women, "I'm taking the power in this relationship, and I can put you down to the level of a female dog." Everyone knows this. After all, when it comes to men getting their money, the subject of many rap songs, there's no problem—they're "gettin paid" and proud of it. "Bitch" is the equivalent of "nigger" in this society.

The capitalist system inserts the brutal cash nexus into every human relationship. Sex becomes capital. So it is no surprise that "All she wants is the money" is hurled against some women who have the attitude of: "No romance without finance." In this Eddie Murphy-style method of sizing up friends and lovers, no one wins, but the woman as usual is the chief target. Why are there special words for WOMEN who have this capitalistic attitude? Why are women who have this attitude called "bitches"? Why don't people criticize these women for being capitalistic? Why, even when women are criticized for being "bourgeois," the term "bourgeois" is almost always followed by the word "bitch"?

For one thing, women who do have these attitudes are treating men the way men are brought up to treat women—like objects! This infuriates men because this is not how women are supposed to act: according to the "rules," women are supposed to be the property of men, not the other way around! And, as this property, women are supposed to behave a certain way—like "ladies." When a man calls a woman "bitch" it means one way or another she has stepped outside the bounds of what women are allowed to do and be. Women who call each other "bitches" are actually only in competition for who can be the best "lady" for some man.

Isn't it time for a full-scale revolt against these degrading terms over which men and women relate to each other?

Our way of relating to each other historically—from the dozens and standing

on the corner and talking shit about each other—the love is still there. And we understand the subcontext. Our use of language is so ridden with subtexts and a cultural understanding underlies it. If you ain't part of the club you ain't gonna get it.

You hear this from Black men. Sorry, but the *subtext is the oppression of women*. When people in the audience howl every time Red Foxx cusses out the women in "Harlem Nights," the subtext is that these uppity women need to be brought down. And specifically, as Chairman Avakian wrote:

"... the notion has been propagated that inequality between women and men and the oppression of women by men does not exist or apply in the same way among Black people as among others—or even that it is reversed! This includes the idea (whether stated straight-up or slightly disguised) that the 'emasculatation of the Black man' has created a situation where it is necessary for him first to realize his 'manhood,' including by lording it over women, and then maybe the question of equality between the sexes can be taken up.

"It is a truth and a searing indictment of America that Black men in the U.S. have suffered barbarous oppression—including literal emasculation—at the hands of slaveowners and other white oppressors. But oppression has assumed forms no less barbarous with regard to Black women. And the answer to the centuries-long oppression of Black people, *women and men*, in the whole historical development and present-day reality of the U.S. (an oppression which has, however, had different features in different eras) is not to 'restore the rites' of patriarchy. Patriarchy and 'male rights' serve imperialism, the bourgeoisie, oppression, exploitation, and the division of society into classes and everything that goes with them: they will never serve the struggle to abolish these things.

"Secondly, the oppression of Black people has never resulted and does not result today in a situation where Black women have a position of equality with—nor still less that they have a superior position to—Black men (or any other men). The fact is, Black women are oppressed—by Black men as well as more generally by men and most fundamentally by the whole system. (Of course individual cases where women have fucked over men can be cited among Black people as well as in general, and the same could also be said in terms of individual Black people fucking over individual white people, but we are talking about *basic social relations* here.)

And the ending of these unequal and oppressive social relations between men and women is an integral and indispensable part of the overall struggle to end all oppression: the emancipation of the proletariat—and of mankind itself from the fetters and evils of class-divided society—is impossible without the emancipation of women. If you think being free means or must include having a woman (or more than one) to oppress, then you are still striving for the 'freedom' of capitalism, not the emancipation of communism."

All-the-Way Liberating

The political situation in the world is getting very tense these days, and the lines are being drawn sharply around many questions. There are some key dividing lines: Where you stand on opposing the oppression of women is gonna count for a lot. The people have to be strong and united in the face of the enemy.

There are millions of women right now going into battle for their lives. They are fighting against rape, battering, attacks on abortion—their right to control their own BODIES—along with the million and one other abuses of this system against the people. Yet there are brothers who ought to be standing shoulder to shoulder with women against this common oppression, and all they have to say to them is "You can only lay me girl/You can't play me girl!" Fucking and fucking over women. And for what?? To prove what?? Manhood? Control over your lives??

Let's get some real control. We have a world to win, and there is a serious revolutionary alliance that needs to be built between different sections of the people. Attitudes which stand in the way of that need to go.

This is not just a problem for N.W.A. or the other rappers and youth who diss women. It is a problem for the revolutionary class, the proletariat who have nothing to lose in going all the way to overthrow this system. And it is a problem we will solve. How can we do less?

This is the challenge we put out to the youth: take that leap into REVOLUTIONARY struggle. And to the rappers: make the music that will move millions to end this madness and make a new world.

Think about what must be done to that system—to bury that system and free the people, worldwide. There is no greater love and nothing more real than this. □

Resistance at La Placita

The Los Angeles Police Department, with the approval of the Los Angeles Archdiocese, has launched a major police operation against the city's most prominent sanctuary church, Our Lady Queen of Angels, known as La Placita. A homeless shelter at the church has been closed, and scores of street vendors who sold food and other things under the protection of the church have been driven away. An LAPD mini pig station is across the street, and uniformed cops arrogantly patrol the church courtyard, jacking up and snatching anyone who looks poor and hanging out—possibly implementing their well-known policy of turning immigrants over to La Migra for deportation. They do this especially on Sunday mornings to send a message—*there is no sanctuary from the repressive measures against the immigrant masses.* On August 18 they chased a young man inside the church and arrested him in front of the startled congregation.

On Sunday, September 9 the people of the largely immigrant congregation finally had enough. The cops came, as always, and aggressively descended on a young immigrant man at the door of the church who told them he was waiting for mass. They handcuffed him immediately and then started beating him. They were surrounded by a crowd of 50 to 60 people who were pissed off. They called the cops "puercos" (pigs) and "perros" (dogs) and demanded to know why they were treating the guy this way. The cops called for backup, but when more police arrived they found themselves dodging rocks and other debris. They got away with their prisoner, whose fate is uncertain. At least one pig windshield was broken, according to observers.

These actions follow by a few weeks the forced departure of the head pastor, Fr. Luis Olivares, who had fought to create and maintain a sanctuary for the oppressed at the church. For years La Placita was a center of survival and struggle for hundreds of immigrants—people with direct knowledge of how the U.S. acts outside its borders, and many with experience of political struggle. An atmosphere of debate and inquiry flourished. Many walked the ten blocks to Libros Revolución and returned to discuss events and questions. On May Day 1988 a spokesperson read the call from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in front of the church and it was debated into the night. Marches against the U.S. war in Central America

started at the church. Several base communities—grassroots organizations of faith-based activists—were formed among the congregation.

La Placita has drawn immigrants from a wide area not only because the mass is held in Spanish and there is the familiar atmosphere of a country church, but people also came to support Padre Olivares and the congregation he led. In 1988 the Simpson-Rodino law went into effect with employer sanctions—requiring employers to check immigration status for every worker. Thousands of immigrants were thrown out of work, many becoming homeless. At that time, La Placita was declared a sanctuary for anyone fleeing his or her country, including Mexico. The church was opened at night so homeless people could sleep on the pews. It was offered as a hiring hall for day laborers and a refuge for street vendors. From the pulpit Olivares announced that the church was going to defy the employer sanction provisions for people they hired. He called on others to do the same and offered to help them do it. And he tried to make sure the immigrants who were hired got enough money to send back to their families.

In September 1988 Olivares and two other priests published an opinion piece in the *L.A. Times* announcing this stand. The INS announced a criminal investigation of La Placita. L.A. Archbishop Roger Mahoney distanced himself, saying it was okay to give food and shelter but not jobs to undocumented workers. Olivares's stand was also controversial among many "immigrant rights" activists, because he refused to draw a distinction between those fleeing death squads and those fleeing death by starvation. In addition to the INS, he was threatened by death squads operating in Los Angeles and targeted by demonstrations of Contra types. Early this year a Salvadoran activist stepped forward to reveal that the FBI had tried to recruit him to spy on members of La Placita, especially "leaders."

This past spring Olivares announced that his order, the Claretian, were forcing him to leave La Placita by July 1. A local reporter noted that the religious order had succeeded where the state and the archdiocese had failed. In May, however, Olivares announced that he had AIDS and was suspending all his duties. According to an investigation by other activists, Olivares and others contracted the disease from a clinic in El Salvador



Father Olivares with a death-squad threat note.

which lacked sterile equipment, despite billions in U.S. aid to that country. In fact, the U.S. spends that money to maintain the conditions of enforced backwardness that are murdering people.

Within weeks the police-church operation had begun. A number of young Mexican men recently spoke out angrily about the situation. "The police come down on whoever is hanging out here and push them around and investigate them," said one. Another added, "Whatever you do, they give you a ticket or, if not, they arrest you. A lot of people don't come because of that, because of the police." According to the *L.A. Weekly*, the Archdiocese approved the police operation. And while it was getting under way, they removed a shrine dedicated to Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero from inside the church and forced a number of base community ac-

tivists to leave. Spokespersons for the church and the Archdiocese are now telling the *RW* that they simply have no idea what's going on.

Sanctuaries for the oppressed are never acceptable to the powers-that-be. The police operation against La Placita fits right into the government's master plan—barricades, concentration camps, and police occupation, like "Operation MacArthur," launched in June in the Damián García (formerly MacArthur) Park area. But while every other repressive move against immigrants has been kicked off with a press conference or pig-and-bootlicker "community meeting," there has been no such fanfare for Operation La Placita.

The Church and the state are probably worried about the hundreds of political and faith-based activists from different social classes who have been moved and challenged by the actions of Luis Olivares and others. The powers must not be allowed to stamp out things that are precious to the people, and there are some indications that the masses are in a mood to prevent them. Those who oppose these attacks must stand firmly on the side of the oppressed against the oppressor, wherever that might lead. □



La Migra agent with captured immigrants.

Mohawks Fight Army at Kahnawake

For over two months a tense armed standoff has been taking place between Mohawks and the Canadian authorities. It began on July 11 when police attacked a Mohawk barricade at Kanesatake. The barricade was put up to prevent a golf course from being built on Mohawk land. Mohawks at Kahnawake, on the south shore of Montreal, blocked the Mercier Bridge in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Kanesatake. Last month the Canadian army was called in and they surrounded both territories. On August 29 a group of Mohawks took the barricades down on the Mercier Bridge as a show of good faith towards the government. The powers' response was to send in more troops and come down even harder. On Saturday, September 1 the army pushed the Mohawks at Kanesatake into a small area near an alcohol and drug treatment center. Troops then set up a military perimeter at Kahnawake as well.

Kahnawake has since been surrounded by the Canadian army and Quebec Provincial Police (SQ), even though Mohawks there have removed the barricades from the Mercier Bridge and laid down their weapons. Mohawks are being allowed in and out of the army perimeter, but there continue to be reports of harassment by the powers. At Kanesatake the Mohawks have refused to put down their arms and continue to stand their ground. The army now has them surrounded on all sides with 6-foot-high barbed wire.

On Tuesday, September 18, Canadian army troops invaded the Mohawk Territory of Kahnawake. In a scene that looked like a newsreel from the Vietnam War or the Persian Gulf, hundreds of troops were airlifted in by huge military helicopters. They gave no warning. They didn't even let the band council (the elected chiefs funded by the Canadian government) know ahead of time. They were met by up to a thousand angry Mohawk people. Some Latino, white and Black people were also there. The soldiers fired 80 canisters of tear gas to disperse the crowd but this didn't work.

Then they fired their weapons in the air—a total of 150 rounds.

Instead of running away, the Mohawks attacked the soldiers. Soldiers were thrown on the ground and beaten with their own helmets. News footage on Cable Network News showed the soldiers being literally kicked in the ass. Hundreds of Mohawk people took part. And after a battle that lasted almost seven hours, the soldiers were finally forced to retreat!

This is a real victory for the people and an important and exciting development. Only by mobilizing the people to fight the powers can the Canadian imperialists be delivered a decisive defeat to stop them from carrying out their plans to launch an assault on the Mohawks. The kind of struggle needed is not one aimed at negotiating and making peace with the enemy—but one aimed at winning, and doing it in a way that prepares for the time when the people can wage all-out revolutionary war to overthrow these imperialists and put power into the hands of the people.

The Canadian powers face a sharp dilemma. On the one hand, they cannot tolerate the fact that the Mohawks have continued to stand up to them with guns. They want to punish the Mohawks and prevent this example from spreading. The over one million Native people across Canada make up about five percent of the population and have land claims to over two-thirds of the country. The Canadian imperialists want and need the land that belongs to the Native people to develop projects that will strengthen their economy. And they have been hoping to just continue to rip off the Indian peoples' land without a fight. But now that the Mohawk Warriors have taken such a bold stand, they are worried not only about the outcome of this particular battle but the effect this will have throughout Canada. Already other Native peoples have taken actions to support the Mohawks and have also been inspired to wage their own militant struggles over land rights. Other people in Canadian society have also been inspired by the Mohawks, and this whole struggle has revealed to people the vi-

cious nature of the Canadian government. The Mohawks report that hundreds of non-Native people have already come into Kahnawake since Tuesday's army attack are ready to stand with them. For all these reasons the Canadian powers are driven to try and ruthlessly crush the Mohawks' struggle.

At the same time, the authorities face heavy consequences as a result of their attacks on the Mohawks. They know all hell could break loose if they launch an all-out assault. The Canadian government has shown clearly that they care nothing about the lives of the Mohawk people. In fact, the only reason they haven't already shot their way into Kahnawake and Kanesatake is because they know that if they do this it will expose the Canadian government's true nature as an armed imperialist dictatorship and this could lead to an even more serious political crisis for them.

There are important lessons to be learned from this battle about the nature of the enemy and what kind of struggle is needed to fight the powers. Some Mohawks and their supporters have argued that it is 'better' that the army has replaced the SQ. But events have clearly shown that the SQ and the army are both part of the same armed state apparatus that will be used against the people and must be defeated. Some people have also put forward that the vicious actions of the soldiers are a result of the troops being "out of control" and acting on their own. But these people do not understand that the army is acting on orders from the highest levels of government and that the continuing attacks are part of the overall efforts by the powers to force the Mohawks to surrender.

Among the Mohawk people there is sharp struggle over how to continue this battle and build support. One view which needs to be criticized is the idea that the main way to force the Canadian government to stop attacking the Mohawk people is to get various European governments to pressure the Canadian powers to negotiate. But these governments are imperialists too! These are the same powers who are sending troops to the Persian Gulf as part of the effort

being led by the U.S. imperialists to control and rip off the oil and land that belongs to the Arab people! Only by relying on the masses of people and building mass struggle and resistance will it be possible to beat back the powers' attacks on the Mohawk people.

When the people beat back the army at Kahnawake they won an important victory. The stakes have been raised higher and the enemy is preparing to strike back even harder. But this is not an argument for the people to retreat. Just the opposite. This is all the more reason for the people to step up the struggle against the powers and go for even more victories!

Many of the Mohawk supporters in Montreal have focused on actions that are aimed at pressuring or "reasoning" with the government. But "business as usual" picketlines have not been what's required in the past and this is even more true now! In response to the battle at Kahnawake, the Coalition in Solidarity with Native People in Montreal held another picketline outside Quebec Premier Bourassa's office. And some people are putting a lot of faith in the fact that the Canadian parliament is coming back into session on Monday, September 24. But these politics of appealing to the government are not the way forward. And those who understand this need to step out and lead others to take the struggle higher and stand with the Mohawk people who are taking the powers head on.

There is much that can be learned from the spirit and actions of the Mohawk people who battled the army at Kahnawake. They stood up fearlessly, in the face of bullets, and fought the army. And when they did this many of the soldiers wavered. The soldiers didn't expect the people to fight back and many of them did not want to attack the Mohawks even though they were being ordered to. The commanders on the scene had to keep yelling at the soldiers to "hold the line," and some soldiers ended up getting into fist fights with people. The fact that a certain amount of army discipline broke down during this battle was a sign of the enemy's weakness. And the stronger the people fought the soldiers the more this weakness of the enemy came out. The Mohawks also reported that some soldiers who were ordered to run people over with armored personnel carriers refused to do this.

The people who fought the soldiers were not sure the troops would not fire into the crowd. The people yelled at the troops, "Well, go ahead, kill us. If that's what you're here for, kill us. But you're not gonna make us run away from our land." If the Mohawk people can courageously fight the army and take this kind of stand in this battle, imagine what kind of a force they could be in an all-out conscious revolutionary struggle for power!

The army has publicly declared that they will attempt to invade Kahnawake again and they are massing troops outside the borders. An official of the Mohawk ironworkers union told the *RW* that Mohawk women called up their husbands who are working in New York City and told them the army is planning to invade again and conduct house-to-house searches. They also said that part of a prison has been cleared out in order to make room for Mohawk people who are arrested. Meanwhile a court injunction has been issued against a peace camp outside Oka where Mohawk supporters have been camped out monitoring the army and the SQ.

As the Canadian government gets ready to launch a counterattack it is even more urgent that people support and join the Mohawk people in their struggle. People need to militantly take on the powers, prevent the soldiers from launching any further attacks on the Mohawk people and deliver the powers a sound defeat. □



Canadian soldier gets hit on head with his own helmet.



Canadian troops retreat under a hail of rocks.

Report from the Battle at Kahnawake

"There Was More Anger than Fear"

An *RW* reporter spoke with two Mohawk men who were at the September 18 battle at Kahnawake. The following are excerpts from this interview:

P: Well, it was a surprise. It was by helicopter. It's the first time they came into the community by helicopter. They've been flying surveillance but this was the first time they came in in force by helicopter. So it was real quick. It caught everybody by surprise. . . . There was a lot of, not panic, but nobody knew what was happening. There's a hospital I'd say maybe a hundred yards from where they came in. They were flying the helicopters right over the top of the hospital. The double blade type troop carriers. So there was a lot of people in the hospital that were nervous and anxious.

S: Basically what happened was the military came in in a sort of large force by helicopter and they landed on Tekakwitha Island, going to the marina. It has a little cement bridge. And by that cement bridge they set up a barricade. They put up their barbed wire there and there was a few people that got trapped on that side. They were there with their cars and they got trapped. It was a search-and-seizure type of operation, I guess. They seized some beer and the money out of the marina. . . . It was like watching a Steven Spielberg movie with all these choppers flying all over, guys running around with all these machine guns and shit. I don't think the news people even believed what the hell was going on.

They all wore gas masks, so apparently they were prepared to use the gas. They said they used the gas because they were stoned by people. The fact is they used the gas first and they still weren't stoned. They were only stoned after they started shooting in the air. There was two shots fired as soon as they were putting up the barbed wire.

RW: It sounds like a scene out of the Persian Gulf. Or Vietnam.

S: It sounds like Vietnam. It sounded just like it. It reminds me of it.

RW: So people ran to where it was happening?

S: What I think happened is that because the helicopters were flying so low over town and in such great numbers, that attracted the people. You couldn't help but miss it. They were flying right over your roofs and that is what tuned in people to where they landed.

RW: How many helicopters were there?

P: There was two of those big ones. I don't know, six to eight maybe of the smaller ones. They were all over the damn place. Previous to that they had parked eight APCs (armored personnel carriers) on the other side of the canal, I guess for cover support, with their 50 calibers pointing right at the crowd. Those 50 calibers are not supposed to be used, according to the Geneva convention, except against armored personnel carriers or vehicles. They were pointed right at the crowd. They didn't fire them but they were pointed right at the crowd.

It looked like a movie. Helicopters flying all over, APCs all over, hundreds of soldiers on the ground with their toys, pointing them in every which direction. It was unbelievable. The bay, we call it the bay, it's by a little cement bridge. Right on the other side, there's a lot of homes and the hospital's right across. It was all ringed with cars, a lot of people at this demonstration. A lot of them were just onlookers. A lot of kids, a lot of women, a lot of old people. On their side they ringed, compared to a corner maybe, so they came around in an L shape. But they set up positions all around the perimeter of the island with their weapons pointed at these onlookers, people just standing there watching.

There was more anger than fear. Because the whole community, even those who maybe were not so interested in what was going on, just not paying attention one way or the other, just didn't give a damn, are Mohawk. They believe in their sovereignty and it just incited them. I guess you could call them

moderates. They were just as angry as everybody else. There was about a thousand there. I'd say four or five hundred took physical participation in what happened, the fist fighting.

S: A lot of people got together on the bridge so they couldn't come across the bridge. And the army started shooting tear gas. I'd say maybe about seven or eight canisters. Very close range, by the way. The people were staring right at each other just across a roll of barbed wire, so it was very close range. A little girl got hit on the top of the eye, got cut, with a gas canister. And that sort of just got everybody pissed off. And the next thing you know fists started flying. And they were using their rifle butts. And then some shots were fired. When the shots were fired the stones were thrown. It was actually like a big fist fight. . . .

P: Two of the military guys put their guns down on the ground with their hands, palms up, moved their fingers in a gesture of come on, come on. We'll fight. We'll fight. The people were challenging the military people and they were being challenged. . . . A lot of shots were fired from their personal arms, their M16's, their saws. Fired into the air, I guess to try and disperse the crowd. But all that seemed to do was anger the crowd because there had been an agreement made that nobody would fire the first shot. And apparently the army—that's the last agreement that we had with them—they broke it. Of all the 23 or 24 agreements that we made, they've broken every one again. So it's pretty hard to trust negotiations now.

P: Everybody started punching and kicking. They started shooting and their guns didn't scare nobody away. They just kept yelling, "Well, go ahead, kill us. If that's what you're here for, kill us. But you're not gonna make us run away from our land."

It continued on and off with three or four different types of skirmishes and then there'd be four or five feet between everybody and they'd be staring

at each other. I guess it started about 2 or 2:30. The last helicopter came to get the men at 9 or 9:30 to get them out. As they were extracting the men they ringed the community with smaller helicopters with M16s on the side of them, American-type helicopters. I guess covering the crowd for fear of somebody doing something.

RW: It sounds like they didn't expect people to fight back.

P: I don't think they did. I thought they figured once they started shooting it would disperse the crowd. And that's what brought the anger up. Everybody started yelling, "You ain't supposed to be fucking shooting. What's the fucking matter with you?" People surged at them instead of withdrawing.

I asked one of their military, a colonel, "What is it you people want?" He said, "Well, we're here to do a job." I said, "Well, this is our land, where we gonna go? What is it you want? Why did you come here? To take our land? To kill us? What is it? What are the reasons behind it?" He said "I don't have to fucking answer that," and he walked away.

RW: Was anyone seriously hurt?

S: I believe 75 people were treated in the hospital for different things, cuts and gashes, eyes burning. A mix of ages from five years old up to 72 years old. There were a few people injured. The gas went off, they were trying to get away from the gas, fell down the hills. One fell off the bridge. One girl broke her hip. And a little girl got hit on the top of the left eyebrow with a gas canister. She's okay. She got a few stitches. A lot of the kids got sick from the gas, their eyes were burning.

RW: How many soldiers got hurt?

S: I think the paper said seven. But more of them went for treatment, like 19.

P: They say they found these 47 some odd weapons where they dug them up.

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Report

Continued from page 13

Well we went there and measured the hole and it's almost four feet long by about a foot wide and not even a foot deep. So it's a physical impossibility that the weapons could have been in there. The news media here themselves admitted to seeing only one weapon taken out. They didn't show them yesterday. They didn't exhibit them right away. Only this morning they came up with this big exhibit of weapons.

RW: How did this battle end?

P: It basically ended up as a stare-off, I guess you could call it, for the three or four hours that they removed these military personnel. The back lines would get in the helicopters and leave and they'd just keep backing up and at the front lines everybody just kept staring at each other, looking at each other.

RW: There was just a demonstration in New York City of about 250 Mohawk ironworkers. At this protest it was announced that the army has given the Mohawks a 48-hour ultimatum.

S: They got three more places they'd like to search. I guess if you consider an ultimatum, "We're gonna come in and do it anyway," and they know the community is not gonna let 'em. Like I say, there had to be a thousand people. It puts to end, I hope, the myth that there's only a hundred Warriors. The whole community is upset. Everybody except maybe two or three people who are paid by the government.

RW: It's pretty clear that they want to punish you for what you did. Look what happened—some Mohawks took some barricades down as a show of good faith and the government responded with even more vicious attacks.

S: Well, that's a mistake we made again in trusting them and believing them. Apparently their words are no good.

Throughout history we've known it. We just keep saying and hoping, well, maybe this time. Maybe this time they'll keep their word. I guess not. I think they're pushing for an incident where they can shoot some people. I believe their ultimate goal is to kill some Indians.

P: Like I say, during it there was more anger and I guess there's a deep hate now for these people, something that wasn't there before. A lot of the people

in the community sort of felt sorry for these army guys. They're young, they don't want to be here. At the lines, at the barricades, there was communications going on between them and people from the community, talking. Them saying the same thing, they don't want to be here, but they're under orders and they'll be threatened with court-martial if they decide to leave. So everybody sort of felt sorry for them at one time. But now, it's just too bad, because things have escalated.

A lot of the soldiers were in tears, by the way. . . not because they were hurt, not physically. But emotionally. They don't want to be here. You could see it in their faces. Their commanding officer just kept yelling at them, "Stay on the fucking line, stay on the fucking line."

Nobody's gonna back away from them. It's our land, it's our community. It's all we have left. And their guns didn't scare nobody yesterday. I think that sort of shocked them. □

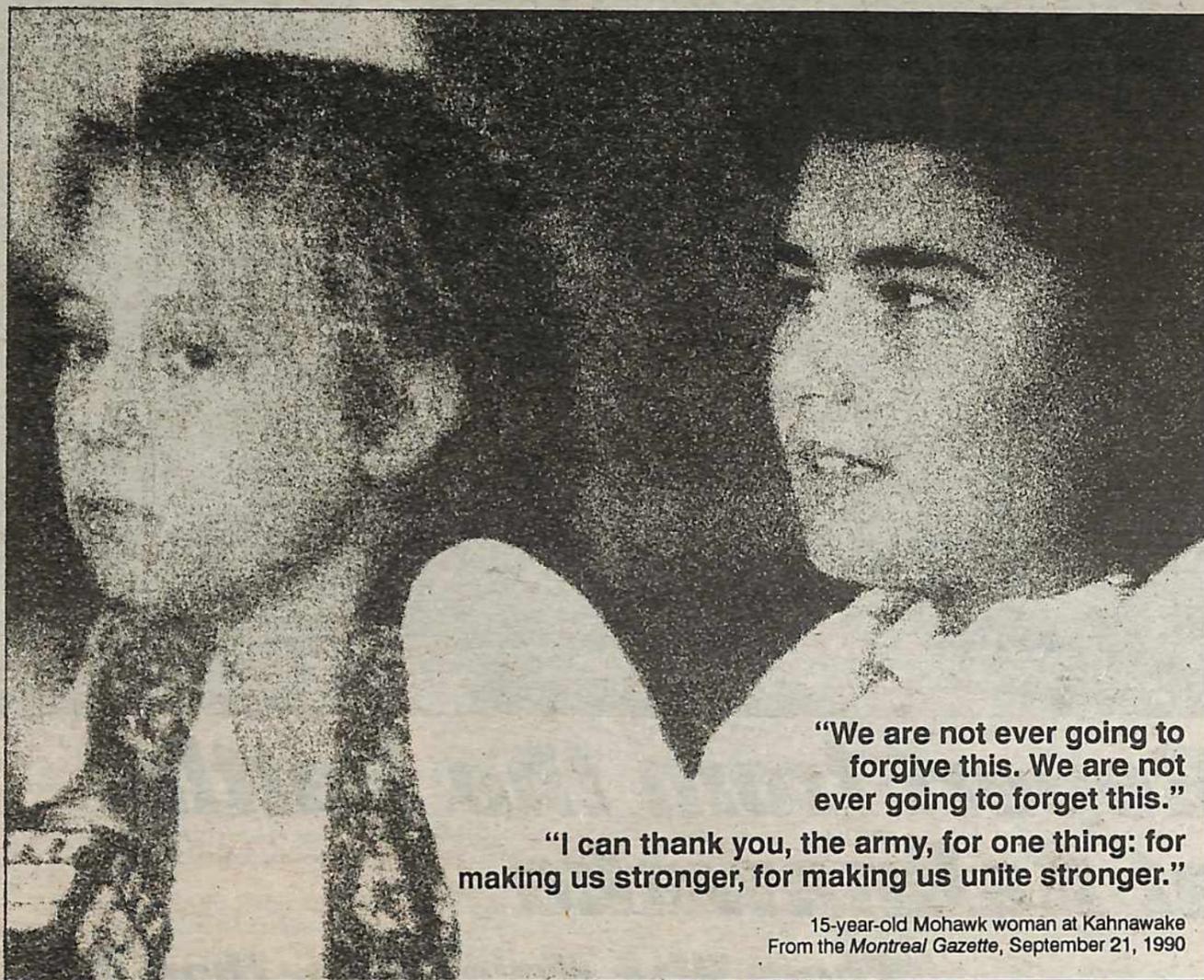


Photo: Allen McInnis/The Montreal Gazette

"We are not ever going to forgive this. We are not ever going to forget this."

"I can thank you, the army, for one thing: for making us stronger, for making us unite stronger."

15-year-old Mohawk woman at Kahnawake
From the *Montreal Gazette*, September 21, 1990

Some Straight Talk on Akwesasne

This report was written by an RW reporter who was at the September 9 demonstration at the barricades in Oka.

Akwesasne is Mohawk territory that sits on the border between New York State and Canada. Since May 1, New York State police and Canadian police from Quebec and Ontario have occupied the territory. There has been a very sharp struggle here among the Mohawk people over the direction their society should take. The media has made it look like the issue is simply whether or not you support gambling, and the U.S. and Canadian authorities have used this conflict to justify their own attacks on the Indians and their attempts to gain control over the land and people in Akwesasne.

There was a group of women from Akwesasne at the barricade outside Oka. They all had stories of oppression they had faced at the hands of the police who are occupying their land. What they told me reminded me of the stories I've heard from Black youth in the South Bronx and Brooklyn. One woman told me the state police grabbed her son and arrested him because they thought he was someone else they were looking for. They called her and she and her husband went down to police headquarters. She told them to let him go, that her son didn't do anything and was only 15 years old. The cops jumped her husband, threw him against a car and beat him up. When she tried to get the cops off her husband they were arrested. She also told me that on Saturday night a 17-year-old Mohawk woman who was walking home alone was brutally beaten by a gang of state police. She was rescued by other Mohawks.

At the demonstration in Oka I talked with three Mohawks from Akwesasne. The following are excerpts from this interview:

RW: What's it like in Akwesasne now? I've heard that both the SQ and the state police are harassing and arresting the youth.

Sandra: Right after the blockade they did that. They were very forceful and they were beating up young girls. They tried to stop them and question them. If they try to get away they follow them with their car and try to grab them and question them. And the girls would try to run away from them. But it seems some of them got hurt by the pushing and pulling and them trying to grab them and put them in the police cars. I guess they tried to arrest them. There was about four or five girls that got hurt that way. This was right after the blockades. That's when it started. All this police business. They're still in there, they haven't got out. Just like when we left last night. There was an awful lot of mounted police in St. Regis. There was about five or six on every street walking around.

RW: Mohawk women I've talked to told me that the state police and the Quebec Provincial Police (SQ) have been working together. Could you describe that?

Marie: They're helping each other. There's still an awful lot of shooting in St. Regis—somebody from across the river—an awful lot with a machine gun. And the police don't do anything at all. They just stay around and it seems like they know who it is and they don't want to stop it. Same with the American side, there was some shooting on the American side a couple of nights ago and they don't go and investigate.

Sandra: There was shooting about a month ago. It was a machine gun because you could hear that da-da-da-da. It goes so fast. Maybe about fifty rounds of ammunition was shot. You heard about it and everybody talks

about it, but nobody did anything about it.

RW: Have you seen either the state police or the SQ harassing people or beating them?

Mike: When we go by the police blockades we're searched. And to me this is very, very degrading because it tells me what they think of me. Because if they're gonna search you and you tell them if you got anything—do you have a gun? And you say no. Then they search you. And they don't find no gun and then they get cranky about it and they say, "go on." To me that's degrading because as a man I should have the respect. I can't picture the white people putting up with that. And I think this sort of frustration led to the kids doing that [referring to an incident where the youth overturned and trashed two police cars]. They're constantly being searched when they go through there. They're searched when they go in, they're searched when they go out. I don't know how many guns they've found, they won't tell us. But they've searched me since last May. And not once did they pick up a gun on me. But they keep trying. And this is the part that gets me mad. I asked them, do you need a warrant? They said no, because you're Indians.

RW: The media in the U.S. has blacked out a lot of what's been happening here. I think the government is afraid that other oppressed people in the U.S. will be inspired by the example of the Mohawk fighters.

Mike: If we did inspire them I hope it's to fight for what they believe in. It's a sad situation when we have to use guns, but in this situation if nobody had guns they'd be playing golf there now. So they said they won it in a court order [the right to the land]. Okay, maybe they did. But they would have browbeat the Indians down with this court order. Then to say we negotiate with no arms,

then we have nothing. So every time they say they can't negotiate because we've got guns.

RW: This is how these governments really rule, with guns, by force of arms. I think people are going to have to unite together and fight to bring these governments down in order to solve these problems.

Mike: Unfortunately I think you're right. That's probably the way we're gonna have to do it.

Marie: Last week there was a bunch of young guys. They went up to the bridge there, the international bridge in Cornwall (Akwesasne). All they wanted to do was bring attention to let the people in Kanasatake know that they're backing them up. It was a peaceful march. They didn't have any guns. They just went up there, turned their cars around. Some people got out of the car. And just that quick police from the Canadian and American sides came up and started roughing them around. These guys, they were young guys, they marched back down carrying their flag, their heads up in the air. They marched back down the bridge and then they went into St. Regis (on the Canadian side). And that's when it turned ugly. Those young boys had on their minds when those people from Kahnawake were leaving and all those people threw stones at them. They had that on their mind about the Quebec police force. And when they marched into St. Regis it was supposed to be a peaceful march. But it didn't end up that way. In the end there was two police cars that were flipped right over and windows were broken. As far as I understand right now, the SQ have left and you have RCMP in there [the Canadian equivalent of the FBI]. I guess what I'm saying is it's not going to be easy for us Indians. We are going to have to fight. That's not the way we want it but that's the only way we can be understood. □

Refuse and Resist! Press Conference

The War on Drugs Is a War on the People!

On September 5 Refuse & Resist! held a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. to unveil its new brochure against the government's war on drugs/war on the people. (See RW No. 572 for a copy of this brochure.) The following excerpts are from two statements given at this press conference. The RW will publish excerpts from other statements in the future.

Jeff Morley is a political writer for SPIN magazine. Mr. Morley's article in Washington's City Paper brought the case of Keith Jackson to wide public attention:

A year ago when President Bush gave his speech on the war on drugs he held up a bag of crack on TV and said that the crack problem was so bad crack could even be purchased across the street from the White House. Of course, that was a lie. There were no reported crack sales in Lafayette Park. What the U.S. government had done at the instructions of the White House was to lure someone to Lafayette Park so that the President could make this claim.

Keith Jackson, a student at Spingarn High School here in Washington, was the victim of that entrapment. In December Keith went on trial and his first trial ended in a mistrial. The government brought the case again in January on five counts of selling crack cocaine, and in January Keith Jackson was convicted. Since then he was supposed to have come up for sentencing several times and he still has not. It's very unclear why he hasn't been sentenced yet. There doesn't seem to be any good reason, but to keep the threat of sentencing hanging over his head for going on nine months—he was convicted on January 17—certainly seems unfair on the part of the government.

One reason why we may have this delay is all the peculiar circumstances surrounding the arrest of Keith Jackson. I want to call the attention of the press to what I think is the most peculiar aspect, and that is the judge in the case. The judge in the Keith Jackson case is a man named Stanley Sporkin. He was, before becoming a federal judge, the General

Counsel to the Central Intelligence Agency. He was brought to that position by William Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, and held that job from 1981 to 1986.

The peculiar thing about Mr. Sporkin's involvement in the Keith Jackson case is that Mr. Sporkin himself has helped at least one drug dealer escape drug charges in the United States. People may say, well that's very difficult to believe, but I would like to give people in the press some of the details. And if they care to follow up, they can do that. Judge Sporkin, incidentally, has refused to talk to me about it.

Here are the details of the case: Judge Sporkin helped a convicted drug dealer in Florida named Maillis, a convicted drug dealer from a small town called Tarpon Springs, outside of Tampa. Why did Mr. Sporkin do this? In the late 1970s Mr. Maillis had run a casino in the Bahamas, and he was an informant to the

CIA about drug traffickers operating in the Bahamas. After that he dropped out of the business, was no longer working for the CIA, he moved to Tarpon Springs, and went into business for himself selling drugs.

He came to the attention of local law enforcement officials and they arrested him in an undercover bust for selling about a kilo of cocaine. Incidentally, that's more cocaine than Keith Jackson has ever been accused of selling. Then what happened was Mr. Maillis claimed that he was working for the CIA or people acting on its behalf. And soon the CIA became officially involved. A lawyer from the General Counsel's Office visited Mr. Maillis's attorney 25 to 50 times—the attorney told me this—to obtain leniency....

In talking about the larger context of the war on drugs, this is just one example of the way the war on drugs works, which is: if you have some connection to the U.S. government, drug dealing is okay, or you can expect some protection for it. Certainly A.J. Maillis could, he too faced a mandatory sentence. After the intervention by a representative of the CIA, he had his sentence reduced to less than the mandatory minimum, an action that was clearly improper on the part of the judge. And then several days before he was set to go to jail, Mr. Maillis fled the country. He is in Greece now....

The bottom line is that drug dealers who have worked for the Central Intelligence Agency or for other agencies of the U.S. government can expect this kind of protection routinely. I think it is incumbent in understanding the war on drugs that you realize that these things do happen, not as a matter of individual corruption but as a matter of regular CIA policy.

Kenneth Carroll is a well-known Black poet and member of the National Council of Refuse & Resist!

Last July Refuse & Resist! held a three-day conference on the war on drugs, and we were trying to deal with the outrageousness of it. What we found was that the scenario wasn't much different



Photo: Mary Lea Stringer
Kenneth Carroll

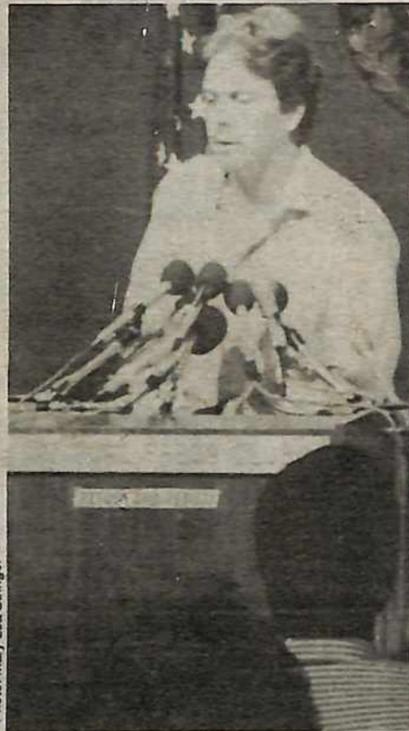


Photo: Mary Lea Stringer
Jeff Morley



Police drug squad

from Washington, to Atlanta, to Detroit, to Chicago, to Oakland, and to L.A. That the same kinds of drug sweeps, the same kinds of jump-out squads, the same kind of restrictions on public housing where public housing residents must have IDs approved by the government in order to get into their homes, was in effect all over the country. Public housing was being fenced up, or gated in, and police were stationed at every block.

What this war on drugs has meant, I think, for the Black community over the last year is sort of a realization: I think there are a few different camps. There's the camp of those people who have invested so heavily in the war on drugs and feel afraid to come out against it, but quietly behind the scenes tell you that it's been a total failure for them. Those people who put together proposals, and have gotten grants, and hoped there would be some effort by the federal government, some honest effort to help change the conditions of their neighborhood, feel now they have been betrayed.

The Bush administration knows, and William Bennett knows, that you cannot lock up poverty, you cannot mass arrest despair, you cannot clean-sweep the societal problems that have been happening in America for Black people for a long, long time. It just will not happen.

We have a situation here in Washington where we are actually shuttling prisoners to jails in Texas and in Washington where this whole prison industry is being set up now, because we cannot hold the prisoners we expect to lock up. I was talking to a marshal from the Marshal's Service who was saying that at times they put prisoners on a bus and ride them around the Beltway in order to stay under the court-mandated limit on prisoners! This is happening, busses are riding around waiting till they can move prisoners in and out.

This government is not interested in, Bush and Bennett were not interested at any time, nor was their predecessor Reagan, in dealing with this war on drugs. As Jeff pointed out, they have a whole history of complicity with drug-running, they know of people who have been involved and they worked consciously to help these people get off.

So we are saying that the Keith Jackson escapade is really indicative of the Bush-Bennett war on drugs, where Black people are singled out, are criminalized, and where we have what I call the "apartheidization" of Black neighborhoods. This war on drugs, and especially in the last year, has truly been a war on Black people.

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