



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Attacks Pile Up on Abortion Rights

WOMEN MUST FIGHT THE POWER!

The attack on abortion rights is running at full force and is being stepped up. Day after day there are new assaults on women's right to abortion. Meanwhile the enemy is whipping up lies and maneuvers to try and chill out people's anger. We should not be fooled. We should not be disarmed.

These are crucial days in the fight for abortion rights. This is the time to go on the OFFENSIVE!

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Special Leaflet:
If Christian Fascists Had Their Say
And The Bible Was the Law Today
Would You Want to Live This Way?

Abortion on Demand
& Without Apology
Nov. 5-12 D.C.
Week of Resistance



Bob Avakian, Chairman
of the RCP, USA

Bob Avakian Talks About
HUEY NEWTON AND THE PANTHERS...
THE EARLY YEARS...
AND WHAT'S UP TODAY

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- Going Beyond Malcolm X
- Summing Up Huey's Military Line
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You Need a Revolutionary People

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We received a copy of the following statement sent by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania to the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

STATEMENT IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE BRONX, N.Y.

The United States region of the BCMA wishes to extend appreciation to the people of the BRONX, N.Y., for the support they afforded us at the 4th Biko Lives Festival held on September 23, 1989 in the Bronx, N.Y.

We take this opportunity also to express our unconditional solidarity with the suffering masses of the Bronx and all the oppressed people in this country. We clearly comprehend the fact that the poverty, misery, death, disease and crime that constitute the daily profile of the people

of the Bronx are direct consequences of the very oppressive and exploitative nature of the U.S. system of government, which is founded upon capitalism and imperialism. The atrocities they commit with their international allies are echoed deep down in the ghettos of South Africa. Accordingly, the oppressed people of the Bronx and the toiling masses of Azania are confronted with a common enemy and share the common ideal of freedom. In our solidarity lies our victory.

McKay D. Motshabi, Publicity and Information Secretary, BCMA (US)



Kwathema, Azania, 1985

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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Burning in the Face of the Flag Law

A press conference was held at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) Friday morning to announce plans to fight the federal flag law. Speakers included William Kunstler and David Cole of CCR, author Kurt Vonnegut, a representative for Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, and Joey Johnson of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. Kunstler and the CCR made clear that they were eager to test this new flag law in a court, including taking it all the way to the Supreme Court—again.



Joey Johnson, July 1989

FLASH

A wild and righteous "Festival of Defiance" took place in Seattle midnight Friday when the new federal law against flag desecration went into effect. At least 300 people responded to a call from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist to take part in the protest against fascist flag amendment and laws. There were vets, youths of various nationalities, artists, and others. There was a symbolic "napalming" of 1,000 tiny American flags. VVAWAI said this was "on behalf of the 2 million Southeast Asians who were murdered in the invasion of Indochina by U.S. imperialism." A flag which was taken down from a flagpole at a U.S. post office was one of many flags burned. The action was reported on TV news the next day.

It was 11:58 p.m. Friday night, October 27. A crowd of people marched out of The World, a nightclub on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. They headed across the street to a small square on Houston Street where many homeless people stay.

Chants rang out in the fall air: "The flag, the flag, the flag's on fire. We don't need no water, let the motherfucker burn."

The Midnight Exorcism of Enforced Patriotism was on.

The leaflet for the action called on people to "Bring your favorite venerated object, icon, or symbol of national unity. PREPARE FOR SERIOUS DESECRATION." A huge pile of flags of all descriptions were thrown down in the center of this unruly gathering. As serious desecration got underway, Joey Johnson, RCYB member whose flag-burning case was taken up by the Supreme Court, announced: "This is an international party. People all over the world are watching us do this."

Shouts went up: "Burn Baby Burn!" "Yes, I'm a blasphemer! We encourage everyone to carry out many blasphemies."

For many of the people at the exorcism, the evening began at 6 p.m. at the "New Blasphemy" forum in the Great Hall of Cooper Union. Over 250 people listened, laughed, shouted and testified during a dynamic symposium on the whole right-wing offensive and ruling-class clampdown. Then people marched to an abandoned school, where there was confrontation Thursday night between homeless people and the police. The marchers made their way to the Exorcism site outside the World. Inside the nightclub, a party in preparation for the Exorcism was on. Crown Rapper JC moved the crowd to invent a new kind of desecration—the flag-stomping dance. At midnight the marchers and those at the party joined together in the Exorcism.

Many spoke up as flags burned. An angry woman stepped up: "This is for the women who will have to ask their boyfriends, husbands, their doctors, their priests, the state if they can have abortions."

Dread Scott, the artist from Chicago whose flag-on-the-floor piece made history, said: "The only thing manmade on the moon is the U.S. flag. Today we are carrying out an exorcism. Those flags are no longer there. This burning here removes the flags on the moon."

A homeless man who said he burned his first American flag when he was 16 said: "I want to tell you this chant that was chanted by people who were demonstrating at some social service office. 'No food, no money, no home, no work. So what?' And the answer is revolution, of course." The crowd laughed out loud and took up the chant.

Faith Ringgold was called to the bullhorn. She was one of the "Judson Three," artists who were prosecuted for showing flag art back in 1971. "This reminds me of a campfire. So I think maybe we should sing a few songs. Someone should lead us in song. Cause this is a great celebration." Dread Scott answered her call with the rap from Public Enemy's "Fight the Power."

Lucy Lippard, an artist and writer who recently curated a show of art works protesting the Vietnam War, stood before the bonfire: "These are the ashes of the post-Colombian era. These are the ashes of the Colombian era. Their 500 years are up. So celebrate 1992 by making more ashes."

A girl who looked about 12 years old stepped up: "I'm from the RCYB and I'd just like to say I was born in this sewer but I'm not gonna die in this sewer. Because what's gonna take me out of it is revolution, straight-up revolution."

The cops kept their distance throughout the celebration, with the exception of the undercover pigs who at one point tried to mingle in with the crowd and were immediately pointed out by people.

Joey Johnson spoke to what was going down: "Some people might be wondering tonight why the pigs aren't here—and we know the undercovers are all around. We know you're here. But I think the rulers are beating somewhat of a tactical retreat for tonight. And I think there's a reason for that. See, they want to make it out with their whole mind-fuck that flag burners are just a few lone nuts, that this is just some kind of one-man saga or obsession of myself or a few other people. And that is the farthest thing from the truth. We here on the square tonight speak for millions and millions more people who would like to be here with us tonight if they could. The fact that the pigs are not here tonight is a defeat on THEIR end, they threw down the challenge, they put down this federal flag statute, we responded in the righteous way that was required. And we need to step it up."

Also at noon on Friday, an Exorcism of Enforced Patriotism involving several hundred people took place on Telegraph Avenue just outside the UC Berkeley campus in California.

(more next week)

□

Attacks Pile Up on Abortion Rights WOMEN MUST

The highest powers in this country are about to deny women a most basic and fundamental right. The White House, the courts, the Christian fascist shock troops—they are moving to take away women's right to abortion.

The media claims a "new political climate" around abortion has emerged. There's talk of politicians responding to the "will of the people"—that the "pro-choice heat is on," so women don't need to worry about losing abortion rights. But anyone who believes a word of this lie should look around and wake up. The assault on abortion rights is going full force. And we need to go on the OFFENSIVE and defeat these attacks. Look at what's happened in just the last few weeks:

BUSH'S VICIOUS VETO

OCTOBER 22. President Bush vetoes legislation that would allow federal funds for abortions for women who have been victims of rape or incest.

The Hyde Amendment, since 1981, has prohibited Medicaid funds for abortions except where the life of the woman is in danger. In mid-October both the House and the Senate voted to allow women who have been victims of rape or incest to receive federal funds for abortions. At first there was talk Bush was seriously considering this bill. There were rumors of a compromise. Bush said he was negotiating and hoping to reach some kind of agreement. Some people were hopeful. But it didn't take long for the real deal to come down. Bush vetoed the legislation. The House couldn't even come up with enough votes to override the veto. And for now the bill is dead and the restriction remains law.

WHITE HOUSE INSTRUCTS SUPREME COURT

Last year the Bush administration submitted a legal brief to the Supreme Court asking them to overturn *Roe v. Wade* (the decision that legalized abortion). Recently the media said that because of pro-choice public opinion it was doubtful the administration would do this again with new Supreme Court abortion cases.

OCTOBER 1989. A new brief from the Bush administration was submitted to the Supreme Court asking them once again to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. The brief told the Court, "We continue to believe that Roe was wrongly decided and should be overruled." The brief was filed in a case now before the Court on the constitutionality of a Minnesota law that requires parental consent for teenagers who want an abortion. The brief says if the Court is unwilling to completely overturn *Roe* then it should adopt the approach it took around the *Webster* case last July and uphold state restrictions on abortion.

Youth Talk to the RW on Abortion From a Fresh Point of View

More and more attempts to restrict abortion in the U.S. have been aimed at teenage women. In 1989-1990 the U.S. Supreme Court will hear two cases concerning laws that require parental consent for abortions for teenage women. As it has become clear that abortion rights are seriously threatened, many young women—who have grown up since *Roe v. Wade*—have newly joined the fight for abortion rights. The following excerpts are taken from an interview the RW did with two teenage women in Chicago. Their names have been changed for publication.

Joni: My mother said that almost every one of her friends had an abortion illegally because the *Roe v. Wade* hadn't taken place yet. And she's always brought me up with the knowledge that I'm a woman, and that I have as much power as I can put in and put forth, and always brought me up to recognize that I have to take a place in what's going on, that I have to do something about what's going on. She never read me any fairytales—"Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty"—because they were sexist—the man comes and saves the woman. She would tell me that women can save themselves and how Cinderella got out of it, you know, the new Cinderellas. So now I'm very confident in that I do not need a man to come and rescue me in any sort of trouble I may be in because I can do that myself.

And I think that every woman needs to realize that and to stand up and say, "There's no way you can do this because you are not my controller and you have no power over me and I'm just as strong as you are, maybe stronger." And I go to every protest rally, demonstration, with that in my head and with my mother in

the background supporting me in everything I do. One of my friends had an abortion and doesn't talk about it at all now, but she is glad she made the choice because she still has her life to lead.

Sarah: I've always grown up having a lot of independence in me and at times I've had my brother try and push me down to make him like the stronger one. And I've always had to fight with him on my own independence.

I know my aunt had two abortions, I'm not sure when the time frame was. One was because she was raped and the second one was she was using a diaphragm and they couldn't afford to have a kid at the time. And that really scares me, because I'd never like to have a child of rape, or have to bring someone into life that you can't afford.

Joni: It comes down to no one has control over my mind or my body, you know...and it just gets me enraged when white businessmen try to take control over my body.... We won't compromise! Abortion is going to be safe and legal and it needs to be free for everybody who feels that they know what they're doing, what situation they're getting into. I need to have this abortion because I don't have enough money, or I don't want to have a child. I'm not ready to bring this child into this world right now, there is too much shit going on.

Any reason is fine with me.

Sarah: Even though right now abortion is still legal I think young women should know that it should be more of an option to them. Yesterday I was sitting in study and I was listening to a girl and two guys talk. And it was really odd because she was talking to one guy, and she's like, "Oh yeah, I heard your girlfriend's pregnant." And I'm sure this girl was like 18 or 19 and she was just going to have the

baby, like another phase of her life. And that's just something I can't comprehend. It's like a lot of people have just grown up with their parents having seven or eight kids, and that's what they figure they're going to do.

Joni: Schools totally avoid the subject, you know. They don't show you—use a condom when you have sex, then you won't die of AIDS. A lot of these teachers preach about this like you get pregnant and you have the baby. It doesn't go like that. And that's how half the girls, I think, end up dropping out in tenth grade. It's because they don't know what to do and they're scared shitless to go to their parents and they need to learn it from something or someone because it's not happening in the schools.

Sarah: If abortion becomes illegal, well, I'd be afraid to have sex. You don't know if your condom's gonna break or if your pill's gonna be reliable. And when you do have sex, I think it makes it a lot more emotional because you don't know what will happen. I mean if you end up getting pregnant...I think that's a lot on you. I mean, I'm 15, I don't need to be worrying about having a kid or if I can get a safe abortion. I don't want to be worried about if I'm gonna bleed to death.

Joni: One of my friends is like, Joni, I really don't want you to go to hell. Well, I'm not going to hell. She's like, well you don't believe in God and dat-da-dat-dada. And I said, no I don't believe in God, I believe in myself and I believe that if I'm going to follow anybody I need to follow myself. And her mouth dropped open. And it's like, sorry man. It's just too shaky. They don't know where they're coming from or where they're going. You know, you'll bring up the case of rape or incest. "Well, that's a good reason." Well, then why isn't it a good

PENNSYLVANIA RESTRICTIONS

OCTOBER 24. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives approved a whole list of new restrictions on abortion. The State Senate is expected to pass this next month. The governor has already said he will approve it. If this happens, Pennsylvania will have the most restrictive anti-abortion laws in the nation. This new bill, the Abortion Control Act of 1989, would:

- Prohibit abortions after a fetus is 24 weeks old except to save a woman's life or to prevent "substantial and irreversible impairment of her major bodily functions."

- Prohibit abortions at public hospitals, except in the case of rape or incest or to save the woman's life.

- Require a woman, in most cases, to notify her husband before she can get an abortion.

- Require that a woman wanting an abortion be informed by a physician of the fetus's development and alternatives to abortion. She will then have to wait 24 hours to get an abortion.

MICHIGAN PARENTAL CONSENT LAW

OCTOBER 25. The Michigan Senate passed a bill that requires teenage women to get parental consent or a court order for an abortion. The bill will now go to the House where anti-abortion politicians dominate. According to the new bill:

- A pregnant woman under 18 years old has to get written permission from one parent for an abortion.

- If a teenage woman's parents refuse to give her permission to get an abortion, she must petition to a juvenile court or a probate court judge.

This bill does not even provide for exceptions in cases of rape or incest. According to this law, a victim of incest or rape might be required to ask HER ATTACKER for permission to terminate the pregnancy he brutally caused.

About thirty states already have parental consent laws on abortion, even though most are tied up in court and are not enforced. In 1989-90 the U.S. Supreme Court will hear two cases concerning parental consent for abortion. The Court could give states the right to enforce highly restrictive parental consent laws that would make it almost impossible for teenage women to get an abortion.

COURT-ENFORCED MOTHERHOOD

OCTOBER 26. Pamela Forney, a pregnant woman in Florida, asked to have her 60-day jail sentence delayed so she could get an abortion. She was afraid by

reason if I don't want to go through these nine months? Why isn't it a good reason that I don't want this child? Why isn't it a good reason...you know, one reason's okay but the next doesn't go. It doesn't work. Every reason that a woman has is right. And that's the entire thing.

Joni: When I was watching the elections and I saw Bush was elected, I said, "Wait, you know, this guy's against abortion." It all of a sudden seemed cut off. That I have no control anymore. It's all up to Mr. Bush.... And I don't want it to come down to that. I think women should go into a clinic and be counseled and explain what's going to happen—this is a process, this is what you're gonna feel, this is what you may feel afterwards. And explain to them and have them rest afterwards. It has to be socially acceptable because it is part of life. This guilt needs to be taken off these women, you know. If they make the decision they should have faith in themselves and say, "I made the right decision, I knew what I was doing" and not think, "Oh no, what's dad gonna say, what's Bobby gonna say."

What happens to these girls with these strict hillbilly parents who say, "We want to have grandchildren"? And they have to get their parents' consent? Then they don't end up having this abortion and they end up not doing anything in their lives. And there's no reason for it. It's like a teenage woman is, I guess, in their terms, inexperienced, has none of that to really decide on what she wants to do. That's what really hits me the most about this parents' consent...

Sarah: All it's saying is—you as a teenager have no right on your body, it's

Continued on page 15

FIGHT THE POWER!

the time she got out of jail it would be too late for a safe abortion. The judge refused to postpone the sentence and told her, "Being pregnant is not going to keep you from doing this jail time. . . You want a continuance so you can murder your baby—is that it?"

Forney had been arrested two years ago for "driving under the influence." She was placed on probation, fined several hundred dollars, and told to perform fifty hours of community service. She finished the community service but when she was not able to pay the fine she was given a 60-day jail sentence for violating her probation. Forney told the court she is financially unable to care for a baby right now. But the judge told her she should just give the baby up for adoption. Forney said in an interview from jail, "I thought it was my choice. He's telling me I don't have a choice. It's not right that he can choose for me."

The judge said his personal views on abortion had nothing to do with his decision. But what is clearly behind his actions is the totally reactionary, wrong and unscientific view that fetuses are children and abortion is murder.

The judge has condemned Pamela Forney to TWO brutal and unjust sentences—time in jail for being poor and a second sentence of years of enforced motherhood. As one ACLU attorney, Charlene Carres in Tallahassee, said, "It's an outrage. Since when is the penalty for violating probation for 'driving under the influence' a sentence of mandatory motherhood?"

ANTI-ABORTION POLICIES: A U.S. EXPORT

OCTOBER 1989. President Bush came out against a proposal to use foreign aid funds to teach family planning abroad. He says he will block an amendment to a foreign aid bill that would restore U.S. participation in the UN Fund for Population Activities.

The Helms Amendment, which Congress passed in 1973, already prohibits U.S. foreign aid funds for abortion services overseas. And in 1984 the U.S. announced another policy that forbids any family planning organization receiving money from the U.S. Agency for International Development from funding any programs which perform, advocate, refer or counsel women about abortion. (AID is the U.S. agency which oversees U.S. government foreign aid programs in the Third World).

OPERATION RESCUE CONTINUES TO TERRORIZE WOMEN

OCTOBER 21. In Levittown, New York 150 anti-abortionists chained themselves together and blocked the doors to the Long Island Gynecological Clinic. The action was the second time Operation Rescue had attacked this clinic in seven months. The police took a few demonstrators away in stretchers but there was not one arrest and the anti-abortionists were allowed to keep the clinic

closed, preventing at least a dozen women from going inside.

SECOND VETO IN SIX DAYS

OCTOBER 26. Bush vetoed a budget measure for Washington, D.C. because it would expand the use of federal and local funds to pay for abortions. This was Bush's second veto in six days aimed at blocking public funds for abortions.

Make no mistake about it. The dogs are in the street and the ruling class is still orchestrating and unleashing all kinds of attacks on women's right to abortion.

In 1925 Lu Hsun, a great revolutionary writer in China, wrote an essay about what the people's attitude should be toward the enemy. Even when they are in retreat, he said, we should show no mercy. He said, "Dogs should be pushed into the water, then soundly beaten. If they fall into the water themselves, there is no harm in beating them either. . . . The nature of a dog cannot be changed."

When the enemy is weak, when they are having difficulty carrying out their dirty deeds—this is the time to hit them even harder and advance our struggle. Even if the anti-abortionists were retreating and being forced to back off—this would NOT be the time for the people to become complacent. And it would NOT be the time to sit back and put our faith in politicians and the very system that is launching these attacks to begin with.

BUT they are NOT retreating one bit from their campaign to restrict and even outlaw abortion. And we should not be fooled or disarmed by their political maneuvers. The ruling class is aware of broad opposition to their attacks on abortion rights. They are aware that millions of people are becoming very dissatisfied and disillusioned and that a considerable section of society is coming into more fundamental opposition to the way things are and where they are going overall. The oppressors see all this, so they must act and maneuver and try to get things back under control. But this does not change their nature or their need to keep dictating to women.

THIS IS NO TIME TO LET OUR GUARD DOWN. THIS IS NO TIME TO FALL INTO THE DEADLY TRAP OF ELECTORAL AND LEGISLATIVE POLITICS. THIS IS THE TIME TO GO ON THE OFFENSIVE.

A broad coalition has called for a "Mobilization for Women's Lives" demonstration on November 12 in Washington, D.C. And Refuse & Resist has put out a call for a "Week of Outrage & Resistance" in D.C., November 5-12. R&R has put out the call: ABORTION ON DEMAND & WITHOUT APOLOGY. A WAR ON WOMEN HAS BEEN DECLARED. WE CAN DEFEAT IT IF WE DARE! This is right on time! □



After S.F. Earthquake, Pigs Shake Down Homeless Shelter

After the earthquake hit the Bay Area on October 17, San Francisco city officials set up the Moscone Center, the huge underground convention center, as the main Red Cross disaster shelter. On the night of October 21, about 2,200 people were housed at Moscone. But the city wanted to get things "back to normal," including getting the Moscone's convention calendar moving again. A convention of plastic surgeons was scheduled to start, and the officials wanted the homeless out of the Moscone Center. They accused the city's thousands of permanent homeless of "taking advantage" of the quake to get a place to stay and some food! The following correspondence is from a reader who was with the homeless who were kicked out of Moscone.

Conditions at Moscone were stark—row upon row of cots, people trying to sleep as announcements were made over the loudspeaker system, groups of National Guard in fatigues moving through the rows constantly, the SFPD tac squad outside the entrance. I saw one Black guy bundled out and into a padded wagon by five SF pigs. His friends said it was because he had just learned that his niece had been crushed in the collapse of the 880 freeway in Oakland and he was making too much noise.

The Red Cross had issued all shelter inhabitants yellow plastic wrist bands after they filled out a form with their predisaster address. If you could prove that you had housing before the quake, you would get eligibility for ongoing Red Cross assistance. "What would happen to those who didn't have a predisaster address or couldn't prove they had one," I asked of a number of Red Cross officials. "They will be sent home," was the reply from the shelter director. The Red Cross charter only allows it to help victims of natural disasters. It is not in a position to help those homeless from the disaster of

capitalism. Although many of the Red Cross workers had feelings for homeless people, "It wasn't their job."

There was confusion. We were to be moved but no one knew where. Even the bus drivers waiting outside didn't know. A media cameraman told me we were to be put on a Navy helicopter carrier berthed in the Bay. Others said we would be split between a number of shelters. Others said we would be housed in an unused military hospital on the Presidio Army Base.

After hours of waiting the word came down that everyone regardless of their "status" would be moved to the Presidio. Three empty barracks were available. People would have showers, cooking facilities were available, even rooms for families, so some could have privacy. However, "It is a military base and military rules would apply."

The city's Muni transit authority would move us but only three buses were available. Families first, disabled, single women and couples next, single males last. I was in the single male group. I was moved out at dusk—we drove for just a few minutes and the buses stopped. The Muni driver stood up. "This is where you people will be staying tonight, on this ship. If you don't like it you can get out, once you leave you can't come back." "What about the Presidio," I asked. "We were told we were going to the Presidio." "It's full," was the reply.

Many of the people on the bus were saying it's still a place to stay. All we want is a place to stay and some food. Others were saying we have been lied to. I told people that the media had told me at 2 p.m. this afternoon about the plan to put us on the Navy carrier. Some people walked out. But most stayed. Once again the bus driver stood up. "This is a military base and you're gonna have to play their game to stay here. All weapons must be handed in, they will be returned when you leave. Get rid of

all drugs and drug paraphernalia because if it is found on you during the search, you will be charged with a felony." We were taken from the buses, and in groups of ten taken to two tables to be searched. Everyone had to empty their pockets out on the table and submit to a patdown search. All packs were searched.

After about twenty minutes of standing out on the windswept dock we were led onto the ship in groups of ten. The place was crawling with pigs. City police, highway patrol, military police, National Guard, Navy personnel—the array of different uniforms was stunning. I was led with my group up a steep steel ramp onto what appeared to be the main aircraft storage deck. The space was cavernous, half the length of a football field, the roof thirty feet above us. Yellow sodium lights bathed the whole area. There was a feeling of unworldliness about the whole scene. Tables were set up to document and welcome us to the prison ship as some were beginning to call it. Red Cross workers carried out the medical debriefing. They asked people's name, pre-disaster address, age, and whether people suffer alcohol or drug dependency. It took me about one and a half hours to complete this process. An older man, age 73, standing behind me had a seizure. I heard later from others that he had had a seizure that morning at Moscone and he had been on TV later saying he was epileptic and hadn't received his medication in four days or slept in two days.

After going through this we were put into a cordoned-off area of the deck. The National Guard was assembling cots. Two TV sets atop trash cans told us the happy story of the earthquake victims relocated to the Presidio.

A homeless vet was walking around getting vets to sign up for a special vet's breakfast with the commanding officer next morning. Many people were pleased to be able to sit

and rest. After dinner in the mess hall that night the Navy came on the speaker system to tell us our schedule. We would wake at 6:30, breakfast at 7:00 and have the aid agencies in by 8:00 to start our processing. He asked for a big round of applause for the U.S. Navy and the U.S. government. Most of the people obliged. I raised a loud jeer and a number of people, mostly Latinos, smiled and agreed. A group got together and started to talk about the nature of the system and the way earthquakes were made much worse by capitalism. These people were beginning to get angry about the way we were being treated. A Nigerian joined us and was visibly shaken as I agitated about the Highway 880 collapse and the way the authorities handled it. The Latinos were indicting U.S. imperialism and INS attacks on immigrants.

I put a large bundle of flyers from the RCP about the Highway 880 collapse in the only bathroom on our deck. The line was often twenty people long. I started to see people walking around reading it. I started moving through the lines of cots getting the RW and flyers out to people. Many were asleep by now, even though no blankets had arrived yet and didn't until after midnight.

The atmosphere was very heavy. Us inside the cordoned area and the armed goons around the outside watching.

One Black guy took the RW and put it straight under his coat. He was very happy to see this happening. "I'll be watching out for you, be careful," he said as I left him.

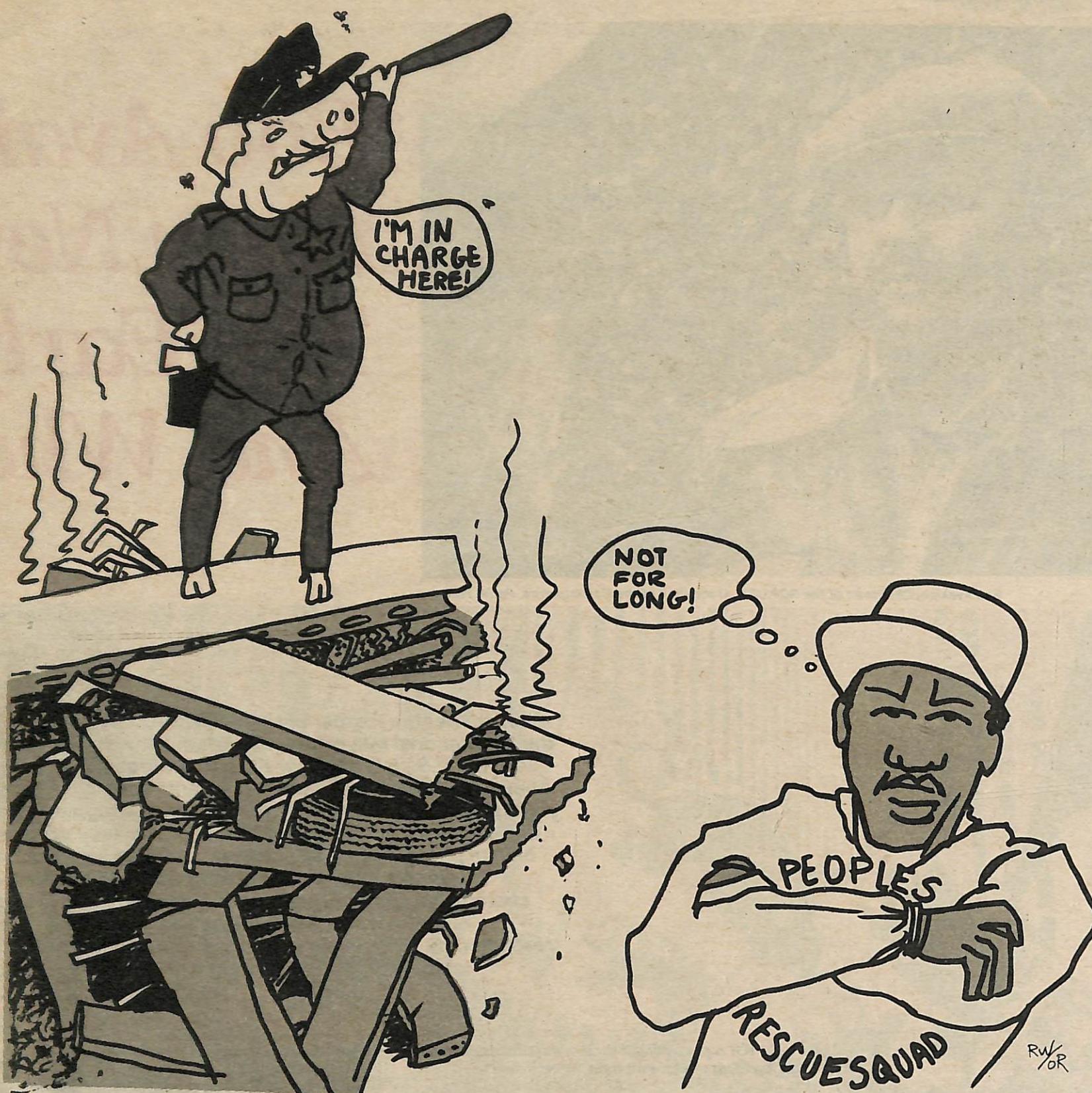
Some homeless who had gone to Washington, D.C. for the recent "Housing Now" march were eager to read the RW article on it. Three Black guys who had shared their last cigarettes with me earlier took a bundle of leaflets and an RW each. One guy just kept saying, "Beautiful, man, this is beautiful—in the middle of all this, this is beautiful." □

Homeless Resist Eviction in New York

Thursday, October 26. East Village, New York. Bonfires blazed in the streets. Cops dodged bottles and M-80 firecrackers. Shouts of "Fuck the Police!" "Housing! Housing!" pierced the air. Plastic bags full of trash were dropped from third- and fourth-floor windows and landed near cops. Riot police and city housing personnel had come to enforce an eviction—their target: an abandoned school at E. 4th Street and Ave. C that people had fixed up and were planning to turn into a community center. Homeless people from Tompkins Square Park and activists were already living there for about six weeks. They saw the center as a place where activists and artists could meet and hold discussions. This was more than The Man could stand. The city defended the eviction by saying that the school is supposed to be turned into a residence for elderly homeless people! At the same time that riot cops were enforcing the eviction, the city was conducting its "Operation Enforcement" to drive homeless people out of subways.

Within two hours after the cops came, 100 people were mobilized to oppose the eviction. There were proletarian Puerto Rican youth, Black homeless people, revolutionary communists, artists, anarchists, and middle-class progressives. Confrontations with the police continued from noon Thursday until 3:30 a.m. Friday. When a fire truck showed up, people pushed it back down the street. An American flag on the truck was burned. There was charged political debate right in the thick of the struggle. Forty people were arrested. Charges included "disorderly conduct" and "obstructing government administration." □





This leaflet was distributed by the San Francisco Bay Area branch of the RCP.

Some People Homeless from this Natural Disaster May Get Relief Millions Are Homeless from the Disaster of Capitalism and It Ain't Natural!

"When we had this earthquake, the homeless people were the heroes, the homeless people directed traffic in San Francisco.... The homeless people were the volunteers in this place right here in the Moscone Center, the homeless people were running the place. Four days later the lily (excuse the expression) white people come out of the mountains and the hills and now they're running it, ripping badges off of homeless people and telling them we no longer need your services, we know how to run this. They didn't know how to run it four days ago...they didn't know how to direct traffic four days ago when I seen winos with Wild Irish Rose in one hand directing traffic with the other hand. These people will receive nothing, these people will not get anything from the government or anything from the grants. The only thing they want to do is feed them for four days and pat them on the back and say, 'Well, now you can go back to the way things used to be.'...My brothers and sisters in West Oakland rescued 80 people from the I-880 Highway crash, pulled dead bodies from under it and lots of live ones, but when the established society came, the police department, the city officials came and said they looting and robbing dead bodies. Now come on, we know better than that. There were not people down in Tiffany's knocking out windows, or down at the pawn shops knocking out windows, or running through the hotels robbing the rich. Those people who they say were looting were trying to save lives, trying to stop mass hysteria. We should give credit where credit is due. Come on, people, just look at what's happening around you. This is not a freak show! We have no place to go!"

Homeless Black man in San Francisco, 10-21-89

"We noticed today that Bush came, and the governor. But they only came to Santa Cruz. They know very well that right here we also had a disaster and we have needs. Why didn't they come here? I think we're not on their map. For me, we are all just one people—Latino, white or Black—it doesn't make any difference. What we need is unity among all the people. Here it is the people who are helping us. I don't see the government doing anything. Do you?"

Homeless Mexican man in Watsonville, near the quake's epicenter, 10-20-89

That is their natural law and order—with them in charge and their boot on the people's necks. They conducted police raids in the Moscone Center on the heels of the earthquake and made homeless people show ID to prove they were really made homeless by the quake and not just your run of the mill homeless (made by the

system). While Marina residents continue to be housed and fed, homeless at the Moscone Center are pushed out to make room for a convention—hundreds of single men were bussed Sunday to an aircraft carrier beneath the Bay Bridge (like a prison barge). Marina residents should demand that there be no such discrimination of other homeless people.

The officials and their media are working overtime to create an atmosphere of "Don't worry, be happy. We're in charge, leave everything to us." THAT WAS THE PROBLEM TO BEGIN WITH!! There is a lot to the story that the media have refused to tell or white-washed. People should call the local and national media, such as various talk shows all across the country. Also call the People's Hotline—Revolution Books in Berkeley—with news and information as the situation continues to develop. We must collect the real story and get it out to the world.

More importantly, we must continue to take things into our own hands and expose and fight against the authorities' moves to put people in a passive, isolated, and suppressed position. If we want to make revolution and get rid of this rotten system, we can't let them get away with committing crimes against the people in the middle of all this. We need to call out and fight against the authorities' efforts to put us and keep us back in our place. Get down with the all-the-way revolutionary party today—the Revolutionary Communist Party—so that we can prepare now for a time when we can tear down their whole system—that's the solution to the disaster of capitalism.

**NO CASTE SYSTEM FOR THOSE MADE
HOMELESS—BY THE QUAKE OR BY THE SYSTEM!
HOUSING, FOOD AND WATER FOR EVERYONE!
NO USE OF POLICE, I.N.S. OR OTHER SUCH THUGS
AGAINST THE PEOPLE!
NO "ENGLISH ONLY" RELIEF EFFORTS!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Revolutionary Communist Party, Bay Area Branch

Call the People's Hotline at Revolution Books: (415) 848-1196



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, USA, at the Wall of the Communards, Paris, France.

Bob Avakian Huey Newton The Early Years And What They Mean

Part 3

Shortly after the murder of Huey Newton, XXX, a comrade in the international movement who is familiar with the situation in the U.S., talked to our Party's Chairman, Bob Avakian, about Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party in the early years and the lessons for the revolutionary struggle today. In this discussion, Chairman Avakian recalls Huey's influence on him personally as well as Huey's role as a revolutionary leader more generally. He talks about the actions and strategic thinking of Huey and the Panthers, the problems and challenges they faced as the most advanced revolutionary force in the U.S. in the 1960s, and what can be learned from all this in terms of our Party playing its vanguard role in this time.

The RW is publishing the text of this discussion in four parts over four weeks. Part three begins below.

XXX: I'd like to talk a little more about this question of why the Panthers got such broad support. As you pointed out, the media tries to make the whole thing trivial...present the whole thing of supporting the Panthers as a "fad" or, as you said, something "chic"—not really something that should be taken seriously.

Bob Avakian: Well, of course, there were some people who were coming from the thing of saying they supported the Panthers because it was the "chic" or "hip" thing to do. There were some "fair-weather friends" like that, who picked up on supporting the Panthers once they became kind of a thing. But that's not where most people were coming from. Overwhelmingly, people weren't supporting the Panthers because it was "chic"...or "hip"...or "in"...or whatever. That's bullshit and slander. First of all it's slander on the Panthers because what?...The idea is that they were just trying to develop a slick packaged thing that they could get over with "hip" white people or "hip" rich white people—get support from them because it was a "chic" thing to do? This is slander on the Panthers—it's bullshit—because the Panthers were serious. A lot of them gave their lives and suffered in other ways for what they were doing. It's just vicious bullshit, this "chic" thing.

And it's also slander of a lot of other people, of other nationalities, including a lot of white people who supported the Panthers for very serious reasons and out of very good motives—because they were inspired by what the Panthers represented. I think there is a real lesson here: when something really serious develops that has a clear political expression and it's clearly going up against the system in a revolutionary way, coming from among the oppressed in society...All kinds of broader ranks of people are inspired by this...other oppressed people like Chicanos, Native Americans, and other oppressed people and poor people, and even many people in the middle classes are inspired by this and drawn to this, for very good motives, good reasons.

Naturally, people had different levels of understanding, different levels of commitment, but overwhelmingly the reasons they were supporting the Panthers were very positive. And there was a whole generation of youth...Obviously there was a generation of Black youth, and youth among other oppressed peoples...but also a very broad section of youth among white people was drawn to the Panthers and inspired by them. They took up radical politics and many of them became revolutionaries because of the influence of the Panthers. This "chic" bullshit is just slander and non-

sense being put out by the powers-that-be, who obviously have an interest in trying to discredit all of this because they don't want to see it happen again.

They are worried it's going to happen again. So all of this stuff about people supporting the Panthers because it was "chic" is just bullshit. And those who run this out are of course up to no good—they have an ulterior motive. Their ulterior motive is that they don't want to see this happen again, and they are worried that it will happen again. They can already see that there are some radical expressions starting to come forth...in culture...I mean in music and other things...and also in politics...and right out in the street among Black people...and they are worried that it is starting to happen again. So it is important to them to sum this up in an upside-down, inside-out way to keep people from taking this as seriously as they should and being inspired by it. But I think it's not going to work because they slandered the Panthers then and people were still inspired by them.

XXX: There were thousands of people, including thousands of white students, marching, chanting "Free Huey" with their fists in the air, not because they were being "chic," but because they really believed in what the Panthers stood for. Before we began taping, you were talking about how people came to defend their offices and were actually willing to die to defend them...

B.A.: Let's go back to the point we talked about before. This is a really crucial point...that groups...so-called "communists"...but people who weren't revolutionary in the least, weren't really communist at all...they had "ideologized" armed struggle right off the scene in the U.S., had removed it from the political agenda. And the Panthers had "ideologized" it right back on the agenda. Or really they had put it on the agenda for the first time in the history of the United States—armed revolution against the system. That was very true and it had a profound effect. People were very affected by that. Obviously Black people were affected by that...and other oppressed people and poor people who were looking for a drastic change in their situation and in their whole way of life were inspired by that. People knew about it and reacted to it. And very broadly, people took it very seriously.

That's why I say all this nonsense about people supporting the Panthers because it was "chic" is just that—nonsense and garbage. This was a very serious thing, people were getting killed over this. The ruling class took it seriously—they were murdering Panthers and other people who were rising up against them.

Picking up that point about Panther offices being attacked and people coming forth to defend them...to show you how serious it really was...recalling how

an Talks About ton and the Panthers... Years... 's Up Today



Panther rally.

serious it really was... I remember in 1969 there was a certain period, in one week I think it was, when several Panther offices—in L.A., in Chicago, and some other places—where they were subjected to massive assaults by the police, the FBI... by government forces... I mean armed assaults where the Panthers put up heroic resistance in these places. They were subjected to massive assaults with even heavy weapons thrown up against them. That was clearly developing into a pattern across the country, where the government was unleashing its attack dogs to come in with heavy weapons to attack the Panther offices and shoot down the Panthers.

Then the Panthers put out a call around the country for people to come to their offices to help defend them, and also frankly to act as a kind of a buffer. And a lot of people came out. Obviously Black people came out, but other people came out too, including a lot of white students... a lot of white people came out. Speaking for myself personally, but also more broadly, I know what the general atmosphere was: people were there because this was something very precious to us, the Black Panther Party—something to defend, even with your life if that's what it came to, because everybody sort of thought that's what it might come to. Let me put it this way, everybody who came there knew it might come to that—you had to be prepared for that.

That was something very serious, and people were on a very high plane in terms of what they were thinking about. It was a very lofty thing—people were inspired to real heights by what the Panthers represented. And this is what was really going down...

XXX: People were supporting the Panthers because the Panthers really did stand for revolution and people were inspired by that—even many middle class white people...

B.A.: Yes, this was serious business. But there was a humorous side to this too... revolutionary humor... that was part of it too. One of my favorite features that they had in the Panther paper... that they had especially in the early days... they had this thing they called the "bootlickers gallery." And in there they would put Black, white... whatever... people who fronted off as champions of the oppressed who were supposedly fighting for the interests of the downtrodden but were really just trying to sucker people back into the killing arms of the system. Trying to front off that you could work within the system, even work for the system and bring about some change to help the people. The Panthers exposed this—they rocked them back and put them on the defensive. And one of the ways they did this... they had this thing the "bootlickers gallery."

They had people... so-called "Responsible Negro Leaders"... leaders of organizations like CORE, or SCLC, or whatever... they had pictures of them in the paper—drawings of them with these big long tongues licking the boots of the ruling class and so on. It was very refreshing. Also, white people who pretended to be leaders of the oppressed but were fronting for the system were properly put in the "bootlickers gallery" and shown with their tongues hanging out too, licking the boots of the ruling class. And this was just one way in

which they put the reformist charlatans like that on the defensive. They showed their program up—showed it to be ridiculous, in serious ways—but they also ridiculed them, made fun of them, in things like this "bootlickers gallery"...

XXX: Did Jesse Jackson make the "bootlickers gallery" back then?

B.A.: Well, Jesse Jackson personally, I don't know if he was important enough at that time to have made it. He might have made it in... I don't remember for sure. He was a lesser figure at that time—the Panthers went after bigger people at that time. But certainly if Jesse Jackson were doing then what he's doing now—being built up by the ruling class on the level he is now—he would have been one of the primary figures in the "bootlickers gallery." Again, that was one of the very exciting things: revolution was on the offensive and was making all of these reformists jump back and be on the defensive and try to explain, "Well, you know, really, I'm all for that too, but I'm just trying to help from the inside"... weak shit like that. And the Panthers, they just blew that away and showed these people up for what they were...

XXX: Collaborators.

B.A.: Yeah, collaborators with the system—people who were working to set up the masses of people they were claiming to speak for, to set them up and to get them

Continued on page 10



Black Panthers and supporters, 1970.

Bob Avakian Talks About Huey Newton and the Panthers...

Continued from page 9

right back into the killing embrace of the system. This is what these people's role was then. This is what their role is now.

For example, Jesse Jackson, his thing is to "keep hope alive." But what he really means is keep hope in the system alive—that's what his role is, to keep people's faith in the system alive. That's the direct opposite of what we put forward when we say, "Revolution is the hope of the hopeless." We're talking about what is the only hope. . .the only hope that's real. . .for the people who are oppressed under this system. We're talking about revolution to overthrow this system and put something much better in its place. But Jesse Jackson is trying to save this system—he is trying to keep hope in the system alive. Now the Panthers, they also went after people like that—they exposed them, ridiculed them. That was one of the great things they did.

When they went after people who were narrow nationalists. . .like people they called "cultural nationalists". . .or "pork chop" nationalists. . .they showed that their program was just pitiful reform. And that really these people were just fronting for and acting for the system. Even if they might sometimes come on all "militant" and talking some shit and all that—still, when you got into their program it was just reform and trying to get over within the system one way or another. And the idea that you could reform a monstrous system like this, a system that has committed so many crimes for hundreds of years. . .and is still committing them now. . .and isn't even sorry. . .isn't even going to apologize. . .is just going to roll on doing the same thing. . .the idea that you could work with that system, work within that system and do some good for the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world. . .the Panthers just blew that away. It was so refreshing, and that's something that definitely attracted people who had come up against this system.

You go out and you try to protest something like the way Black people are treated in this society, or the way women are treated, or youth, or immigrants, or something like the Vietnam War. They just unleash these dogs on you, these police, and if they don't shoot you down they try to beat you down and they just treat you like you are garbage. Having these experiences and then having people tell you, "Well, if we just work and we get a different police commissioner or we get some different politicians. . .blah, blah, blah". . .a lot of people then had their own experiences to tell them this is bullshit. When the Panthers came along and kind of put it together for them and then ridiculed it in this very lively way, people really loved that. Because they had had enough of that. They'd had it up to here with all this talk about how next year the system's going to be better. . .Or next time we're going to really make the system work for us. . .

XXX: In those days the whole Martin Luther King "turn-the-other-cheek" ideology had been pretty much exposed.

B.A.: People who weren't around then maybe don't know this, and some people may have forgotten it, but all that bullshit was. . .people had swept right by that. . .

XXX: It wasn't too popular then. . .

B.A.: No. By the time we're talking about, the late '60s, that stuff had been pushed to the side. People who were really trying to change things were not into that at all. Because they had seen, you can't beg and plead with the system. It's just an invitation for them to attack you again. And try and change the minds of monsters who rule the system like this. . .yes, they're human beings in a technical sense, but to run a system like this the way it runs, off the blood of people all over the world, you have to develop a monster mentality. And if you don't the system will just cast you aside, it will just toss you out. Because that's what the ruling class needs—they need people with that kind of whole murdering outlook, and you can't appeal to the higher feelings of people like that. Even if they wanted to they couldn't change the system: the system works the way it works and it works by doing these monstrous things it does. People had learned this, you see.

XXX: The Panthers were right in line with Malcolm X on that, right? Malcolm X was always good for exposing these ideas of reform—all the liberals, the Uncle Toms and all that.

B.A.: Well, they had learned from Malcolm. They were very much inspired by Malcolm, but they also. . .to put it that way. . .they had gone beyond Malcolm. They were getting into people like Mao.

Malcolm, in the time shortly before he was killed, he himself was saying that he was going through a lot of changes in his own thinking—his thinking was in flux, it was developing. He was breaking with the whole Elijah Muhammad thing and trying to get to some kind of ideology that could lead a struggle that would really unite the oppressed and go up against the system. That's why he was cut down—because he was moving in that direction. That's very dangerous: somebody who had the kind of mass following that he had moving in that direction. But he didn't get the chance to develop further and we didn't get the chance to see where that would go with Malcolm.

The Panthers were inspired by as far as Malcolm went but they were also going beyond him. They were taking up Mao. They were grappling with the most advanced ideology in the world and trying to figure out exactly how that would apply to the situation they were dealing with.

XXX: It seems that at one point in the late '60s or early '70s basically millions of people in the U.S. felt that revolution was around the corner. Probably tens of thousands of people at that time were willing to dedicate their lives to revolutionary struggle, and the Panthers were the cutting edge of that. But let's face it, today the system's still around and the Black Panther Party is gone. It seems real clear that we have to understand both the strengths and weaknesses of those times and of the Panthers very deeply. In fact, probably the best way to commemorate Huey and what the Panthers stood for is to get clearer on what it is going to take—as the Panthers used to put it—to "do the dog in Babylon." You have spoken and written about this a number of

times, about the strengths and weaknesses of the Panthers and of those times. But as we reflect here on the best of Huey and the best of the Panthers, is there anything more you'd like to add?

B.A.: On an occasion like this—we're talking on the occasion of Huey having been murdered—on this occasion it doesn't seem like the thing I want to do or the right thing to do is to go off into a lot of the weaknesses and the negative side of Huey and the Panthers. I've done that in things that I've written and talks that I've given, and I think the things I've said there are things that needed to be said. I think it's important for people to study those things and for us to learn from the lessons that I've tried to draw out, for example in the article "Why You Really Need This Kind of Party If You're Serious About Seizing Power" and in other places. It is important to continue to go back to that period and draw the lessons—not with an eye to the past, but firmly planted in the present with an eye to the future, we got to continue to draw lessons from such a rich period.

But right now I don't want to go into a lot of the negatives. I don't think that's the right thing to do or the thing I really want to do. I'll just put it this way. . .The way I think it should be put now, right on this occasion, is that the Panthers were the most advanced expression of that whole revolutionary upsurge and revolutionary movement that developed in the U.S. in the '60s and Huey was the inspirer and the leader of the Panthers more than any other single person. If it hadn't been for Huey there wouldn't have been a Black Panther Party as we knew it. He did provide both the vision and the living leadership to that. That's something we have to cherish and learn from. At the same time Huey personally and the Black Panther Party as a whole shared not only the great things about that time but also the limitations.

Some people say, "The Panthers—they were too far out. The Panthers—they were isolated." Bullshit! The Panthers were the advanced expression of a mass upsurge, and revolution was on the offensive politically and ideologically. Reform, working within the system. . .and the system itself. . .was on the defensive. The Panthers weren't isolated at all, they spoke for masses of people and they expressed their highest aspirations. The problem with the '60s is not that it went too far, that revolutionaries were too far out in that time. That's what the ruling class and the suckers who support this system want us to believe. But the truth is that things didn't go far enough!

XXX: What was Huey's view in terms of how to seize power, how that was going to come about?

B.A.: This is a very interesting thing because if you remember earlier we were talking about. . .I was telling the story about how I first met him, how he came up to me and said, "Are you Socrates?". . .And we had this whole discussion. . .He talked about how PL [Progressive Labor Party] wasn't revolutionary, they weren't really serious about armed struggle to overthrow the system. . .At that time we got off into that a little bit, and then on different occasions after that we had more discussions about a number of things but including this

particular point of what would be the strategy to actually do that, to actually wage an armed struggle to overthrow the system and make a revolution in the U.S.

In terms of what I was saying about how the Panthers and Huey had the limitations of the time, it comes out here. His thinking on this was kind of a mixed bag. In other words, on the one hand a lot of his ideas on armed struggle and a lot of the practice of the Panthers in armed struggle was in the area of self-defense. For example, there has been a lot of misunderstanding about the Sacramento thing. . .when some Panthers went to Sacramento, to the California state government with their guns. . .We can talk about that a little bit later because that was still basically in the context of self-defense.

On the other hand, talking to Huey he had some ideas about how you would actually employ offensive tactics to wage armed struggle to go after the system and eventually overthrow it. His view was like. . .Remember Lin Biao, what he was putting forward then? At that time he was a leader in China, he was in fact fronting off as the closest comrade of Mao Tsetung and he was then the number two leader in China. He put out this idea of surrounding U.S. imperialism with raging fires of national liberation wars all over the Third World—all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America—and as this developed and sort of engulfed U.S. imperialism in the flames of people's war all around the Third World, then it would be possible to knock over U.S. imperialism.

XXX: From outside?

B.A.: It wasn't clear whether it was going to come from outside mainly. That seemed to be kind of like what Lin Biao was saying, but it wasn't clear how all of that was going to go down. Anyway, Huey had some thinking along these lines but added to it was the sense that Black people and other oppressed people would wage kind of an urban guerrilla war—moving in groups of twos and threes—inside the U.S. itself. As the Third World rose up and waged these people's wars, then this kind of armed struggle inside the U.S. would be stepped up, and eventually the combined effect of all this would bring down U.S. imperialism.

I think experience around the world as well as in the U.S. has shown that this is not a winning strategy—urban guerrilla warfare in a country like the U.S. In the U.S. you have to go directly up against this powerful. . .We're serious about overthrowing them, but being serious means we take into account how powerful they actually are. And taking that into account we have to find the ways that we can build up the basis to launch a mass armed struggle that can deal with their power and can actually defeat them.

You've got to be clear on that as your basic strategic orientation. When you're clear on that, then you can correctly evaluate things. You can figure out how everything relates to that basic strategic orientation of building up the basis—which means fundamentally the political basis—to be able to launch and carry forward such a mass armed struggle when the time is ripe.

We're not going to try to fight them the way they want us to fight. We're not going to fight them in a way that will lead us to defeat. We're going to fight them the way we want to do it and the way that we can win. And that means our approach is to prepare—prepare politi-

cally above all—for when we can launch and carry forward a mass armed uprising. A lot of different tactics may be used then. But the point is to have an overall strategy for how to win. . .I don't want to go into all this now, it's spoken to in basic terms in that article I wrote, "Could We Really Win?", talking about the possibility of revolutionary war in the U.S. . .But urban guerrilla warfare as your strategy—that's not an appropriate strategy, that's not a winning strategy for a country like the U.S.

I think the thing about Huey was he hadn't really had a chance to really think this all the way through. He was grappling with these questions, he was wrestling with them, he was trying to figure this out too. I know that certainly his thinking, with all its contradictions and limitations, was much more advanced than mine was at that time. In fact, he was the one who challenged me to think about this question when I had these early discussions with him. And I certainly learned a lot from even the questions he was raising.

But looking back on it now and trying to draw the lessons we have to draw for our Party to play its role as the vanguard, we have to say that kind of strategy couldn't have worked then and can't work now. It's not a winning strategy. Yet that's what Huey's understanding was at that time. . .it came out in sort of a mixed bag. . .a kind of strategy of urban guerrilla warfare mixed in with an orientation of armed struggle being for self-defense.

For example, when the Panthers went to the California state capitol with their guns, it's important to understand what that was all about. When they were doing their armed patrols. . .earlier we were talking about their armed patrols. . .they were taking advantage of. . .it was a very good thing they were doing. . .they were taking advantage of a law in California that said that people could carry loaded weapons, including even handguns, on the streets as long as they weren't concealed. They could carry them in their car unloaded as long they weren't concealed. . .I think that's the way the law went. So what they would do is actually have a shotgun in the car unloaded and when they saw some cop jacking up some Black person in the street they'd stop and jump out of the car. Huey would pop a shotgun shell into his shotgun after he got out of the car.

So what they were doing is they were taking advantage of a loophole in the law. But there is a lesson here, with the ruling class and its laws. If they have a loophole that the oppressed can take advantage of—they'll just change the law to close the loophole. And that's what they were doing with the California state government. Reagan was the governor, but the whole Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party all got together and said, we can't have Black militant revolutionaries running around the streets confronting the police with loaded weapons. So they were about ready to pass a law making that illegal. Making it illegal for people to have loaded guns out on the streets.

Obviously they weren't making it illegal for the police to have loaded guns on the street. I remember one time getting into an argument with a cop and he told me straight up that the new law, making it illegal to carry loaded guns, was the "Black Panther law." That law to make it illegal to carry loaded weapons on the street was done because the Black Panther Party was doing what it was doing. The police and the politicians

weren't even trying to disguise it. This is the way the law works when anything real is on the agenda, when things get really sharp, when anything real is on the line.

So the Panthers went to the state capitol. They didn't think they could stop the system from changing the law. . .but they went there to make a dramatic statement. And they certainly did. They caught everybody's attention, that's for sure.

But the point of what I'm saying about it now is that this was still in the context of taking advantage of a loophole in the law to carry arms for the purpose of self-defense. That was still the context. And that was one side of Huey's thinking about this. Then there was this urban guerrilla strategy on the other. In his own thinking it wasn't really clear how this all fit together.

As I say, looking at it now with all the experience we've gained and the lessons we've learned since then we can see even more clearly that this combination. . .armed self-defense as an immediate thing and a general kind of strategy of urban guerrilla warfare. . .all this combined somehow—this couldn't be a winning combination, couldn't fit together to develop a strategy that could actually wage a successful armed struggle to make revolution in the U.S., going directly up against the U.S. ruling class with all its power. It was kind of a mixed bag thing—it wasn't a worked-out and correct strategy for revolutionary war in a country like the U.S.

But let me go on and make clear what I am and am not saying. When I say that the Panthers didn't come up with the answer on how to actually "do the dog"—how to actually seize power—of course I'm not criticizing the great things they did do in terms of armed self-defense and raising the whole question of armed struggle—making it a real question. What I have been saying is that they didn't come up with the answer to the question: what does it take to actually overthrow the system in the U.S. by force of arms, what is the strategy for waging a revolutionary war to do that, and what do you need to get such a mass armed struggle going?

One of the big lessons we have learned is this: to wage a revolutionary war you need a revolutionary people. You need masses of people who are in a revolutionary kind of mood. People who are looking for drastic change and who are drawn to a revolutionary line when it is put out to them. People who are moving to take on their oppressors and are ready to get it on with the system. We had that in the 1960s—at that time there was a revolutionary people. But, for a combination of reasons, the revolutionary thing in the '60s was defeated—it got beaten back and sidetracked before it ever got to the point of an all-out showdown.

'After that many people got discouraged and the revolutionary flames kind of died down. . .People were still oppressed, the system was still fucked-up, everybody wasn't just going along with the program. . .Certainly we weren't doing that. . .But overall there was kind of this lull in terms of masses really taking on the system. . .and it lasted more than just a little while. . .But I think we're seeing things in the U.S. starting to really flare up again. I think we can see the real prospect of a revolutionary people coming onto the scene again.

This time around, things will not go down in all the same ways as they did back then, in the '60s. As I've said, things are a lot more raw these days. . .things are even more intense. . .cold-blooded reality is a lot more clear. The ruling class has less it can use to try to buy off people and get them to believe in the system. I'm talking particularly about our people—the basic people on the bottom of this whole mess. Things are getting to the point where everybody is talking about how everything is getting out of control in the inner cities, and so on. The ruling class keeps running this and running this. . .Partly I think they're doing it to justify the whole way they're cracking down on the masses, but I also think their concern, their fear about things exploding all out of control is real, very real.

All this is good. Strategically speaking, it is very good. The thing is—we have to be able to recognize how a revolutionary people can come together in this kind of situation and how things can be taken in a direction that prepares the ground for a mass armed struggle. We have a lot of work to do to make that happen. . .and to take it where it has to go.

Continued Next Week



Armed Black Panthers demonstrate at the California State Capitol.



L.A. Pig Occupation of Pico-Union

For two days, October 19 and 20, a force of 160 cops occupied a one-square-mile area in an oppressed neighborhood in the Pico-Union district in Los Angeles. The authorities called it "Neighborhood Rescue Operation"—the immigrant masses in Pico-Union called it "el Proyecto," or "the Project." At almost every intersection in a 27-block area, police put up barricades with signs saying "Narcotics Enforcement Area. Open to RESIDENTS ONLY." Cop cars blocked streets while helicopters hovered overhead. Squads of uniformed cops swaggered down sidewalks, and roving groups of undercover narcotics—accompanied by the *Migra*—terrorized the unsuspecting. Armed pigs took up positions on roofs and apartment balconies. Anyone on foot was required to show proof that they live in the occupied zone!

Immigrants call this area "la Centroamericana"—Little Central America. Thousands of immigrants who have fled U.S.-sponsored government and death-squad terror in their Central American homes live here, alongside Mexican immigrants who faced poverty and starvation in Mexico. Many of the people have seen invasion and occupation before in their native countries. And they know that the occupation they face now, in Los

Angeles, is being done to them, not for them as the authorities claim.

An older Salvadoran woman pointed to the LAPD patrols and compared them to the Salvadoran army: "These are the same, I know these people. They destroy our cornfields, leave people to die starving in the streets, they leave dead bodies in the streets, destroy whole villages!"

A Serious Escalation

The occupation of Pico-Union marks a serious leap in police repression being carried out under the guise of the "War on Drugs," and it is directed especially against immigrants. Although police and government officials are not admitting publicly that the INS joined the LAPD in street operation, this is the first time such joint operations have taken place in Los Angeles.

The "out-of-control" atmosphere of the Pico-Union area has a lot to do with why this neighborhood was targeted for occupation. English is a distinctly minority language here. Signs advertise *pupusas* and other foods popular in Central American countries. Immigrant youth can be seen and heard with boomboxes in their cars, cruising to an outlaw rap beat. Groups opposed to U.S. policy in Central America have had offices and national headquarters in the Pico-Union district. Revolutionaries are welcome here, and various political trends and ideologies are seriously discussed and debated on the streets and in the cantinas. Damián García Park is only three blocks north of the neighborhood. City-sponsored graffiti cleanup drives in the area have had to deal with as many slogans beginning "*i Yanqui fuera!*" ("Yankees Go Home!") as gang slogans. In short, this is an area that is not under the control of the authorities.

The oppressors have a deep fear of the immigrants in places like "la Centroamericana" and the hatred for yanqui imperialism that they bring to this country. With fascistic clampdowns like the occupation of Pico-Union, they want to reverse the situation and make the masses fear those who are on top.

The arrest statistics from the occupation is an exposure of what this operation was really about. In the two days of

saturation by the pigs, 104 people were arrested—only twelve on narcotics offenses. Sixty-four cars were impounded, many of which were supposedly abandoned. One hundred forty-three traffic citations were issued for moving violations. Since the fact that *la Migra* worked hand-in-hand with the LAPD is an official secret, there are no figures available for the number of immigrants who were deported during this occupation.

One LAPD lieutenant said of the methods used by the police: "If it got caught in our net, we arrested it. We weren't throwing the net at people. We were only out trying to control an area that's been inundated with narcotics for the past several years. The smart troublemakers saw us coming and moved on. But 104 people didn't." In other words, getting drug dealers wasn't the idea. *Control* of a whole neighborhood was, in the pig's own words.

The clampdown clearly had the approval and cooperation of some figures high up in the U.S. government. The involvement of *la Migra* is one indication. Also, an aide to federal drug czar William Bennett gave an enthusiastic stamp of approval: "What we have endorsed are efforts that try to bring the community back to life, not just sweeps that walk away." According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "Federal authorities, who praised the initiative of the plan, said the blocking of the square-mile area is the most ambitious such neighborhood crackdown in the nation." It seems that what happened in Pico-Union is meant to be model for police operations in other cities.

Daily Police Brutality

Police brutality was a fact of life in the Pico-Union area before the occupation. One older woman told the *RW* she and her husband were walking down a street recently and saw a pregnant Latina who was being jacked up by the LAPD. The pregnant woman had been forced to her knees with her hands cuffed behind her back. The pig was going through her wallet, supposedly checking for drugs. The woman and her husband yelled at the cops to stop this humiliating and painful shakedown. The pig shouted

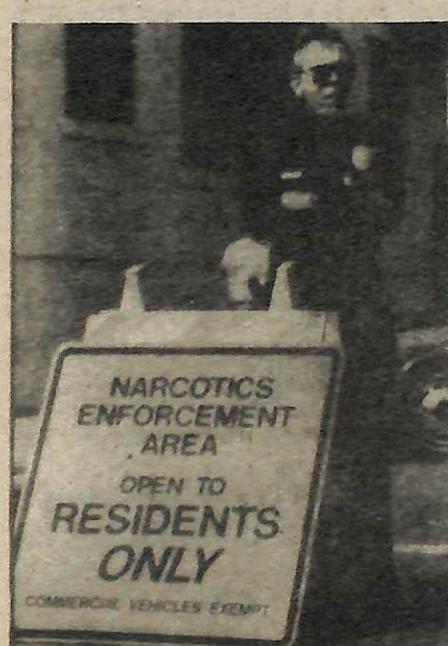
back, "Shut the fuck up or we'll do the same to you!"

A young Mexican who works in the area told the *RW*: "My hands are dirty with paint, I'm obviously working, but when I go to the market, the police grab me—four or five times a day!" For people like this, *el Proyecto* is an escalation of their daily oppression. Masses have told us that private security guards "freelancing" on residential streets in *la Centroamericana* are framing people up on drug or assault charges and then turning them over to the LAPD.

Since October 20 it appears that the occupation of Pico-Union has been scaled down, but the area is still under heavy police patrol. And the overall police presence and level of repression is even more intense than before the occupation. At the press conference announcing the clampdown, Chief Gates, surrounded by over 100 uniformed pigs, told the press that the barricades will "put drug dealers and buyers on notice that they will not be tolerated here" and that the LAPD "will not walk away from this neighborhood." As far as can be determined, sixty of the original 160 cops are still in Pico-Union, and many of the street barricades are also still up.

What happens next cannot be left up to the police and the powers-that-be to determine. Allowing the authorities to get away with this outrage could help pave the way for even bigger crimes against the people, such as internment camps for immigrants and others that the government thinks are a threat to their system. The ruling class cannot be allowed to create an atmosphere where immigrants are isolated and vulnerable to vicious attacks.

People of all nationalities and backgrounds need to unite broadly to oppose and expose this clampdown. Comparisons between the treatment of Central American refugees here and in their native lands need to be made boldly and publicly. Exposures such as comparisons between fascist measures in the present-day U.S. like the occupation of Pico-Union and the Warsaw Ghetto under Hitler need to be done. This occupation must be thrown right back in the faces of the rulers. □



CUT OUT AND POST!

If the Christian Fascists Had Their Say, And the Bible Was the Law Today, Would You Want To Live This Way?

There are "Christian Soldiers" on the loose. They assault women in front of health clinics. They claim to be the saviors of unborn babies. But they are really Christian Fascists—morality police with a whole program of oppression for women and children. Not only are they against a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy—they are against birth control and against sex for women who are not married. They claim that there is justification for their views in the Bible. But people who hate oppression would rise up against many things in the Bible. There are many laws and instructions and practices that even religious people consider oppressive and would never want to be enforced.

Check out some of the rules and laws written in the Bible. If these things were put into practice, the world would be a cruel and horrible place. These quotations are ammunition to be used against those who pick up the Bible to *keep women down*. The Christian Fascist crusaders against abortion should be forced to say whether this is the kind of world they want and the kind of morality they want to impose on the people.

DO YOU REALLY WANT TO FOLLOW THIS?

THE BIBLE UPHOLDS SLAVERY:

Slaves Must Obey Their Masters— Even the Most Cruel Masters

Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward.

1 Peter 2:18

Wives Are Slaves To Their Husbands

Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.

Ephesians 5:22

Foreigners Should Be Bought and Sold as Slaves

Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possessions.

Leviticus 25:45

IN THE BIBLE WOMEN ARE PROPERTY OF HUSBANDS AND FATHERS:

A Man Can Sell His Daughter but She Can't Even Go Out Like a Man Slave and If Her Master Doesn't Like Her, He Can Sell Her Back—But Not to Foreigners

And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do.

If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power.

Exodus 21:7-8

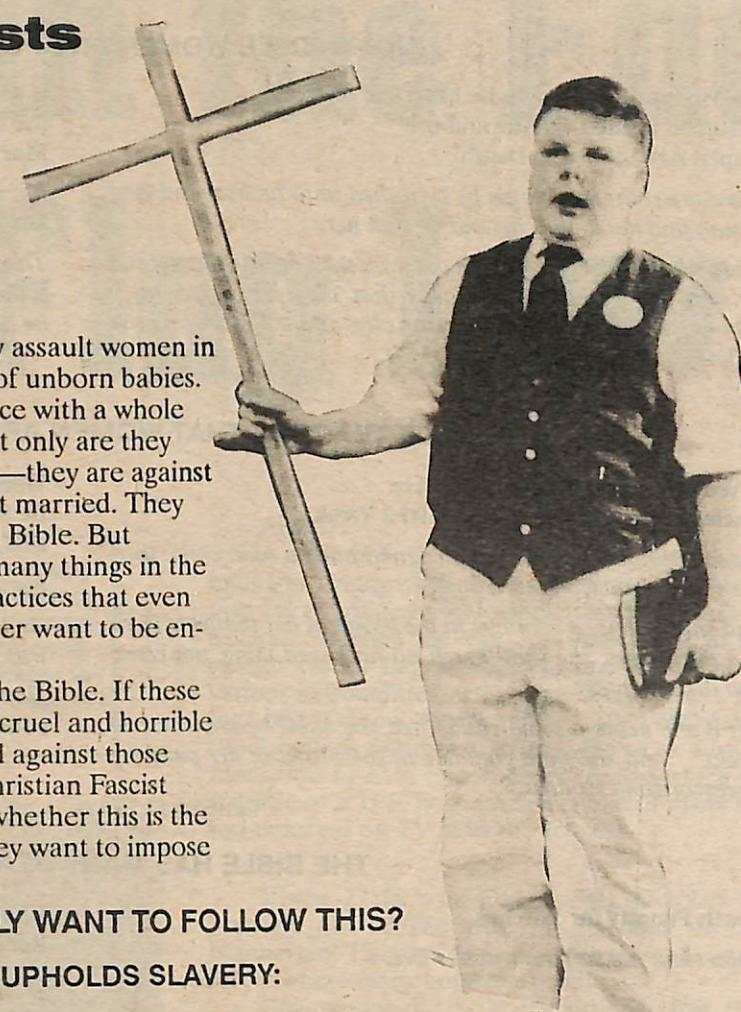
Brides Whose Fathers Cannot Prove They Are Virgins Are Stoned to Death

If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her,

And give occasions of speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid. . . . if this thing be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel:

Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die.

Deuteronomy 22:13-21



Cut Out And Post!

Cut Out And Post!

CUT OUT AND POST!

Refuse & Resist! Calls for a Week of Outrage & Resistance, Washington, D.C., Nov 5-12 Abortion on Demand & Without Apology

A War on Women Has Been Declared – We Can Defeat It If We Dare!

Sunday, November 5

1:00 PM
Protest veto of abortion funding
for poor women when Bush
addresses the National
Conference of Catholic Bishops
in Baltimore, 408 N. Charles,
Baltimore

afternoon
Registration/housing for
out-of-town volunteers in
Washington, D.C.
evening
7:00 PM. Forum on what's
behind the war on women,
Westminster Presbyterian
Church, 400 I Street, S.W.,
Washington, D.C.
Planning for Monday action

Monday, November 6

morning
8:00 AM. ACTION against
Medicaid Headquarters,
Washington, D.C. for its role in
denying abortion to poor women
while funding sterilization.
afternoon
pickets and leafleting
evening
7:00 PM. Film: *The White Rose*
(moving story of German
students' resistance to the war
and the oppression of women in
Nazi Germany), Westminster
Presbyterian Church, 400 I
Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.
Planning for Tuesday action

Tuesday, November 7

morning
8:AM. ACTION against the
Heritage Foundation, 214 Mass
Avenue, N.E.
afternoon
"Domino's Day"—leaflet and
picket for boycott of Domino's
Pizza for their support Operation
Oppress-You
evening
7:00 PM. Film: *Holy Terror*
(Gripping documentary of
Joseph Scheidler in action,
filmed from the inside. Know your
enemy!)
Planning for Wednesday action

Wednesday, November 8

morning
8:00 AM. ACTION against
Bureau of Indian Affairs for
responsibility in allowing
widespread sterilization of Indian
women.
afternoon
"Walking Tour" of Washington
institutions that oppress women
evening
7:00 PM. Revolution Books
hosting a showing of the film:
Red Detachment of Women
(ballet based on the story of
women's militia unit during the
Chinese revolution)
Planning for Thursday action

IN THE BIBLE WOMEN ARE PUNISHED FOR RAPE:

If a Woman Engaged To Be Married
Is Raped in the City She and the
Rapist Are Stoned to Death

*If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto an husband, and
a man find her in the city, and lie with her;*

*Then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and
ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel,
because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, because
he hath humbled his neighbor's wife.*

Deuteronomy 22:23-24

If a Man Is Caught Raping a Girl Who Is Not Engaged,
the Rapist Must Pay the Girl's Father, and the Girl Must
Marry the Rapist!

*If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed,
and lay hold on her and lie with her, and they be found;*

*Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's
father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife; because
he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days.*

Deuteronomy 22:28-29

THE BIBLE TEACHES THAT WOMEN ARE UNCLEAN AND INFERIOR

If You Give Birth to a Boy You Are
Unclean For a Week, If It's a Girl 2 Weeks!

*If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child: then
she shall be unclean seven days...*

*And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three
and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, not come
into the sanctuary...*

*But if she bears a maid child, then she shall be unclean two
weeks... and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying
threescore and six days.*

Leviticus 12:2-5

Women Are No Good But They Can
Be Saved If They Have Babies
and Behave Themselves

For Adam was first formed, then Eve.

*And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived
was in the transgression.*

*Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they
continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.*

1 Timothy 2:13-15

THE BIBLE HAS MANY DEATH PENALTIES

Death Penalty for Witches

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

Exodus 22:18

Death Penalty for Homosexuals

*If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both
of them... shall surely be put to death.*

Leviticus 20:13

Death Penalty for Children Who Cuss, Hit, Disobey, or
Rebel Against Their Parents

*If a man have a stubborn or rebellious son, which will not obey
the voice of his father or the voice of his mother... All the men
of his city shall stone him with stones.*

Deuteronomy 21:18-21

*For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother:
and, He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.*

Matthew 15:4

THE BIBLE SUPPORTS WARS OF CONQUEST:

Instructions for Taking Women
as Prisoners of War

*But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that
is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto
thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the
Lord thy God hath given thee.*

Deuteronomy 20:14

WE WON'T GO BACK! Women Are Not Incubators! Fetuses Are Not Children! Abortion Is Not Murder!

Refuse & Resist! Calls for a Week of Outrage & Resistance, Washington, D.C., Nov 5-12 Abortion on Demand & Without Apology

A War on Women Has Been Declared — We Can Defeat It If We Dare!

Continued from page 13

Thursday, November 9

morning
8:00 AM. ACTION against
United States Catholic
Conference, national
headquarters of Catholic Church
in the U.S., (no explanation
necessary), 3211 4th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.
afternoon
pickets and leafleting at hotels
as reactionaries arrive
evening
7:00 p.m. Film: *Only the Beginning* (film of 1971 veterans
protest against the war where
vets threw their metals back on
the Capitol steps), Westminster
Presbyterian Church, 400 I Street, S.W.,
Washington, D.C.
Planning for Friday

Friday, November 10

noon
12:00 Silent Vigil and
Counterdemo to "flag and fetus"
rally on the Mall
evening
7:00 PM. Counterdemo at
reactionary vets rally
9:00 PM. Planning to stop
Saturday morning "rescue,"
Westminster Presbyterian
Church, 400 I Street, S.W.,
Washington, D.C.

Saturday, November 11

morning
5:00 AM. Stop "rescue" at
starting points before it even
gets off the ground
afternoon
Continuing clinic defense
evening
7:00 PM. "Go Home" demo at
meeting of reactionary vets at
which they will be summing up
their defeat

Sunday, November 12

morning
Block reactionaries from
interfering with Mobilization
Participate in the Mobilization for
Women's Lives

TO GET UPDATED
INFORMATION ON
DEVELOPING WEEK OF
OUTRAGE & RESISTANCE
SCHEDULE, LEAVE MESSAGE
AT (202) 231-3586

For More Information, Contact:
Refuse & Resist!, P.O. Box 53098
Washington, DC 20077-3788 or
call (202) 231-3586.



Overtown, Miami, January 1989

Trial of Killer Cop Opens in Miami

Take a Righteous Stand

October 23, the trial of Officer Lozano started in Miami. It was Lozano who shot 20-year-old Clement Lloyd off a motorcycle—for a so-called traffic violation—killing him and another Black youth, Alan Blanchard, on January 23, 1989. The murder of the two men triggered off three days of righteous rebellion.

All summer long police have been running wild through Black neighborhoods of the Miami area—terrorizing people in the name of the drug wars. Now the situation has tensed up as the trial approached. The press and city authorities are creating public opinion for a not guilty verdict. The Miami Herald has run ridiculous editorials about how complicated this case is and called for responsible Black leaders to explain this to the Black masses and to join in crisis intervention training taught by the Miami police. The Herald says that people may think this is an open-and-shut case of police murder but that is because the people don't understand the legal system and the problems with "burden of proof." But the masses

understand the situation only too well.

Now—fearing a righteous response if this killer cop walks—the system threatens more violence against the people. Eight days before the trial date the Sunday Herald wrote about the Miami police preparations including: ordering new gas masks, the use of armored vehicles, plans to keep the entire police force on duty after the verdict, plans for massive arrests, plans for setting outrageous high bail for anyone arrested, and plans for using the Orange Bowl stadium for detention. The police have asked the trial judge to delay publicizing the verdict for twenty-four hours in order to give the police department time to deploy forces against the people.

This all has outraged many in Overtown and Liberty City. And the following statement has been issued:

Take a Righteous Stand

The Lozano trial is upon us and we're hearing numerous calls for racial harmony and crisis intervention. Herald editorials call for educating Black people about the law and the "burden of proof" related to this trial.

What is needed is not a course in American law for Black people. In fact, since Blacks in America go to jail at one of the highest rates in the world they should be experts in the "burden of proof." And that rate is expected to skyrocket higher under the cover of the government's war on drugs.

What is needed is Justice for Clement Lloyd and Alan Blanchard. Not a whitewash, not a coverup, not a trial of the victim.

The Alvarez trial was a classic case of blaming the victim for their own victimization. Neville Johnson, who was charged in court and found guilty in the media of crimes he was never even accused of while he was alive. The youth of Overtown were branded as dangerous criminals. Indications are that we're in for a repeat of that.

Any way you slice it, the killing of Lloyd and Blanchard took place within and was part of a landscape of racist oppression where:

- Black people are routinely shot down like blackbirds by police who later alibi, "It was an accident. I had

my gun to his head and he jerked back." Or, "It was self-defense; he came at me with a stick, with an umbrella, or with threatening hands."

- Black youth have no jobs, no future, and no hope. A life no one should be forced to live! (This is a real crisis and there are no calls for intervention here!)

- Nationally, a climate of intolerance for Black people is being whipped up. Racist attacks such as in Bensonhurst are becoming commonplace. Black students at Virginia Beach got a reception that looked like Birmingham 1963.

As we head into the trial the battle for public opinion is escalating. The powers-that-be want to co-opt the true desire of many for racial equality and turn it into an endorsement of plantation-style racial harmony. There's a real danger that the trial and the media coverage given it will be used to exonerate those who victimize Black people and serve to create an atmosphere justifying even greater repression. And powers want to rule off the agenda the question of justice for Lloyd and Blanchard. WE'RE PUTTING IT BACK ON!

Our eyes are wide open and we won't be silent. We're calling on those who see and oppose the mounting oppression of Black people in this country to unite with and speak out for these demands.

- Justice for Lloyd and Blanchard!
- No whitewash, no coverup—the truth must come out!
- Put racist oppression, not the people of Overtown, on trial and condemn it!
- Police terror must end!

PARTIAL LIST OF SIGNATORIES:

Eula Wells, Afro-In Books
Betty Ferguson, community activist
Louis Beller, attorney
Ayesha Muhammad, President, Black Vendors Association
Aisha S. Sharif Rashid, Zanjabil, Coconut Grove
Fritz D'Or, Haitian activist and businessman
Hugo Young, Liberation Store
Gloria's Lounge, Overtown
Percy Brown, Black businessman
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, Miami Branch
Just Cool Store, Liberty City
Billy Hardemon, People United to Fight for Justice
26 homeless at Camillus House
Mabil H. Odel, Palestinian store owner
El Negritude Restaurant, Overtown
Rudy Antoine, journalist, Little Haiti Times

From a Fresh Point of View

Continued from page 4

up to your parents. If my parents are very strict, I don't want to have them telling me if I should have a baby or not. I want to be able to make my own decision because I think I know what's best for me.

It's a bunch of judges sitting up in their courts thinking they know what's right for America. They go home to their little suburban homes where their wife cooks a little dinner, and they have their white picket fence, and she looks like Barbara Bush. It's like these people have no grasp of the reality that goes on in the city. They have no idea what it's like. But they think they can make the decisions for the whole world.

Joni: I think women are just in every way oppressed, you know.

Sarah: I think it's a lot more scrutinized when women do stuff. Men, no one cares how tight their pants are. Women go, "Oh he's got tight pants, ooooooo, he's really sexy." But if a woman's got her skirt too short, "Oh she's a slut." The whole framework of

society is like that.

Joni: It's men, you know, they have to prove that they have a penis in between their legs and it's like, I really don't care. And they're like patting each other on the back for one-night stands. It's just kind of... I don't know... stomach-turning. What are they filling up in them?

That's an oppression—men sleeping with however many women they want, and they can slap "the bitch" around a few times. And I see my friends being treated like that sometimes by their boyfriends and I'll say, "Why are you letting him do that?" "Well he was just kidding." I don't care. I don't care if it's a light tap on the ass, I don't care. Don't let him do that to you. You wouldn't like it if Joe Blow off the street came and did that to you, but you're letting this person—who you supposedly care about—treat you that way!

It's even like in the gym playing basketball—they won't pass the ball to the girls because they don't know how to dribble. And sometimes the girls are cute, and they go "I don't know how to do this" and they'll drop the ball. And

the guy says, "Ha, ha, Let me show you, lovey" (in a real wolfish, decadent kind of voice). And it's just that whole, "my hero"-type shit. And it doesn't go for me. And some guys try to pull that off. And I see some of my friends acting stupid in front of guys when I know these are some of the most intelligent and brilliant women I know, and they're giggling and skipping around and... why demoralize yourself for a man? It makes no sense to me whatsoever.

That's why I like some of the guys I do is because, you know, you can sit there and have an intelligent conversation with them and they won't say, "You stupid broad, what are you talking about." They'll listen to you. It's like there's no sex at that time. It's just—I'm intelligent and so are you, so let's carry on an intelligent conversation. And it's so-and-so or so-and-so—who are for breaking these chains of women's oppression. And sometimes one of them will correct me in saying something... and I'll realize it, and it's like... I'm just really glad to know him. And it doesn't make me lose faith in the human race because I believe

that you know people can pull themselves up out of this shit.

Joni: I think this is just going to be a very large step in women's liberation, you know. The entire thing in the '60s was wonderful, but we didn't get all the way, you know. We still have these chains on our feet, linked to each other, and then to one large white house. It needs to be broken and every woman needs to cut free of all of this...

And if it's gonna be violent, then it has to be violent, but we have to get out of this... I guess my dreams would be that all of this, all of what has been pressed in everyone's head from the beginning of time would be erased. These stereotypes of women—I want all of that to be erased. I want everyone to see how much power women have, and how intelligent and how strong.

I have the most faith in the human race than I think anybody I know... we can stamp out all this hate and jealousy and rage, racism and sexism. I think it can be done because I believe in the people. □

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