



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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## Persian Gulf:

# HELL NO WE WON'T GO!



MIDDLE EAST COVERAGE BEGINS PAGE 3

**6** Rap Message from  
2 BLACK 2 STRONG  
**MMMG**

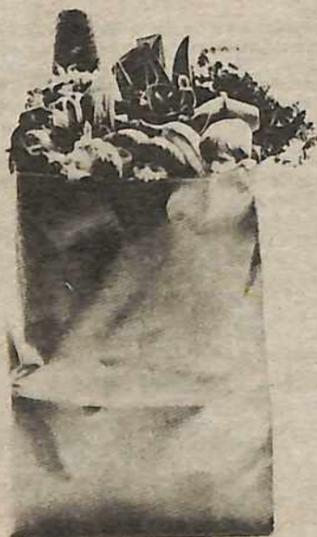
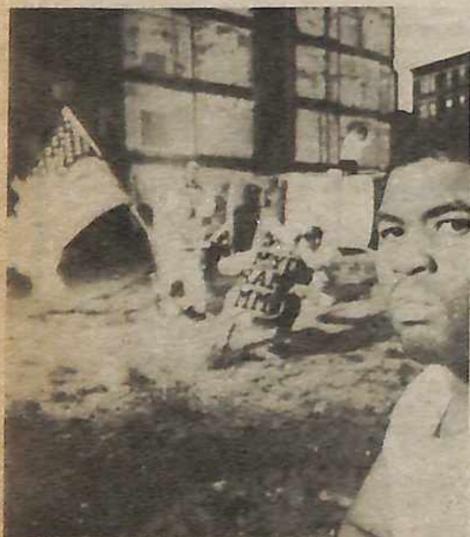
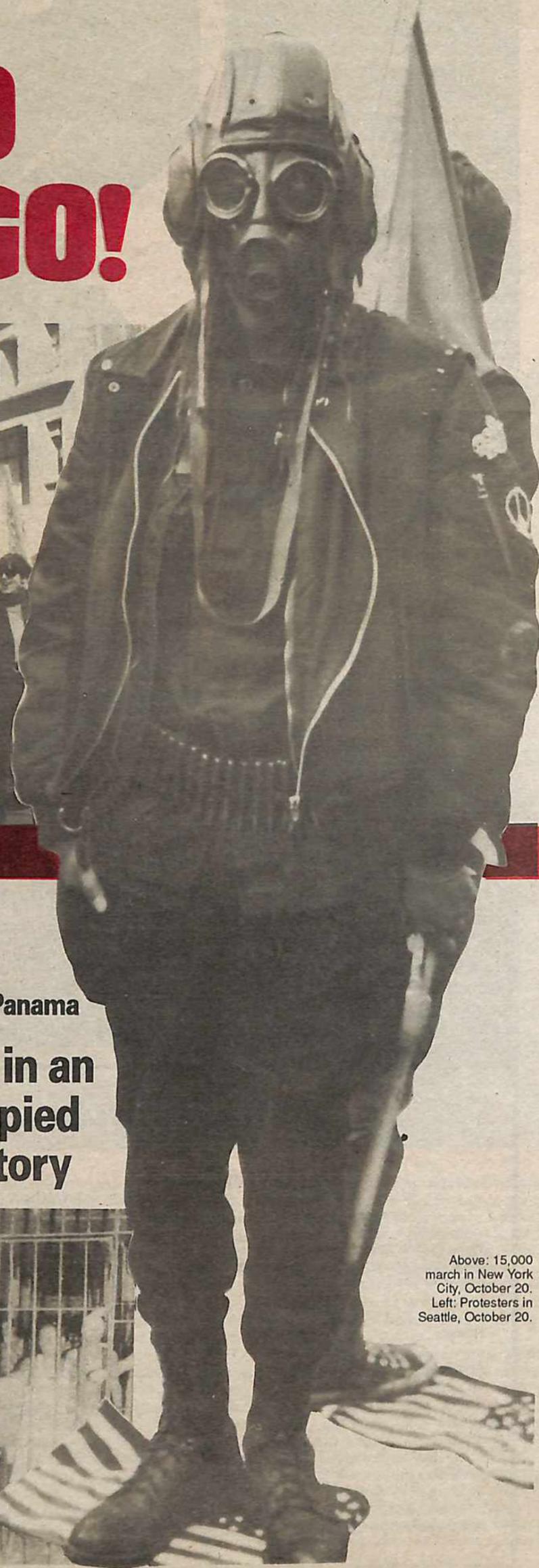
"Burn,  
Baby,  
Burn"

**8** Surrogate  
Motherhood

Women on  
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Block

**10** Panama

Crisis in an  
Occupied  
Territory



Above: 15,000 march in New York City, October 20. Left: Protesters in Seattle, October 20.

# 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.



**Cold  
Truth  
Liberating  
Truth:**

## How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended

Anyone who is serious and honest knows that the enslavement and exploitation of Black people has been a big part of building up the wealth and power that the rulers of this country have in their hands — wealth and power that these suckers use to further exploit and oppress people here and all over the world. And anyone who is honest and serious knows that for revolution to have a chance in this country — a revolution to do away with all this oppression and exploitation and to change society from bottom to top — Black people must and will play a big part in this revolution.

**COLD TRUTH, LIBERATING TRUTH** gets into it deeper, knocking down lies and

bringing out the real facts. We use knowledge of the past to shine a light on the present and point the way toward the future: a future that **does** belong to us — all of us who have been counted as "nothing" but who shall be all — if we **dare** to seize it and **know how** to seize it. Getting it fully clear on how and why Black people have been enslaved, discriminated against, oppressed, and exploited throughout the history of the USA, right down to today, and how all that can finally be ended — this is a key part of knowing and daring. It has everything to do with emancipation that is all-the-way and real, not a sham or half-way deal, not only for Black people but for all exploited and oppressed people, not just in the USA but worldwide.

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Palestinians protest the massacre at Haram al-Sharif.

# Lockdown in Palestine

In the weeks after Israeli troops killed over 21 Palestinians at Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem on October 8, Israel has continued with belligerent actions of an unrepentant mass murderer. There is sharp outrage at the Jerusalem massacre among Palestinians and people around the Middle East—at the same time as anger is growing among the Arab masses at the war moves in the Persian Gulf led by the U.S., Israel's main godfather.

The ruling class media in the U.S. has been reporting that both the Israeli and Palestinian explanations of what happened at Haram al-Sharif have some truths to them. This is part of the cynical moves by the U.S. to try to appear "neutral" in order to avoid being the focus of anger among the Arabs, while at the same time continuing to basically support Israel. But various investigations have made it clear that the Israeli forces committed cold-blooded murders. Israel claims that the troops opened fire with live ammunition only when Jewish worshippers in the area were "threatened" by Palestinian rock throwers. But eyewitness reports and a videotape show that Jewish worshippers were well out of the area when the Israeli border guards began their deadly assault on the Palestinian protesters.

## Israel Continues Attacks

Israel followed the October 8 massacre with more moves aimed against the Palestinian people:

- As Palestinian demonstrations spread in the aftermath of the killings, Israel tightened curfews in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and ordered all Palestinian colleges and schools closed until further notice. The army shot down three more Palestinians the same day as the massacre and two more several days later.

- On October 18, soldiers raised the Israeli flag in the center of a Palestinian refugee camp at Rafa in the Gaza Strip.

This was a clear provocation. When youths stoned the soldiers in protest, the troops opened fire and wounded 55.

- The Israeli government said that they would refuse to cooperate with a team sent by the United Nations to investigate the massacre. The government instead set up its own commission to come up with a coverup. To no one's surprise, the commission came up with a report placing the blame for the massacre on the Palestinians. The report blatantly ignores findings by human rights organizations and others which show that the Israeli government's story of what happened on October 8 is a lie.

- A committee of the Israeli cabinet declared that it is encouraging an increase in Soviet Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem. Israel claims all of Jerusalem as its capital, but the eastern half of the city is mainly Arab. Some forces in Israel openly call for pushing all Palestinians out of Jerusalem as part of strengthening Israeli control over all of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, head of the cabinet committee, said that "there is no better answer" to the UN resolution for an investigation into the massacre "than strengthening the Jewish population" in Jerusalem.

## A Giant Lockdown

Last week Israel widened its crackdown against Palestinians. On October 22 Israel sealed off Jerusalem and declared that no Palestinians living outside the city could enter. Two days later the Israeli defense minister ordered the sealing of all borders between Israel and the military-occupied territories of West Bank and Gaza for an indefinite period. Palestinians from the occupied territories working in Israel were ordered out, and the millions of people living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were put under a massive lockdown.

The Israeli government's justification for

this move was an attack by a West Bank Palestinian on three Israelis. The 19-year-old Palestinian, who commuted from the West Bank to work as a plasterer in Israel, stabbed and killed a soldier, a policeman, and a civilian. There were reports that he attacked the soldier in retaliation for the October 8 massacre. Carrying out their policy of "collective punishment," the Israeli army sealed off the accused Palestinian's house and kicked out all of his family from the home.

More incidents followed. There were several other attacks by Palestinians against Israelis. Then Israelis in civilian clothes opened fire on a carload of Palestinian workers returning home to Gaza, killing one and wounding three. In the town of Jenin in the West Bank, Israeli troops firing on a Palestinian demonstration killed a 14-year-old youth and wounded others.

Along with locking down the West Bank



Handprints made with the blood of massacred Palestinians at the site of the killings.

and Gaza Strip, the Zionist rulers are also whipping up a racist and pogromist mood among Israelis. The agriculture minister declared: "Anyone who is employing Arabs from the territories is employing potential murderers. We should replace them with new Jewish immigrants. And whoever is caught in an attack like yesterday's, we should expel his whole family and destroy his home." The police said they were receiving many calls from Israelis saying they had "spotted Arabs" in their neighborhoods.

The border sealings point to the apartheid conditions that the Palestinian people are forced to live under Israeli rule. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip commute to jobs in Israel. They are a source of cheap labor for Israel—they do hard physical labor like construction work or other jobs that Israelis don't want. The Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the occupied territories are under harsh military rule and often placed under curfew. Even the raising of the Palestinian flag is illegal. Palestinians living within Israel have somewhat better conditions but are still oppressed and discriminated against under the Israeli system. Now, with a quick declaration, Israel has put all the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under a gigantic lockdown and is restricting the people to this prison known as the occupied territories.

## Aggression and Cynical Moves by the U.S.

The U.S. has backed up Zionist Israel from its founding, which was accomplished through the robbing of Palestinian land, terror attacks against the people, and destruction of entire Arab villages. Through the years the U.S. has consistently blocked any UN resolutions or other criticism of Israeli atrocities and aggression, including the 1967 takeover of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They have opposed genuine independence and sovereignty for the Palestinian people. But now, because of the huge military intervention in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. is using a somewhat different tactic.

After the October 8 massacre the U.S. joined in two UN resolutions criticizing Israel. The U.S. rulers are certainly not supporting the just struggle of the Palestinians, and they don't really care about the people shot down in the massacre or other victims of Israeli crimes. The U.S. criticism is only that Israeli police were "not prepared" and "went too far." The U.S. imperialists are worried that anger at Israel will affect their so-called "Arab consensus" against Iraq in the Persian Gulf. An upsurge among the masses would make it more difficult for the reactionary Arab regimes in the region—like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and others—to openly side with the U.S. in the Gulf.

So the U.S. is trying to cover its ass by joining the UN resolutions and making some criticism of Israel. At the same time, U.S. officials maneuvered in the UN to water down the UN actions so that they were basically just empty words without any teeth. Although the U.S. is trying to strengthen its alliance with the reactionary Arab states, Israel continues to be a key fortress for the U.S. empire in the Middle East.

In the Persian Gulf the U.S. is committing naked big-power aggression. In Palestine the U.S. is making cynical big-power political moves. Both are part of the U.S. drive to tighten its domination over the strategic Middle East and claim the position of the No. 1 imperialist gangster in the world.

But the U.S. and its reactionary followers could end up facing a big upsurge of the masses in the Middle East. Here in this country, the demand of "Free Palestine!" was raised by many protesters in the October 20 nationwide demonstrations against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. With the revolutionary force of the oppressed in the Middle East and determined political action by people here in the USA, a U.S. offensive could become a stinging defeat for the oppressors. □

## Free Jeff Paterson!

# Military Denies Conscientious Objector Status

Jeff Paterson has forced the military to back down from their efforts to keep him away from demonstrations, supporters and the media!

After Jeff refused to board a military plane bound for Saudi Arabia on August 29, the Marine Corps locked him up in the brig. He is the first active-duty GI to refuse deployment to the Persian Gulf. After three weeks Jeff was released from the brig, but the military restricted him to base and placed him under strict media gag orders. All requests by the media to interview Jeff in person and film him on camera had been denied.

At a hearing on Friday, October 26 at Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, the restrictions on Jeff were lifted. The military had to admit that the only reason they were restricting Jeff to base was to control his access to the press and keep him away from demonstrations, which they felt were disruptive to the command and the ability of the Marine Corps to hold discipline of its troops. Jeff is now able to go off base pending his court-martial, although he is still restricted to the state of Hawaii.

Jeff's court-martial is now set for December 3. The military has disapproved his conscientious objector application. The reasons the Marine Corps gave for the denial were that: (1) Jeff is not "opposed to war in all forms"; (2) his beliefs are "grounded solely on considerations of opposition to the United States foreign policy, politics and expediency"; (3) his stand "was not gained through training, study, contemplation" but "is a collateral by-product and spin-off from the political and sociological views he espouses." These justifications given by the U.S. blatantly challenge the Nuremberg principles, which gave military personnel the responsibility to oppose unjust wars (such as Hitler's war against the Jews).

The denial means that Jeff is now on active duty status. The document from the Marine Corps denying the CO application says: "Corporal Paterson can be assigned any normal combat duties, consistent with the mission of his unit, including duties requiring the bearing of arms in combat."

The Committee to Support Jeff Paterson in Hawaii points out: "The issues in this case are precedent-setting and are made even more urgent by the developing anti-war sentiment in this country. Last weekend seven military personnel declared their opposition to the war in the Middle East, and made public their refusal to fight. What happens to Jeff's case will affect them—and hundreds like them who believe that what they are being forced to do is morally and politically wrong."

This move by the military makes it all the more clear that the powers are going after Jeff for his strong political stand in opposition to U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf and the U.S.'s unjust wars around the world. In their eyes, Jeff's refusal to be a part of their war machine and his support for people's struggles in Latin America and



Jeff Paterson on runway refusing to board military transport plane to Saudi Arabia.

South Africa is a crime. But for all those who stand against the U.S. intervention, Jeff is an inspiration to take determined

action and build even more and ever wider resistance to the U.S. war in the Middle East. □



October 16—University of Hawaii.

# First New York Anti-Gulf War Trial

We received this leaflet from the Free Shawn and Joe Defense Committee:

## FREE SHAWN AND JOE!

### First New York Anti-Gulf War Trial

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1990—In a dramatic action to condemn U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf, SHAWN EICHMAN, a woman revolutionary and defendant in the recent Supreme Court flagburning case, and JOE URGO, revolutionary member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, climbed on the roof of the Times Square Recruiting Station during morning rush hour, the same station where Joe enlisted in 1966. They took down the U.S. flag and attempted to burn it, and raised a red flag. They hung banners declaring "U.S. OUT OF THE PERSIAN GULF" and "HELL NO, WE WON'T GO!" They also dripped oil and fake blood off the sides of the building to symbolize how the government is preparing to slaughter thousands of people to tighten its control of oil in the Gulf region and establish itself as "world cop." They remained on the roof, loudly denouncing the war moves and calling on others to resist, until they were arrested.

In a desperate attempt to suppress this and future defiant challenges to a "national war consensus," the government called in the FBI and JOINT TERRORIST TASK FORCE and charged Shawn and Joe with attempted arson, which carries a maximum sentence of 10 years! The U.S. Attorney claimed that Shawn and Joe were trying to burn down the recruiting station—while they were standing on the roof—and collapse it into the subway station below! They were finally released after posting a \$100,000 unsecured bond each. Their attorneys are WILLIAM KUNSTLER, RONALD KUBY and IAN WEINSTEIN.

This action was clear and right on time—to stop the war BEFORE it starts! The blood and oil sharply focused the stakes in the coming war. They rejected Bush's call for "national unity" and took an internationalist stand with the Arab people as our sisters and brothers. Was the action "too soon," "too advanced" or "too high a risk"? Many will remember that the movement against the war in Vietnam also started with a few people who acted boldly. On August 29, 1990, Marine Cpl. Jeff Paterson sat down on the runway of the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station in Hawaii and refused to board a Saudi-bound troop transport plane. His act was reported from Australia to the Mid-East and inspired many to say: "HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!"

The charges against Shawn and Joe must be opposed and defeated. This is more



Shawn Eichman pours oil off the side of the recruiting station during September 11 protest.

than a matter of "free speech." Will the government be allowed to bring trumped-up charges designed to silence opposition? Or will there be a powerful political opposition to the U.S. war moves in the Gulf? The FREE SHAWN AND JOE DEFENSE COMMITTEE has been initiated to defeat the government's effort to suppress opposition to this war by criminalizing dissent. WE MUST ACT NOW! DEFEND SHAWN AND JOE!

COME TO THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND RALLY on the steps of the courthouse on November 2, 1990 at 9 a.m. Join the defendants and hear statements from their lawyers, other resisters, and prominent initiators: U.S. Federal Courthouse, 40 Center St., New York City.

SEND DEMANDS THAT THE CHARGES BE DROPPED TO:

William Pollard, Deputy Chief of the Criminal Division, U.S. Attorney's Office, 1 St. Andrew's Plaza, New York, NY 10007

# Thousands March Against U.S. Intervention

On October 20, thousands demonstrated in cities across the country against U.S. intervention in the Middle East. This was the largest protest since the U.S. began deploying troops to the Persian Gulf in August. What the powers are so worried about is beginning to arise: mass opposition to their naked aggression in the Middle East. The October 20 actions show the basis for even bigger and more widespread resistance to the U.S. war machine.

We have reports from some of the major demonstrations that took place that day.

## New York

The largest demonstration was in New York City, where 15,000 people marched in the streets. The protest was organized by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. Two of the coalition's demands call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf and no establishment of temporary or permanent U.S. bases in the region. The political forces involved in the demonstration were very diverse. Endorsers included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, actor Mike Farrell, radio personality Casey Kassem, the National Council of Black Lawyers, National Lawyers Guild, and many other organizations and individuals. Marchers included anarchist youth with bandanas covering their faces...Korean youth with musical instruments performing a native dance...Palestinians chanting "Free, Free, Palestine!"...Muslims, Quakers, Pax Christi Catholics...Students from different colleges in the area turned out. A "Stop the U.S. War Machine" contingent carried a banner in support of Jeff Paterson.

On the morning of October 20, seven military personnel announced at a press conference that they would refuse orders to go to the Persian Gulf. The seven included women and men of different nationalities. One of the seven, a Haitian in the Air Force Reserve, had been told he would be deployed to Saudi Arabia in two weeks. But he told his commander that he would not go—one of his main reasons was that in basic training, when everyone was asked to give blood, the Reserve refused to take his because he was a Haitian! Ron Kuby, an attorney for some of the seven, called on others in the military to resist by applying for conscientious objector status.

## San Francisco

Thousands marched in the streets, including hundreds of high school and college-age youth. Vets headed up the march, and there were banners and signs from many political organizations. Along the way, the march got a very enthusiastic response from the people in the predominantly Black housing projects of the Western Addition.

One militant and lively contingent was made up of students from various univer-



New York

sities and colleges and different student organizations and was joined by the RCYB and others. They chanted "Students Unite—or they'll make us fight," "Amandla—Power to the people" and "Long Live Palestine." To the rhythms played by a group of Asian student percussionists, they did the toi toi—the dance done by black people in South Africa—in intersections. There was a rally in the Mission district, where many Latino immigrants live.

## Seattle

One thousand people marched in a demo organized by the Northwest Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. A lot of different forces participated—from activists of "Peacework Park" who have kept a continual vigil at a park since

the U.S. began deploying troops, to Palestinians carrying a huge Palestinian flag. Especially exciting was the presence of youth from many high schools, the University of Washington, and other colleges. At the rally downtown, speakers brought out different viewpoints on how to take on the U.S. intervention—pressuring Congress, mass movements to "reorder priorities," radical resistance and revolution. A Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist member recalled the GI resistance to the Vietnam War and pointed out the importance of the fact that GI resistance to a Persian Gulf war has already started before the first shot has been fired. When the mike was opened to the people, a member of "Dogs of Peace," a new student group from the University of Washington, said they will be at the campus every day in

**U.S. Hands Off the Persian Gulf!**  
**U.S. Troops Out of the Middle East!**  
**Hell No, We Won't Go!**  
**Fuck the U.S. and All Its Might,**  
**Revolutionary War Is the One We'll Fight!**

order to go "up in ROTC's face" to "stop this fucking war."

## Los Angeles

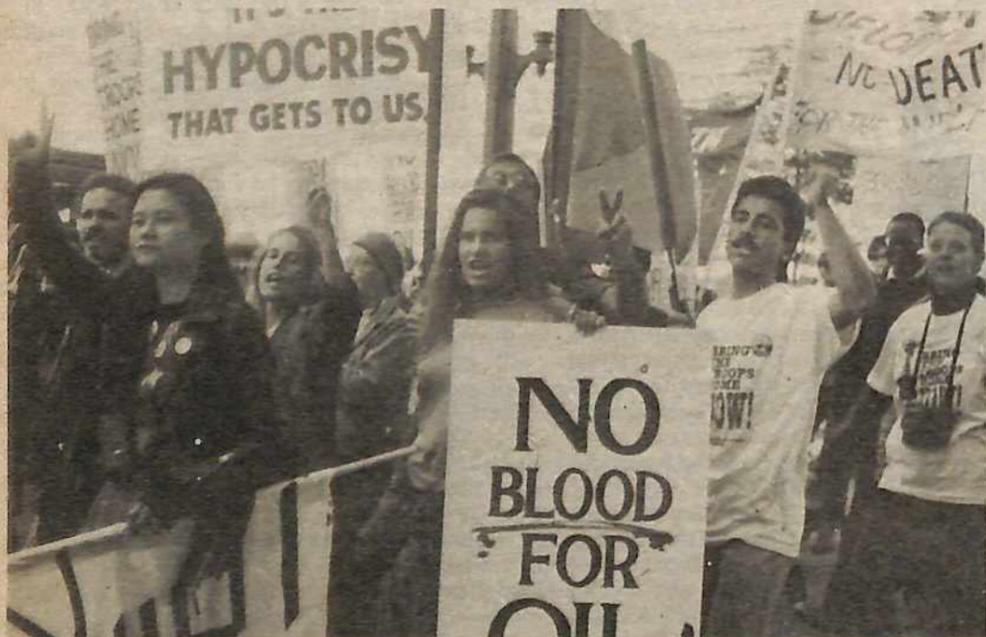
Up to 1,000 people gathered at a park in the largely Black Crenshaw district for a rally called by the local Coalition for Peace in the Middle East. The main slogans were "No Blood for Oil" and "U.S. Out of the Middle East." Among the speakers was Ron Kovic, Vietnam veteran and author of *Born on the Fourth of July*. A statement from Jeff Paterson was read by a member of the Coalition. There was a particularly big response from the people when a UCLA professor from the Middle East said, "We won't fight for the system, because we want to fight that system."

## Houston

A multinational group of 200 people marched through a proletarian shopping district downtown. The question of which road forward was sharply posed. The CPUSA contingent carried an American flag—the CPUSA speaker and some others pushed for a tactic of pressuring and relying on liberals in the Congress. Speakers from VVAW AI, People to Stop U.S. Aggression, ACT-UP and others put forward the kind of determined resistance exemplified by Jeff Paterson. There was a statement of support for Jeff from the local Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. RCP supporter Travis Morales pointed out that the U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf is not some "bad policy" by the government but comes out of the very nature of imperialism. Travis got a big round of applause when he said, "If we have to fight, die and kill, let us fight, die and kill to overthrow this system."

## Atlanta

More than 180 people got together at the Army Induction Center in downtown Atlanta and marched to Woodruff Park, where many homeless people live. The demonstrators came from various backgrounds and organizations, and the protest definitely had a defiant tone. When several flag-wavers tried to disrupt the rally, they were quickly surrounded by homeless people and activists and driven out of the park. A speaker for the Atlanta Committee on Latin America said: "They murdered in Panama, they murdered in Lebanon, they murdered in Vietnam, they're going to murder in the Middle East. Their friends murder all around the world. They're murdering in this country. U.S. out of the Middle East! We have a responsibility to stop this war before it starts." Everyone cheered the ACT-UP speaker when she said: "This is not a time for polite and measured politicking. This is a time for outrage: emotional, uncontained, uncensored outrage. This is not a time for silence—silence equals death. This is a time for action, and above all we must never be silent again." □



Seattle



Seattle

# MESSAGE FROM

# 2 BLACK 2 STRONG MMMG

# "BURN BABY BURN"



Scenes during the filming of the video "Burn Baby Burn."

"Fuck the red, white, the blue  
I'm not Captain America  
2 Black 2 Strong  
Causing mass hysteria..."

From "Burn Baby Burn,"  
2 Black 2 Strong—MMG

A new rap crew has just released a song which has become notorious even before hitting the stores. "Burn Baby Burn" by 2 Black 2 Strong & the MMG (aka Militant Manhattan Gangsters) raps down why and how and with what attitude a brother from Harlem burns the U.S. flag. It's a hot mix: the voice of one ferocious proletarian youth dropping hard lyrics about "torching the symbol of oppression" to slamming beats... just as the U.S. is threatening to launch the biggest war since Vietnam.

The song, which has been written up in *USA Today*, the *Post*, *NY Daily News*, *Village Voice* and *Billboard*, is catching the ears of people all over the music scene and on the streets. And it's becoming famous for all the corporate entities and others who have refused to touch it. By now this includes a record editor, a well-known music trade journal, a copyright lawyer, a pressing plant, some major rap radio DJs, and the largest record store chain in the country.

The rap looks out on 1990s Amerikkka from the shoes of a young Black man standing on a street corner in Harlem: the cops on your back, persecuting and humiliating the people 24-7, the lying authorities offering up their endless "freedom of speech" doubletalk ("Yo! That shit's an illusion") while they shut up and jail up the oppressed. The "imperialistic swine that I grind into bacon bits" receive no mercy here, and their fascist symbol is "maimed and mangled," stepped on "like it's a floor-mat," and the ultimate gasface: "don't mean to dis you / I use your flag like toilet tissue / to wipe my Black ass..."

The scene is set by the opening line spoken by the infamous flagburner Joëy Johnson: "This is a sick and dying system desperately clutching at its symbols." Murdered Black Panther Fred Hampton is sampled telling a Chicago crowd: "I am a revolutionary and you got to keep on sayin that, I'm the proletariat, I'm the people." Then the reactionary Judge Bork is dropped in, repeating for a TV audience the offending chant from the 1984 Dallas flagburning which spawned the Supreme Court case: "Red white and blue—we spit on you." And the beat takes off.

In a single line, 2 Black 2 Strong draws a picture of the clashing two sides: "The system works / to jerk / My people, the people / All around the pigs lurk..." He raps with the hardcore intensity of some of the "gangster rappers," but this is one hip hop song that doesn't begin and end with the fight for some neighborhood turf: An interlude introduced by a grinding Jimi Hendrix guitar sample takes us on a trip, "but this time not on a motherfuckin slave ship / Let's find the people that hate this shit." Public Enemy's Chuck D jumps in here naming places where U.S. flags have been

burned by the oppressed around the world: "Panama, talking 'bout Peru, Azania, Brixton, Belfast, can't forget Korea... East and South Central LA, Califor-ni-a... Do-or-Die-Bedstuy, Never-Ran-Never-Will Brownsville, Boogie Down South Bronx, yeah!"

The flip side of this 12-inch is full of more surprises. It's a whole different song, "Imperialist Inferno," done to the tune of "Disco Inferno." Over a pounding house beat, the question is scratched in: "Could we, could we, could we, could we really win?" The line and the voice belong to RCP Chairman Bob Avakian. A sample from the film "The Harder They Come" answers, "Yes! Yes! Revolutionary to Rass!" ("rass" is the loose equivalent of "fucking right" in Jamaican patois), followed by "dechoukage, dechoukage" (Haitian creole for "uproot!") and a female chorus singing "Burn Baby Burn."

There's a whole lot to like here. The cover photo alone makes the record worth buying: 2 Black 2 Strong staring at you from a vacant lot at dusk while his crew trash an overturned cop car and burn a big flag in a garbage can. The "thank yous" on this record include people's heroes from many different times and places, including the people's war in Peru, and the record is dedicated to the memory of reggae musician Peter Tosh. The tag line is from Bob Marley, "Soon we'll find out who is the real revolutionaries." Refuse & Resist's logo, the dancing handcuffed fist by Keith Haring, is on the credit sheet.

## THE BATTLE FOR BURN BABY BURN

"Burn Baby Burn" is currently being ordered by every major record distributor and chain in the country (except for the ones who've banned it!); a video will be out in a couple of weeks; the record was just selected as the "pick of the week" in the *College Music Journal* (a trade magazine for college radio); and the group was recently on the cover of the *Village Voice* and in the *New York Daily News*.

None of this has come without struggle, and two sides have gotten drawn very sharply around this whole project—which is as it should be when you go up in the face of the powers with a powerful work of art. Some of the incidents:

When Relativity, the record's distributor, tried to put the song on a 3-cassette promotional package, the North Carolina pressing plant refused to do it, citing the "offensive language" of "Burn Baby Burn" and another track by the rock group The Limbomaniacs. (Another plant ended up pressing the compilation.)

The huge Musicland/Sam Goody chain, after requesting a lyric sheet, has so far refused to order the record. However, the demand for it in some outlets has been so great that some New York City Sam Goody stores are reportedly breaking rank and ordering the record directly without going through the parent chain.

Photos courtesy Clappers Records



Cover photo from Burn Baby Burn

On Sunday, October 14, 2 Black 2 Strong / MMG were part of the bill at an outdoor street fair sponsored by the City and Tower Records. When they got on stage before a mixed downtown crowd of about 200, they were ready and rowdy, but it was clear something was wrong. The DJ couldn't get a sound from the turntables. A well-known "Censorship is Un-American" poster (with Uncle Sam shown muzzling a Black man) had been circulating and 2 Black 2 Strong said, "You know these posters are wrong, don't you? We crossed out the 'un' cause censorship IS American!" Then one member of the group, KZ100%, launched into a Pink Floyd call-response: "We don't need your education! We don't need your police patrols! Too many racists in the nation. They stole our land and they stole our gold. You stinkin motherfuckers." By this time, it was clear there would be no beats from these turntables so the group decided to do the rap without the music. As they stomped the U.S. flag, 2 Black 2 Strong said: "Before we go into this, how many of you are down with Sinead O'Connor?—how they tried to make her sing after the national anthem. Well, we gonna sing the national anthem. It's called Burn Baby Burn!"

They got out the first verse, then the mikes went dead. These brothers were so down and loud however, that they made it all the way through the rap, to cheers and angry shouts of "Burn Baby Burn" from the crowd. Meanwhile, the U.S. flag which the MMG had tossed into the audience was in the process of being lit up. When the group finished the rap, a cop tried to get them off the stage but instead they launched into their next song, "The Amerikkkan Nightmare." The next day the *Daily News* reported one of the sound men saying, "[After the first verse of 'Burn Baby Burn'] a policewoman came up to me and she said, 'Kill it, kill it.' I said I have no authority to do that. She said, 'Do it now or I'll cut your power.' So I did."

*Village Voice* rock critic Robert Christgau summed up this incident and other censoring moves around the record this way: "...from here it looks like a basic Revolutionary Communist Party precept is coming home to roost: even with the Supreme

Court on your side, free speech is a sham in a society where you don't control the means of production—or much of anything else."

It's gonna be a fight to get this record out. But it's a welcome battle for the oppressed since what is being censored here is straight-up and fierce anti-American "expression." And this is a record unencumbered by the woman-bashing lyrics which have often been the excuse used by the reactionary thought police to shut up and isolate Black rappers. The position of the *RW* in defense of both 2 Live Crew and N.W.A. against censorship attacks is well known. At the same time, the *RW* has made clear its view that the woman-hating shit projected by these rap groups (and many others) stands squarely in the way of the oppressed liberating themselves. The *RW* article—and slogan—"If You're Dissing the Sisters, You're Not Fighting the Power" (*RW* No. 574) is becoming famous in rap circles and has been mentioned in *Spin*, *Billboard*, and other music magazines.

### ART ON A REVOLUTIONARY TIP

The forces lining up to fight for "Burn Baby Burn" show just who can be counted on in the battle against censorship, mandatory patriotism, and the whole attempt of the powers-that-be to attack and isolate the Black youth in this country. First there are the rebels and youth who love this record because it speaks directly for them. As one revolutionary young rapper from Detroit put it, "I've been waiting for a record like this all my life." Then there are others who feel a kinship with the culture of the oppressed—the militant rap, reggae, and rock which comes from the people who refuse to be silenced or tamed—because they know, or sense, that the future of the planet is bound up with these people. For them "Burn Baby Burn" is a "daring and promising EP," as one Black music critic put it. Others do not necessarily get with the entire message and fury of 2 Black 2 Strong/MMG but stand behind them in the fight against mandatory patriotism and censorship or strictly on "First Amendment, freedom of speech" grounds.

The record is put out by Clappers and distributed nationally by In-Effect/Relativity, the largest independent distributor in the U.S. The executive producer of the record and the head of Clappers, Lister Hewan-Lowe, brought together a number of small investors who politically supported the project. This allowed him to cut the tune at one of the top studios for rap in NYC and to find the right distributor. He said this about the project: "The masses are the ones who fought through all the bullshit for this record to happen. . . . It's a revolutionary order of the day. It's a revolutionary time, and we need to make art that's on a revolutionary tip." (Hewan-Lowe is well known in reggae and hip hop circles for some other path-breaking moves. He produced and distributed Brother D's "How We Gonna Make the Black Nation Rise?," one of the first rap records to take a radical political turn back in 1979. He also created the first hip hop/Jamaican DJ collaboration in 1980 with Brother D and Silver Fox. In the '70s he helped introduce reggae to U.S. audiences while working at Island records, and continues to host the longest running reggae show in North America, on WUSB in Stony Brook.)

The unprecedented "noise" around this record right from the start is very promising and, by all rights, should kick it into high-profile status around the country. But the recent attacks on the group and song indicate just how sharp a battle it will be to get this record out to the people. And even though 2 Live Crew won the latest round in court, the censorship battle has intensified as all major record companies are now using "explicit lyrics" labels and many shopping malls are refusing to lease to record stores that carry so-called "offensive" products.

But the terms of this battle against the powers are extremely favorable to the proletariat. This fight is part of creating public opinion for the not-so-distant future when the oppressed may well have a chance at seizing power. So these being the stakes, it's a real good idea to get out and buy the record, demand the radio stations play it, and creatively pump up the volume on this great revolutionary hardcore rap track. □

## The RW Interview: "Doing Hard Time on Planet Earth"

The *RW* recently interviewed 2 Black 2 Strong and Warchild, a member of the MMG:

Standing in the door of Wendy's looking down the street, I hear some guys hollering from half way down the block. 2 Black 2 Strong and Warchild walk up in hooded black sweatshirts. Warchild is wearing a hand grenade earring.

**RW:** You say when you're burning the flag you're "torching the symbol of oppression" . . .

**2B:** Let's be for real. Throughout history, America has exploited the Black man and degraded him and dehumanized him. And this imperialist country is fucking with people all across the globe. The Indians, the people with MOVE, South Africa, Iraq. They're even fucking with the artists that's in America with the censorship wars. And every time police bash me in my head, they're wearing a flag. The Ku Klux Klan that was hanging my brothers and sisters' ancestors was rolling with the flag. My brothers in court getting 20 to life, there's a big flag sitting next to the judge that sentences them. That tells me right there that obviously things ain't right. So when I hear on the news all the publicity about save the flag, and how we shouldn't burn it no matter what cause it's a symbol of our country, I say well that's bullshit. . . . This flag song is really like an attack on the symbol of oppression which is this country, America, or Amerikkka. But I'm the devil's slayer [laughs]. And this record couldn't come at a better time, with the war comin on.

**RW:** The police pulled the plug on you on Sunday. Why do you think they're so afraid of you and this song?

**2B:** See, they don't want people to start burning their flag. And you know how a rap song tends to become a national anthem like "Fight the Power" and "Fuck tha Police"? They don't want "Burn Baby Burn" to be the next anthem because they know that's hitting right at the heart, that's driving the wooden stake through the heart of the vampire. They don't want everybody talking about "Let's burn the American flag." That's stirring up a lot of rebels. And after they stir up the rebels anything can happen.

**RW:** The rulers were the ones that brought Joey Johnson to the Supreme Court, and many people thought this was because they wanted to make it illegal to desecrate the flag, just like the Nazis made the swastika a holy icon. They needed and still need to force people to be patriotic. So why do you think they reversed themselves?

**2B:** I think they thought twice about it. . . they realized the majority of people would think it was bullshit if they made it illegal. They know that the people who burn the flag are potentially radical and want to rebel against the country. But they faced with a Catch-22 situation. If they say you can't burn it, they making themselves look stupid and they contradicting themselves totally. So my opinion is that they want to keep people passive and not thinking and happy on the whole issue. But if people think they got freedom of expression in this country, they damn fools. They about to convict 2 Live Crew of obscenity just for making a record. It would be the first time in the history of

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# SURROGATE MOTHER

On October 22 a California judge came down with a reactionary anti-woman ruling that Anna Johnson has no rights whatsoever to the baby boy she gave birth to on September 19. The genetic parents, Mark and Crispina Calvert, were given sole custody of the child. This baby had been conceived in vitro (outside the body) using sperm and egg from the Calverts and then implanted in Johnson's uterus. (Crispina Calvert could not give birth because she had had a hysterectomy.) Midway through the pregnancy, Anna Johnson decided she wanted to keep the baby after it was born and took the case to court.

This whole case reveals how the law and courts uphold the oppressive relations of the traditional patriarchal family where women and children are completely subordinate to men. The fact that this fetus developed in the body of Anna Johnson was not considered important enough to allow her the legal rights as a mother. And instead the court upheld the arguments by the Calverts' lawyer which claimed "a deal's a deal" and stressed the so-called "right," especially for a man, to carry on "bloodlines." Forget the fact that it was Anna Johnson's blood which flowed through the fetus. Forget the nine months of pregnancy with its extreme physical changes and strains on the woman—without which no embryo would survive and grow. Forget the pain and intensity of the birth itself. The court only judges women by the quality of their wombs.

When Anna Johnson appeared on the Phil Donahue show, people in the audience attacked her for being "money hungry" and made racist comments about how she would not be fit to raise the child because she is a single, Black, working class woman and the child would not "look like her." Now the Orange County Superior Court has put a seal of approval on these reactionary views. The judge specifically ruled against an arrangement in which the child would legally have three parents. He said that deviating from the traditional one-man/one-woman, two-parent nuclear family would produce crazy children. This reactionary argument has been used in many ways against women's rights—including against the right of women to seek divorce, the right of single mothers to raise their own children, and the right to develop non-traditional family arrangements.

The judge compared Anna Johnson to a "foster parent" who temporarily houses and cares for a child. In other words, the court is treating Anna Johnson as nothing more than a thing, an empty vessel, which the Calverts rented for nine months for "their" child to grow in.

In 1987 when the Mary Beth Whitehead case went to court—the first major surrogate mother custody case in the U.S.—the *RW* published an article which discussed the whole issue of surrogate motherhood and what it means in relation to the struggle for women's liberation. In light of the recent Anna Johnson case we are reprinting excerpts from this article which originally appeared in *RW* #407, May 25, 1987.

# WOMEN ON AUCTION B

When Black people were openly bought and sold as slaves, plantation owners or their agents used to go to slave auctions to look over the "merchandise" before deciding on their purchase. Today, in scenes reminiscent of the human auction blocks of slave days, wealthy individuals visit modern-day auction houses in order to purchase the "services" of a suitable young "breeder." The auction houses are offices of lawyers specializing in surrogate motherhood contracts; the purchasers are typically white middle-class professional couples, often with a joint income of \$100,000 or more; the breeders are healthy young women of proven fertility, and in need of money. The purchasers are for one or another reason unable to bear children themselves, and so, in the way most familiar to them, they decide to plunk down some cash to buy themselves what they want. A few obligatory words are said to the effect that there is nothing more wonderful than helping people to have children, but everyone—purchasers, breeders, lawyers—knows that the real deal revolves around money.

Surrogate motherhood is becoming relatively commonplace. It involves the blatant hiring of a woman's body for breeder services, and the buying and selling of babies as well. Given all this, why is there not more clearcut opposition to this practice? Why has there been so much confusion around the Baby M case, the case of the surrogate mother who "broke ranks" and decided she wanted to keep the baby? Mary Beth Whitehead signed a contract, was inseminated with a man's sperm, went through a full pregnancy, labor and delivery, and at that point decided not to collect the \$10,000 and not to turn over the baby to the purchasers (William and Elizabeth Stern). She did not "change her mind" months later, but right at the time of the birth, before the Sterns had ever had the child. Afraid the baby would be forcibly taken from her, she fled, taking the baby, her husband, and her two other children with her. But when the authorities caught up with her they in fact forcibly took the child away and gave her to the Sterns pending a resolution by the courts. Had this been an ordinary adoption procedure, as in the case of a pregnant woman who decides that she will give up the child for adoption at the time of birth, she would not have been allowed to sign over the final papers giving up her baby until after a certain amount of time after the birth. This is a stipulation under existing laws which exists exactly because it happens sometimes that a woman planning to give up a child for adoption changes her mind after the birth. Mary Beth Whitehead was not even given this standard opportunity to change her mind.

In fact the forcible taking of her child was given an official stamp of approval by the judge in a precedent-setting court case. At the end of a lengthy and degrading non-jury trial, Mary Beth Whitehead's parental rights were officially terminated *without her consent* and the child was turned over to the Sterns. On April 7, 1987 in a New Jersey courtroom, a Judge Sorkow ruled that surrogate motherhood contracts are valid and enforceable. Thus an official, state-sanctioned seal of approval has been stamped on the whole business of people paying money to trade in human flesh: women are openly reduced to the status of brood cows (a "uterus with legs" in a now popular expression) and the Rent-a-Womb business is deemed perfectly in

keeping with the American way! And in addition to this, the buying of a live baby on the open market is also considered to be perfectly OK!

And yet, in the face of such an outrage, many people remained undecided as to which way things should go, and a great many people ultimately sided with the purchasers, saying things like, "It was tragic all the way around, but I'm glad the Sterns got the baby. I think it's right." What follows are some of the arguments that have come up, and some of our comments on them:

**"She made a deal didn't she? She shouldn't have gone back on it!"**

Yes, she made a deal. A bad one. A mistake, not only for her personally, but one with implications for all women. No woman should ever be held to a contract which turns her into a breeder for other people, even if at some point she stated her willingness to do it. The whole deal is wrong, regardless of the fact that some surrogates might think it's fine. The willing complicity of some slaves in their own slavery should never be used as a justification for slavery itself.

**"But there was a contract . . ."**

So what? A contract is just a bourgeois method for formalizing a social relation between people. If that social relation is wrong, so is the contract. As a sidepoint it is interesting to note how the judge in this case got around the dilemma posed by the fact that Whitehead was deprived of the brief period in which to change her mind, customary in all previous adoption proceedings. He simply decided that, since the practice of surrogate motherhood didn't exist at the time "adoption" and "parental rights" laws were formulated, these were outdated and irrelevant to this case. However, "contract" law (which also predates surrogacy agreements) was deemed still perfectly relevant! Even on the most legalistic basis this case has constituted a blatant outrage!

**"But what about the Sterns? Shouldn't they have a right to have a child? Didn't William Stern give his own sperm to make this baby? And aren't both Sterns very emotionally involved, expecting their baby? Is it fair to them to back out of the deal?"**

No, on one level it isn't "fair," and surely there's been lots of pain and grief on both sides of this mess, but that's frankly not the point. The point is that the courts are putting society's stamp of approval on the whole surrogate motherhood business and we're being asked to go along with it. This is not a soap opera, and much more is at stake than the personal happiness or misery of the individuals involved. We are talking about policies affecting the future of all women in society (and children as well).

Furthermore, there is some really sick ideology concerning reproduction being promoted these days. With the neofascist revival of the most traditional values of home and hearth all the rage, both men and women are being made to think that there's something really wrong with them if they don't have children. It obviously wouldn't be a good thing if no one on the planet had any children and the

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human species died out, but does that mean that every single individual absolutely has to reproduce to be a full-fledged member of human society? There is increasing propaganda emanating from reactionary corners to the effect that there is either some kind of "god-given" drive to reproduce or some kind of "innate biological drive" to reproduce. Bullshit. The judge in this case contributed to this reactionary nonsense by stating in his decision that "the desire to propagate the species... is within the souls of all men and women regardless of economic status." But there is no divine or biological "drive" to produce offspring.<sup>1</sup>

What there are, then, are social values and customs which stem from the social relations of society and which tend to vary with time, place, and underlying modes of social organization. And there are different and conflicting views concerning these questions: whether people should or shouldn't have children; when, or how often, people should or shouldn't have them, etc., are all *social questions* and they are answered differently by different strata and in different social contexts.

Some of the "answers" to these questions have been shoved down our throats for so long it's sometimes hard to remember it's not some law of nature! This certainly applies to the way women have been treated as property—whose reproduction must be closely monitored and controlled—in every patriarchal society based on a hierarchy of classes. It is not surprising then that most men should expect to have heirs insuring the continuity of their family—and property—lineages, while most women expect to realize their very identity as women by being good wives and mothers. Centuries of conditioning have gone into this!

And yet such a view must be actively combated by all those who want to see women freed up to participate fully in all the affairs of society. It must be clearly said that a woman does not have to become a mother to be a woman or to be a member in good standing of the human species. This is important because propaganda to the contrary is reaching a fever pitch as part of Resurgent America's new offensive against women. In the U.S. having babies seems to be becoming a national obsession!

There are definite connections between the anti-abortion crusade, the validation of the Rent-a-Womb business, and the campaign to shame women for their childlessness.

1. Most living things on this planet reproduce, but none have such a drive. When bacteria split in two, when a tree flowers and sets seed, when fish spawn or two dogs mate, the individuals involved are all responding, on the basis of genetic programming, to external "cues" which trigger physiological and behavioral changes—a tree might flower in response to a change in the number of daylight hours, or a male dog might respond to the scent of a female in heat for instance. These responses may in fact very well lead to the production of new individuals, but they are not "geared" to that end in some deterministic fashion. And of course the only species which ever mates with a conscious intent (sometimes) of creating new individuals is the human species. Obviously there is a physiological basis for the sexual response of one human being to another. But beyond that there is a much greater—overriding and decisive—*social* basis both for sexual attraction and for "intent" in human sexual relations: who you're attracted to, what you do about it, and where you want it to lead are not expressions of a biological "drive" to reproduce, but a socially conditioned response.

In the latter case a two-pronged attack is underway: first women are told they are not fully women unless they reproduce. Young women are told to have children early, and women who have purposefully remained childless to develop self-reliance and a broader range of activities are told to face up to the "ticking of the biological clock"—a media slogan (referring to the declining fertility of women in middle age) which has taken on doomsday proportions!

Second, if fertility problems do exist, the emphasis is placed on the need for direct familial cohesion and continuity: in opposition to continued childlessness or even to adoption, men are supposed to insist on the continuity of "their genes" and women are supposed to worry about whether or not they'll successfully "bond" to a child. Many women and men from the better-off strata who are approaching middle age are therefore plunging into the most ridiculous, self-centered, and narcissistic campaigns to "race against the clock" and reproduce: quite a few are

investing small fortunes and great amounts of time and energy running from one infertility specialist to another, taking different fertility drugs, timing their "matings" with engineer-like precision, undergoing operations to collect eggs for repeated attempts at *in vitro* fertilization, etc., etc.

While there is nothing inherently wrong with many of these procedures and techniques (such as *in vitro* fertilization, i.e., the production of test-tube embryos), what is sick is this single-minded obsession with reproduction in opposition to other concerns, and with *self-reproduction* in particular. And it is *self-reproduction* which is being heavily promoted. It's not like there aren't a lot of children in need of adoptive parents out there, a point we will return to later. No, there is an unhealthy obsession with maintaining some degree of biological connection to the child. Either the woman has to grow the child in her own body, or, at the very least, the man's own sperm must be used. Why? Why

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# Panama: Crisis in an Occupied Territory

By Jack Gardener

Ten months after the U.S. invaded Panama and murdered thousands of people while they slept, destroyed entire neighborhoods, threw out the regime of former U.S. junior partner Gen. Manuel Noriega and installed an obedient pro-U.S. regime, occupied Panama is racked by crisis. According to U.S.-based Panamanian activists who have recently visited the country, there is a significant change in the mood among the Panamanian people. There are more and more open expressions of outrage and dis-

**U.S.-based Panamanian activists who have recently visited the country say there is a significant change in the mood among the Panamanian people—there are more and more open expressions of outrage and disgust at the government and the Yankee troops that prop it up.**

gust at the government and the Yankee troops that prop it up.

Protests against the government are taking place nearly all the time. Students, squatters who lost their homes when Yankee bombs and missiles rained down on them, thousands of unemployed, and others have been taking to the streets. One measure of the sentiments of the people is that regular protests take place on the twentieth day of every month. The U.S. invasion took place December 20 last year.

Severe economic hardship is making the lives of the people intolerable. There is a new wave of repression by the official and unofficial government forces, backed by U.S. might. Growing divisions among the ranks of the Panamanian rulers are coming into the open.

Several public exhumations of victims of the U.S. attack have taken place. A group of relatives and friends of the many who disappeared and/or were reported dead in the invasion have been seeking out the mass graves where U.S. troops dumped bodies in the early hours and days of the invasion. So far, more than 600 corpses have been dug up. This is over a hundred more than the number of people the U.S. government admits to killing. But since there were bodies that were burned or thrown in the ocean by U.S. troops at the time of the invasion or that are still in undiscovered locations, many Panamanians believe that thousands were killed by the invaders. Panamanian and international human rights groups es-

timate that as many as 4,000 Panamanians lost their lives in the invasion.

## High School Students Fight the Powers

The sharpest struggle against the government has been waged by high school students in Panama City. In July students at the Instituto Nacional high school went on strike. They demanded more teachers and updated lesson plans. But the heart of the

strike was the demand that the school building, destroyed and occupied by the invading Yankee troops, be repaired. The school had no toilets, labs were trashed, the ceiling had huge holes, and so forth.

It's no surprise that the invaders occupied and destroyed this school. The Instituto Nacional has a rich history of struggle against U.S. imperialism. Many of the students who fought against and were killed by U.S. troops in demonstrations in 1959 and again in the famous Flag Rebellion of 1964 (demanding that the Panamanian flag be flown in the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone) came from the school. It is an honored symbol and a living stronghold of Panamanian resistance to U.S. domination. For the invaders, the Instituto Nacional "fit the profile"—in the language that Amerikkkan cops use when they pick out inner-city youth to fuck over.

Five student leaders of the strike were immediately suspended, and one was assaulted with a knife by the school director's bodyguard. The leaders were members of Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER 29), a radical student group that had op-

posed the Noriega regime and now opposes the U.S.-installed Endara regime. The government announced that any of the suspended students who had participated in previous strikes would be expelled. A search of the school records showed that the five were involved in political action before—against the Noriega regime. They were expelled just a few months before graduation!

Joined by students from other public high schools in Panama City and Colon, the Instituto Nacional students held a massive rally on August 23. They faced off against the Panamanian Public Force—a replacement police outfit for the Noriega-led Panama Defense Force which was destroyed in the invasion. The students were surrounded by heavily armed anti-riot forces. These goons wore the same uniforms and carried the same shields and weapons as Noriega's hated anti-riot police known as the "Dobermans." According to reports, there were pitched battles in the streets. Students fought back against the Dobermans who opened fire with birdshot and tear gas. The police then went into the University of Panama and attacked stu-

dent, the five leaders went on a hunger strike to demand that all charges against them be dropped and that they be reinstated. The Minister of Education prohibited doctors and nurses from attending to the hunger strikers, but some medical personnel volunteered to help anyway. As the hunger strikers' conditions worsened, statements of outrage at the government and support for the students poured in, including from other countries.

On October 19, students picketed a meeting of the Central American presidents which was taking place in Panama City. The cause of the high school students was threatening to become an international incident. That same day the government backed down and reinstated the five leaders.

## Crisis of the Rulers

The rise in people's struggles is taking place as a crisis threatens to overwhelm the divided government. Although an official government report claimed that only 18 percent of the population was unemployed or underemployed, even government economists are saying that more than

**The students were surrounded by the heavily armed Panamanian Public Force. These goons wore the same uniforms and carried the same shields and weapons as Noriega's hated anti-riot police known as the "Dobermans."**

dents who were discussing how to respond to the first assault. Seventy-eight students were injured, and the government doctors at the nearby Seguro Social Hospital refused to treat them.

The expelled students took over a building at the Instituto Nacional. Other students, parents and professors supported them with food, water and other necessities. When their supporters were harassed and the government refused to reinstate

300,000 Panamanians, or 40 percent of the economically active population, is in that category. Forty-four percent of the people live in poverty—more than half of them in what the government describes as extreme poverty. A Panamanian congressman reported that 500,000 children under the age of 12 suffer from chronic malnutrition.

These conditions will become even worse because of a new "austerity" plan proposed by President Guillermo Endara at

Contributing writer Jack Gardener traveled to Panama after the December 1989 U.S. invasion. He talked to victims of the invasion, visited refugee camps and mass grave sites, interviewed U.S. officials and soldiers, and uncovered evidence of U.S. atrocities. This journey is chronicled in a four-part series in the RW which began in issue #548 (March 19, 1990). More recently, Gardener has been covering the intense struggles of the mostly Central American immigrants in L.A.'s Pico-Union barrio who are fighting against police barricades and an INS concentration camp. Gardener will be a participant in the upcoming "Yo! The World Is Being Turned Upside Down!" tour of revolutionary journalists.



Panamanians investigating U.S. atrocities exhuming a mass grave last summer.



Children left homeless by U.S. invasion.

the insistence of the U.S., the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank. The Panamanian Congress opposes the plan, but the U.S. is holding back most of its so-called "foreign aid" payments to Panama until Endara's plan is approved.

Reports of a "massive crime wave" fill the newspapers and airwaves—hotel and bank robberies, plane hijacking and unresolved bombings. Many Panamanians believe that the reason the Public Force can't seem to stop the crime wave is because they are the ones organizing it and carrying it out. A few of them have been caught in the act. Like the Dobermans, the Public Force is loaded with former members of Noriega's PDF. Sixty percent of the majors, 69 percent of the captains and 71 percent of the lieutenants belonged to Noriega's military.

Many of the former high-ranking pro-Noriega officers have started private security agencies and are hiring themselves out to the highest bidders. At the same time, and with the endorsement of some in the government, right-wing paramilitary "anti-crime" vigilante groups have been spring-

operations in Central and South America. The U.S. troops no longer blanket the streets as they did for months after December 20. They try to stay more in the background, because Panamanian sovereignty is a major issue in this country where the government was put in place by U.S. invaders.

But the Yankees still call the shots. During the student strike, U.S. tanks and military personnel in civilian clothes were seen patrolling the area around Instituto Nacional. Using the excuse of "controlling drugs and crime," U.S. military police carry out raids in poor areas like Curundu and Santa Ana in Panama City.

An eyewitness to one of these raids told the *RW* that the U.S. forces arrived with many soldiers, blocked off and took over an entire neighborhood, kicked down doors and aimed high-caliber weapons against the people. The U.S. used the "war on drugs" pretext in carrying out the invasion. Now the Bush administration is using the same story to push for rules and regulations that would allow the U.S. more direct control over the banking and other sectors of

***Lurking just behind the Panamanian Public Force are the Yankees, with their thousands of troops, 14 military bases, and the Southern Command—headquarters for all U.S. military operations in Central and South America.***

by the invasion and the Public Force in disarray, the stage is set for the U.S. to claim that Panama is "incapable of defending the canal" and that the U.S. military will have to stay beyond the treaty's terms. Vice President Arias Calderon has been saying publicly that to defend the Panama Canal in the way the U.S. has done "is outside the concrete practical and economic scope of Panama."

As the U.S. prepares to launch a new aggression in the Middle East, the media in this country is censoring news about the

situation in the last place the Yankees invaded. But the struggle of the people in Panama is heating up. The Panamanian rulers are in increasing difficulty and pointing the finger at each other as well as at the U.S. The U.S. rulers are faced with a potentially very dangerous situation. Panama is vital to their domination of the Western Hemisphere, a region where they desperately need stability and control. For everyone who hopes for imperialism's doom, these could be very favorable developments. □

***According to an eyewitness to a raid on a poor neighborhood, the U.S. units arrived with many soldiers, blocked off and took over an entire neighborhood, kicked down doors and aimed high-caliber weapons against the people.***

ing up. Many Panamanians see the threat of death-squad activity on the horizon.

The Public Force has been one focus of disagreements among the top government officials. Second Vice President Billy Ford and others have publicly criticized the Public Force. President Endara recently fired the chief of the Public Force, Col. Eduardo Herrera Hassan, a former Noriega supporter who later plotted a coup against the general. The colonel was considered close to First Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, who is in overall charge of the repressive apparatus. Herrera was notorious for having led a brutal 1987 military crackdown against anti-Noriega protesters. His replacement is another former Noriega loyalist.

### Yankees Call the Shots

Lurking just behind the Public Force are the Yankees, with their thousands of troops, 14 military bases, and the Southern Command—headquarters for all U.S. military

the Panamanian economy as well as military control over Panama's coastal waters. Recent visitors to the region told the *RW* that drug trafficking through Panama has actually increased since the U.S. invasion.

### U.S. Out of Panama!

As I reported in my series on Panama after the invasion, the U.S. sees Panama's strategic location as a launching pad for military operations in Central and South America. Since the invasion, it has become publicly known that the U.S. is running its counterinsurgency operation against the Maoist people's war in Peru from the Southern Command in Panama. The invasion was in large measure designed to install an obedient government that would allow the U.S. to break the Panama Canal treaty. According to the treaty, the canal and all U.S. military bases must return to Panamanian control by the year 2000.

With the Panamanian military destroyed



The Modelo Penitentiary in Panama, where over 900 prisoners have been forced into cells designed for 250.



2 Black 2 Strong-MMG performing at Biko Lives! Festival in September.

## “Doing Hard Time on Planet Earth”

Continued from page 7  
this country that you could be convicted just for making a record.

**RW:** How should people fight the censors?

**2B:** They should do totally dead-on like I'm doing. They try to say censor this, censor that, that's just gonna make more artists, rap artists especially, take stands against what they're doing. I think the best approach is the direct approach. So that's just gonna make music more controversial. Cause people want to accept the challenge. Now there's always some sell-outs who are scared to make controversial music cause of the censorship thing, but there's a lot that's not scared.

**RW:** Why do you think they're so scared of rap music?

**2B:** Rap music is really the voice of Black America. It's like this—rap music is like the news, the part of the media that Black people never had. Through the records they expressing themselves, and lettin a lot of white kids know too. Since rap crossed over it's in big with the mainstream now. That makes them scared. People like Public Enemy and N.W.A. they talkin about the plight of Black people, and white people are scared their little children will like Public Enemy and N.W.A. and Ice-T and 2 Black 2 Strong & the MMG. Like with a white liberal family, they got a little son, 6 years old, they don't want him listening to Public Enemy or N.W.A. talking about “Fuck tha Police. . . the police searching me cause I'm brown” and all that. They want their white son to grow to be a senator so he can be one of the government officials that's keeping Black people down. . . . They want to keep what's happening in the ghetto a big secret. They try to make the police look like gods. . . . I read somewhere, they want to keep you vulnerable to this police state and have no resistance, so any time the police say so, you're supposed to do it. They mad at N.W.A. cause when this record come out, “Fuck tha Police,” those brothers were expressing themselves and their hatred. They sayin they're getting dissed and abused by police, and the system don't want that known. That's the dark side that they want to keep hidden. They don't want the mainstream America to know that the police are really a bunch of abusive, filthy motherfuckers, that's racist, ass-kicking racist motherfuckers, who's breaking the law themselves everytime they do something. They never tell you your rights or nothin like that. But the system don't want people to know that. That's what they scared of—the truth. Like I say in

one of my raps, “The truth hurts don't it / Well this pain is my numbin / 2 Black on strong that I'm coming.” Basically, what that means is they don't want the truth to be known, and this Black truth hurts so bad that it's MY numbing, and I'm too Black and on strong I'm coming. That means I'm a Black nigger that's gettin fucked around too much, and I'm comin on strong with the attack.

**RW:** When did you decide this system sucked?

**2B:** When?! The moment I was born [laughs]. When the white doctor pulled me out my mama and slapped me on my ass and said “Smack—Black nigger. Welcome to the terrordome!” Then I grew up and it never changed. You know. My life was basically a life of poverty, drugs, murder, shit like that living in the ghetto! My neighborhood is the type of shit a white person would see on TV if he don't know what's goin on. Them suburban kids sittin in their big homes, gettin a car for graduation, they live in their reality and I'm livin in mine. I'm the TV show, the fantasy, and this system want to keep me a fantasy. That's why they mad at Black music, at rap, cause we're telling the truth. I can't put my finger on one situation which made me think the way I do. It's just the whole thing. You'd probably need 10,000 tapes to tape it and we'd have to be here for the next 10 years to tell you everything that made me think the way I do.

It's just reality, the nightmare called reality. The Amerikkkan Nightmare / That might scare / A nigger like me. . .

**Warchild:** We're doing hard time on the planet earth.

**RW:** Warchild, you were in the U.S. military for a while?

**Warchild:** I got there and, no offense to our white audience, but I got there and all I seen is white people and I knew what type of job I was gonna get. I knew what day it was. I ended up had to stay in a minimum security brig.

**RW:** What happened?

**Warchild:** It was setup and shit, cause they said I couldn't follow their rules. Cause the first day I walked in, they said “Yo, that street shit don't flush, slick.” So after awhile I was like, fuck it, I'm gettin the fuck out of here. Plus it was around the time when everything was really hittin in the Persian [Gulf], and I really didn't want to go to the Persian—around '87.

**2B:** Right, so we drafted Warchild, the MMG drafted Warchild. We're rap's urban guerrillas. War on Wax. The reason Warchild wears the bullets, cause he wants to project the image that he at war every day, which he is. Why should he wear a three-piece suit when he at war with the system? We all at war, 24-7. [The MMG usually wear all black hooded sweatshirts in performance, except for

Warchild, who stalks the stage in guerrilla fatigues with a bandoleer of bullets slung across his shoulder and camouflage black and green make-up.]

**RW:** What do you think it will take to overthrow this system?

**2B:** Well, for us to really overthrow this system, a whole lot of shit gonna have to go down. And it ain't gonna be like a handful is gonna be able to do it. That would be impossible. It gonna have to be a majority, a big majority, I mean white, Black, Puerto Rican, Korean, Chinese, Jamaican, everybody gonna have to get together. Fuck all that separatism shit. You know what I'm saying?

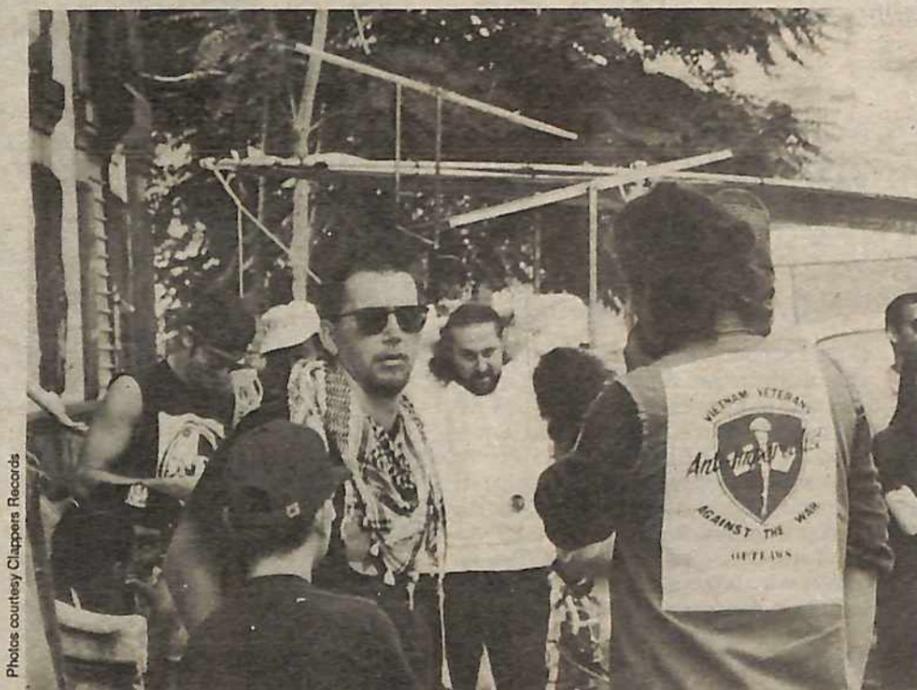
**RW:** Who do you see as the audience for this record. Who do you want to reach?

**2B:** Everybody. I want to reach everybody I can reach. I see the audience as people who don't like the government and this system telling them what to do, what to think, what to buy, what to burn. . . . So I think that should be everybody. And if not, then you's a damn fool. If you gonna listen to somebody tellin you can't burn this piece of cloth cause it's got a flag on it, so you better just worship it. . . .

**Warchild:** Like I say “If you ain't down, stay down.”

**2B:** And we comin on strong.

**Warchild:** Strong, strong, strong!



Joey Johnson and Dave Blalock were also in the video.



Lister Hewan-Lowe, producer of Burn Baby Burn

On November 1-4, an international Malcolm X Conference will convene at the Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York. The stated purpose of the gathering is to contribute to "a militant program of study and struggle." In solidarity with such a timely conference, we are reprinting this article on Malcolm X, which originally appeared in RW No. 544, February 19, 1990.

# Remembering Malcolm X

"I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. . . . And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."

Malcolm X April 3, 1964

Malcolm X was telling it like it is. America, then and now, is a prison for Black and other oppressed people. Malcolm X came from those oppressed people, and they looked to him for leadership.

It was for his uncompromising stand—for giving voice to the deepest feelings of the most oppressed—that Malcolm X was hounded and finally assassinated by agents of imperialism on February 21, 1965.

Malcolm X shook up Amerikkka. His bold defiance of the system, his intolerance for the oppression of Black people, his exposure of the rotteness at the core of the U.S. empire, and his basic revolutionary stand of fighting for liberation "by any means necessary" helped change the political climate in the country and the world. He was a revolutionary nationalist, but he is remembered by proletarian internationalists as a heroic fighter in the struggle against oppression and imperialism.

Malcolm X was righteously hostile to the American system. He always reminded his listeners that the Black people had been brought to America in chains and are still enslaved there today. He taught that chains of oppression cannot be eased off; they must be broken.

"Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, 'I'm going to love those folks no matter how much they hate me.' No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms...singing 'We Shall Overcome'?"

November 9, 1963

Malcolm X came up in a time of upsurge and ferment. He was one of the millions of Black youth who are treated like "nobodies" under this system. An eighth-grade dropout who hustled the streets in Lansing, Michigan and Harlem, he got into a life of petty crime and drugs. During six years in prison, he began to read hungrily, especially about the history of Blacks in America. Influenced by the Nation of Islam ("Black Muslims"), he took up the Islamic religion and changed his name to "X" to symbolize his true African family name that had been erased by white slavemasters.

Once out of prison, he became the most active minister of the Black Muslims. In his fiery speeches, delivered on sidewalks or inside theaters and temples, he exposed the white supremacist society and spoke out against daily outrages faced by the Black masses. He was like a lightning rod, attracting the most rebellious, disaffected, militant people of the ghetto, especially among the youth. He sensed their mood, and when he stood on the streets among angry crowds, there was always the threat of sparks being fanned into a general conflagration.

Even later, after he had become world famous and traveled the globe on political projects, he wrote that he never left the ghetto in spirit, and never left it physically more than he had to. Because he stood with



the oppressed people at the bottom of society, he was impatient with anything that would delay total liberation.

Today, in 1990s America, we see a vicious police clampdown on the oppressed communities being carried out in the name of a War on Drugs. Anybody who is confused about this "war"—anybody who thinks this war is something other than a war on the people—should check out how relevant Malcolm's words read today, as he spoke to people of Harlem during the summer of 1964:

"The more cops we have, the more crime we have. We begin to think that they bring some of the crime with them...."

"In many instances, when you unite in this country or in this city to fight organized crime, you'll find yourselves fighting the police department itself because they are involved in the organized crime...."

"They've passed a law that gives them the right to knock down your door without even knocking on it. Knock it down and come on in and bust your head and frame you up under the disguise that they suspect you of something. Why,

brothers, they didn't have laws that bad in Nazi Germany...."

"When a person is a drug addict, he's not the criminal; he's a victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles—those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown."

June 28, 1964

Despite attempts today to distort the real story on Malcolm and Martin Luther King, he remained firmly opposed to the role played by King and all others who tried to collaborate with the system and cover up the reality of the so-called "American Dream"—which is a nightmare for the op-

pressed. He compared Black leaders who cozied up to the power structure with the house slaves of plantation days.

"I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other. . . . When people take to the streets in their explosive mood, will that one, that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him."

January 7, 1965

Early in 1964, a year before he died, Malcolm X broke with the Black Muslims. He felt the Muslim leaders had betrayed certain tenets of Islam, and he disagreed with their political passivity and their reluctance to antagonize the white power structure. He founded an organization to link the African-American struggle to the struggles of the Third World, and his political thinking further developed after extensive tours of Africa and the Middle East. He said, "I for one will join with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth." He drew great inspiration from the Chinese Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, which he said "took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. . . . No more Toms in China." He delighted to see the U.S. Army pinned down by Vietnamese freedom fighters. He firmly supported liberation struggles that broke out in Congo, Kenya and other countries, and condemned the sending of U.S. forces to put them down. There was in him a sense of exhilaration that the enemy was being assaulted from all corners of the planet.

"Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that—that we're a minority. By thinking we're a minority, we struggle like a minority. . . . as beggars, with our hat in our hands. . . . While if we understand what's going on on this earth and what's going on in the world today, and fit America into that context, we find out she's not so bad, after all; she's not very invincible."

December 20, 1964

Malcolm X was a revolutionary and he should be remembered for that! But to make the revolutionary changes that need to be made, it is necessary to go beyond the philosophy of Malcolm X. As the special magazine section of the RW "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth" said: "The program and ideology of the revolutionary proletariat are the weapon and guide in the fight against the oppression of one nation by another and all the chauvinist and racist garbage that is spewed out to 'justify' this oppression. Even more basic, the proletarian line and program are the weapon and guide in the fight to finally end all forms of oppression and exploitation."

So as we remember the contributions of Malcolm X, it is:

**TIME TO TAKE THE STAGE,  
TIME TO MAKE OUR RAGE  
SERVE THE ONE AND ONLY  
REAL SOLUTION  
ALL-THE-WAY-LIBERATING  
REVOLUTION**

# SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD

Continued from page 9

does a child have to be your "own flesh and blood" to be your child? If the appeal of having children has to do with wanting to share in their freshness, discovery, wonderment and hopefulness, what difference does it make what (or whose) little cells started it all?

But the fact is that deep-down, and despite all the evidence to the contrary, many people still hold to the backward and unscientific view that genes determine more than just basic physical characteristics and potentialities—they wrongly think that such things as intelligence, ability to "succeed," character, morality, and "attitude" are related to one's genetic makeup. They think the presence of some of their genes in a child will make the child more like them, and therefore somehow "better"! Whether people think this through all the way or not, the fact is that there is a basic racist, fascist, eugenicist<sup>2</sup> viewpoint underlying the obsession with "my own genes." And particularly sick (as well as ridiculous) is the current obsession with a man's supposed property rights vis à vis his own sperm! Millions upon millions of tiny sperm cells are "wasted" every time a man ejaculates. Should we mourn their loss?

And what of the one little sperm cell which ends up fertilizing an egg? Frankly, it doesn't amount to much of anything! Both sperm and egg cells are tiny little bits of matter of little significance except when they combine, and even then they are merely acting as a trigger for a long and complex process of development. . . it's a long way from resulting in a fully developed human baby.<sup>3</sup>

The point is that it is absurd to equate the *social roles* of the man and the woman involved in a surrogate motherhood contract. The one ejaculates a few million sperm, of which one becomes relevant; the other's whole body becomes harnessed for nine months to a complex process involving tremendous physiological changes and strains, culminating in the intensity of labor and delivery. But the difference goes way beyond even this difference in physiological involvement. In a society where women have been taught from the time they were little girls that the most important things in their lives would be their relationships with men and with children, and that they would never fully realize themselves as women until they had produced a

2. Proponents of eugenics hold to the completely unscientific but brutally reactionary notion that "better" human beings can be produced by encouraging the reproduction of individuals exhibiting certain "socially desirable traits" and discouraging the reproduction of all others. In practice it has usually been the physical characteristics of the dominant race which have been encouraged: despite the fact that people's social characteristics and capabilities are not inheritable traits (but products of social learning and conditioning), eugenicists falsely believe that selective breeding could produce large numbers of people of "superior" physical and intellectual caliber. Needless to say, eugenicist theories have long been dear to the hearts of Nazis and their sort, past and present.

3. Mr. Sperms of this world might do well to reflect on the fact that there's "more of them" in any basic body cell (a skin cell on their arm for instance) than in any of their precious sperm. (The skin cell contains a complete copy of a person's DNA or genetic information. Theoretically, with more advanced technologies, it could provide all the information needed to clone a whole new person. . . whereas the sperm (or egg cells) only carry half a person's DNA). Perhaps the Mr. Sperms of this world should start worrying about their daily loss of skin cells through washing, scrapes, etc.? That would make about as much sense as their current attempts to be proprietary about their precious sperm cells!

baby (which they would then automatically love and want to care for) and proved themselves as a good mother—it is not surprising that the degree and intensity of women's "mental" involvement in the production of babies tends to be much more extreme than men's. This is a social reaction, which has essentially nothing to do with hormonal changes calling forth some kind of irrepressible "maternal instinct" as some biodeterminists have suggested. It is quite simply that societal norms and expectations have a very real, material influence on people's outlooks and reactions.

Think of how extreme the difference is: unlike men, most women have been taught to literally *define* themselves in relation to their men and to their children. It is only in relation to a man or to their children that most see themselves having any purpose in life or value to society. This is of course a distorted view because women already can, and do, contribute to society to a much greater degree, and would certainly do so even more if freed from the suffocating social relations of today. But that doesn't change the fact that most women alive today have been trained to see their value and purpose in these limited terms since early childhood.

Thus in present-day society it is absurd to act as if both parties in a surrogate motherhood agreement had entered into it on an equal footing: the discrepancy between them goes far beyond the admittedly gross differences in income. For example, while both of the Sterns may have genuinely worked themselves up into a state of high emotional involvement while fantasizing about "their" pregnancy and "their" baby, in reality it was Whitehead who went through it, and she did so in a social context which exerted tremendous pressure on her to see herself as "the Mother." The only real social expectation hanging over the Sterns was that "you should get what you pay for, and a deal is a deal."

"But getting back to the question of surrogate motherhood specifically, in relation to the need to work for the emancipation of women from their central roles as mothers. . . what about some of the valid concerns raised along the lines of some of the questions posed by Judy Levine in the *Village Voice* for instance (13 April 1987). She wondered whether we should insist that babies 'automatically' belong to their mothers, and added that: 'Gestating a baby for nine months obviously cannot be compared to donating sperm. But does that mean, necessarily, that at birth mothers have more claim to children than fathers? Can we open up the definitions of 'family'—and of men's obligations within them—without abolishing 'mother right'?"

These are in fact valid questions, which help focus some of the confusion among feminists concerning surrogate motherhood. While many feminists have denounced the way in which Mary Beth Whitehead was slandered as an unfit mother, and at least some have exposed the element of exploitation inherent in surrogate motherhood agreements, fewer than might be expected have denounced the practice as a whole. Some who have sided with Whitehead have done so largely on the basis of a biodeterminist position: the notion that the natural mother has inherent "maternal instincts" and undergoes irrevocable physical "bonding" to her newborn. Other feminists have correctly opposed

these biodeterminist myths but are reluctant to take a clear stand against surrogate motherhood because they are afraid this will just open the door to an even greater promotion of "traditional" motherhood roles for women. A related concern is expressed by those who feel we should defend to the absolute limit a woman's right to do with her body as she pleases, not only in terms of birth control and abortion, etc., but even to the point of prostitution or surrogate breeding. Others wonder, as did Judy Levine, whether such things as the outcome of the Baby M case might not actually *help* break down the traditional unevenness between men and women in regards to the family. But isn't the main aspect of what's going on with the Baby M case that *traditional* sex roles are actually being concentrated and reinforced—i.e., an official stamp of approval is being placed on a process which *openly* reduces a woman's role and value to that of a "breeder?" How can we go along with "opening up the definitions of 'family' " on that basis? The problem with surrogate motherhood, at least in today's social context, is not that it is an act of defiance against some god, or against some human nature, but that it reduces women and children to the status of marketable commodities to be bought and sold for a price. And in so doing it reinforces the most traditional bases of the oppressive relations between men and women.

Some people have said that the term "surrogate mother" should have been applied to Elizabeth Stern, since Whitehead was the biological mother. But this too misses the point. A child's "mother" and "father" are not necessarily the birth parents. These terms best describe social roles of people caring for the child, or expecting (and expected) to do so. Thus, in many cases adoptive parents become a child's mother and father in a very real sense, despite the absence of any biological connection. Ideally children should not "automatically" "belong" to anyone—they shouldn't be property. And as for the argument that a woman's body should be hers to do with as she pleases, it should be said once again that "the point is not that women should treat their own bodies as private property (their own rather than someone else's, but *property* all the same), but that we should strive to break out of the whole framework in which people are property" (RW No. 299). Rather than defending the "right" of individual women to sell themselves as prostitutes or breeders, we would do better to focus on exposing how degrading these practices are, and on bringing to light how the oppressive social relations in the current setup of society are the root cause of such degradation. The point is obviously not that prostitutes or breeders-for-hire should be punished or incarcerated! But exposure should be done, not only of how the treatment of women as marketable commodities is degrading to women (and to humanity overall for that matter!), but also of how such practices are part of a whole package of oppressive relations between the sexes which is crucial to the functioning and maintenance of the current oppressive division of labor in society overall, and on a global scale.

Getting back to the point (in Judy Levine's argument cited above) about how we might have to abolish automatic "mother right" and foster more "father rights" in order to free women from the confines of traditional family obligations. . . First of all we should recognize that there is no *actual* "mother right" in patriarchal society. Women remain subordinate in every aspect of life, including within the family and even in relation to children. And of course women have very little real control over such things as whether or not (and when) to even have children; to have an abortion; to give up a child for adoption, etc. Even in the late twentieth century, information and access to such necessities as birth control and abortion are criminally restricted. And when a woman *does* want to have a child, societal support structures are typically very limited (such as pre- and post-natal care for child and mother, day care facilities, quality social services for children at various stages of childhood, etc.). And this lack of power and control extends to the rearing of children as well. Women have very little freedom to decide what happens to their children: husbands, landlords, employers, state agencies, schools, courts, the military, the police. . . all these are part of a broad net of social relations in which women and children are trapped, or at the very least severely restricted. The notion that "nobody can tell me what to do with my children" is a painful myth.

All this has tremendous bearing on the overall subordination of women in society. As was pointed out before, ". . . the process of reproduction is still rooted in individuals, and individual women in particular. For as long as this remains true, the overall physical and social well-being of women, including especially their ability to function fully in society, must take precedence over any subordinate processes, such as reproduction. . . as long as human reproduction is rooted in individuals, and individual women in particular, the basis exists for the social regulation of production to contribute to the particular oppression of women. Whether a woman is forced to have a child, or not to have one, such social coercion is bound to affect to what extent and on what basis she participates in the affairs of society. Even in any future societies. . . it is difficult to imagine a situation where it would be right to forcibly dictate the terms of reproduction for individual women so long as the reproductive process remained so individualized and so grounded in a basic division between the sexes—precisely because coercion in such matters could only contribute to the continued oppression of women" (RW No. 299, "Urgently Needed: An Outpouring of Rage"). While these points were made in the context of a discussion focusing primarily on the need for access to contraception and abortion, some of this thinking can be extended to the question of whether to encourage an increase in "father rights" in opposition to "mother rights." Under the existing social order children are used as clubs against women: not only are women severely limited in their ability to choose when and whether to even have a

Available as a pamphlet

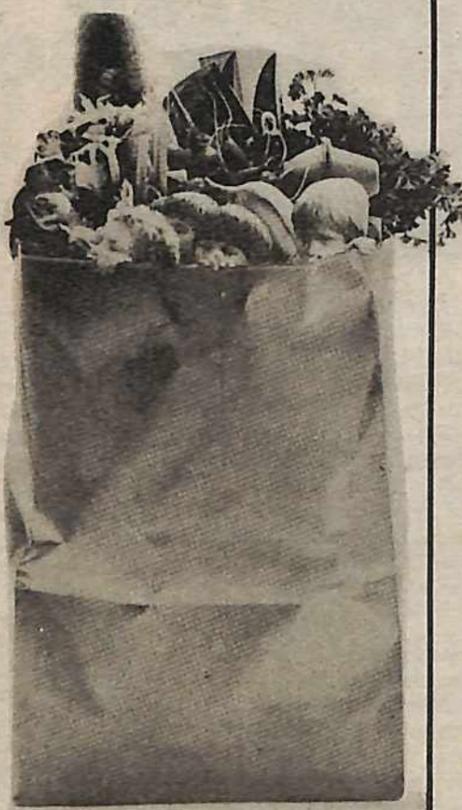
Originally published in Revolutionary Worker No. 407, May 25, 1987

## SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD:

## WOMEN ON THE AUCTION BLOCK

"When Black people were openly bought and sold as slaves, plantation owners or their agents used to go to slave auctions to look over the 'merchandise' before deciding on their purchase. . . Today, in scenes reminiscent of the human auction blocks of slave days, wealthy individuals visit modern-day auction houses in order to purchase the 'services' of a suitable young 'breeder.' . . They will try to carefully 'select' the 'surrogate mother.' . . No, no, and no! We refuse to accept these terms!"

"...history has shown that some of the most effective means of reinforcing the social subjugation of women (which is part and parcel of existing property relations) involves making use of the simple fact that it is the women who become pregnant and bear the children. . ."



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We received the following from Refuse & Resist!

# Women's Lives Come First— Shut Down the Court!

In response to the infamous Webster decision which gravely restricted women's access to abortion, two women and two men stood up in the chambers of the Supreme Court. They denounced the Court as the enforcers of patriarchal values and were arrested. This was the first time in U.S. history that anyone had ever disrupted this judicial "holy of holies" with a political protest.

Now, with the appointment of David Souter to the Supreme Court, a wholesale reversal of *Roe v. Wade* appears very real. Whether all at once or chipped away piece by piece, we will not accept the taking away of women's right to control their bodies and their reproduction.

We call on progressive women and men everywhere to pledge now to participate in a massive shutdown of the U.S. Supreme Court, through verbal protest from the spectator's gallery and outside demonstrations, on the first practical date following the announcement of any court decision reversing the right of abortion or significantly restricting its application.

While women's lives and medical facilities are disrupted and destroyed, the institutions of the patriarchs shall know no peace.

Adopted by the Refuse & Resist!  
National Council, September 30, 1990.

For more information and to join the action phone tree, contact:

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Refuse and Resist!  
contingent in pro-choice march,  
Washington, D.C., April 1989



child, but further restrictions apply after a child is born. In a society free of an exploitative division of labor, a child would not be the property of any individual but "belong" to the whole of society—a source of enrichment for all, and the responsibility of all as well. Unfortunately, under prevailing social conditions, women and children are deprived of this broader social support, and their lives become tightly intertwined in ways which inevitably tend to severely restrict women's participation in the affairs of society. And the state historically makes use of this close intertwining for purposes of social control: the threat of losing their children hangs over countless women like the threat of deportation into the hands of a death squad hangs over many immigrants. The word is don't resist, don't rebel, don't step out of line, or the state might take your children.

All this is why, while it is important to struggle with men to go against tradition and assume a more active and equal role in relation to the rearing of children, it would be dead wrong to call for an increase in state-mediated "father rights" in the hopes of spurring this transformation. Given who is running the state and in whose interests, such regulations could only be used as one more element of pressure

and control over women. And quite frankly the point is not to try to establish "absolute equality and fairness" between individual women and men in society. Rather we should be struggling to find the means to facilitate the rupture of women from conditions which restrict their full participation in the affairs of society, and especially in the affairs of radically transforming society. This is an important aspect of preparing the ground for taking on the whole of the existing social order and oppressive division of labor of which the systematic oppression of women is such an integral part. If in dealing with the role of women in society we don't start from this basic premise—from an understanding of the need to overthrow the whole of the existing social order to begin to create conditions for the full emancipation of women—then we will continually be dragged back from loftier aspirations and visions to the muck and mire of band-aid reformism. It is because this complete rupture is not made that many who aspire to a broader emancipation of women often fall back upon one or another reformist scheme to "alleviate" the oppression of women rather than working to uproot its very basis. An example of this is Judy Levine's conclusion, in relation to the surrogate motherhood issue, that what we should do is "fight for

legislation that establishes fair pay and working conditions for women who choose to gestate babies for a fee; paramount among those conditions must be a grace period after birth to decide whether or not to surrender the child" (*Village Voice*, 14 April 1987). Reportedly, Whitehead's lawyers will argue in the appeal that the contract was invalid because Whitehead was not paid *minimum wage* for all the hours she put in during her pregnancy! Would surrogate motherhood be OK if the breeders got paid vacations and dental plans?

No, no, and no! We refuse to accept these terms! The whole social relation involved in surrogate breeding is rotten, and brings to the fore what is rotten in the whole edifice it rests on—a system based on commodity exchange and an exploitative division of labor. The whole thing is rotten and the whole thing must come down! Only a revolution that overthrows the existing order, and more specifically a revolution which ultimately aims at dismantling every last vestige of the oppressive division of labor, can clear the ground for a new society rid of all exploitative aspects. Only then will the material conditions exist for people to look back upon the days when women were bought and sold in the marketplace as upon a distant nightmare. □

# YO!

## Special Subscription Offer

### Support the Revolutionary Journalists Tour

The Revolutionary Worker newspaper has brought together a powerful panel of journalists for a bold speaking tour. This Fall and Winter the tour will travel to college campuses on the East Coast, the Midwest and the West Coast.

People see big changes in the world, but they want to know how to bring into being a world that is *radically* different. These are urgent times, and burning questions demand to be answered: What can people living here do to expose the international role of the U.S.? How can Third World countries achieve real liberation from big-power domination and hold onto power? What is the revolutionary strategy and path to power in a country like South Africa? How do you build a new society where women are liberated?

Our panelists will discuss the realities of U.S. power and new prospects for revolution from first-hand experience.

#### DARE TO BE THERE! ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TIP!

Who are these journalists? They are writers who don't believe the hype. They are connected with the basic people here in this country and around the world. And their journalism gives voice to those on the bottom—the people waging fierce battles against imperialism in places like Soweto, Palestine, Miami and the barrios of Los Angeles. These journalists have stories to tell that you won't hear anywhere else—stories that crackle with dangerous truths.

This tour will bring the message from barrios and bantustans across this planet that revolution is not dead—on the contrary, it is *demand*ed by the very conditions of life throughout the planet. And youth of today, here in "the belly of the beast," must play their part.

This tour is a challenge to those on campus: In Apartheid Amerikkka, youth and students who want to change the world are systematically kept away from the basic people—the ones who have nothing to lose. Here is a chance to bust through these walls and get down with those who are making history. Here is a chance to find out what's really going down—serve the people—and choose a life that matters!

Every campus needs a distribution network for the *Revolutionary Worker*. We need "journalists for the revolution"—writers and photographers who dare to expose the crimes of the powers-that-be!

This is a tour about journalism that matters in a world where revolution matters. The 1990-91 Revolutionary Journalists Tour is coming to a campus near you—so DARE TO BE THERE.

#### "MAO MORE THAN EVER!"

The tour's name, "Yo! The World Is Being Turned Upside-Down!" is taken from a poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue," written in 1965 by Mao Tsetung.

In this poem, Mao tells of two birds, a panicky sparrow and a powerful wind-stirring roc drawn from Chinese mythology. The sparrow is terrified by the mess humans have made of their society and wants "to flit and fly away"—he wants to tune out the world and focus on himself. The sparrow mentions that a summit agreement was signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union and he fantasizes that this may produce lots of material things to make his little life easier.

The roc replies: "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

Twenty-five years ago, Mao was not impressed with fantasies of escape and easy material progress. He dared say that the "phony communism" of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had nothing to do with real socialism. And he insisted that big-power proclamations about "peace" should not lead oppressed people to give up their revolutionary struggle.

Now, when the powers-that-be in the West have launched an offensive against any dreams of a better world, the RW says: "Mao More Than Ever."

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# THE WORLD IS BEING TURNED UPSIDE DOWN!

## Revolutionary Journalists Tour - 1990-1991

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David Turnley/The Detroit Free Press