



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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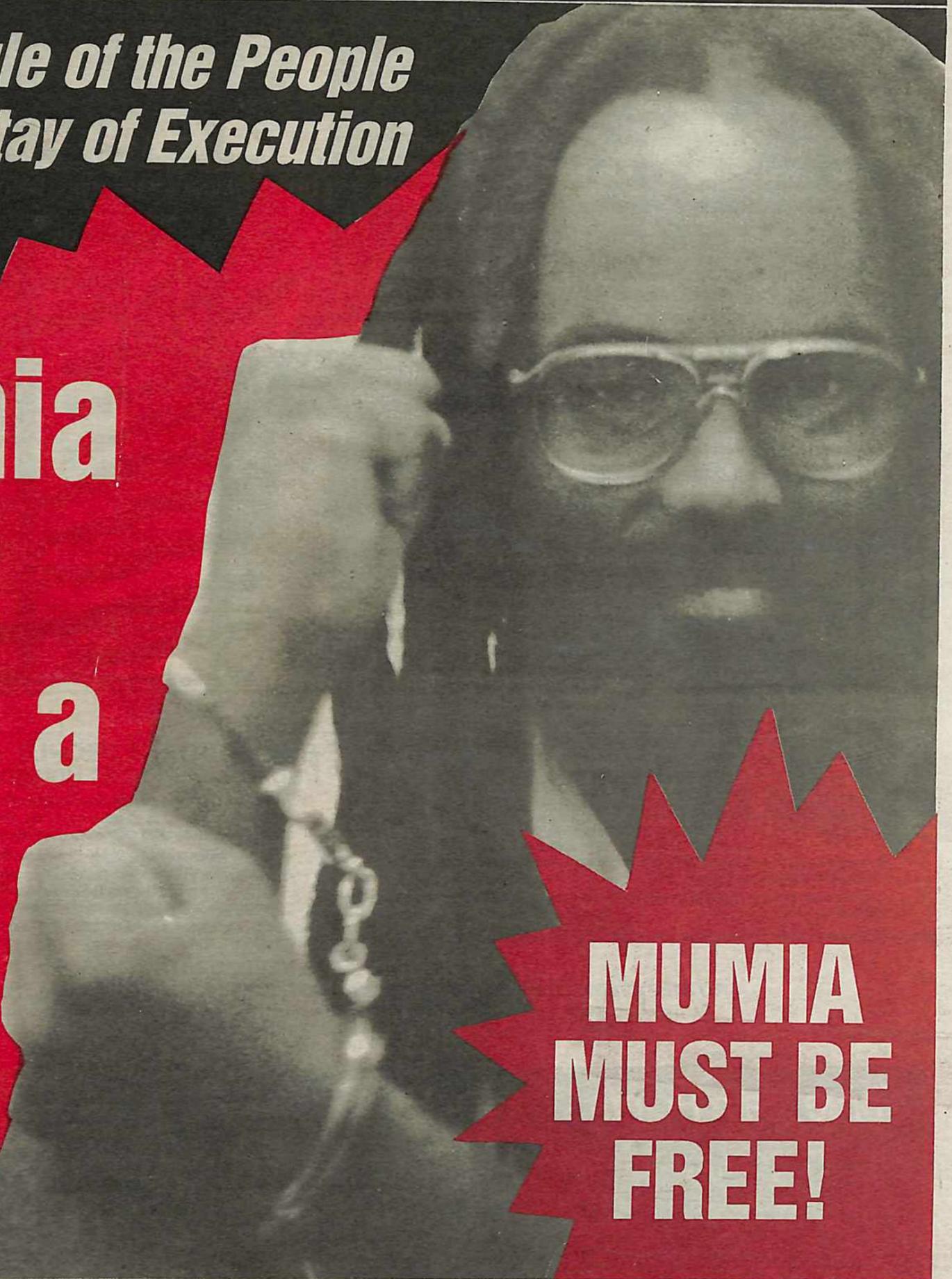
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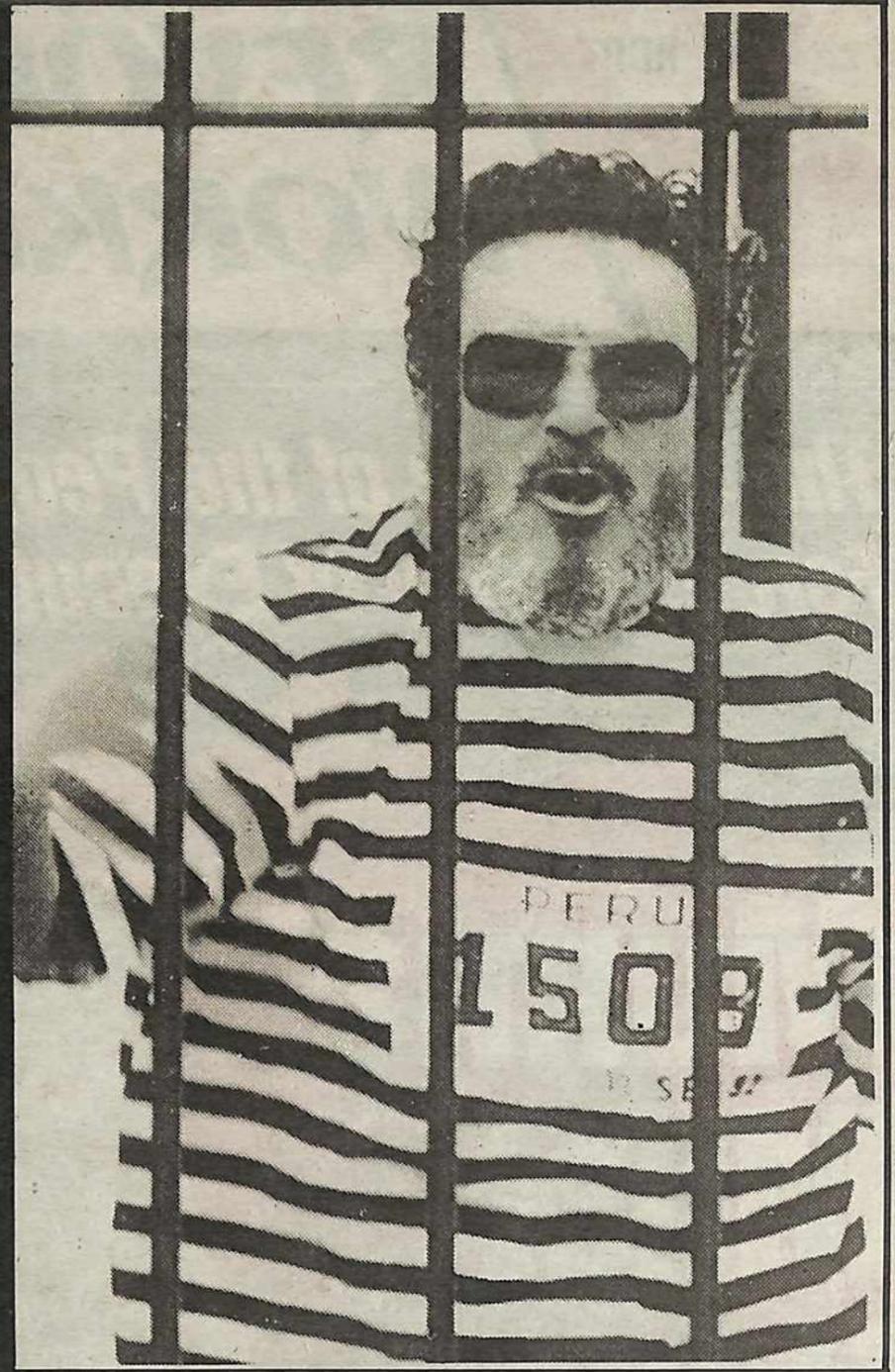
As of August 13, 1995 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for...

2 Years 306 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. And a new Constitution, made official last year, reinstates the death penalty which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

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

**Support the People's War in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!
Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo,
Fight to Break the Isolation!**



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Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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The Struggle of the People Forces a Stay of Execution

Mumia Must Have a New Trial

Mumia Must Be Free!

On Monday, August 7, hanging judge Albert Sabo signed a stay of execution for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The State of Pennsylvania had been going full steam ahead to have Mumia executed on August 17. But the determined struggle of the people forced them to temporarily back off.

This is a real victory in the struggle to free Mumia! But this battle is far from over. This is just a beginning, partial victory. And the enemy is sure to strike back, in perhaps more vicious and sneaky ways.

Through work and struggle, the people must now transform this into a full victory. *Mumia still sits on death row. There is still no new trial. He is still not free.* Mumia said, "I am now not under an active death warrant, although I remain under an active death sentence, thus I still sojourn in hell."

It was the power of the people's struggle that forced the system to grant a stay of execution. But Mumia still faces a death sentence. The people must now build on this initial victory, win a new trial for Mumia and free him altogether.

Powerful forces had been mobilized to help push through with a quick, legal lynching of Mumia.

The boozhwah media tried to create public opinion for the execution—with everyone from Dan Rather on CBS to the *Washington Post*, the *New York Post* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* trying to portray Mumia as a "criminal who deserves to die."

The Fraternal Order of Police stepped up their vicious campaign to call for Mumia's death. And they mobilized to try and intimidate Mumia supporters.

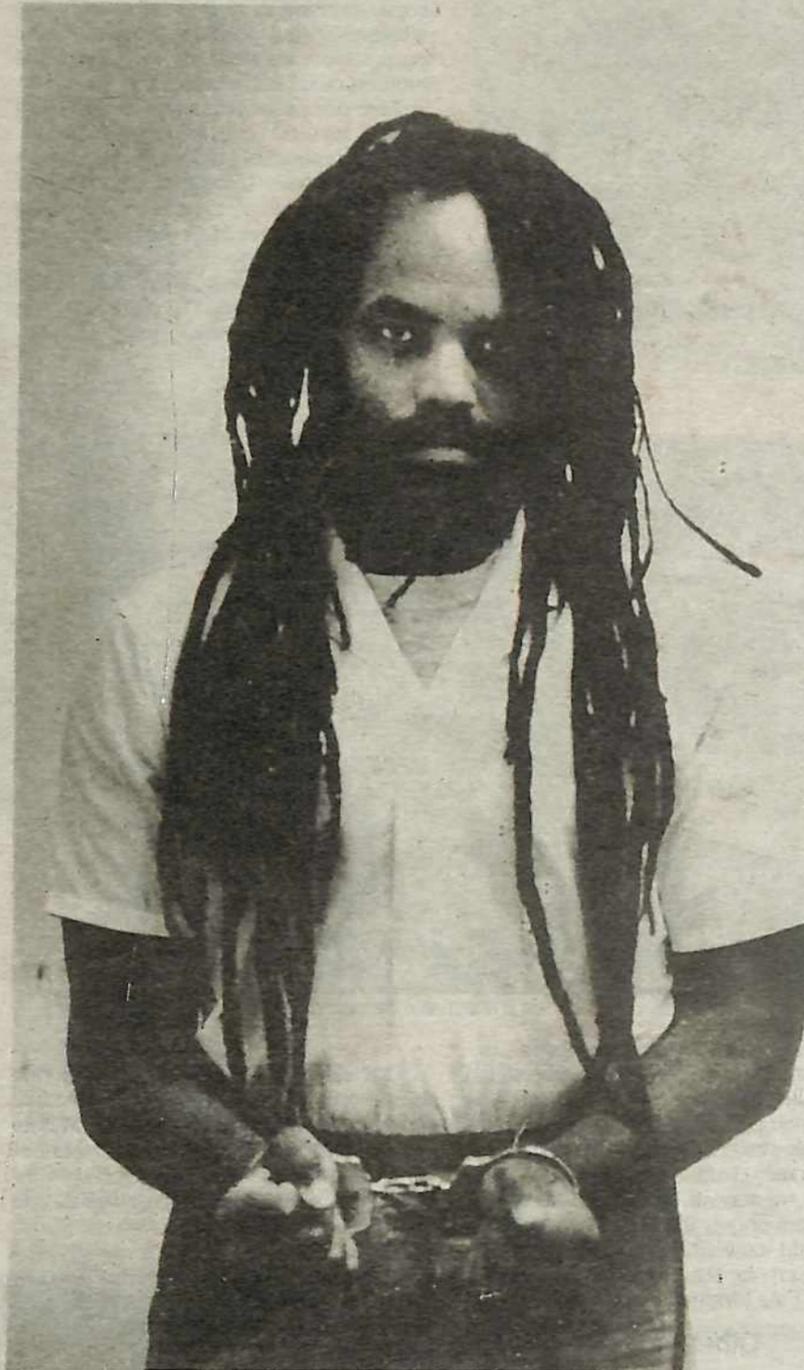
On the legal front, the system's court of injustice worked to block every effort by Mumia's lawyers to stop the execution. Judge Albert Sabo, the same racist judge who carried out the railroad of Mumia in 1982, was put in charge of railroading Mumia to the death chamber. And higher courts backed the most outrageous and unprecedented rulings by Sabo against Mumia's efforts to get a stay of execution and a new trial.

The government was moving full steam ahead to have Mumia executed on August 17. Then, with only 10 days to go, the power structure decided to grant a stay of execution. What forced them to do this?

Tens of thousands of people, all around the world, had fought to expose the political nature of this frame-up. And support for Mumia was growing by the day.

Last week's editorial by the RCP pointed out that: "The rulers will only decide to back down on this if they feel threatened by the people's struggle. Such struggle has to be broad, diverse and determined." This is what the people accomplished. This is what forced the system to grant a stay of execution at this point:

The work of prominent cultural figures, religious activists and other justice-minded people from the middle class to publicize the case. The dedicated efforts of Mumia's lawyers who fought hard in the enemy's legal arena. The marshaling of many different forces in the Black community behind Mumia's cause. The determination of



the movement to free Mumia and the growing protests to his execution in cities across the U.S. The way in which this has begun to strike a chord with proletarians—the class on the bottom with nothing to lose and no reason to hold back—and the threat of explosive struggle this carries. The fierce support for Mumia in the prisons across America. And—extremely important—the way in which Mumia himself has stood strong and defiant in the very jaws of death.

A Blow to the System's Whole Punishing Agenda

We should realize that this victory is a blow not just for Mumia's freedom, but against the whole "death-row, lock 'em up, throw away the key" direction the system is going in.

Ultimately, it is not Sabo or Ridge who call the shots. They answer to and represent the ruling class of capitalist/imperialists, which is united on a program of clampdown and cutbacks. They are enforcing a program the rulers of this country all agree on.

From the Supreme Court to Bill Clinton to the Republicans—they all agree on using the death penalty as a weapon against the people. They all agree on turning the cops loose in the ghettos and barrios, to brutalize and kill with impunity. They all agree on violently suppressing dissent from the people—especially someone who dares to speak for revolution.

The fight to save Mumia goes against this escalating program—and the ruling class behind it. And in this way, it is linked up with the people's struggle against the whole agenda of attacks coming down on

the masses of people—from "three strikes you're out" to anti-immigrant laws like 187, to heartless cutbacks and the scapegoating and punishment of people on welfare.

The movement to free Mumia must go still more broadly, still more deeply—to the millions whose true interests lie against this whole program and against the capitalist class.

The stakes of this battle remain very high. The government wants to execute Mumia in order to send out a deadly message. They want to murder Mumia and silence his voice forever. And by doing this, they hope to intimidate all who dare resist their system. They want to set a precedent by executing a political prisoner. They want to demoralize the people with the message that "it's useless to fight"—"the system has the power of life and death and can do whatever it wants."

The people must stop them from delivering this deadly message. We should build on our gains and strengthen our unity. We should take advantage of the stay to consolidate organization to carry on this fight more broadly and fiercely through to victory. And, very importantly, we should build organization that can link this battle to other fronts and struggles of the people.

This struggle has shown the importance of groups like Refuse & Resist! which are organized around fighting the system's whole agenda of repression. New groups have been formed to fight this battle. And organizations of many different cultural, political, religious and social trends have united in this cause. This united front spirit of cooperation and working together needs to be strengthened and built in order to wage what is bound to be a fierce battle to get a new trial and free Mumia.

The Enemy Is Vicious—The People Must Be Vigilant

The people need to be vigilant: Imperialism is vicious—sometimes it is most vicious when the people win a victory, even a partial one.

After the ruling, one Philadelphia cop said, "Maybe we should have executed [Mumia] at 13th and Locust"—referring to when the cops shot and arrested Mumia in 1981. That should be taken as a threat. We should remember George Jackson, the great revolutionary prisoner, writer, and activist of the last generation. In 1971, the day before George Jackson was set to go to trial, the authorities set him up and murdered him in prison.

We must fight for Mumia's access to the world outside of prison. We must continue to combat and expose their lies and slander and find the ways to "let Mumia speak" to the people. And we must expose every underhanded move they make on him.

We should not be caught off guard. Governor Ridge has said he will not sign a new death warrant until Mumia has exhausted all legal appeals. But legal precedent didn't prevent the system from moving to have Mumia executed on August 17. And boozhwah promises are certainly no in-

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On Alert

The people have won a stay of execution for Mumia. But as we go to press, the death warrant for Mumia is still "valid" through August 19. This means that it is legally possible for Sabo to reverse himself before August 19 and vacate his own stay of execution.

This means the people must keep their guard up! We are locked in an intense back-and-forth battle with the enemy. The people have won a beginning victory, but the other side is sure to strike back. So the people must be *vigilant every single step of the way*—until Mumia is free.

After August 19, any execution of Mumia would require a new warrant to be signed by Pennsylvania Governor Ridge. Ridge has stated publicly

that he will not sign any new warrant for Mumia as long as any court processes (state and federal) are pending. But the people cannot rely on such boozhwah promises. The system clearly still wants blood. In fact, Ridge made a point of saying that if Mumia loses all his appeals, he will sign a new death warrant and put Mumia on the top of the list of prisoners to be executed.

When Mumia's appeal hearing is over, Sabo will most likely rule against a new trial and Mumia's lawyers will appeal to the state and then federal courts. It is unclear exactly how long this process will take. But in any case, it is extremely important that the people keep the heat on the enemy throughout this whole process and be ready to expose and combat any moves against Mumia—in the courtroom or in prison.

The People Must Stop the Execution of Mumia! Only the people can save Mumia's life!

Movement Grows To Save Mumia's Life



March on Crenshaw Boulevard in Los Angeles, August 5.

Philadelphia, August 12: There was a spirit of celebration and determination in the streets of Philadelphia as 5,000 to 6,000 people of many different nationalities gathered to march for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

This was the week when Mumia was granted a stay of execution. And his supporters in the streets understood that they—and thousands more like them all over the world—had forced the executioner to back off...for now.

Along with this spirit of celebration—there was also a fierce determination to fight this fight all the way through until Mumia is free.

People came from all over the country for this march and many different kinds of people and groups participated, including Mumia's family, ACT-UP, MOVE, International Concerned Family and Friends, Refuse & Resist!, Academics for Mumia Abu-Jamal, National Peoples Coalition, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, the Black Panther News Collective, the youth group of the NAACP, activists in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, many community groups, the Bruderhof religious communities and many different reformist-left organizations.

After an opening rally, the march went down Philadelphia's main shopping and tourist street—shutting down business-as-usual on its way to the system's so-called "Liberty Bell." A large rally was held with many speakers. Twenty African-inspired musicians created a beautiful, unifying heartbeat with their drums.

This is a city that has been on clampdown—not just recently, but for many years. It was refreshing, liberating for people here to see such a powerful expression of support for Mumia—who symbolizes everything the Philadelphia power structure hates.

Fresh, powerful chants rocked downtown: "No Justice No Peace, No Prisons, No Police!" "The Whole World Is Watching, Free Mumia Now!" "Power to the People, Free Mumia!" "Stop the Execution, Start the Revolution!"

From the sidewalks, fists shot in the air, shoppers joined the chants and some joined in the march.

For many participants, the power of this



August 8—Protesters outside ABC studios in Manhattan demand that the network cover the Mumia case.

march and the recent stay have generated a new feeling of strength and optimism—not just for the struggle to free Mumia but for the whole struggle against this system.

Reverend Cecil Grey remarked, "As long as we stay in the streets and on the streets, not only is the new day coming, it's here right now... We're making history today. Stay in the streets. Power to the People! Free Mumia!"

Other Actions

The Berkeley-based Prison Activist Resource Center recently estimated on the internet that actions have taken place for Mumia in over 50 U.S. cities.

Los Angeles: On August 4, 500 people—including youth from the projects of Watts, Black and Chicano nationalists, revolutionary communists, students, lawyers and political activists of many kinds—gathered in L.A.'s historic Crenshaw district, the heart of African American life in this city.

After the rally, a hardcore of about 75 people took it to the street. For a couple of hours, they faced off dozens of cops in riot gear, as they boldly marched up and down the middle of Crenshaw, one of the busiest boulevards in the city. Every couple of

blocks the cops tried to stop the march. Over and over again, the cops announced the march was illegal. And repeatedly, demonstrators fought their way through barricades of squad cars and club-swinging cops—refusing to give up the street, doing whatever it took to keep advancing. Five people were arrested, but the sisters and brothers could not be stopped.

The first arrest the cops made, they waded into the crowd clubbing people. They were obviously trying to intimidate. A youth from South Central stretched himself up as tall as he could, and said: "It's going down! Right here, right now, it's going down! We're not doing this for ourselves. We're doing this for Mumia! He's always stood up for us, now we're standing up for him. And we won't back down!" And they didn't.

New York City: On August 8 at about 1

Some protesters came disguised as TV reporters carrying fake mikes. Others dressed as Hanging Judge Sabo for guerrilla theatre. The protesters unfurled banners and blocked escalators in the ABC lobby. When ABC rent-a-cops ordered the protesters to leave, they refused and presented a list of demands. The list included demands that Mumia be interviewed on *Nightline*, that ABC cover Mumia's hearings and the worldwide actions supporting Mumia's freedom, and that "ABC commit its massive resources and influence to seek Mr. Abu-Jamal's freedom, as they would do in the case of any dedicated reporter held hostage in a foreign country."

There were eight arrests. Press reports said that ABC officials still refused to do a Mumia story—and even threatened reporters from other news organizations with arrest if they kept interviewing the Mumia supporters.

Cleveland: On August 6, 300 people poured into Antioch Baptist Church to support Mumia Abu-Jamal. The featured speaker was Ramona Africa, a survivor of the May 13, 1995 MOVE massacre. Intense support and interest made it possible for the Cleveland Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal to pull this successful event together in four days.

Ramona said: "I don't just want a stay and a new trial—I want Mumia free!" After she spoke, others gave solidarity statements. A member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) told the crowd: "I'm part of what the system calls 'the lost generation.' But Mumia says that our generation has more revolutionary potential than any in history. And he says, 'If they're lost, find them.' And that's why I joined the RCYB."

On August 7, the city council of Ann Arbor, Michigan overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for a new trial for Mumia and for setting aside his death sentence. Ann Arbor now joins Detroit, Madison, and Cambridge, Massachusetts as the fourth American city council to pass such a resolution.

Prisoners Speak Out for Mumia

In Pennsylvania's grim Lewisburg Maxi-
Continued on page 14

p.m. about 50 people stormed the corporate headquarters of ABC News in Manhattan, protesting the lack of coverage of Mumia Abu-Jamal's case. The action was reportedly carried out by The Direct Action Network To Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and Lower East Side squatters.



At the Lollapalooza concert in Camden, New Jersey, early August.

Mumia Must Have a New Trial

Continued from page 3

surance against new threats to Mumia's life. Only the continuing struggle of the people will keep Mumia alive.

Also, new legislation against death row prisoners could be used against Mumia. For example, the government's new anti-terrorism bill includes death penalty provisions which restrict the number of appeals and the grounds upon which death row prisoners can file appeals. Mumia has not filed his federal habeas corpus appeal and can't do this until he goes through state appeals courts. This means that if the anti-terrorism bill passes and gets signed into law before Mumia makes his first filing in federal court, this new law could apply to him.

A key demand right now is for a new

trial. Already all kinds of new information has come out in Mumia's appeal hearing—evidence and testimony that further point to Mumia's innocence and show concretely how the Philly police and other city authorities conspired to carry out a political frame-up.

If Mumia gets a new trial, even more is sure to come out and there are undoubtedly powerful forces who don't want Mumia to get a new trial because it will be so exposing. It will take a real struggle by the people to get a new trial for Mumia.

The people should enthusiastically mark this first victory—by showing a spirit of vigilance and determination to see this struggle all the way through, until Mumia is free. □

"Stop the Execution, Start the Revolution!"

Frederick Douglass once said that "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will...Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get. If we ever get free from the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if need be, by our lives and the lives of others."

Douglass spoke those words before the Civil War—the war which ended outright chattel slavery in this country. But Douglass' words ring no less true today than they did 140 years ago. We live at a time when a revolution to end ALL forms of slavery is on the agenda and urgently needed.

While the battle to save Mumia is not in itself a revolution, it IS a battle where we hammer out the very shape of our future. The choices we make today mean everything about tomorrow.

If you're serious about revolution, get down with the Revolutionary Communist Party.



Mumia at the courthouse.

On Monday, August 7 Judge Sabo suddenly announced he was granting a stay of execution. The court room erupted into complete uproar. This stay eans that the execution of Mumia is postponed for now. Sabo swore that neither "national or international pressure" had anything to do with his decision. This is obviously not true.

This stay was something Sabo *hated* to do—some people in the courtroom noted: He had to choke on his words.

Sabo is a hanging judge who has sent dozens of people to their deaths. And he has *never* before granted a stay of execution. Up until August 6, Sabo had been using every bit of his power in a single-minded push for Mumia's execution.

The stay was forced by the struggle of the people. It is an important—if partial—victory!

Evidence of Frameup, Coverup and Terrorizing of Witnesses

The rest of the week, more testimony and evidence came out pointing to Mumia's innocence. And Sabo and the prosecution have been put on the defensive.

For 14 years, the police have claimed this was an open-and-shut case from the beginning, that Mumia shot and killed Philly cop Daniel Faulkner. The cops deny they ran various other suspects through lie detector tests, gunpowder tests and lineups. In fact they deny there *were* other suspects.

But testimony reveals that the cops *knew* there were other people on the scene who might have shot Faulkner. They knew that Mumia's brother, Billy Cook, was not alone in the VW that Faulkner stopped that night. There have already been several witnesses who have testified that the person who shot Faulkner was seen running away from the scene. And witnesses at the hearing this week have made it even more clear that the cops have tampered with evidence, kept key evidence from Mumia's lawyers and used violence to terrify eyewitnesses.

For example, Arnold Howard, a longtime

Reporter's Notebook from the Court of Injustice

New Evidence Exposes Frame-Up

friend of Mumia and Mumia's brother Billy Cook, testified that the cops found his license clutched in the hand of the dying Faulkner. Howard says he was not there that night. He says he had lent his license to Ken Freeman, who Howard says was the driver of the VW.

Howard testified that the cops considered both Ken Freeman and him to be suspects. Howard said that minutes after Faulkner was shot, a dozen cops dragged him out of his home in his underwear and took him to police headquarters. He was held and interrogated for 72 hours. He said that he and Ken Freeman were put in a line-up and that Ken was picked out. Howard's hands were tested for gunpowder, to determine if he had fired a gun recently—a test that was never conducted on Mumia.

During Howard's testimony, the prosecution suddenly produced two new pieces of evidence—a statement that they said Howard had made to the police in 1981, and a prisoner log book from police headquarters. According to the log book Howard was only held for a few hours—not several days as he claims. The police version of Howard's statement does not mention that he lent his license to Ken Freeman. According to Howard, these documents must have been fabricated by the police.

After Howard testified, Mumia's legal team asked for materials that could be used to explore these new facts, such as police logs, photos, police records of statements made by Ken Freeman and line-up findings. Judge Sabo refused to give this material to the defense.

A Witness Made Brave by the Movement of the People

Another important witness came forward—saying that she had been too afraid to talk for 14 years.

Sharon Smith was with her husband and children that night—in a hotel overlooking the spot where Faulkner and Mumia were shot. She testified that she heard an argument, then "two, maybe three, shots." She looked out her window and saw about four police cars and "a lot of police officers beating a Black man with dreadlocks with their sticks and their feet." She heard the police say, "Kill the Black motherfucker!" and "Beat the shit out of the Black motherfucker!" She said Mumia was beaten, hit and kicked "everywhere...I thought that this man would die." At the time, Mumia was badly wounded in the chest—a bullet had pierced his lung, ruptured his diaphragm and ripped his liver. Mumia has always said the police tried to kill him that night—now there is more evidence that he has been telling the truth.

Sharon described her reaction to the beating: "I was scared, nervous and I started vomiting...I'd never seen anything like it before...I was afraid." Though she

did not identify Mumia as the man being beaten, she did say that she did not see anyone else lying on the ground who could have been Mumia.

Sharon told the RW that she was terrified to come forward and publicly tell her story. But recently, when she saw the growing struggle being waged to free Mumia, she broke her silence and told what she'd seen. The movement to stop the execution had given her the courage to defy the police.

Arnold Howard explained that he too had been afraid to come forward earlier. He said, "My family asked me to leave matters alone." Howard's fears were well founded. By the time he took the stand last week—only five days after he was first approached by Mumia's attorneys—his mother had already been harassed by Philadelphia cops. Sabo refused to allow Howard to testify about this harassment.

There is other evidence that the police tried to intimidate witnesses who could expose their frameup. Arnold Howard's drivers license was suspended for 13 years. Ken Freeman's newsstand was burned down right after the incident.

Arnold Howard testified that Ken Freeman was found dead a few years later "handcuffed and shot up with drugs." Freeman was murdered in 1985, the very same weekend the authorities dropped a bomb on the MOVE house in Philadelphia.

Witness from Prison

On Thursday, August 10 another witness stepped forward for the first time. William Harmon recently wrote a letter to Mumia's lawyers saying he had information about who shot Faulkner. Harmon was transported from a prison in Pittsburgh to Philadelphia.

Sabo refused to allow Mumia's lawyers enough time to interview this witness to discover what he knew. And at first, Sabo even refused to allow this witness the usual review of photographs so he could refresh his memory of the scene. Assistant District Attorney Arlene Fisk claimed the prosecution didn't have the photos. But it was a lie. Then, after a brief consultation, Sabo showed up with the photos of the crime scene—which *had been there all the time*.

Harmon testified that he had seen Mumia on the street and gone up to talk with him—because he admired Mumia's radio broadcasts. They stood and talked. Then they heard an argument and Mumia walked off in that direction. Harmon followed.

Harmon said he heard a shot and saw Faulkner fall. He said Faulkner was lying against a wall with his gun out. As Mumia walked toward the scene, Harmon said he heard a second shot, then Mumia fell and a third man ran away from the scene. Then

Harmon claimed a car drove up, someone got out of the passenger side, pointed a gun down at Faulkner and shot him again. Harmon testified that Mumia did not have a gun.

DA Hypocrisy

Assistant District Attorney Arlene Fisk tried to discredit these three witnesses. Fisk asked Arnold Howard if he had been a member of the Black Panther Party. This blatantly political questioning is further proof of the political nature of this whole case. And it shows the intense, *continuing* hostility Philadelphia's authorities feel toward anyone associated with revolutionary politics.

Fisk suggested that no one should believe these three defense witnesses because they have arrest records. This is total hypocrisy: in Mumia's *original* 1981 trial, Mumia's defense was *forbidden* to point out that the *prosecution's* witnesses were facing charges and had possibly made deals in exchange for helping to frame Mumia. A key government witness in the original trial had been convicted of throwing a Molotov cocktail into a school yard for money!

Dr. Hoyer, the assistant medical examiner who conducted the Faulkner autopsy, also testified. Dr. Hoyer's work was so shoddy that he found a *second* exit wound on Faulkner's neck after his autopsy was finished *when he was reviewing photographic slides on the witness stand*, during the original trial. Mumia's lawyer Leonard Weinglass said that this medical examiner's report was so incomplete that it amounted to "evidence of prosecutorial misconduct."

Though Hoyer tried to stonewall in this hearing, his testimony confirmed Weinglass' remarks: Hoyer claimed that he did not remember much about the case, that he did not maintain a diary of autopsies and that he routinely erased his taped records. He also could not recall if the bullet or fragments had been preserved. His original report had said that the bullet was .44 caliber. Mumia's gun was a .38. Now, Dr. Hoyer claims, this notation about .44 caliber was only a preliminary one "that does not necessarily represent my findings."

The widespread national and international support for Mumia has begun to change the political atmosphere. Witnesses now feel compelled to come forward. Thanks to the struggle of the people, they have more freedom, more backing, more courage to do this. The frame-up is starting to come unraveled and more exposed for all the world to see. □



Artist Bernie Ethiopia working on a mural of Mumia in North Philadelphia.



Los Angeles: Lincoln Heights Rebels Demand Justice for Tony Gutierrez



Family, friends and neighbors of Tony Gutierrez at the memorial marking the place where he was shot by an LAPD cop.

Los Angeles, Aug. 12—Two weeks after a killer cop murdered 14-year-old Tony Gutierrez, over 100 people marched from the Lincoln Heights neighborhood in East L.A. to Parker Center, the downtown police headquarters. The police mobilized a heavy presence against the march. But the people, mainly Latino/a youth, were determined and defiant. The signs they carried made clear the message they wanted to deliver: "Fuck the pigs"; "LA Pig Nazis Out. Basta ya!"; "Abajo con fascismo."

Rebellion Shakes the Power Structure

As the RW reported last week, two nights of rebellion followed the LAPD killing of Tony Gutierrez in Lincoln Heights, a neighborhood of mostly Chicano/a and Mexican people. The righteous street-fighting by the people of Lincoln Heights against the police showed once again how the L.A. Rebellion of April 1992 brought in a "new day." And the response by the power structure revealed how afraid they are of the struggle of the oppressed people.

Rocks and bottles first started flying immediately after the cop shot Tony Gutierrez at 9:40 p.m. on Saturday July 29. He had been relaxing outside with his mother and

others when three police cars rolled up from different directions with their lights out. One cop, Michael Falvo, opened fire on Tony. People who were there have given slightly different accounts of what happened. But everybody—except the police—says that Tony was unarmed when he was gunned down, and that the cop shot him in the back without warning. People immediately began fighting the police, and more cops rushed to the area. There were reports of three arrests and two heavily damaged police cars.

The next day, a much larger battle took place when the police tried to break up a car wash being held to raise money for Tony's family. Hundreds of Lincoln Heights residents of all ages poured into the streets. Rocks, bottles, pieces of brick and anything else that was at hand were thrown at the police. Trash cans burned in the street. One cop was injured when something hit him in the face. Police cars had broken windows. Over 100 cops were sent in, including the SWAT team. "They acted like we killed one of them," a woman said.

The way the cops broke up the car wash shows the cold-blooded nature of this system's armed enforcers. But the actions of the people in Lincoln Heights also put

fear into the hearts of the ruling class—not just in L.A. but up to the top levels of the U.S. government.

The *LA Times* said the Lincoln Heights eruption "stands as a vivid reminder of the potential volatility of numerous neighborhoods in the city." And just 36 hours after Tony was killed, two U.S. Justice Department officials showed up at a community meeting in Lincoln Heights. Shortly afterwards, the FBI announced that it was launching its own "investigation" into the killing, separate from the one announced by the LAPD.

The FBI investigation is *not* about seeking justice for Tony. An article in the *Chicago Tribune* (Aug. 10) made clear what the real concern of the country's top political police agency is: "The abrupt FBI intervention underscored the close watch that federal officials have kept on Los Angeles over the last few strife-torn years—and the political importance of keeping the nation's second largest city calm." And it's not just L.A. that the rulers are worried about. The *Tribune* article quotes a "federal law enforcement official" who says: "It's not just L.A. It's across the country. Look at Miami right now." As the RW reported last week, youth in Miami and Indianapolis have also been out in the streets against the police in recent weeks.

Police Clampdown

Nearly two weeks after the killing, large numbers of cops continue to prowl through Lincoln Heights. The police are stopping youth on the street, sweating them, checking for warrants. "They're trying to break us up, get us to forget it," one youth told the RW.

Meanwhile, the authorities are saying that what Lincoln Heights needs is *more* cops, and *more* police intrusion into the life of the community. They are especially pushing "community-based policing." L.A. Mayor Riordan said, "One of the first goals ought to be to get a substation in Lincoln Heights and get more officers as quickly as possible." L.A. City Council Member Mike Hernandez said the problem was "communication" with the police and said the solution is community-based policing. The *LA Times* says this means "close cooperation between police and residents and the early identification and resolution of problems." Translation: they want to organize groups of snitches in the neighborhood to act as eyes and ears for the police. And they want to organize a pro-police section of the people in order to chill people out in a situation like the police killing of Tony Gutierrez.

One of the things that scared the powers about the Lincoln Heights rebellion is the way many of the older residents actively supported the youth when they fought the police. The authorities are trying to counter this in various ways—including by trying to divide people around the question of gangs. The police and the mainstream media are trying to justify the murder of Tony by saying he was a gang member. There have been numerous stories quoting "unnamed residents" of Lincoln Heights who say the "biggest problem" they face is the gangs. L.A. newspapers and TV news recently ran a story about a "drive-by shooting" in Lincoln Heights. It turns out the shooting happened outside the neighborhood and had nothing to do with people in Lincoln Heights.

A series of revelations about the shooting has contributed to continuing anger at the police. Police said Tony had a gun, and was pointing it at the cops when one of them opened fire. But this cover-up story quickly began to fall apart. A pistol was found 10 to 20 feet away from Tony's body, on the other side of a chest-high wall. Tony's fingerprints were not on it. There's no way he could have dropped it there after being shot to death. Then, at the end of the week following the killing, a coroner's report showed that Tony had been shot four times in the back—just like people who saw the shooting had said.

Information also came out about Michael Falvo, the shooter. He had been identified in 1991 as one of 44 "problem officers" with a large number of brutality complaints. The list was compiled by the Christopher Commission, set up to investigate the LAPD after the beating of Rodney King. And after the Commission's report, Falvo faced internal LAPD charges for riding through the East L.A. Ramona Gardens projects and flipping off residents after one of their neighbors, Smokey Jimenez, had been killed by Sheriff's deputies. But rather than being fired, Falvo was assigned to the CRASH unit, an "elite," so-called anti-gang unit that gathers information and keeps files on thousands of youth in East L.A. and other areas. Falvo had made death threats to Tony days before he killed him, according to Tony's friends.

Tony Gutierrez was buried August 9. Four hundred people attended the ceremony. They were there to mourn for Tony, but they also made it clear they wanted justice. Many of the youth wore T-shirts that said, "In loving memory of Travieso [Tony's nickname]. Rest in peace. Fuck the LAPD." □



July 30—During the rebellion in Lincoln Heights after the police murdered Tony.

Revolutionaries Protest Destruction of Henry Horner Homes

Up Against the Wrecking Ball

Chicago, August 11—The government's plan for what they call "reinventing public housing" was on display at Henry Horner Homes projects on the city's near West Side. As Henry Cisneros, the head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Mayor Daley and other officials watched, the wrecking ball tore into the southeast corner of one of several buildings targeted for demolition and left a gaping hole.

The start of the Horner demolition did not go down without opposition. The Revolutionary Communist Party, Chicago Branch, called for an emergency protest at the site of the demolition. As the big media event for the demolition, organized by HUD, got underway, a group of protesters streaked by security forces. They climbed onto the wrecking crane, shouting: "No Demolitions! No People Removal! HUD is Lying Again!" Three people were arrested, including A.K. Small of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. At the same time, other protesters marched toward the dignitaries' platform, and there was a tussle with the police. There were more arrests later when some protesters slipped into the media event and began chanting.

A leaflet from the RCP, Chicago said: "The demolition at Horner Homes are an opening shot in the government's war on public housing. Here is HUD's vision of the future of public housing—the wrecking

ball! The House of Representatives just passed a budget slashing \$3 billion from public housing—40 percent of the budget! What will this mean? Already, homelessness grows and affordable housing become harder to find. We get cutbacks around housing, education and welfare, while prison construction booms and the rich get richer. The original demand of Horner residents was to fix up ALL the units! HUD's answer is the demolition of five highrises, for starters, as their version of 'redevelopment'....

"Take a stand against HUD's war on people in public housing! People who hate injustice and racism must act now. Oppose the federal slumlords and their program of 'urban cleansing.' HUD plans to make the Horner demolition a 'model' and the wrecking ball will be beamed all over the country. There must be resistance."

HUD has gone all out to promote the demolitions as an example of "redevelopment for the people." But the "Stop the Wrecking Ball" action called by the RCP—as well as the widespread and unmistakable mood of suspicion and bitterness from the tenants—sent a very different message. The next housing development slated for the wrecking ball is Cabrini Green. An August 16 action has been called by forces at Cabrini to encircle the six targeted highrises with a "human chain." □



Above: Protesters on the wrecking crane at Henry Horner Homes, August 11. Left: The demolition of a building at Henry Horner begins, August 11.

Interview at Cabrini Green

"Standing My Ground"

Chicago's Cabrini Green public housing development is home to thousands of mostly low income Black families. Over the years the people of Cabrini Green have found themselves many times in the firing line of the system's attack on the people. Now they are caught between the massive cuts planned for public housing nationally and the specific plans in Chicago to tear down highrises and disperse public housing residents. Capitalist developers view Cabrini as a prime piece of meat to carve up. Chicago's power structure looks at Cabrini as too many poor people too close to their political and financial centers downtown. They all want to make Cabrini disappear.

In 1993 the Chicago Housing Authority

(CHA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) agreed on the "Hope VI" redevelopment plan for Cabrini. They claimed that their plan would "revitalize" Cabrini and promised that no buildings would be demolished until replacement housing was actually built and residents were living in them. As recently as March 12, CHA head Vince Lane repeated the promise. But when HUD took direct control of CHA in May, it became clear that these promises were empty lies. Now HUD is proceeding ahead with plans to start demolitions.

One of the highrise buildings slated for demolition, 1150-1160 N. Sedgwick, still has a good number of residents living there. A reporter from the *Revolutionary Worker*

recently spoke with a long-time Cabrini resident who stays at the building.

Just Like a Prison

Frank has been involved in the struggle against the plans by the CHA and HUD to remove people and demolish buildings. "It is just like a prison up in here. We don't have no rights, we don't got none. But we ain't giving up though. Cause they might have to drag some of us out, I'm one of them."

The boozhwah TV and newspapers are quick to cover the shootings and crime that happen in Cabrini. But they rarely mention the fact that for three years now, there has been peace between youth at Cabrini who

are connected to the different street organizations. "This neighborhood is not as bad as people claimed it to be. Especially since there ain't no more killing and all that. I've lived all my life here. It's beautiful over here. We're all like a close-knit family, we have our parties, our picnics. Or say we're gonna have a neighborhood cleanup, everybody comes out and helps clean up."

On July 13 the CHA sent letters to residents telling them about so-called options for "voluntary" relocation. The residents have no guarantee that they can stay in the Cabrini area—only a right to apply to move back into the new housing built after demolition of existing buildings. The CHA letter said, "No one is being forced to move

Continued on page 12

The Revolutionary Communist Party, Chicago Branch, has put out this program of struggle against the attacks on people in the projects:

We Will Not Be Driven Out, We Will Stay and Fight!

Defeat the War on People in Public Housing!

RCP Program of Struggle

First and foremost, build a powerful movement of the basic people, with the youth at the forefront. It's a time for heroes!

Fight the Police State Plan: Build the CHA projects into strongholds of resistance—where the police and all the system's enforcers fear to tread and aren't allowed to brutalize the people.

Fight all their efforts to drive us out, pen us in and lock us down:

- Unite to fight evictions. Whenever the authorities come to evict people, no matter what the reason, the people must defend each other. Don't go quietly. Fight their divide-and-conquer schemes. We will not be driven out by being picked off one by one!
- Unite to fight their lockdowns, raids, sweeps, swarms, etc. Develop alert systems to warn each other when the authorities attack. Find ways to prevent their brutalizing the people and to defend each other.
- Unite to fight all their plans to demolish public housing. Mobilize the people to stop the wrecking ball. Defend the building being targeted, including those already empty. Restore and rehab buildings people have already been driven out of. **FIX THEM UP, DON'T TEAR THEM DOWN!**

Strengthen the truce between street organizations. Don't let the authorities pit us against each other. They would like to foment a gang war. We must all unite to fight the real enemy, the system, and its enforcers. We must join in common resistance starting now.

Unite all who can be united. We have many potential allies in our fight and they should be drawn into this battle: proletarians of all nationalities; homeless people; Latino people who are being hit hard by the war on the poor; immigrants who are being targeted, denied basic rights, rounded up and deported; other oppressed nationalities, and middle class people who hate injustice and inequality.

Mobilize all those from the middle classes who hate injustice and racism.

Oppose the federal slumlords and their program of "urban cleansing." Redevelopment = poor people removal. Demand *more* decent housing fit for human beings! The system is creating hatred against low income people and pitting middle class people against them. Stand with the oppressed to fight the system. Fight the conditions that cause crime—don't criminalize the poor!

Cast away illusions. Don't be sucked in by HUD's claims to be helping the people. Poor people don't disappear when their housing is eliminated. They become homeless or driven into worse conditions. Don't be part of people-removal plans. Lake Parc Place eliminated thousands of low income residents. Don't be a gentrifier. **Protest evictions, the police state clampdowns and demolitions.** Protest at the demolition companies and at buildings targeted for demolition. Build networks with residents and be prepared to respond to every attack. Organize and attend protests and show those being attacked that they are not alone. Speak out loudly and often through whatever avenues you have.

Serve the people. Use your skills for the people—not against them. Legal workers: Defend tenants against evictions and police brutality. Don't be a hitman in the government's war on the poor. **Journalists and muckrakers:** Uncover & expose the government's lies, their police state plans and real estate ripoffs. **Students & educators:** Turn your schools into organizing centers for this battle. **Artists:** Express yourself against the war on public housing in creative ways. **Graffiti artists:** Take to the walls/break down the apartheid walls. **Ministers and church-goers:** Organize your congregation to stand with the poor who are under attack. **Service providers:** Learn from and join with the residents' struggle. Don't support the government's "carrot & stick" tactics.

We Are Human Beings—We Demand a Better World!
We Will Not Accept Slavery in Any Form!

THE SYSTEM IS WAGING WAR ON THE PEOPLE—
THE PEOPLE MUST WAGE WAR ON THE SYSTEM!

U. of Cal. Regents K

"The attack on affirmative action is a deliberate move to strengthen the system by inflaming divisions among the people. It is nothing less than a plan to justify inequality—to reinforce and intensify white supremacy and male supremacy. The attack on affirmative action is an attempt to 'close the book' on social reforms aimed at correcting inequality and injustice based on national oppression and male domination throughout society..."

from "Turning the Clock Back on Affirmative Action," RW #812

On July 20, the Regents of the University of California voted to end affirmative action programs in both hiring and student admissions throughout the UC system. California is currently the focal point of the nationwide moves to attack affirmative action, and the UC Regents' decision was a key part of this assault—along with the 1996 California ballot initiative to eliminate affirmative action. The presence of California Governor Pete Wilson, representatives of the U.S. Justice Department, Jesse Jackson, and other political figures showed that the Regents' vote was seen by the power structure as a very big deal.

The event was timed so that students were on summer break, to avoid significant protest at the meeting. But about 1,000 people, mostly students, many at their first political demonstration, came from all over California to protest on the day of the meeting, and speak out. Hundreds of riot police guarded the event and, according to the *Oakland Tribune*, 400 National Guard were also put on standby.

The University of California is seen as a trendsetter. UC Berkeley was a bastion of rebellion in the '60s and, along with San Francisco State, is known as the birthplace of ethnic studies and "multiculturalism." It is also the most prestigious public university system in the country. Thousands more are turned away than are accepted, and the students who attend are considered the cream of the cream. California is the largest state and it is very mixed in terms of different nationalities, cultures and languages. Overturning affirmative action in the UC system lays the ground for further attacks nationwide.

An Argument Based on Power and Lies

Who the UC Regents are gives a glimpse of what university education in America is really about and what interests it serves. The UC Regents are the governing body over the UC system, setting policies on hiring and admissions, deciding where the money goes, how it is invested, and who benefits. The members of this board concentrate money and power and are chosen not for their expertise on education but for their political ideas and ideology. Three are CEOs of corporations, others are politicians or former state government officials and high level businessmen. The longest serving member is Glenn Campbell, a 71-year-old economist hooked up with the infamous reactionary Hoover Institution; Howard Leach, 65, is an agribusinessman and one of California Governor Pete Wilson's biggest campaign donors; and Meredith Khachigian is the wife of a senior advisor to Wilson's presidential campaign.

The Regents were very conscious of stepping to the front of a social battle line. They set out to reassert the identity of UC as an ivory tower, white, elitist center of higher learning—all this as one key part of reinforcing those same oppressive values and standards in society overall. And the arrogance of their decision—taken over the heads of the students, the masses, and many faculty and university officials—underlines that at the heart of this issue is the question: what kind of society do people want to live in.

At UC Berkeley, Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien has defended affirmative action. "People like to say that affirmative action is kind of a way to redress past wrongs; I don't see it that way," Chang told the *New York Times*. "Especially in a university, it's about creating the best educational atmosphere for all students. Affirmative action isn't for underrepresented minorities. It's for the benefit of the larger society."

Pete Wilson led the charge at the Regents' meeting—focusing his attack on policies which admit students based on other criteria besides test scores. Wilson said: "What it [affirmative action] says,

simply stated, is that if you are of the right ethnic group then they won't even bother to read your essay. You are automatically admitted, even if you are high income, even if you have a lower test score than someone who is Asian or Caucasian who is a resident of the state, who is low income, who has a higher test score."

In actual fact, there is nothing like this absurd claim of "automatic admission" to UC schools for people from oppressed nationalities. And contrary to claims by Wilson and others that such policies lower academic standards, university admissions officials point out that during the last 10 years the overall standards on test scores have actually risen for every ethnic group.

Troy Duster, a Berkeley sociologist who has studied affirmative action for years, told the *New York Times*: "You've got 9,000 kids with 4.0 averages competing for 3,500 places. Now, obviously, they can't all fit. But every one of them who gets turned away believes they got turned away because of affirmative action....There's an arrogance in the idea that you can put people on an ordinal-ranking system. I'm not opposed to people getting straight A's. But I don't want society to see that as the only thing worth talking about."

The truth is that under the current affirmative action policies, the percentage of Black and Latinos admitted into the UC system are far less than their percentage of the population overall. Latinos are one quarter of California's population but only 15.5 percent of UC students; African Americans, 7 percent of the population, are only 4.4 percent of UC students. And in recent years the number of Black and Latino students at Berkeley has dropped. In 1989 there were 1,647 Black students—7.7 percent of the undergraduates. Today Black students are only 5.5 percent. In 1991, Latino enrollment peaked at 15.1 percent of undergraduates and today it is only 13.8 percent.

"What they call affirmative action is mostly just an appeasement, and now they're taking away what's there," summed up a Black student from Los Angeles who is now a junior at Berkeley.

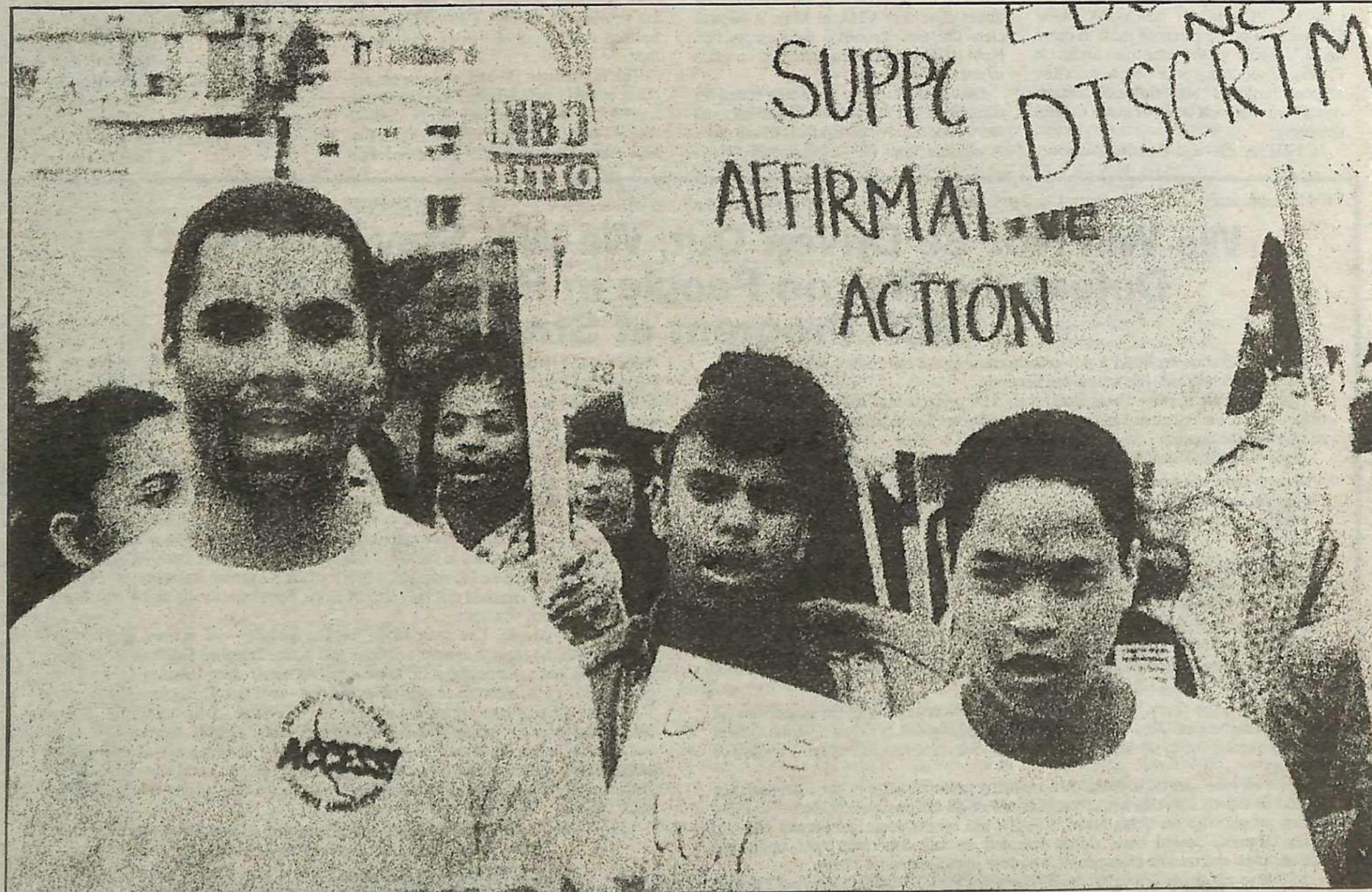
"Colorblind" in a White Supremacist Culture

Wilson's attack hinges on denying that Black people constitute an oppressed nation within the larger U.S. society and that various oppressed national minorities—Chicanos, Asian-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and others—face systematic discrimination. Tom Wood, an author of California's anti-affirmative action ballot initiative, openly argues that there is no "widespread, institutional, systematic racism and sexism" in the U.S. In a May 31 letter to Californians on affirmative action, Wilson put the argument this way: "Instead of treating every American as an individual, it pits group against group, race against race. Instead of moving us toward a colorblind society, it is holding us back." Wilson also argued, "The parents of children of all races who play by the rules, who work hard and pay their taxes, should be entitled to expect that their child should win a place in the school based upon individual merit."

This talk of a "colorblind America" is complete nonsense. And it is even more ridiculous to say that wiping out affirmative action will result in hiring or promotion based on "individual merit"!

A study by the *San Jose Mercury News* of the family backgrounds of UC Berkeley freshman entering in 1994 shows the absurdity of the notion of a "colorblind America"—and reveals how the current economic and political setup perpetuates old injustices and creates new ones. Among the students who make it to the elite level of UC Berkeley, the study noted sharp differences in the education and income level of the parents of students of different nationalities:

Whites had a clear advantage in parental education. Of the whites admitted, about 85 percent had at least one parent with a bachelor of arts degree or higher. For Asians, the figure was 71 percent, and for Blacks it was about 54 percent. For Hispanic students, the figure fell well below 50 percent of those admitted who had one parent with a B.A. degree or higher. Of the Mexican-American freshmen who



Outside the UC Regents meeting in San Francisco, July 20.

Kill Affirmative Action



got in last fall, more than one in five came from families in which neither parent had gone to high school.

The median income for white students' parents was \$80,000 and for Asians it was \$58,000. However, there is a wide disparity between different groups of Asians. For Southeast Asians it was \$32,000, Chinese had a median income of \$60,000, and for Koreans it was \$45,000. Blacks and Hispanics had a median income of \$40,000 but the majority of Mexican-Americans, had an income of \$35,000.

Even the Clinton White House cited statistics which prove that national oppression and male supremacy is a stark reality in America: white males currently hold 95 percent of senior management positions in the nation's largest companies. A white man with a high school diploma still makes more than a Latina woman with a college degree. Women only make 72 percent as much as men for the same jobs. And African Americans are twice as likely to be unemployed as whites.

The Hypocrisy Over "Class"

Regent Ward Connerly, the author of the proposal to end "preferences" is one of three Blacks on the Board of Regents. Connerly has packaged his new proposal as one that would help poorer students by admitting some students based on their socioeconomic status. But in fact, Connerly's proposal has no concrete program for helping out the poor—only a clause saying that this should be figured out.

This talk of "class" by opponents of affirmative action is a blatant attempt to pit white working class people against oppressed nationalities. Connerly and others are trying to use the fact that there's injustice, poverty, and all kinds of oppression based on the fundamental class divisions in society to say that there is no male supremacy and no white supremacy. In fact, in America today inequality of all kinds is extreme and increasing. And, in fact, doing away with affirmative action will actually impact negatively on proletarians of all nationalities.

The San Jose *Mercury News* study assessed what the actual effects would be on

admissions of poor students to UC if affirmative action were thrown out and only grades and test scores used in admitting new students. The *Mercury News* reported that there would be:

"*Fewer low-income Blacks and Hispanics and more Asians and whites.

"*About 500 fewer students whose fathers didn't attend college...

"*About 500 fewer students from families making \$35,000 or less.

"*It appeared likely that none of the Mexican-American students whose fathers had not attended high school would have gained admission."

University officials predicted that the changes in student demographics would be striking. "Berkeley will be 92 percent or 93 percent white and Asian," said the campus admissions director. "The lack of diversity will diminish the education of all the students who remain at Berkeley." Some university officials predict that the number of Black students enrolled at UC Berkeley will fall by as much as 75 percent.

After the Regents' vote a leader of the white supremacist group Aryan Nation praised Pete Wilson for "beginning to wake up" to Aryan views.

Pitting Asian Students Against Blacks and Latinos

One of the major ways the reactionaries have tried to get over with their argument that affirmative action is "unfair" is to use the example of Asian students in the UC system. The reactionaries love to cite statistics that say that letting Blacks and Latinos in, keeps out Asians with higher grades and test scores; and to argue that Asians have a big stake in doing away with affirmative action, and in keeping Blacks and Latinos out of the university. This appeal to the cut-throat, me-first values of the system has a special twist among Asians, who have themselves been victims of a long history of discrimination and oppression.

The argument here once again rests on denying this history. One sharp indication of present-day American reality is a recent study showing a sharp rise in the last year in racist attacks on Asians. A spokesperson for

the Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium which released the study blamed the attacks on the "rising anti-immigrant climate" that "portrays Asians and Latinos as outsiders." "Asians are perceived to be foreigners regardless of whether they are foreign-born or native-born," the spokesperson said. In a welcome development, the day before the Regents' meeting, a newly formed coalition called Asian Pacific Americans for Affirmative Action held a press conference to blast the racist attack on affirmative action.

In the aftermath of the Regents' decision, one UC official responsible for minority recruitment raised whether minority students would even want to come to UC in the wake of the changes: "The question a lot of students often raise is 'Am I really going to be welcome there? Are there other people of color there I can identify with?' If the numbers fall, there are going to be less of them to identify with and they'll lose that dimension of caring."

This points to some important questions about education. Powerful forces in the ruling class are going for a cold, dog-eat-dog campus atmosphere, where a student's

worth is measured by grades and test scores, and the "best" claw their way to the top scholastically. And this is training for a future of serving the needs of the profit system, being part of the system and directly or indirectly dominating and oppressing the vast majority of people on the planet.

The students who fought fierce battles in the '60s to bring in ethnic studies and open up the campuses to more minority students were guided to a large degree by a very different vision of what education should be and what society should be. There was a spirit of learning to struggle together, of going from the universities to the communities to "serve the people." This experience points to what schools could and should be about—where students would be taught to serve the interests of the oppressed, learn to cooperate and work together, break down the separation of theory and practice, and be part of changing the world overall.

This kind of total change in education can only come about through revolutionary changes in society overall. But the fight against the attacks on affirmative action is a part of bringing such changes into being. □

Reporter's Notebook

Cal Students Fight for Equality

The night before the regents' meeting, students rallied and slept on the lawn at the Laurel Avenue campus of the University of California in San Francisco, and people gathered at the Third Baptist Church where speeches were given by community activists, ministers, trade union leaders, a speaker from NOW, Dolores Huerta—UFW leader, Jesse Jackson, and a student activist.

The next day, hundreds of students endured hours of meetings to make their voices heard. There were people speaking inside the hall and outside, from a truck bed. When the protesters "disrupted" the regents meeting, the regents reconvened in a back room—and it was there the vote was taken. That evening 500 protesters took to the streets of San Francisco.

It was a rude awakening for some. The decision of the regents has sent shockwaves throughout the state and has been a loud wake-up call for a whole generation. Cries of "No justice, no peace!" rang out that night. A vigil was held at UC Berkeley on Sunday, July 23, hundreds marched through the streets, and a noontime rally was held on Monday, July 24, as well. Students the *RW* talked to said they look forward to defeating the regents' decision and informed us that more actions—including a protest at the next Regents meeting in September, and a student strike on October 12—are in the works.

The Laurel campus of the University of California where the Regents met is in a white suburb-type section of San Francisco, but it is only a few blocks from the Western Addition, a historically Black neighborhood, and also the area where Aaron Williams was recently brutally beaten to death by police. By noon on July 20, there were 1,000 students, faculty, UC workers, activists, and other supporters. It was a very mixed crowd; and I was glad to see a large number of Asian students who were out to defend affirmative action and to counter the attempts to pit them against Black and Latino students. (As one Santa Cruz student said, "Let us [Asians] not forget that we were discriminated against also, AND that we still are in the outside world.")

This was a first demonstration for quite a few students. The subject of 187 came up again and again. Among many there was the hope that voting could change things

and that the students can simply pressure the Regents into reversing their decision.

There were lots of homemade signs: "White males have had preferential treatment since 1776"; "No justice, no peace"; "Connerly, Traitor to the Black Nation," a sign that had a clock going backwards back to slavery, etc. There were three effigies of Pete Wilson (this is getting to be a trend!)

There were middle-aged Black men standing—people old enough to remember the battles of the '60s—with signs saying "I'm doing this for my own children." Boozhwah talk of "reverse discrimination" is simply not fooling these folks. The men I spoke to came from the neighboring community. This one guy said he was in his fifties and he never had the chance to even go to college, but he had two sons who are college age. He simply wants them to "have the opportunity I never had." The way he saw it, this whole thing was coming down because of elections and economics and "Once again, Black people are to be made the scapegoats." He was angry at the cowardliness of the Regents (meeting in the summer, away from Berkeley, behind closed doors, etc.)

Roughly half the 1,000 students and others were watching the Regents' meeting in two large video rooms. Meanwhile, the other half were demonstrating and debating and speaking from a podium outside. A picket line marched backwards (like a backward clock) in the morning. The outside debates were more along the lines of "What are we going to do if this passes?"

There were frequent references to the '60s. Mario Savio (a leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement 30 years ago) was not allowed to address the Regents, so he spoke outside. He had come out of retirement, so to speak, and said he was speaking now because his generation "must do this for the youth...at least if we want to hold our heads up high in front of our own children."

Jesse Jackson tried to be both inside and outside. His presence was aimed to cool out the masses, but he did bring up the specter of Jim Crow. Inside the Regents meeting, he spoke for 45 minutes and led the Regents in prayer, making the point that God was for affirmative action.

Outside a Black high school student from South Central L.A. told me, "My

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In Memory of Jerry Garcia

From Captain Trips in the Haight Ashbury Summer of Love to Panther benefits in the early '70s to the free-wheeling collective music experience for alternative youth of the '90s—what a long strange trip it's been.

Sadly, on Wednesday August 9, 1995 Jerry Garcia "the man who made a community with his music" died. Singer/guitarist, leader of the Grateful Dead, Jerry Garcia left a musical legacy marked by the free-wheeling communal spirit of the '60s counterculture.

Jerry Garcia was shaped by a time when rebellious youth turned their backs on a system of war, racism, and greed—hoping for a different way of life based on cooperation, sharing and mutual respect. And he shaped a

musical experience that carried those hopes forward to a new generation.

Jerry Garcia was not a revolutionary communist, but there was a touch of the communistic spirit in his work and in the positive vibes at the Grateful Dead concerts—where many came not just for the music (though they loved the music) but to dance barefoot, hair flying, tie-dye flowing, searching in their way for a community where kindness chased away the dog-eat-dog.

His passing recalls another '60s poet, John Lennon, and in his memory we reprint here this piece by Bob Avakian which first appeared in the RW in 1991.



Jerry Garcia.

Communism: Imagine... In Living Color

by Bob Avakian

Not long ago I received a bunch of video tapes, and one of them included the TV show "In Living Color." Besides finding this show interesting in general, I kept running the tape back to the theme song, a rap by Heavy D and the Boyz. I couldn't help it—some of the lines in this rap were really getting at something. Check it out:

And how would ya feel
knowing prejudice was obsolete
and all mankind
danced to the exact beat
and at night it was safe
to walk down the street?...
Everybody here is equally kind.
What's mine is yours,
and what's yours is mine.

I'm pretty sure Heavy D didn't think of it exactly this way, but the fact is that these lines have much to do with the answer to that big question: What is communism—what will communist society be like? A lot of what it will be like has a lot to do with things talked about in those lines from "In Living Color."

And this got me to thinking back to another song: "Imagine," which was written and recorded by John Lennon, the former Beatle who was assassinated at the beginning of the '80s. I was never really into the Beatles or John Lennon, but when this John Lennon song "Imagine" came out, about 20 years ago, a friend of mine who knew I was a communist told me: you ought to check out this song "Imagine"—it's John Lennon's attempt to give his vision

of a communist world. I had my doubts, but when I looked into it I had to admit that there was something to this. And reading over the words of this song today, it still strikes me that way:

Imagine there's no heaven.
It's easy if you try.
No hell below us,
above us only sky.
Imagine all the people,
living for today.

Ah, imagine there's no countries.
It isn't hard to do.
Nothing to kill or die for
and no religion too.
Imagine all the people,
living life in peace.

You, you may say I'm a dreamer.
But I'm not the only one.
I hope some day you'll join us
and the world will be as one.

Imagine no possessions.
I wonder if you can.
No need for greed or hunger
a brotherhood of man.
Imagine all the people,
sharing all the world.

You may say I'm a dreamer.
But I'm not the only one.
I hope some day you'll join us.
And the world will live as one.

Now, we should be clear: John Lennon was not a Maoist—he no doubt read some Marx, and (pardon the pun) some Lenin and Mao, but he was not a revolutionary com-

munist. At most he was what we would call a "utopian socialist"—someone who did not really understand, or agree with, the need to bring communism into the world through revolution—someone who could only "imagine" and "dream" of a world where private ownership of wealth ("possessions") and the exploitation of the masses in the world by a greedy handful would no longer exist and people would no longer be divided into different nations warring with each other. Still, even though he was not a revolutionary communist, there is a lot we can share with his "imaginings" and "dreaming" in this song. In fact, we can carry this further and get a sense of a more clear and more full picture of what communist society will really be like by doing some "imagining" of our own:

Imagine people are not divided into different classes—into rich and poor, or those who are educated and those who are denied an education.

Imagine nobody slaves for anybody else but everybody works in cooperation to contribute the most they can to society, and everybody gets back from society what they need to live a decent life. Imagine further that nobody is stuck doing one job all the time but everybody learns to do all different kinds of things. Imagine: everybody spends part of their time doing work (of different kinds), part of their time in recreation, art, entertainment and relaxation, part of their time thinking and discussing and debating about questions of society and the world, part of their time helping to take care of the administration of society.

Imagine if education really taught people about the true history of the world and its people and really helped people learn about how nature and society actually work and how people can interact with nature and with each other in the interests of humanity as a whole, not just for the present but for future generations. Imagine if education and work were both productive and creative and helped people develop in an all-around way, physically as well as mentally.

Imagine if art and culture were not something used to dull and degrade the people but instead something that uplifted them, fired their imaginations, helped them to see to further horizons and to see old things in new ways, and at the same time inspired them to act to change the world in the interests of the people. Imagine if this sphere of art and culture were not restricted to a small number of professionals but the masses of people took part in creating as well as appreciating art and culture.

Imagine if there were no countries—no borders and border guards. Imagine if people did not live just in one area or part of the world their whole lives but were able to live in many different parts of the world during their lifetime.

Imagine if you lived in a world where there were no racist assaults, or racist insults. A world that was not divided into different nations, with some lordling it over the others. A world without racism or anything like that—no ridiculous notions of one group of people being superior to another—a world where people, for the first time, really saw themselves and acted as part of the world community of human



Painting by S.B. Special to the RW/WR

beings.

Imagine if women no less than men could walk anywhere they wanted, at any time, without any fear of being attacked. Imagine a world where such things as sexual abuse, rape and everything like that were unknown. A world where the words "men" and "women" did not raise any ridiculous notions of one being strong and the other weak, one made to run things and the other made merely to support him. A world without domination, discrimination, inequality, oppression, and degradation for women at the hands of men and a male-supremacist society. A world where these things no longer existed.

Imagine a situation where, when people get sick, those responsible for health care really do treat them with caring and respect. A world where science and technology are developed and applied according to the principle of serving the people—and where the people, collectively and cooperatively, take responsibility for science and technology, along with everything else in society.

Imagine a world without hunger. Without superstition. Without war, without armies and weapons that people use against other people. A world where the fate of humanity

was not in the grasp of a handful of reactionary and murderous oppressors but was in the hands of the world's people, striving and struggling with each other to serve the highest interests of humanity.

Yes, imagine! But the most important and most powerful thing is not that we can imagine a world like this. *The most powerful, the most liberating thing is that a world like this can actually be brought into being.*

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism makes it possible for us to go beyond just imagining, dreaming and hoping for a better world, someday—it shows the road to this future and the means and methods of fighting for it. It shows that the first step in moving toward this future is for the masses to rise up and overthrow the system of imperialism that rules over us—to smash the armed power of the imperialists and replace it with the revolutionary power of the masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is already a great change, and it opens the door to even greater changes.

The next great step is for the masses to continue carrying forward the revolution under this proletarian dictatorship, to use their power to radically change the relations between people in every part of society and

to revolutionize people's way of thinking, breaking free of "tradition's chains" and moving fully into the future of humanity.

We who are alive today will not see the final victory of communism worldwide. Yet we can make a big contribution toward that goal, and we will certainly see big changes in the world. Especially the youth may well live to see—in fact they must play a great part in helping to bring about—new great leaps forward, including the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by our people, the proletariat and oppressed people, in different parts of the world. And this could include right in the "belly of the beast"—in what is now that foul monstrosity calling itself the U.S. of A.

It is true that we face many powerful obstacles and real difficulties in reaching our goal. But we also have the all-important weapon in dealing with these obstacles and difficulties—we have the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. And because we have Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we have the crucial lessons from the previous experience of our class—the great achievements as well as mistakes and setbacks—to build on and learn from in carrying out and carrying forward this great world-eman-

icipating revolution.

When this revolution has been carried through, worldwide, humanity will enter the era of communism, and what today we can only imagine will then become reality in living color.

A footnote: There is something rather rare in John Lennon's "Imagine." Something that does show that he was dreaming not just of a different world but of a radically changed world. That something is that Lennon openly "imagines" a world without religious superstition. He even starts the song with this: "Imagine there's no heaven. It's easy if you try. No hell below us, above us only sky." And then later he comes back to this: "Nothing to kill or die for and no religion too."

This is definitely something important—something that should be united with—and something that we, with the outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, can get into even more deeply. It's something I have written and spoken about before, and something we have to keep coming back to—because without breaking off the shackles of religion, and all superstition, it is not possible to even fully imagine, let alone actually bring about, a really radically changed world, with radically changed people.

"Standing My Ground"

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at this time." Since demolitions are about to begin soon, the letter amounted to a thinly veiled threat.

Meanwhile, profit-hungry developers are circling in like sharks. "We're right at the gate going downtown," Frank points out. "They want a piece of the pie over here." Construction is in full swing for luxury condos and town homes—some priced at over \$400,000. One of the biggest sharks is MCL Developers which plans to construct 150 expensive homes only a few blocks from 1150-1160. MCL also wants to build a shopping center on Carson Field right across from 1150-1160, where the African American Youth Baseball League play their games. The field is one of the few recreational areas for Cabrini kids. But MCL's cold-blooded owner says, "We think that there's a more appropriate place for it."

A few years ago 1150-1160 was virtually full. Now it's around 40 percent vacant, and more and more people are being forced out. As Frank puts it, "Anything you can think of to try to discourage us out—they're gonna try." One of those things is the virtual absence of any maintenance: sewage backing through pipes, uncollected garbage piling in the chutes, broken elevators and only one janitor for two 19-story buildings. The CHA is basically letting the building rot. "Housing's let everything deteriorate over here. We got a rat problem, roach problem, toilets backing up. Lights go out and they take them three or four weeks to fix it—and then the only way they fix it is we have to go down there and make them do it. People paying their rent every month but then we don't get no kind of treatment."

Frank says people have tried to manage as best they can—taking care of floods from clogging toilets, bringing fans and ice to seniors during the recent heat wave, or forming a squad to hunt down the rats plaguing the development. "Look, when

we wanted to clean up the porches, clean up the halls, mop and sweep and all that, [CHA] wouldn't even give us the supplies to do that with. That's Housing man. They're supposed to give us that stuff—they're supposed to do it theirself. We took the initiative and did it ourself."

Facing the Brutal Cops

Vicious police repression is another way that the authorities try to make life unbearable for the people. The cops claim they're after gangs and criminals. But as Frank says, it's not about crime-stopping but criminalizing the whole community. "It's intimidation. They remind me of the SS. Remember Hitler's SS? That's the same way. They come in, saying we're gangbangers.... They'll make them spread eagle—old women, old men, young men—everybody. They humiliate you. People even show them their own ID. They said, 'That don't mean nothing.'" Frank emphasized that it wasn't just the youth who were treated this way by the cops. "Our seniors say, 'What are you doing?' 'Get your ass in the building'—that's how they talk to them. Like they're nothing, like they're a piece of trash. One lady, she had asthma. She told them she couldn't stay in a closed-in place. They told her to shut the fuck up. They had all people stacked, lined against the wall, some of them sitting on the floor."

With the 1150-1160 building slated for demolition, Frank expects that police brutality will get worse. Recently, in front of a crowd of people at the building, the cops beat a 14-year-old. "I'll tell you, man, this guy was already handcuffed and they're gonna try to kill him. He's already laying down. So some other guys tried to stop it, and they handcuffed them and beat them, too."

In another incident, residents were shocked when a man fell to the ground from



Special to the RWOR



Carson Field, near Cabrini Green, which developers want to replace with a shopping center.



CHA police search residents at a housing project.

an apartment window in 1150-1160. Plainclothes cops had dragged him over to a room for questioning. People quickly learned the nature of the "questioning." Frank explained, "They heard him screaming over there. First they were beating him. He must have not told them what they wanted to hear so they threw him out the window. Then they gonna say that he run and try to jump out the window." Frank noted that as the ambulance came, the man just kept repeating, "They trying to kill me. Trying to kill me."

Nothing to Lose

Frank feels that the police harassment, the lack of maintenance and the looming threat of evictions have all taken their toll on some residents. Some people have responded by leaving and some have become resigned to the situation. But others remain "hard-core." He has his own conflicting feelings: "Sometimes I think we're in a losing battle, but then again, all we need is a little spark.... If you push people a certain time, a certain way, they ain't

gonna allow that too much. People not going to take that. You move people where they don't want to go. Talk about a riot or gangbanging jumping off, it's really gonna be a war around here. Not with each other. Against the system."

Frank is determined to fight it through: "Stand your ground even if you're gonna go, cause you're still proving a point. Stand your ground. Look, we at the bottom already, so what we got to lose."

Toward the end of the conversation, Frank told a story about a recent confrontation with the police. A group of 15 cops showed up outside a planning meeting in a nearby community center. Demanding entry, some cops interlocked their fingers and pushed their gloved hands together, "like they're ready to bust heads." The people stopped the cops at the door and denied their entry. Frank made it clear that he and others won't be stopped by their intimidation. "If we have to fight, die, go to jail to keep what we got, so be it. We ain't going nowhere. Nowhere. They can send in a trillion police up in here. We ain't going nowhere." □

The Police M.O.

As the authorities move ahead with their people-removal plans at Cabrini Green, the police are carrying out a brutal clampdown on the people. A close observer of the situation at Cabrini described four basic "M.O.'s" of the cops.

Raids: At any time of the day or night, police cars zip up to the front, side or back of a building—with tires screeching as part of their intimidation tactics. The raiders are made up of CPD cops, Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) cops or a combination of the two. They can be either uniformed or detectives. The detectives sometimes carry baseball bats. The cops jump out of their cars, screaming insults, and chase all the young men they find "on the ground." Sometimes they go after everyone—men, women and children. At some buildings the raids are taking place every couple of days.

At one building, people described a recent raid where the police just beat on kids they caught in front of dozens of outraged residents. They also planted drugs on a 17-year-old who didn't run because he wasn't in a street organization, had never been in trouble and thought the cops would leave him alone because he "hadn't done anything." These raiders (male cops) have also been known to search young women.

The white van: Residents report that a white van goes around picking people off the streets. The van has an extended body and is unmarked. Cops jump out of this van and grab men and women who are on the sidewalks. They are thrown into the van and charged with trespassing.

"Visits": The cops sometimes walk right into an apartment if residents have the door open for any reason, like getting fresh air. If people don't immediately tell the cops that they have to leave if they don't have a warrant, the cops will just wander around searching the place. The cops have been known to reach through a hole in the screen door to open it and walk in. The cops also try to get people talking. Sometimes they just stand in the doorway trying to be "chatty" while their eyes roam around the living room.

Sweeps: A massive force of police descends on a building and goes almost door-to-door through it, tearing up people's things and arresting people whose names are not on the leases.

Cal Students Fight for Equality

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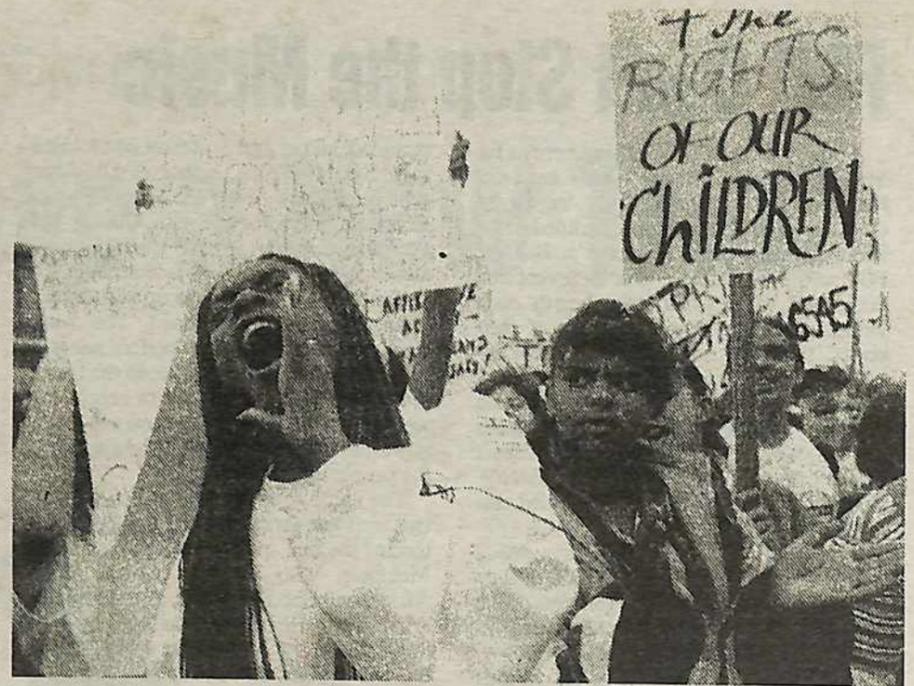
parents did not let me down, I will not let them down." A Latino from South Central said he thought this is going to be a long fight and that people should be prepared to go to the streets. I talked with a Black Civil Rights government official from Washington, D.C. who candidly said he was "depressed." He said he has been working in Washington, D.C. for 25 years and he now felt his work was being "undone."

Meanwhile, the racist sophistry inside the Regents meeting was at shocking levels—the Governor of California called Black nationalism "the deadly virus of

noticed that I was a speaker. Well, when I went up to speak, he walked out on me."

A Bay Area rapper: "This is a statement. It's a move by the state and the regents. And it's a test to see if they can pass something like this to test the waters and see what people will do.... One way it's gonna affect people is the way they teach high school. Right now they're kind of fence-straddlin' by saying if you do this and you do that, then maybe you can go to college. Now the teachers will be saying, 'You don't need to learn this...why learn this?' They're already telling that to some—why do you need to learn algebra, you ain't going to college.. And it affects right down to the street level because its part of this rise of fascism. They'll be locking shit down more now... You know there's a lot of people around here that go to Avenal state prison where you gotta pay rent there—you work and then pay rent...."

A Latino from the La Raza organization at SF State had this to say about "reverse discrimination": "Some whites do experience poverty, a class thing, where they



"I think we should really deal a blow to all the illusion and myths of what the U.S. is—especially this idea of a 'meritocracy.' They just say, work hard and you can get anywhere, that's not true. They put the same sort of sign over Auschwitz in Germany, 'Work shall set you free.' They just say it is a meritocracy—they have worked at brutally oppressing other people and stealing land and wealth and that is the only hard work I have seen from them. They have a superiority complex that we really have to puncture and blow away."



Students link hands in front of a barricade blocking the driveway leading to the Regents meeting, July 20.

tribalism" and an author of the ballot measure attacking affirmative action referred to it as "primordial ties." Overhead a plane flew by with a huge banner that read "End Race and Gender Based Preferences." It's like they have to reinforce their lies with more and more MONEY. As Mario Savio said, "They live a different kind of life than you or I which predisposes them to believing the lies they're telling you and themselves."

I talked to a Black woman who was chanting, "They're afraid of me because I want a degree." A graduate of Howard University, she saw this decision as affecting all Black youth. She said she was afraid of her son having to fight in a "civil war" but that was what it was looking like. She said she had problems with revolution because she doesn't like bloodshed, but she did admit that "There is war on Black youth already every day." And she stopped by the Revolution Books table.

I talked to a group of Latino high schoolers in overalls who were part of a summer work project for youth from the S.F. Mission district. They had finished painting for the day when their supervisor took them to the demo to "show them that not all white people are racists."

References in the bourgeois press about the vote being "historic" prompted one middle-aged white guy to say, "Imagine, it's like calling the opening of Buchenwald a historic event." Buchenwald was a concentration camp in Nazi Germany.

The RW interviewed students and others about their experiences, what they thought about what was happening, and how they saw the battle:

A Latina university student: "Yesterday, I went to speak on affirmative action and I saw it was a tent that we were going to be speaking at. What that said to me was they were not going to take us seriously. About half the regents were there. Regent Connerly got there way late, and when he was arriving I saw him talking and so I went up just to see what he was talking about. He started talking about Reverend Jackson, this and that, 'he's acting uncivilized' and so I said, 'how do you expect us students to act when you put a circus tent right here — not even in a room to listen to us?' He just looked at me and shrugged his shoulders. I said, 'you have no comment?' And he didn't say one word to me. It was funny because when I went back in I was sitting on stage. He sat down behind me and

are kept under, but it doesn't happen because of their race. It's convenient for the system to have a certain amount of people at the bottom, according to the system, in order to maintain it as profitable for the corporations and all of that."

A white woman in her thirties: "It's bullshit that white men are discriminated against. It depends on what mirror you look through. 'Affirmative action' has benefited white men in many ways. When you look at who was drafted to Vietnam—the college deferment was just another form of affirmative action when the men who went to Vietnam were mainly men of color. People who were able to go to college were white men, largely. So this college deferment was a benefit.... Everything Susan Faludi talks about in her books, we are now experiencing—now we are getting punished because we fought for ethnic and gender studies on campus and they don't want to change the status quo."

A Chicano revolutionary activist at U.C.: It didn't hit me until the next day, til you see the *Daily Cal* headlines, and people were actually reading it for the first time—the headline was "Race Preference is Dead." I considered it a lie, because race preference is very much alive for whites. Affirmative action is not about race preference. There is so much race preference for whites, to say

that affirmative action is race preference for people of color is wrong. We have a right to access to education and this has nothing to do with racial preference.

"It's a signal—if you look at how they are putting more police, more prisons. They don't even want undocumented workers—Latinos. The power structure feel really threatened and they are willing to do anything to hold onto power. They are willing to cut off health benefits to people, food to people. I've been to some of the high schools here in Oakland, they're totally oppressive, there's no education going on there. Leaving the school I feel like people are just going to put barbed wire around these places and forget about them.

"We need to be more radical, not just win back affirmative action, but a lot more. I think we should really deal a blow to all the illusion and myths of what the U.S. is—especially this idea of a 'meritocracy.' They just say, work hard and you can get anywhere, that's not true. They put the same sort of sign over Auschwitz in Germany, 'Work shall set you free.' They just say it is a meritocracy—they have worked at brutally oppressing other people and stealing land and wealth and that is the only hard work I have seen from them. They have a superiority complex that we really have to puncture and blow away." □



At the Regents meeting students expressed their opinion about speakers who opposed affirmative action.

FOP Can't Stop the Music

A very successful fundraising benefit for Mumia's legal defense was held in Philadelphia on Wednesday, August 9. Originally the benefit was scheduled to be at a jazz club called Zanzibar's. But the FOP said they would picket the event and threatened to use fabricated health code violations to shut the club down if they hosted the program. Unfortunately, Zanzibar's management backed down. But Mumia's supporters did not. Plans for the benefit continued and the Philadelphia union hall of Local 1199 (hospital workers union) offered the use of their hall. An RW reporter attended the benefit and filed this report:

A number of people came early, ready and determined to confront the FOP if they dared to show up. And the organizers of the benefit had developed concrete plans to make sure the event was not disrupted.

Individuals and members of the various organizations that have been part of the battle to free Mumia formed a tight, disciplined security squad. Every entrance was watched, people were searched as they went inside and people on security were posted at key points inside the hall where the program was held.

About 50 people organized by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Refuse & Resist! marched from the courthouse to the union hall and positioned themselves in front of the building. People took turns on the bullhorn, speaking out about the need to keep struggling until Mumia is free.

Inside, I was handed a program that contained a moving welcome, setting the tone for the entire event. It said: "Brother Mumia's life and work have been dedicated to fighting oppression, denouncing racism, the death penalty & the denial of any of our divine rights as beings who walk this earth. We gather here tonight to pay tribute to his eloquent and relentless struggle and commitment to justice and reporting the truth even in the face of a mentality so spiritually deprived, it would sanction the taking of human life as a priority of state. As journalist and radio commentator, Mumia's voice has sounded like a drum calling for the rise of African people in America, and people all over the world to defy the oppressors and all those who would dare to lock up the eternal light of truth that even from the darkest cell shines with the full force and glow of the moon. And thus tonight we offer you "Live From Death Row," a collection of his essays and commentaries. A Luta Continua."

Ishakamusa Barashanga performed an African blessing and told the audience "We need to be relentless in what we do to free our brother." Two sisters from Daughters of the Diaspora did a powerful performance piece, challenging the audience with: "We are at war! We are warriors! We hope our people do not weep, but rise!" There were also performances by Brother Wadud, Tyebimba African Dance Ensemble, and two young sisters who performed a West African dance.

Pam Africa, member of MOVE and spokesperson for International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia gave a rousing speech. And various poets, authors and activists read selections from Mumia's book, *Live From Death Row*. The readers

included: author and professor Muriel Feelings; Sam Greenlee, author of *The Spook Who Sat By the Door*; Dr. Cecil Grey, the Executive Director of the Church and World Institute at Temple University; and author Rev. Dr. Ishakamusa Barashanga.

The FOP never showed up and the program went off as planned. The whole thing—from the powerful performances, to the people who bravely came in the face of police threats, to the squads of people who were ready to defend the event—was a powerful testimony to the determination of the people to free Mumia.

The spirit in the room was captured by two well-known drummers who performed toward the end of the night—Mayauwane Mahloele, who is from Azania (South Africa) and Baba Crowder, a world-famous African-American musician. As they beat out a rhythm on the drums, you could feel the energy our movement has created. It was as if Mumia's unquenchable spirit of resistance burst out with every drumbeat. People danced in their seats and chants rang out in the hall: "Free Mumia! That's right! Free Mumia!" "Free Our Minds! Let Nothing Hold Us Back!" The music captured the spirit of the only force that can free our beautiful revolutionary brother Mumia from the dungeons of the oppressor—the energy and creativity of the masses of people.

The Fraternal Order of Police have tried to intimidate and shut down other benefits for Mumia in Philadelphia. Rich Costello, pig-president of Lodge 5 of the F.O.P., said, "We've received a great deal of support from the local entertainment industry." But there is growing evidence that this so-called "support" is based on open threats and intimidation. And unfortunately, some venue owners have not stood up brave for the people's cause and instead have caved in to the gestapo tactics of the FOP.

The *Philadelphia Daily News* reported on August 7 that a benefit concert scheduled for Black performers KRS-1, Digable Planets and Arrested Development was having trouble finding a club willing to stage the performance. The *Daily News* reported that the Club Vegas had rejected this concert on political grounds—and had even stated that it would hold a fundraising event for police causes. The *Daily News* suggests that this rejection was caused by pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which has been acting like a political gestapo.

The rock band Rage Against the Machine also had difficulty finding a Philadelphia club for a Mumia benefit so, according to reports on the Internet, they'll be performing for Mumia at Washington, D.C.'s Capitol Ballroom. Lisa Markowitz, the group's spokeswoman, said, "They found strong resistance among the local concert venues.... For some reason or another, nobody wanted to touch the show."

Meanwhile the FOP has also been waging a counter-poster war against the hundreds of "Free Mumia" posters that have gone up all over Philadelphia. The cops are defacing the "Free Mumia" posters with stickers that read "Fry Mumia." And some cops have been wearing these stickers when they come to Mumia's appeal hearing. □

Keith Watson Speaks Out for Mumia

At a rally for Mumia in the Crenshaw district of L.A., Keith Watson, one of the LA4, talked to the RW about why he had joined the battle to save Mumia's life: The following are excerpts from this conversation:

Keith: I'm lucky to be here today. I ran across somebody who was able to tell me about Mumia's plight. Otherwise I wouldn't have known about this rally here today. I had to come here to let the brother know that I was aware and I'm supporting him. I was caught up during my crisis and I know how it is to be unjustly accused and tried. Fortunately—or unfortunately—I didn't make it to death row like this brother is, but it's wrong. I read the circumstances around his whole ordeal and a lot of innocent individuals have been unjustly tried and convicted just for the sake of scapegoating. It's sort of like a conspiracy method by law enforcement: if nobody steps forward, they have to provide someone. Like in my situation, we were scapegoats for the entire rebellion. They tried to hold us accountable and responsible for everybody's actions.

Now, everybody is speaking on peace and all this other stuff, but April 29 wasn't no peace. I wasn't out there wreaking havoc by myself. I had other people from all walks of life, from everywhere in the city, wreaking havoc—as well as myself. The government wishes to sweep that under the rug as though it never even occurred, like what took place on April 29 was just a mistake. No! I feel as though as long as I'm alive, they're gonna have to deal with it, they're gonna have to recognize it, because it was a day of reckoning. It was a wake-up call for everyone. As far as my kids are concerned, you know I got two daughters and I have to explain to them what was Daddy doing out there and what was Daddy's role, so on and so forth. I will tell them, "We were accounted for on that particular day. We stood up against the system and told the system that all their bullshit that they've been placing upon our shoulders over the years is no longer gonna be accepted!"

April 29 was a spontaneous reaction. It was nothing that was planned or or-

chestrated or organized, it was just something that happened. It was a reaction to someone else's actions. I feel 110 percent behind it. I don't have no regrets whatsoever. And my life has changed forever. And it wasn't just Blacks that participated in April 29. Everybody participated, you know. A million people. Exactly. And it picked up like wildfire and spread throughout not just California but the United States. That's one of the reasons I'm catching so much goddamn hell is because it was one of the largest rebellions in the United States. It made history.

RW: How does this relate to Mumia?

Keith: I want to support the brother. Let him know that he's in not just my heart but everyone's heart. I know how it is to be unjustly accused. You have all these allegations, accusations and charges floating around. You're being persecuted and so on and so forth.

But it's all about perception: this is the Establishment's way of turning his profile against the public, so the public will look down on the brother. But that's not the case at all. They want to kill him because he's a revolutionary. Anybody who wants to go against the system is subject to being persecuted, prosecuted and executed. And that's wrong.

RW: This system has got his execution date set. Do you think we can save his life?

Keith: I think so. More rallies such as this, but I think it needs to go on a larger scale, more on a national and international scale. The only way the Establishment understands anything is when they see that Mumia has FULL support and cooperation from everyone. They get kicked in the face, THEN they understand, like April 29. They need to realize, we are challenging what has been unchallenged for so long. Like April 29. Change is good. Change is good and it's coming.

RW: It's gonna take a revolution.

Keith: Right, exactly. That's what I'm telling you. We gotta keep fighting. It ain't ever stopped. April 29 was like a step in the right direction. They'd better deal with the conditions and the evils right now—or deal with the consequences. □

Movement Grows

Continued from page 4

mum Security prison, almost 200 prisoners recently ran a combined 500 miles around the prison yard in support of Mumia.

Political prisoners worldwide have joined a "hunger strike chain" for Mumia. It was initiated August 1 in German prisons by several German political prisoners along with one Turkish and one Peruvian political prisoner. After several days, the fasting is "passed on" to others in the chain. This action has been joined by French, Danish Puerto Rican, and U.S. prisoners.

A statement called "U.S. Political Prisoners Solidarity for Mumia" has been circulating through U.S. prisons. It says, in part: "As political prisoners and prisoners of war—men and women—who have been imprisoned as a result of our political activities, we feel it is imperative for people of conscience to actively protest the upcoming execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal... There is

a dire need for escalation to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal." Among the signatories are: Jihad Abdul Mumit, Haniff Shabazz Bey, Ricardo Jimenez, Alberto Rodriguez, Abdush Shakur, Tim Blunk, Kojo Bomani Sababu, Larry Giddings, Bill Dunne, David Gilbert, Sundiata Acoli, Ojore Lutalo, Ray Luc Levasseur, Tom Manning, Laura Whitehorn, Marilyn Buck, Aida McRae, Linda Evans, Carmen Valentin, Dylcia Pagan, Ida Luz Rodriguez, Donna Wilmont, Luis Rosa, and Lorenzo Stone-Bey.

In the Press and Multi-Media

The September edition of *THE SOURCE*, a popular hip-hop magazine, ran an article on Mumia, which noted that "a host of rappers, actors, politicians and international political organizations have spoken out in defense of Abu-Jamal."

Common Courage Press has announced it is publishing a 272-page book of the research compiled by Mumia's legal team documenting how he was railroaded. It will contain an introduction by noted author E.

"Put Up or Shut Up!"

Volunteers for Refuse & Resist's Freedom Summer project have been distributing a flier called, "Put Up Or Shut Up!" This leaflet, which challenges the Fraternal Order of Police to a public debate about Mumia's case says:

The FOP is constantly running off at the mouth about how the case against Mumia Abu-Jamal is ironclad, and how anybody who protests the railroad doesn't know the facts. At the same time prison authorities have gagged Mumia so he is not allowed to talk to the press, Hanging-Judge Sabo has gagged the defense and not allowed them to call most of their witnesses, and the FOP (in the finest tradition of Nazi stormtroopers) tries to strong-arm any establishment that would hold a pro-Mumia program.

All this is because you don't have a case against Mumia. But if you think different, here's your chance.

We challenge the FOP to stop hiding, and appear where Judge Sabo and the editors of the *Daily News* can't protect you from the embarrassing facts. The rules would be simple:

1. A neutral and impartial moderator.
2. Equal speaking time for both sides; each side pick the person or persons they want to present their argument.
3. A large public venue in Philadelphia; each side gets to distribute one half of the audience tickets.

HOW ABOUT IT FOP? OR DOES THE THOUGHT OF A FAIR DEBATE AND THE PUBLIC LEARNING THE FACTS SEND YOU DUCKING FOR COVER? We're waiting. Our phone number is 215-387-5213.



Prominent Voices Demand New Trial for Mumia

On Wednesday, August 9 a full-page ad appeared in the *New York Times* demanding: "MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MUST HAVE A NEW TRIAL". The ad, signed by over 100 prominent people, said, in part: "There is strong reason to believe that as an outspoken critic of the Philadelphia police and the judicial and prison systems, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs.... Unless Mumia Abu-Jamal gets a fair trial, justice will not be done. Instead, America will witness a political execution. We refuse to stand by silently and let this happen."

The ad also contained a reprint of an op-ed piece by writer E.L. Doctorow in support of Mumia, that had appeared in the *N.Y. Times* on July 14. The following names appeared on the ad:

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, director, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Shana Alexander, author; Laurie Anderson, artist; Maya Angelou, poet; Paul Auster, author; Alec Baldwin; Russell Banks, author; John Perry Barlow, cofounder, Electronic Frontier Foundation; Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies; Derrick Bell, legal scholar; Dennis Brutus, professor, University of Pittsburgh; David Byrne, Luaka Bop Records; Naomi Campbell, model, actress; Robbie Conal, artist; Denise Caruso, journalist; Noam Chomsky, professor, M.I.T.; Richard A. Cloward, professor, Colorado University School of Social Work; Ben Cohen, Ben and Jerry's; Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, founder, Robert F. Kennedy Center for Human Rights; Ron Daniels, executive director, Center for Constitutional Rights; U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums; Dominique de Menil; Jacques Derrida; David Dinkins, professor, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs; E.L. Doctorow, author; Roger Ebert, film critic; Jason Epstein, editor, Random House; Susan Faludi, journalist; Mike Farrell, producer, actor; Timothy Ferris, author; Eileen Fisher, clothing designer; Henry Louis Gates, W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Humanities, Harvard University; Terry Gilliam, film director; Danny Glover; Leon Golub, artist; Nadine Gordimer, author; Stephen Jay Gould, Professor of Zoology, Harvard University; Günter Grass, author; Herbert Chao Gunther, president, Public Media Center; Jack Healey, Human Rights Action Center; Edward S. Herman, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania; Jim Hightower, national radio host and commentator; James Hillman, psychologist, author; bell hooks, cultural critic;

Molly Ivins, political columnist; Bill T. Jones, artistic director, Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Co.; June Jordan, poet, professor, African American Studies, University of California, Berkeley; Mitchell Kapro; Casey Kasem, broadcaster; C. Clark Kisinger, Refuse and Resist!; Herbert Kohl, educator, author; Jonathan Kozol, author; Tony Kushner, playwright; John Landis, filmmaker; Jaron Lanier, computer scientist; Lyn & Norman Lear; Spike Lee, director, producer, actor; Edward Lewis, chairman and CEO, Essence Communications, Inc.; Maya Lin, artist; Norman Mailer, author; Frederick Marx, producer, *Hoop Dreams*; Nion McEvoy, editor-in-chief, Chronicle Books; Bobby McFerrin, vocalist, conductor; Susan Meiselas, photographer; Pedro Meyer, photographer; Jessica Mitford, author; Michael Moore, *TV Nation*; Frank Moretti, associate headmaster, The Dalton School; James Parks Morton, dean, Cathedral of St. John the Divine; Paul Newman; Peter Norton; Joyce Carol Oates, author; Dean Ormish, M.D., president, Preventive Medicine Research Institute; Grace Paley, author; Alan Patricof; Martin D. Payson; Frances Fox Piven, professor, City University of New York; Katha Pollitt, author and associate editor, *The Nation*; Sister Helen Prejean, C.S.J., author; U.S. Representative Charles B. Rangel; Adrienne Rich, poet, author; Tim Robbins; David A. Ross, director, Whitney Museum of American Art; Salman Rushdie, author; Susan Sarandon; Charles C. Savitt, president, Island Press; André Schiffrin, director, The New Press; Peter Sellars, director; Nancy Spero, artist; Art Spiegelman, comic artist; Bob Stein, The Voyager Company; Gloria Steinem, *Ms. Magazine*; Sting, musician; Michael Stipe, R.E.M.; Oliver Stone, filmmaker; Brian Stonehill, Director of Media Studies, Pomona College; Nadine Strossen, president, American Civil Liberties Union; Trudie Styler, producer, actress; William Styron, author; Edith Tiger, director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Edward R. Tuft, professor, Yale University; Eric Utne, editor-in-chief, *Utne Reader*; Bill Viola, artist; Alice Walker, author, poet; Cornel West, professor, Harvard University; Marc Weiss and Nancy Meyer, TV producer and writer; John Edgar Wideman, author, professor, University of Massachusetts; Garry Wills, Adjunct Professor of History, Northwestern University; Joanne Woodward; Peter Yarrow, musician. □



Burlington, Vermont—About 200 people denounced Pennsylvania Governor Ridge and demanded that President Clinton stop the execution of Mumia at the National Governors Conference, July 30.



Drummers outside the U.S. embassy in Brasilia, Brazil support Mumia.

L. Doctorow.

Voyager, a publisher of computer CD-ROMS, has just published a new multimedia CD-ROM called *Mumia Abu-Jamal—Live From Death Row*. This CD-ROM includes videotaped interviews with Mumia Abu-Jamal, the complete text of his book *Live from Death Row* (with many of the essays read by Jamal), and *Voice of the Voiceless*, an additional 200 essays written in prison between 1989 and 1995.

Also on the CD-ROM are documents from the FBI files on Mumia, the text of Mumia's appeal, and a videotaped statement from his lawyer, Leonard Weinglass; background information on the death penalty, including a video from the ACLU and NAACP on the racial inequality of death sentencing; and statements about Abu-Jamal's life and work from E.L. Doctorow, John Edgar Wideman, Cornel West, Sister Helen Prejean, C.S.J., Derrick Bell, Ramona Africa, and others.

Support Statements

Two New York organizations have written an open letter to people of the Asian community calling on them to join the struggle to save Mumia. Part of this statement by the David Wong Support Committee and the Yu Kikumura Support Committee says: "Mumia Abu-Jamal was known to the people of Philadelphia as the 'voice of the voiceless.'... The workers in the brutal sweatshops and the abusive restaurants are part of the 'voiceless' in the Asian community."

On Aug. 7, New York City attorney Ronald Kuby, an associate of William Kunstler, sent a letter to Philadelphia Police Commissioner Richard Neal—and a copy to Mayor Edward G. Rendell—describing and protesting police harassment of Mumia supporters.

On August 7, the day the stay of execution was announced, Jesse Jackson attended the Mumia hearing for the first time. Jackson has said that though he can't judge

whether Mumia is guilty or innocent, he opposes all state executions, including the plans to kill Mumia.

International

August 2, five activists seized the city hall tower in the heart of Denmark's capital Copenhagen. They unfurled a 30-foot banner demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. As they let off fireworks, they threw thousands of leaflets down into the crowds in the capital's central plaza. After an hour-long occupation, police arrested them. This action was national news in this small, imperialist Scandinavian country.

The campaign for Mumia has been active in Denmark, with activists conducting weekly demonstrations at the U.S. embassy. Recently they sang a song based on the famous "cage speech" by Peru's imprisoned Maoist leader Chairman Gonzalo—the song was sung in four languages: Spanish, English, Danish and Farsi.

The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Great Britain has written to Pennsylvania Governor Ridge protesting plans to execute Mumia. The NUJ has also adopted Mumia as an honorary member. This is the first time this has happened in the union's 87-year history.

The same week, the Racial Minority Writers' Committee of The Writers' Union of Canada formally protested the death sentence of Mumia Abu-Jamal in a letter sent by its two co-chairs.

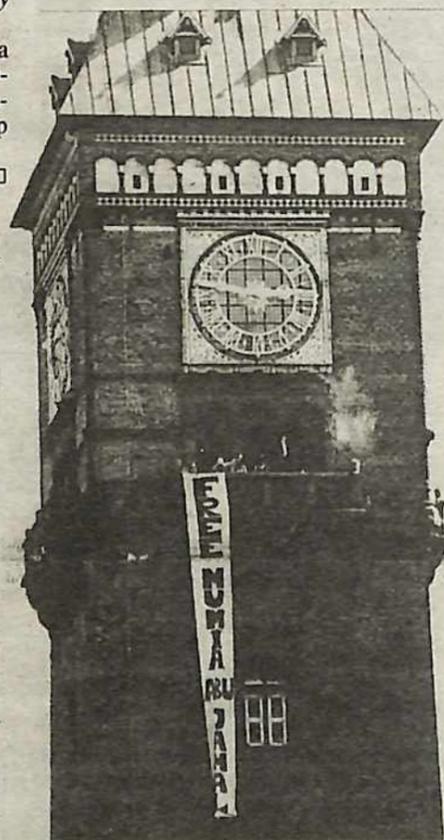
On Friday, August 4 German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel sent statements to Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge, U.S.

Secretary of State Christopher and the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons requesting a halt in the execution of Mumia. According to an internet posting, Governor Ridge responded with a huff: "I won't take my directions from a foreign power."

The following Monday, the same day a temporary stay was granted, French President Jacques Chirac authorized his ambassador in Washington to intervene to help save Mumia's life. □



A gathering of international writers in Paris supports Mumia. They included South African anti-apartheid writer Bryten-Breytenbach (left) and French philosopher Jacques Derrida (right).



A 30-foot banner hangs from Copenhagen's City Hall, August 2.

Correction:

Last week the *RW* incorrectly reported that "the American Bar Association held a press conference at the Convention in Chicago in support of Mumia." In fact, the press conference was held by several progressive lawyers at the ABA, but the event was not sponsored by the ABA. The ABA has not taken a position supporting Mumia, and the lawyers at this press conference challenged the ABA about this silence. □

Information As Weaponry in the Fight to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a hero of the people—a conscious uncompromising voice who refuses to make peace with the system. He was framed up, jailed and sentenced to death because of his work as a revolutionary journalist. On June 2 the governor of Pennsylvania signed a death warrant setting August 17, 1995 as the date for his execution.

The power structure wants to set a precedent by using the death penalty against a political prisoner. They want to deliver the message that extreme measures will be used to silence anyone who dares to speak out. If Mumia is executed it would be a big and intolerable crime with serious consequences for the people.

The clock is ticking, the situation is urgent. The struggle must spread. People need to get information about this struggle out broadly in society. The *Revolutionary Worker* is a crucial weapon in this fight to save the life of Mumia.

If you're not a regular subscriber and reader of the *Revolutionary Worker*, you're missing out on unique and important articles about this important battle:

- Interview with Mumia from Fall 1994—Mumia talks about why he is being persecuted, his teenage days in the Black Panther Party, his work as a revolutionary journalist, how the police tried to kill him, his railroad trial, conditions on death row and more
- On the Line with Mumia: Transcript of a phone interview with Mumia only minutes after he received his death warrant
- Mumia commentaries and essays from death row... exposing prison officials trying to censor and isolate him... speaking out about current world events... Mumia continues to get his revolutionary writing out to the people
- News about the growing struggle to stop the execution of Mumia: Statements and reports from demonstrations around the country
- Ongoing coverage of the legal arguments by Mumia's team of lawyers; in depth exposure of the 1982 railroad trial
- Exposure of government and police attacks on the Black radical organization MOVE
- Urgent Message from the RCP, USA: What Will it Take to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal?

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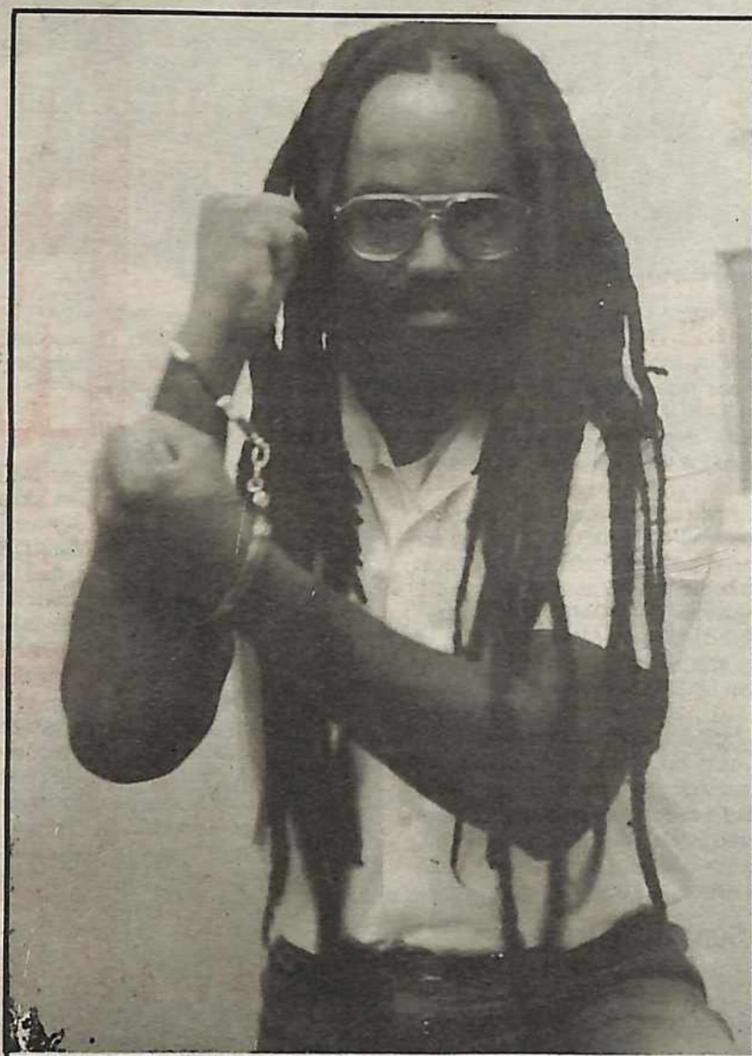
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