



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 569

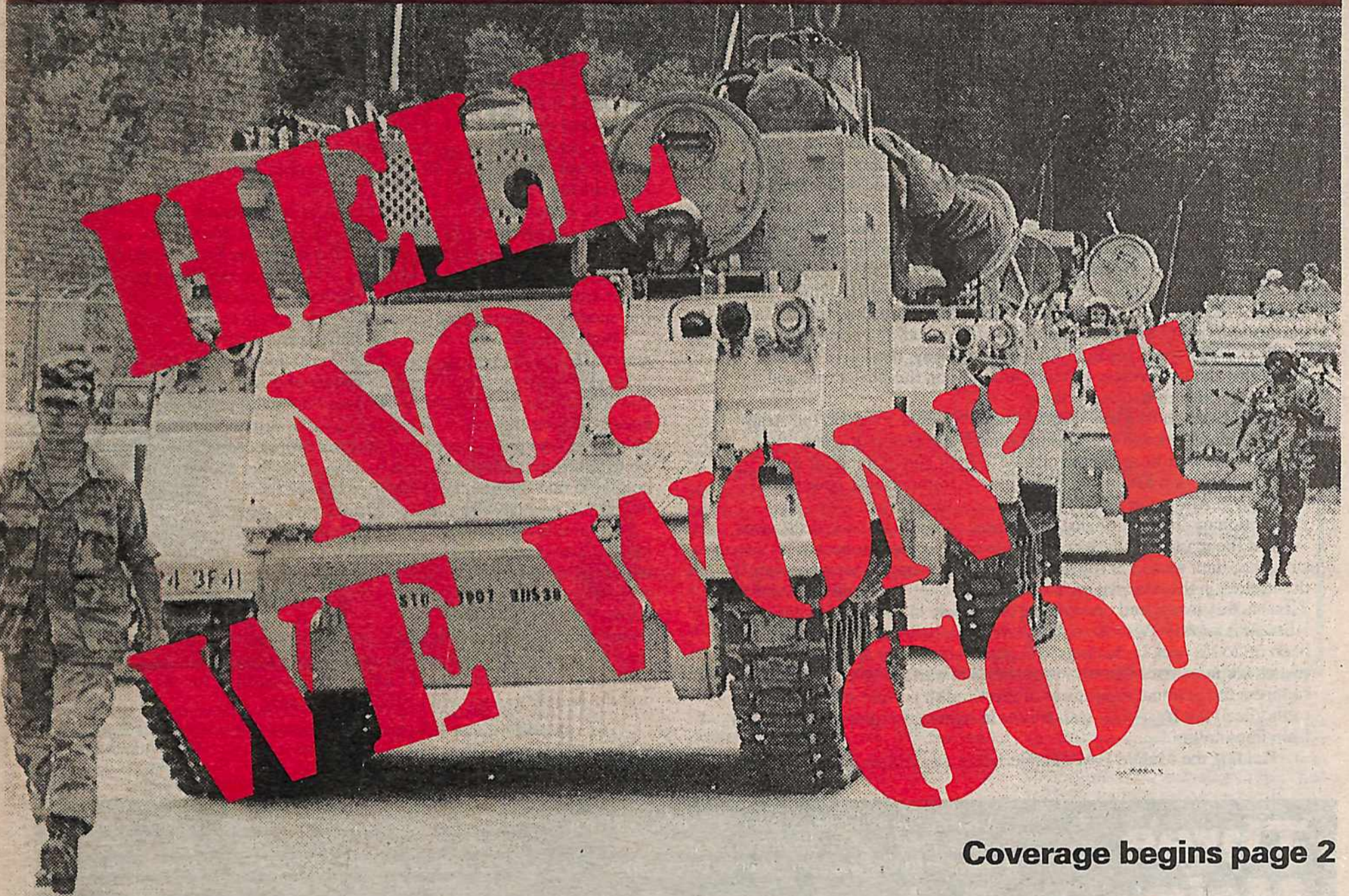
(Vol. 12, No. 17)

August 26, 1990

Editions in English and Spanish published weekly

\$1.00

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We received the following statement from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Oppose U.S. Imperialist-Led Aggression in the Gulf!

U.S. imperialism, aided by the world's other major imperialist powers, is frantically assembling a massive military force in Saudi Arabia and in the waters of the Gulf. There is every reason to expect that the U.S. imperialists, itching for a fight, will unleash bloody aggression and perhaps a full-scale war with Iraq.

U.S. imperialism is using the pretext of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to justify its aggression. But it is the U.S. itself that has repeatedly trampled on other nations and which takes particular delight in using its massive military might against weak and defenseless victims, such as Grenada and Panama. It is the U.S. which brutally occupied the southern portion of Vietnam and killed millions in their failed attempt to suppress the people of that country. And it is the U.S. which arms and finances the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is based on the illegitimate occupation of Palestine and which periodically lashes out violently at the peoples of the neighboring states.

The real purpose of the U.S.-led aggression is to clamp down on the whole region, attempt to terrorise the peoples of the Middle East and the whole world, and strengthen their world Empire. The U.S. has even threatened the use of nuclear weapons in the event of hostilities. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which unites genuine Maoist parties and organisations around the world, including in the Middle East and in the U.S. itself, resolutely condemns the aggression of the U.S. hoodlums and its partners-in-crime and calls on the proletariat and the oppressed peoples to oppose them.

The masses in Iraq and throughout the Middle East and the Arab world have understood that this imperialist aggression is against their interests and they burn for the chance to fight gun in hand for their national liberation against the U.S., the other imperialist powers, the reactionary Arab regimes and the Zionist state of Israel. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement supports all such resistance.

But the masses of these countries have seen their hopes, their struggles, their sacrifices repeatedly betrayed by impostors who wrap themselves in the national garb and claim to oppose imperialism and Zionism but always end up stabbing the people in the back. Sadaam Hussein is another of these reactionary impostors—for many years he has been up to his neck in dealings with imperialists, East and West and his crimes are numerous. He who uses chemical warfare in his own country to suppress the national aspirations of the Kurdish people will not and cannot lead the Iraqi and Arab masses in fighting for genuine liberation from imperialism.

Ridding the Middle East of imperialism and Zionism cannot be done

unless the proletariat and the peoples hoist their own banner, that of New Democratic Revolution and People's War. They must rely on their own efforts and not count on "help" from imperialists and reactionaries, or plan on "purchasing" liberation with the revenues from oil, that curse on the Middle East.

For years, opportunist forces in the Middle East, as elsewhere, claimed that only by relying on Soviet Union could the U.S. be opposed and these same forces bitterly opposed the Maoists who always told the truth: the USSR is a social-imperialist power and no friend of the oppressed. Now the USSR feels its imperialist interests are best served by allying themselves with U.S. in the Gulf and the bitter fruit is seen today when the Soviet's protégé, Assad of Syria, who postured as a big anti-imperialist, is shamelessly participating in the U.S. sponsored aggression against the Arab masses.

U.S. imperialism *can* be defeated. History has shown that the masses of people themselves can defeat the most powerful of enemies, and this same lesson is coming alive again in Peru, where the Communist Party of Peru, a participant in our Movement, has been successfully waging war for ten years with weapons captured from the enemy and with the support of the masses, without a drop of aid from reactionaries and imperialists.

Behind the bravado of the U.S. imperialists is a frantic effort to respond to the deepening crisis of the world imperialist system. The U.S. is desperate to repair and strengthen its web of domination, exploitation and murder in order to continue feasting on the wealth produced by the masses all over the world. The Soviet Union, Britain and France feel obliged to take part so as to protect their own interests and not be excluded from the banquet hall. Reactionaries like Mubarak of Egypt have been told that the time has come to pay back their debts to their imperialist masters with the blood of their own people.

All of this will mean hardship and suffering for the people, but more importantly, it means better conditions for the people to strike back at the source of hardship and suffering—imperialism and reaction—by waging revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary communists must strive to put themselves at the head of the struggle of the masses against U.S. imperialist aggression, help the masses to distinguish their friends from their enemies in the course of battle, and step up their efforts to establish genuine proletarian vanguard parties. Now is the time for the proletariat and the people to start writing their own history.

COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT
August 17, 1990

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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 Washington State: c/o Revolution Books, 5519A University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 206/527-8558

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$40 a year, \$12 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. (\$52 for institutions)

Postmaster: send all changes of address to *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.



August 12 demonstration in Mafraq, Jordan against U.S. military deployment in Saudi Arabia.

U.S. POWER PLAY THREATENS BIG WAR

The U.S. powers have declared a lockdown of a whole region of the world—the Middle East. U.S. ships in three seas—the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea—are stopping ships like pirates demanding to know where they are going. Sixty thousand troops are already in the area, with patrols now probing toward Iraqi positions on the northern border of Saudi Arabia. U.S. fighter planes have played chicken with Iraqi jets—even locking their weapons radar onto the Iraqis in moves that could start a shooting war.

This has become the greatest thrust of U.S. military forces the world has seen since the invasion of Vietnam twenty years ago. American armies and navies have been pulled from all over the world to make the point that the U.S., and they alone, are going to call the shots here. The move is so big that U.S. military reserves are now being called to active duty and 38 civilian airliners are being drafted into the military airlift. Every ally and puppet of the U.S. has been pressured to send troops in support.

A major world-sized crime is in the making: everyone needs to check it out.

Small-time gangsters do time for snatching gold

chains. But these big-time gangsters are threatening to starve and bomb *millions* of people in their cold power move. This is a big crime, a real crime, a *crime against the people*—and everyone who is down for change needs to take a stand.

What Are They Fighting For?

They say *they* should call the shots in the Middle East—even though over 200 million people live there and the United States is 10,000 miles away.

They act like the oil there is *American* oil—even though it is pumped up in Arab countries by the labor of millions of Arab proletarians.

To them, this wealth should flow into *their* banks and oil companies—even though the people of the world live in poverty and are robbed by the whole worldwide game of oil.

And most important of all to these gangsters, the *power* that comes from controlling oil must be in the hands of the *U.S.* because that power will help decide who runs who on a world scale.

Politically conscious people all over the world call the U.S. powers *imperialists*. These last weeks show why.

A Look at the Societies That Asked for U.S. "Protection"

The U.S. powers have gone to defend the kingdoms of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This should give everyone a picture of what the U.S. is fighting for.

Saudi Arabia is run by one super-rich family called the Saudis. In Kuwait the country was run by local princes headed by the Emir. Everyone else has no say. The whole culture is dominated by extreme right-wing religious beliefs. Other religions, and especially modern atheist beliefs, are forbidden. Jewish people are rarely allowed into Saudi Arabia. People are often executed for violating these religious laws.

Women in Saudi Arabia are treated like slaves: they are not allowed out of the house unless they are together with a male relative, they are not allowed to drive a car, they are often forbidden to learn to read.

And most important of all, both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have been run to make oil profits for the handful of rich princes and for foreign capitalists. At one ex-

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

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

Hawaii Marine Refuses

U.S. Marines stationed at Kaneohe Marine Air Station are being deployed to Saudi Arabia. But instead of being able to say that everyone is passively marching off to be cannonfodder in the latest U.S. invasion, radio and TV stations in Hawaii have been compelled to carry a story that's brought fear to reactionary patriots and hope to all those who have been anxiously waiting for resistance to the U.S.'s latest outrage.

On Thursday, August 16 Jeff Paterson, a 22-year-old U.S. Marine, dressed in a Refuse & Resist! T-shirt and kaffiyeh, appeared at a press conference to publicly state:

"I cannot and will not be a pawn in America's power plays for profits and oil in the Middle East. I will resist my scheduled departure, tentatively Sunday, by immediately filing for conscientious objector status and physically refusing to board the plane. And of course if I am drug out into the Saudi desert, I will refuse to fight."

Many activists in Hawaii know Jeff Paterson. For the past two years he has taken part in dozens of demonstrations. As a member of the Latin America and Caribbean Solidarity Association, he has protested against intervention in Central America, against apartheid, and in actions defending women's right to abortion. He took part in the Gay Pride Parade and marched in Earth Day actions. He's helped organize discussions on the repressive moves by the U.S. in Peru and on Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He has worked with Refuse & Resist! for over a year and played a major role in organizing the recent July 4th "Resist in Concert." In Jeff's words, he did this "to call attention to our government's attempts to enforce patriotism through flag desecration laws and to show that July 4th does not have to be a day to wallow in a police-state mentality of obedience to the fatherland."

In the last few years Jeff has been deployed to Okinawa, South Korea, and



Jeff Paterson

the Philippines. When asked at the press conference how he developed his strong opinions about the U.S., he acknowledged the U.S. Marines for giving him the experiences that helped him understand the nature of what the U.S. is doing around the world. Jeff talked about the way his thinking has changed:

"When I joined up I was really naive. I was 18 and had just graduated from high school in Hollister, California. My future didn't look promising. But after I

enlisted in the Marines, I knew something was wrong. In training they made us bayonet baby dolls that had the Soviet red star on them. They had us chant in PT formation about napalming villages and watching them burn, and 'doing' a woman this or that way. That's the stuff we were trained to do. Throughout the last four years the blatant sexism and racism in the Marines has taken its toll.

"I began to question exactly what I was doing in the Marine Corps about the

time I began to read about history. Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* had a profound effect on me and led me to rethink exactly what type of role I was fulfilling in a historical perspective. I read up on America's support for the murderous regimes of Guatemala, Iran under the Shah, and El Salvador. I attended forums at the University of Hawaii and Church of the Crossroads. It was at these gatherings that I realized I had been sitting on the

U.S. Power Play Threatens Big War

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extreme are the nobility. One recent news report, for example, describes a Saudi prince dropping \$16 million on a visit to the casinos of the French Riviera. At the other extreme are the majority of the people whose role in life is to produce the oil.

In Kuwait, a million people—over 60 percent of the country—are not even considered "citizens" of the country. They are kept in a special, permanent "foreigner" status (even though many have lived in Kuwait all their lives.) Most of them originally came from Palestine, Jordan and other Arab countries; but many were drawn there as contract laborers from as far away as the Philippines and South Korea. They have no political rights whatsoever; they are thrown out or jailed if they are caught organizing or even making complaints. Most receive very low wages.

This social order could be called *Apartheid on the Gulf*. This is what the American invasion is intended to defend.

Why are such ugly societies so "vital" to the U.S.? These princes and kings are "loyal friends of the U.S." and other big powers. They were set up to help Western powers exploit the wealth of this region and they eagerly help the U.S. and its allies keep control there. They help keep the people down.

What about Saddam Hussein? Isn't he an aggressor and a bully? Yes he is. He was set up in power by the U.S. and other big powers to be *their* bully in the area. They armed him. They financed him. They shipped him food and supplies to wage war on Iran. They defended him when he jailed and murdered the Iraqi and Kurdish people—especially anyone fighting for progressive and revolutionary change.

The U.S. says they have to stop Saddam Hussein from controlling the Persian Gulf because he is a pirate who will blackmail the world. But the U.S. is the biggest pirate of all—and they are making a power move in the Gulf precisely to be able to call the shots on a world scale. It's like Al Capone going to war to defend turf against one of his own lieutenants and telling the people it is in their interest to fight for *his* empire—when he is the one ripping them off and putting them down every day. Big gangsters have no right to attack small and medium-size gangsters.

The American empire has nothing to do with "freedom and democracy." It is an empire of ripoff and murder. To function it must prop up "running dogs" like these Arab kings, including with the open use of U.S. armies. Why should the people fight and die to defend this gangster setup?

We Won't Be Chumps

They want the oppressed within the U.S. to support the attack on the Middle East—or else shut up.

And more... they want oppressed youth to become hired killers for the U.S. military. It's a classic game of oppressors. They want to brutalize you here, in the street. And then they want to put you in uniform to be their hitman overseas—to brutalize *other* oppressed people!

Right now the lives of millions of people throughout the Middle East are being placed in the target zone. The U.S. Navy is already starving the people of Iraq by cutting off food. The U.S. Air Force has pinpointed Iraqi cities for bombing. And the U.S. media is yakking about the possible need for nukes. The powers that run the U.S. care *nothing* about human lives—they are willing to

On August 15, the Wall Street Journal, an influential voice of the U.S. ruling class wrote:

"...we presume, the Emir of Kuwait would no longer reject a sustained U.S. military presence in his kingdom."

"Some of the same people who said the U.S. had no national interests in Vietnam, indeed are now saying it is confronting Iraq only out of materialism. With harder days in the Gulf likely to come, the President and his men should not be embarrassed to assert that this effort unites the materialistic goal of oil and the idealistic goal of world order."

mass murder for their profits and power.

They say we should support them because "Middle East oil is vital to our quality of life." But we *aren't* in on that, and we *don't want* in on that. First of all, millions of people in the U.S. don't even get a taste of this famous "American Way of Life." And even many who get a taste can see how filthy it all is: now they are being called to support killing tens of thousands in the name of that All-American "quality of life."

War like this is vital to *their* way of life—these super-rich capitalists rip off people all over the world. As for us, they oppress us too.

To prepare everyone to support a big murder in the Middle East, they are using typical propaganda: first, they act like the Middle East is just sand and oil wells—with no real people. Whenever they discuss the people, they portray the Arab people as crazy, fanatic, irrational and worthless.

But we understand this kind of racist propaganda! We have seen it used *here*, every day, *against our Black and Latino youth!* Here they demonize the youth—make them look like crazed killers, like they're nothing but drug hoodlums and psychos. And why? because they want to be free to lock us up, shoot us up and terrorize us. That's the move they're making on the ghettos and barrios, and that's the move they want to make on the Middle East.

We won't let it go down like that here, and we won't let it go down like that in the Middle East. We don't want to see a victory for the U.S. powers in the Middle East. They are our oppressors—and we want to see them defeated and weakened *everywhere*.

There is a war to be fought by people in the belly of this beast. But it is not in the Middle East against oppressed people just like ourselves. The war that needs to be prepared for is a *revolutionary war* against the biggest gangsters and killers the world has ever seen—the U.S. imperialists. And right now a crucial part of preparing for that time is to wage a big political protest to stop the U.S. war machine. The voices of the people must be heard in the streets, loud and clear:

HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!

**FUCK THE U.S. AND ALL ITS MIGHT,
REVOLUTIONARY WAR IS THE ONE WE'LL FIGHT!**

Saudi Mission

RW Readers:

News of this GI's resistance and of the beginning broader resistance of all kinds to the U.S. invasion of the Middle East needs to get out. This GI's story began to make the news in Hawaii, but it needs to be out on the mainland U.S.

This means, first and foremost, making big efforts to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*.

But the "mass media" also needs to feel the pressure to report on these stories, which they'd rather not do.

We urge readers to call up major talk shows, get this word out, and ask them why this GI's story isn't making news—along with why there are no reports nationally about protests against this war buildup. □

wrong side of the fence.

"I joined LaCasa. I later joined Refuse & Resist!, Hawaii Chapter, to organize around government repression in the United States. I have worked hundreds of hours at CoffeeLine, which gives space for progressive people on Oahu a place to hold meetings, programs, network, or just discuss the issues of the day. Through these people I have met in the struggle for justice, freedom, and peace I have come to see the possibility of a far better future than the Orwellian police state we're headed towards.

"I see America run by an elite rich few, who rather smartly disburse their plunder they get out of the Third World to a significant number of middle class people to appease them and keep them from joining in the struggle with the oppressed.

"The only way I can see fighting is with the people, at a grassroots level, who are taking up the issues that this government would rather have ignored."

When asked what the mood was at Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, Jeff had this to say:

"As far as the troops go—if it came down to it, I think one out of five would volunteer to go to the Saudi area. Most

are hoping it will be a two-week trip. I don't see that happening. I think there will be a lot of discontent coming down in 128 degree weather in chemical suits in the desert.

"The troops in the Marines pretty much buy the line of 'kill the fucking ragheads.' There's really a line coming down from the top that if anything goes wrong we just nuke 'em. They're saying that if they see a can of gas dropped on the ground they'll nuke them. I think for the first time since WW2 there's an actual possibility of using tactical warheads, and I think the U.S. government believes it has the public support to do that kind of thing in response to a chemical attack.... But there are also Marines who respect me and the position I have taken."

The Hawaii chapter of Refuse & Resist! has called for the formation of a Committee to Defend Jeff Paterson, saying: "We have called supporters here today so that his stand jolts others awake. We also called supporters here today so that it is clear that Jeff does not stand alone. He may have started something by refusing to compromise today. There will be consequences to pay. We are here to let it be known that any injustice done upon Jeff can only fuel more resistance." □

FLASH

Saturday, August 18 a demonstration in support of Jeff was held at the entrance to the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station. More than a quarter of the Marines entering the gate indicated support—with smiles, discrete hand signals and even some strong power fists. During the demonstration Jeff was scheduled to meet with a commanding officer and told they were contemplating heavy charges—disclosing classified information and making disloyal statements. But later it seems the powers decided to try and do some "damage control." The processing of Jeff's papers was delayed and, while confined to the base, he has been assured that he will not be

deployed. It is anticipated that his papers will be processed on Monday and any action against him will be decided on then. In the meantime, Jeff reports that about half the Marines he has talked with support his action.

Jeff has received support from members of LaCasa, the Green Party, Hawaii

Union of Socialists, Pro-Choice Action Group, ACLU, and SANE-Freeze/Hawaii, as well as the RCP and RCYB. Jeff also received a phone call of support from Ramsey Clarke's office as well as the War Resister's League. Other activists from across the country have also been calling in support. □

"I Will Not Be a Pawn in America's Power Plays"

The following statement was given at the August 16 press conference in Hawaii:

Good Afternoon. My name is Jeff Paterson. I'm a CPL in the USMC.

I have served three years, ten months in the military with a relatively clean record, have received various awards and have consistently received above average job proficiency and conduct ratings from my superiors. I have seven months left to serve before my End of Active Service Date. My MOS is that of a Field Artillery Fire Direction Controller. However, for the past two years I have been able to keep myself posted as a supply clerk to reduce the internal conflicts within myself. The recent moves by our government in the Persian Gulf has made my attempt to fulfill the remainder of my contract in a benign way impossible.

As we speak, tens of thousands of servicemen are being mobilized to defend for the first time in American memory a blatantly imperialistic economic interest stripped of the State Department's beloved specter of international communism. Although the U.S. is facing off against a truly despicable man in Saddam Hussein, the reality is that U.S. foreign policy created this monster.

It was the U.S. who tacitly endorsed the Iraqi invasion of Iran ten years ago.

It was the U.S. and West Germany who sold Hussein chemical weapons throughout the war.

It was the U.S. who remained silent when Hussein used these weapons on his own populations.

And after all of this, it was the U.S. who gave Hussein safe passage through the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz by shipping Iraqi oil under the flag of Kuwait, thus protecting it from Iranian attack by U.S. escorts.

As usual, the world banks were delighted to assist Iraq in its invasion of Iran by handing out blank checks to be payable for by the blood of the people after Iran would be crushed into submission. It was these banks that actually financed the carnage of the half million dead resulting from that war. It was this enormous war debt owned by Iraq that forced Hussein in my opinion to make the following choice:

Impose harsh austerity measures on his people and face the downfall of his regime or, with a little military maneuvering, take Kuwait and in one fell swoop double the amount of oil produced by Iraq.

Although there are great differences in this interventionist policy and that of U.S. support for the death-squad regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala, there is the underlying motive of corporate profit throughout. Unfortunately the American people have fell for a big lie—that corporate interests are always in the best interests of the people. This is rarely true.

What is the equation that balances human lives and corporate profits?

In my opinion no such equation exists, except in the minds of those that are preparing to fight this war.

The United States has no moral ground to stand on in the Persian Gulf. We created this monster and pointed him in this direction. We pour millions into the coffers of Israel's military to wage a war against stone-throwing youth seeking a country to call their own once again.

I cannot and will not be a pawn in America's power plays for profits and oil in the Middle East. I will resist my scheduled departure, tentatively Sunday, by immediately filing for conscientious objector status and physically refusing to board the plane. And of course if I am drug out into the Saudi desert, I will refuse to fight.



March 1942—
Japanese-Americans
arrive at Owens Valley
concentration camp in
California to be held until
the end of the war.

Don't Believe the Hostage Hype

A warning: The United States government is preparing to use the treatment of American citizens by the Iraqi government as the excuse to bombard thousands of Iraqi people.

A lesson: These so-called "hostage" situations would not occur if the U.S. was not a world gangster power, with its employees, businesspeople and agents stealing and spying in every corner of the world—and it would not happen if the U.S. imperialists were not pointing thousands of weapons at the Persian Gulf. Falling for this hostage hype is straight-up American chauvinism.

The American Way To Launch Aggressions

History teaches us some things about how the United States has twisted reality

to make it look like *they* were the victim in order to justify wars of aggression.

- They faked an attack on the battleship *Maine* to start the Spanish American war of 1898.

- They turned the sinking of the *Lusitania* into a cause for war in World War 1. It was later revealed that this passenger ship was packed with arms—unknown to the passengers the U.S. government had used them as cover for transporting war supplies.

- They faked the "Gulf of Tonkin Incident" to justify their bombing and invasion of Vietnam in the 1960s.

- They completely fabricated a nonexistent threat to American medical students in Grenada—before the 1983 invasion there.

- They made a big incident about supposed mistreatment of U.S. soldiers in

Panama—right before a long-planned invasion kicked off.

The U.S. media claims that the internment of civilians during war time is an unspeakable act of barbarism. But the world knows that *the U.S.* interned thousands of Japanese-Americans in *concentration camps* during World War 2, and stole all their property—even though no evidence was ever offered to justify it.

Hostage Hype

As we go to press, the commentary in the U.S. media on the so-called "hostages" is very revealing.

The problem facing the U.S. government is this: they want to hype people to support U.S. military action by using Iraq's detainment of Americans and

British citizens, but they know when the shooting starts, U.S. missiles and bombs will kill many of these people. So they want people hyped and duped, willing to go to war over the "hostage" problem. Then when American firepower kills these people, they will blame it on Saddam Hussein. Their cold logic is revealed in discussion amongst the policy makers in Washington. They say that American decisions should be governed first and foremost by "national interests"—i.e., oil and strategic power—not by sentimental concerns over human life.

This happened as U.S. ships first fired across the bow of an Iraqi freighter, and one day after U.S. war planes "locked onto" an Iraqi fighter. There should be no doubt who is really taking provocative warlike actions in the Persian Gulf. □

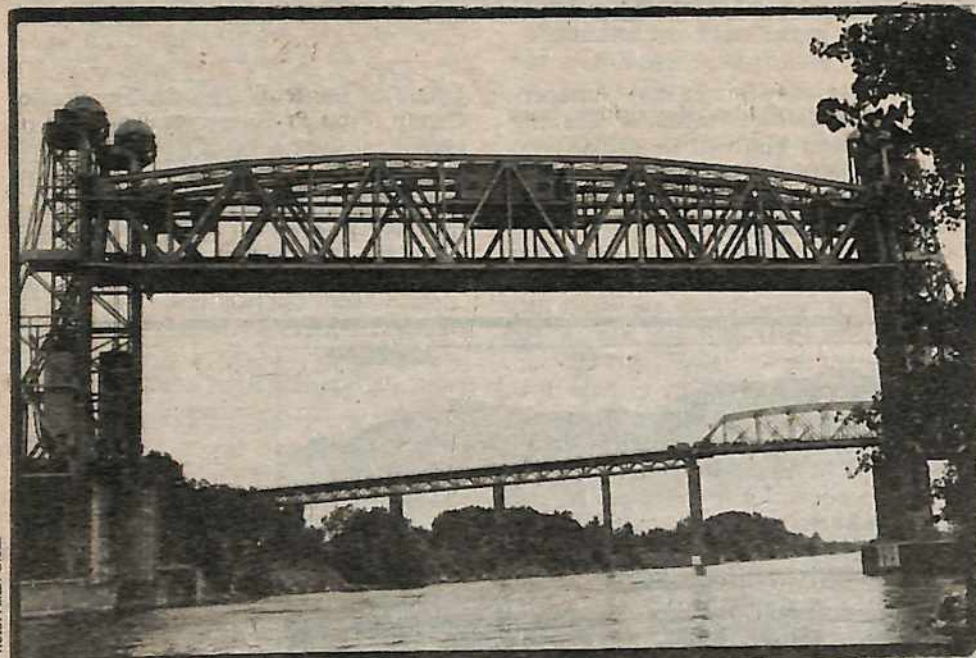
REPORT FROM BEHIND THE BARRICADES

MOHAWKS TAKE ON THE POWERS

Part 2: A STORY OF STOLEN LAND

For over a month there has been an intense armed standoff between authorities and Mohawk people in two communities outside Montreal, Canada. This confrontation started with a gun battle on July 11 when hundreds of Quebec provincial Police attacked a roadblock set up by Mohawks near the Indian community of Kanesatake, about thirty miles west of Montreal. The Mohawks had put up the roadblock to prevent local authorities from stealing Mohawk land to expand a golf course. In the wake of the July 11 battle, new actions were taken by both sides. Mohawks set up additional road blocks, including one across a major traffic bridge feeding Montreal at Kahnawake. And the authorities responded by surrounding the Mohawk people with thousands of heavily armed police. The RW covered these events as they unfolded. (See RWs 565, 566, 567.)

An RW reporter recently made it through the police blockade to meet and talk with the Mohawk fighters of Kahnawake. This is the second report from that visit. (See last week for Part One.)



Canadian Pacific Railway Bridge in raised position; Mercier Bridge in background.

We arrived in Kahnawake just as the U.S. was sending troops to the Middle East. The TV in one of the small rooms where dozens of people gathered switched back and forth from news of the U.S. invasion of the Middle East to news of the Canadian preparations for another invasion of Mohawk territory. The Canadian army was moving its forces into position near Kahnawake and Kanesatake.

As I watched the news I was struck by the similarity between the two invasions. The U.S. has stopped shipments of rice to Iraq—trying to starve the Iraqi people and force Saddam Hussein to submit. In Canada the powers have refused to let food pass freely into Mohawk territory. They are holding the entire communities of Kahnawake and Kanesatake hostage and threatening to starve them out if those among them who have chosen to fight don't put down their arms. The U.S. is trying to whip up anti-Arab, racist and patriotic ideas among people to get support for their gangster moves in the Middle East. And in Canada the powers are using racist, anti-Indian feelings to move on the Mohawks. Al, a 40-year-old Mohawk ironworker, told me, "I'll quote what they're saying now. 'Not only do Indians smuggle cigarettes and bingo equipment. Now they're starting to smuggle food.' Next thing you know we'll

be smuggling air! Those damn Mohawks are smuggling Canadian air."

The Mohawk people we spoke with are not afraid of the Canadian government's threats to send in the army. They are proud people with a strong sense of the justice of their fight. Throughout my visit I was inspired by the spirit of these people. They ridiculed and laughed at the government's attempts to force them to put down their guns and back down. At one point when a group of us were talking one man said, "I was thinking that with the negotiations we should have probably sent them a proposal, a counter-proposal, that they surrender, lay down their guns, put them in a sealed container. Then we would resume talks."

The Mohawk fighters have refused to put down their guns and they are continuing to stand firm at the barricades. Meanwhile the threat of a full-scale army assault is growing. Soon after I got back from my visit I called some of the people I had met up in Mohawk territory to get the latest news. They told me the government had finally been forced to agree to the Mohawks' preconditions for negotiations: free passage of food, medical supplies, Mohawk spiritual advisers and lawyers through their territory and international observers to monitor the situation while the two sides talk. And they said negotiations had started. But the

standoff situation remained tense. And while the government was talking, they were negotiating with the barrels of many powerful guns held to the heads of the Mohawk people.

People I talked to reported that the night before the talks began, a Canadian military reconnaissance team in full battle fatigues approached the Mohawk border in Kanesatake. They were turned back by the Mohawks. Another friend said he had been taking a news team from Channel 4 in Detroit into Kahnawake that same night. They saw a Canadian warship go through the St. Lawrence Seaway, which runs along the northern border of Kahnawake.

At least 2,630 troops have taken up positions near Kahnawake and Kanesatake. And in the town of St. Remy, just south of Kahnawake, the army has massed 80 armed personnel carriers and 80 wheeled vehicles ranging from jeeps to five-ton trucks. Army reconnaissance teams have been flying over the two Mohawk territories in helicopters. According to the Canadian government these are "administrative" flights that "do not represent an official engagement!"

The powers claim the army has been called in to "keep the peace" because of violent riots by white racists against the Mohawks in Chateaugay. But if this is so, why are they surrounding Kanesatake, which is over 30 miles away? And it looks like the government has had a direct hand in stirring up racist anti-Indian protests. One Mohawk told me that they have sympathizers in the town who go to the racists' meetings. These supporters reported that the KKK is openly involved in leading the lynch mobs that have burned effigies of Indians night after night at the police barricades in Chateaugay. One of their leaders arrested last week is a former Quebec provincial police officer—the same pigs that attacked the Mohawks! These racists are demanding the Mohawks give them back "their bridge." But some of our Mohawk friends just laughed at this, saying, "It's our bridge now."

POWER AND POWERLINES

The Canadian and U.S. imperialists have systematically stolen Mohawk land and forced the people onto four different territories on both sides of the U.S./Canadian border. The Mohawks used to live where Montreal now stands. And the land at Kahnawake is very valuable to capitalists, since it's right in the middle of this major urban area.

On the second day of our visit, we piled into Al's car for a drive through Kahnawake. Al told us just looking at the land would be a history lesson. And he was right. We saw hundreds of huge power lines that cut through the very center of the territory. They carry power from huge hydroelectric dams in northern Canada to the United States. And these are dams built on the land of other Indian peoples. These high-tension lines are known to have very bad effects on the health of people living anywhere near

them. So the land around them cannot be used by the Mohawks. Al told us, "That's big business for Canada. Just about every reserve has this. Power lines, bridges or major highways. . . because it was so easy to take the land."

The Canadian government has maintained that since Indian land is really federally owned land held "in reserve" for the Indian peoples, they can "legally" steal it whenever they like. In the past, when they wanted to build something through Mohawk land they used this excuse. They expropriated the land against the Mohawks' will and never gave them any compensation for it. So for them, building a golf course on a Mohawk burial ground and beautiful pine forest in Kanesatake was no problem. Or so they thought!

But the fact that these bridges, roads, highways and power lines have all been built on Indian "reserves" has turned out to be a big problem for the powers. Indian peoples on these "reserves" all across the country are now threatening to sabotage the railroads, power lines, bridges and roads that run through their territories if the army moves in against the Mohawk people. Indian roadblocks have already shut down parts of virtually every major road in Canada. Just after we left Kahnawake I heard that Ojibwa Indians are camped out on railroad tracks that run from the capital city of Ottawa and Winnipeg. The trains couldn't move and hundreds of passengers had to be flown to Ottawa.

CONTROL OF THE SEAWAY

As we drove east, the St. Lawrence Seaway was on our left. This is a man-made canal about 350 yards across. It was dug out of Mohawk land in the 1950s and runs along most of the northern border of Kahnawake. A thin strip of land separates it from the St. Lawrence River and Montreal. This seaway connects the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes and so is very important to the powers. Every day huge ships from countries all over the world pass through this canal. They carry cargo worth millions of dollars bound for Canada and the United States. One evening we talked with a group of Mohawks who described how the canal was built and what it meant for their people. Carl is a young ironworker. Ann is a woman who works for the Indian Affairs Department. And Carol is a woman who was part of a group of Mohawks who took back a piece of their land in New York State at Moss Lake in the 1970s. They told us:

"They were able to do what they wanted years ago. The St. Lawrence Seaway was an example of that. The RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] came in and they were dragging out old women from their houses, literally dragging them out to expropriate their land. The Seaway was supposed to be twice the size it is. But because of pressure from human rights groups and such, they said that we wouldn't be able to cope with it because it would have torn away most of the village. They even destroyed land on a proposed section.

Photo: Allan Clear



Sign on road to barricades at Kahnawake.

"My grandmother's property is a good example of that. They had the canal already planned. They dug up the riverbed, threw all the sludge and the stone onto my grandmother's property. Then when they changed the course of the canal they just left it. If you look at the other side of the Mercier Bridge, it's all finished in concrete and grass and stone. They left our side looking like a dump.

"My two grandfathers, they were living right along the river. One of my grandfathers, they were dynamiting all around his house. It was just on a little peninsula. He got sick. They had to move him right out of there. They paid them for moving your house from one point to another point but they didn't pay you for the property. It was just for 'the inconvenience.' But the riverfront was gone. That was part of our life, we always had a riverfront. That was sad, very sad for us. The Seaway went right through there, we didn't have access to the river. Just the ships go by now. You have no more river where you can put a boat on and go fishing or swimming. You know, if you have a riverfront property, it costs a lot of money."

As we swung toward the bridge, we drove by a lumber yard, one of the few Mohawk businesses in Kahnawake. The Mercier Bridge rose above the canal and

the river in the distance. In front of it was another bridge. Al told us this was called the C.P. Bridge. It's a railroad bridge that works like a drawbridge: when it's up trains can't get through and boats can pass through the canal. When it's down, the trains go through and the boats have to wait. Railroad tracks that bring goods back and forth from Montreal to the U.S. cut right through Mohawk land. The same way they did with the Seaway and the power lines, the government just came in, took the land and built the tracks. We all laughed when Al said these trains go to New York, and someone else who was showing us around shot back, "Not any more they don't." The Mohawks control the bridge now. And since they were attacked in July they've had it raised so that no trains can pass through.

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LAND FOR THE RICH
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The Mercier Bridge loomed in the distance. It connects Kahnawake with La-Salle on the south shore of the island of Montreal. The Mohawks put up a roadblock on the bridge on July 11 after Quebec police attacked their brothers and sisters at Kanasatake. We were about 200 yards away. Squinting in the

afternoon sun, we could see the Warrior flag flying over the Mohawk barricade in the middle of the bridge, a few hundred feet above the water.

The history of how the bridge got there is itself testimony to the oppression of the Mohawk people. "They were dynamiting around the houses and people wouldn't move. They didn't want to put the bridge in Chateaugay because they said the land was too valuable. The town of Chateaugay had plans to build a bridge there. But they don't want it because they'll have to put up with the inconveniences we've put up with for generations—expropriation of their lands, traffic tie-ups in a nice little area. Too much traffic. But really what stopped them was it was all right to expropriate the land right here but when they got to the other side in Dorval and Lachine, there were too many powerful people that lived there. It was all owned by doctors, lawyers, congresspeople. It would have cost them a fortune."

As we drove by the base of the bridge where it touches Mohawk land, Al pointed to a huge golfing green with lush fields of green grass. Rich Canadian golfers call this the Kanawaki Golf Club. We had heard about this from Carol the night before: "They have a golf club here with a lease of 99 years—Kanawaki Golf Club, which is a millionaire's golf club. All the corporate heads belong to that golf club. It is one of the best golf clubs in the country. It's a private millionaire's golf club. All the Scotch, Irish, English belong to it. And we're not allowed in. Well, we work there, carry their clubs for them." We all laughed when Ann joked about a more appropriate use of the club: "If push comes to shove and we don't have no food, we'll plant corn on that."

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A CHALLENGE TO THE STATE
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The Mohawk women and men we talked to spoke with anger of past generations who had either seen no way to defeat the imperialist powers who were trying to crush them, had been afraid to go up against the powers, or had been bought off in some way and actually helped the government. "Yeah, they were able to do what they wanted years ago. The St. Lawrence Seaway, the

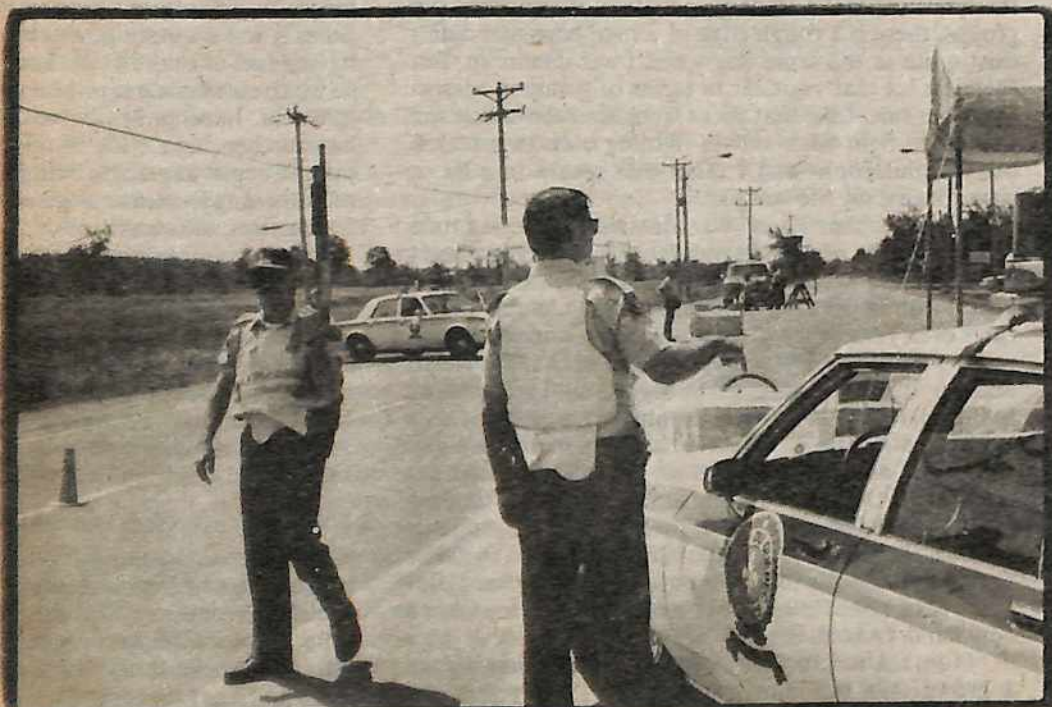
hydroelectric towers. . . for years, generations, they thought they could do what they wanted. In 1948 they gave away 80 percent of our territory here. The whole county of La Priapre, they just gave it away. People are tired of it."

One of the main ways the powers went after the Indian peoples was through the Indian Act. This law was used by the Canadian government to steal the different Indian peoples' land, culture and language, and to assimilate Indians into Canadian society. Similar laws were also passed for the same reasons in the United States.

It was under the Indian Act that the land that remained in the hands of Indian peoples was declared federal land and held in "reserve." Before the Indian Act, Mohawk clanmothers had nominated the chiefs, which the people then agreed on. The Indian Act set up a system of elected chiefs with a grand chief and ten councilors. The Canadian government recognized only the elected chiefs as the official government and they gave a lot of money to these "band councils" to administer the Indian lands. Through this, they were able to control or influence many of these Indian officials to go along with their plans to systematically rip off the Indians' land and assault their way of life.

There is a growing traditionalist movement among the Mohawk people, as well as among other Indian peoples. We talked with some of these Mohawks while we were in Kahnawake. They are determined to fight to keep their identity as a distinct people—their land, culture and language. One woman spoke for many of these people when she summed up her view of the current struggle: "This is a challenge to the state, the state's power. The way the state worked it out was that over several generations they were going to get rid of their obligations to Indians by controlling the Indian people through eventually just disseminating and absorbing them into the mainstream. They were not ever gonna pay their obligations to Indian people. Both countries did that—the U.S. and Canada. But in both countries it's not been successful. We've hung on and we've suffered a lot and we're still here as nations. We still have our ties with each other. They didn't disseminate us."

To be continued



Police blockade, Oka.

Photo: Allan Clear



The RW Interview

DOWN REVOLUTION

Part 1

Coming Up: Fried, Dyed and L

Recently the Revolutionary Worker had the opportunity to talk with a leading comrade in the RCP who started out as a street youth and became a revolutionary leader in prison. His story is of definite interest to the sisters and brothers who are looking for a way out of this racist and downpressing system. Over the next few weeks the RW will present this brother's life journey—as a Black youth coming up in the early 1960s, through two prison rebellions, to the present.

RW: You spent a lot of time in prison when you were coming up and you became a revolutionary in prison—and a revolutionary leader. So we'd like to get down on that whole story. And we know that your experience can shed some light for the brothers and sisters—who are right now up against some heavy fire from the powers-that-be—on why they should become revolutionaries.

There's some lines in the rap by Public Enemy "Don't Believe the Hype" that typify the situation for Black youth today:

"About the gun...
I wasn't licensed to have one
The minute they see me, fear me
I'm the epitome—a public enemy
used, abused without clues
I refused to blow a fuse
they even had it on the news
Don't believe the hype."

How does this song relate to your situation when you were coming up in the 1960s?

Comrade X: A lot of what's captured there speaks to what it is for Black youth and other oppressed youth coming up in this society, not just now, but when I was coming up too. One of the main differences is that now the shit is a lot sharper. Public Enemy has this picture on the front of their album—a Black youth with a target on his chest. And a lot of what characterizes the situation today is that the powers are tightening up their whole state apparatus and in the name of the war on drugs actually conducting a war on the people and the youth. That's the character of it.

Malcolm X used to talk about that there was a minimum security and maximum security. He'd be talking and be saying he had been in prison and he'd tell people, 'Well don't be surprised, you're in prison too—it's a question of maximum versus minimum security prison.' But increasingly from what I can see, the distinctions are getting blurred. I mean, when you have people getting stopped like these youth stopped in Boston and strip-searched out in public and shit—and housing projects being turned almost literally into prisons—some of the distinctions between the maximum and the minimum is beginning to get blurred.

So things are a lot sharper. And even in terms of the reaction of the youth I think, as is somewhat captured in the lyrics of Public Enemy and some of the other rap groups, there is a rough edge or a hard edge that didn't exist quite in the same way when I was coming up. But there's a lot that's similar in terms of going up against the other side. Like that point from Mao about how the oppressed fight back and in fighting back they search out for philosophy and I think that speaks in a lot of ways to what my life was like.

I can remember when I was arrested for the first time was when I was nine years old. It was a situation where I was in a five and ten cent store—I don't think they even have those anymore. I stole something. At this time I can't even remember what it was but it was something really petty. And I was arrested and taken downtown and put in jail. I was in a cell by myself, but I was actually in the jail for men—when I was nine years old. And they held me down there and tried to intimidate me—and succeeded, at that age—until my parents came and got me. This is the kind of thing that happens growing up Black in this country. Had I been white it probably would have been resolved a lot differently, just by either taking me home or telling me not to do it anymore. But in my case, right from the beginning, it was resolved in a very harsh fashion.

From the time before I was a teenager up until I was a grown man way into my twenties, I was repeatedly involved in various contradictions with the state and being put into prison. And if you put together the crimes supposedly that precipitated that, they were all

very, very, minor. But I'll try to get into some of that as we go along.

The first time that I was really convicted of something was a very minor and petty offense—I stole a pound of hamburger. At the time when I was coming up we were very poor, so I had a scheme that I would work. My mother would send me to the store with a dollar or two, and I would steal what she wanted me to buy, and then I would keep the money to have some spending money. And this one Saturday—I can remember it very vividly—I went in to do that and I got busted. And once again, right away they took me downtown. But this time it wasn't even a question of my parents coming to get me. They put me in a juvenile detention center for a couple of months and then I was put on probation. This was when I was 12 years old.

By the time I reached 13 I had been arrested again for shoplifting and riding in a stolen car, or stealing a car, which was a violation of my probation of the previous incident of stealing the hamburger. So I was sentenced to the reform school (or boys school) for a period of time. Actually the way they did it at that time was they sent you there indefinitely until you were 18 years old.

At that time I was not really conscious of how to understand all this. There were some ways I knew that this shit wasn't right, some things were wrong, and I had some sense of how Blacks were oppressed. But it wasn't any kind of put-together understanding that I had at that time. So I went off to reform school for nearly a year, and I would say that through all of this I was beginning more and more to get an understanding of some things.

RW: A lot of times the youth are caught up in it but they don't see that it's the whole system coming down on them.

Comrade X: Of course I can see it much more clearly now looking back. At that time when I was growing up in the South, people still had to sit in the back of the bus and were subjected to all kinds of Jim Crow shit. And that was not only true in the South but also in the North. In fact, Malcolm X made the statement at one point that the South began at the border of Canada. In other words, it was the whole country, because in the North some of the same stuff went on, but it was more disguised. Cuz I can remember even where I lived which was in the North, some of the drug stores and restaurants, Blacks couldn't sit at the counter—the same way it was in the South. But the whole system, the whole penal system and the whole state apparatus, was set up in such a way so that everything was aimed back at the oppressed people. And this is the same kind of thing that you see coming down on the youth today in a lot of ways.

You'd go in to see your probation officer or the social worker, and the interviews a lot of times would consist of, 'Were you fed well, did your parents abuse you?' Here was a situation where we were very poor and a lot of times it was a question of not having anything to eat or having fuel or coal. I would have to go out and find wood so we could stay warm and eat sugar sandwiches and shit like that. In other words, we didn't have shit. This was before there was a lot of openings in the '60s where people began to get into better paying jobs. And instead of that being looked at as the source of the problem, the authorities, the social workers and such, would ask you, 'Well, do you think you're a kleptomaniac?'

And ultimately I came to see it as a bigger problem—that capitalism and imperialism was the source of this and the whole character and nature of the oppression of Black people in this country, having been brought here as slaves, forced into slavery, and then even after slavery being forced into a state of virtual slavery in the South. And all of this had everything to do with the contradictions that I was facing as I was coming up as a kid.

RW: What happened when you went to boys school?

Comrade X: When I went to boys school it was a very regimented type of situation. The boys were in cottages which were like small houses. But first they kept you in what they called 'quarantine' where they oriented you to the rules and basically began the process of breaking your spirit, which is what it was all about. I can remember being in quarantine. The floors were just spotless, you could almost cat off of them. And largely what we spent our time doing was mopping and waxing the floors

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and walking around with pieces of cloth under our feet so we wouldn't scratch the floors. We couldn't wear shoes or anything.

It was also very segregated. The Blacks were in certain cottages and the whites were in certain cottages. And the whites, to the extent that this could be the case, had more privileges than the Blacks. When I got out of quarantine I went into this cottage—and everybody was going into what we called the scullery—I guess it's some English word for the kitchen—and I was the last to go in. As I walked past the cottage supervisor he said something to me and I said, "No," and all hell broke loose. He knocked me down, threw a chair on top of me, and hit me with a chair, pulled out a whip and whipped me, and all of this was because I didn't say, "Yes SIR."

They only let you wear your hair so long, so in order to keep your hair long you had to put on a woman's stocking. You'd take it and put it on your hair so that it would be pressed down and it wouldn't be too long. Otherwise they'd make you get it cut off, because when you first go in there it's just like the army. They cut your hair off, it's very regimental, very humiliating. They make you march in formation and say the Lord's prayer and pledge allegiance to the flag and all this kind of regimentation and strict control over everything you did. There were certain areas in the cottage where you could talk and where you couldn't talk and if you were caught talking, there were snitches and whatnot that would write your name down. And if your name came on the list then you would get the strap. For all this talk about child abuse, they would make you lean over a chair and make you pull your pants down and beat you with a razor strap. For talking in the dining room, you'd get ten licks—but if you let go of the chair before the cottage supervisor got to ten then you had to start all over again, so this could go on for quite a long time. It was just very fascistic in that kind of way. And that was not all that inconsistent with the atmosphere in the country in the '50s and early '60s—that was the way things were carried out. Later on when I got out and got a little older and came back, I rebelled against some of that—including challenging the cottage supervisor himself.

RW: *Where were most of the guys from, what kind of background?*

Comrade X: Overwhelmingly proletarians. A lot of the people I met in reform school—and these people came from all throughout the state—later, when I was older and went to prison, there was the same people. This was the track you were on and the people you met there were frequently the same people you met when you got to prison later on in life.

RW: *Some people treat the whole question of crime in the inner cities and youth gangs like it never existed before, when in reality the oppressed people have always been in a situation where it was allowable to brutalize each other but crossing that line to fight the system was something different.*

Comrade X: That's definitely true. In fact that was a point the Chairman made in the interview about the Black Panther Party. Where I grew up it wasn't like there was organized gangs as such, but it was more that there was turfs, which is more or less the same. It was the East side versus the West and the North side versus the South. If you went on the wrong side of town then it was your ass. Or if you went to a party on the wrong side of town and you stepped on somebody's shoe or something, these minor kind of things like this, it very often went over to violence. And in some other places like Chicago, not only did they have gangs, but they were like empires. Thousands of people were in them and in fact you were forced into them. So it is definitely the case that this has existed for a long time.

And also, too, this whole point of it being "allowable" in a certain sense if you are doing it to one another. It is different than if you even step out and start committing violence and violent crimes against whites, to say nothing if you begin to go over to become a revolutionary and start attacking the system. Then there is a whole different ballgame.

RW: *Getting back to your story. Clearly when you were in*

Continued on page 10



DOWN FOR REVOLUTION

Continued from page 9

the boys school and they ran this whole discipline trip on you, it did not work. It did not achieve the results that they desired.

Comrade X: No, it did not. I would have to say before I began to take up revolutionary ideas and especially before I began to take up Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that they could confuse you. They never really succeeded in breaking me and a lot of the people that I grew up with, but they could confuse you in terms of your understanding. I used to think, "Why am I getting into this shit all the time. I don't want to get busted all the time but here I am. I made a promise to myself that I wasn't going to get into this situation again, but here I am again." In other words, there was a whole thing of making you think it was really you that was the problem rather than that there's a whole system and the whole setup. Like when I was young and used to shoot dice, they used to have different kinds of fake dice they could put in on you. And that's the way this system is: the dice are loaded. They are shooting loaded dice against you.

It wasn't like I really had it all together in terms of why all this shit was happening this way. But like a lot of youth, I not only had dreams but I also thought about why shit was this way and why it was that people over here were poor and people over there were just born rich. Where I lived, on this street and this whole area was all Blacks and extremely poor, but then not far away from where we lived it was like a whole rich section of town. And you'd think about these things. Why was it that way? Why was it that people had to go hungry and go without the basic essentials of what it takes to live? And on the other hand they were mocked and surrounded by all this wealth. That was a thing I did ponder when I was a kid before I came to understand fully what this was all about.

RW: Who were your heroes?

Comrade X: As I grew older I wanted to be a hustler, I wanted to live by my wits and I wanted to be in the streets. I didn't see much of a future in working like a slave eight hours a day like I'd seen my parents do and other people around me. It just didn't seem to be heading anywhere. It didn't have any attraction to me. What attracted me was this other kind of life, where you are more in the streets and living by your wits and hustling. And that's the sort of thing I got into.

When I was coming up a lot of the people that I admired were the older "brave elements"—the brothers who stood on the corners and wore their pants high up. They used to have a style where you wore your pants all the way up to your chest. And they wore their Kadies and they had their switchblades. It was just a certain style of going up against things, not in a conscious way, but there was a certain style in opposition. And it was what it meant to be a youth at that time. Those were a lot of the people that I admired and later ended up in prison with—the "Brother Russells."

Brother Russell, who himself is dead now, was one of the people that I admired and looked to as a "role model" as opposed to somebody like King. I was reading recently this tale about Staggerlee, and he reminded me

of Brother Russell. He was one of the "brave elements" that hung out on the corner. Brother Russell got into prison because he was involved in a crap game and somebody made the mistake of slapping him and he ended up in prison for murder. Brother Russell was not the type of person that you'd want to slap, that was like a serious mistake and ended up to be a fatal mistake. So Brother Russell ended up going to prison and ended up in prison when I was there. By that time I had become a revolutionary and I became a different kind of "role model" for him so it was kind of a switch.

Those were the kinds of people, the people who had their hair fried and dyed and laid to the side, with a part not too wide. Back then, it was like a process. There was a certain edge to that style that was not respectable, that was "in your face." Black people who were respectable or who were in entertainment might wear a process, but to wear your dora and to have your dora in your pocket and that sort of thing, there was a certain unrespectable edge to it that sent the other side up the wall.

They were the outlaws. They would wear their outrageous clothes and they would stand on the corner and they would croon and those kinds of things. And that's who I admired and who I wanted to model myself after. And later it was me that was out there like that.

RW: In opposition to the treatment you received you developed a certain contempt for death which is similar to the attitude in the lyrics of the NWA rap *Fuck the Police*:

*"...They have the authority to kill a minority.
Fuck that shit, cuz I ain't the one
For a punk motherfucker with a badge and a gun
To be beatin' on and thrown in jail."*

Comrade X: I think early on a lot of this contempt for death and lot of the way the stuff came down was against one another. There was this whole thing about who was bad on the corner and you weren't gonna let anyone get the better of you.

But there was also contempt for the pigs. When I first began committing robberies and burglaries, I would go into a place and start burglarizing it and just in terms of the fearlessness I had of the state, I would go in and start cooking myself a meal. Like I figured they had the same thing that I had and I probably had more heart than they did, so if they came I was ready for them. And that was the spirit that I had and in fact a lot of the youth had, and it's not all that different than what exists now.

I was just not long ago rereading some of Malcolm X, and he talks about when he was coming up—this whole thing about "face." It's like a street code and also it's a similar type of code in prison. In other words, the way he puts it in his book is that for a hustler in our sidewalk jungle world, "face" and honor were important, no matter. No hustler could have it known that he had been hyped, meaning outsmarted or made a fool of, and worse a hustler could never afford to have it demonstrated that he could be bluffed, that he could be frightened by a threat and that he lacked nerve. It just basically comes down to machoism—that you can't let people do anything that would offend your manhood or offend your face. And if that happened then you had to go down, or you weren't down.

That was a whole part of existing on the street is that you had to have that heart, have that nerve, not be able to be backed down by someone else if it came to a confrontation. That's part of the whole psychology of the streets that goes on, and some people from the '60s

who are getting down on the youth today forget that. This is not something that even just existed in the '60s, Malcolm is talking more back in the '40s, that same kind of code of the streets and also something that exists in prison.

RW: Looking back on it you said you see positive and negative things in it. What do you mean by that?

Comrade X: On the negative side, what can I say: that street code or prison code has a lot of individualism mixed up with it—to say nothing of machoism and male chauvinism. I've been there, I know what it is all about. And I've come a long way in breaking with that kind of outlook. That's the Man's way. Our way is: "Brothers rising up with sisters, strong, proud and with equality: that's our way, the way we all get free." The youth today (and here I'm speaking especially of the brothers) have to be struggling over that kind of thing, that kind of macho outlook. The revolutionaries have to have a first-string orientation and all-the-way revolutionary politics in command, uniting with the anger of the people and striving to direct it in the most powerful way at this cesspool that they call "the greatest system on earth." And we got to make that part of preparing to bring this system down. As we've said: "While we're battling them back, politically like that, we got to make this part of getting ready for The Time—and it can come soon—to wage revolutionary war."

On the positive side, when these youth begin to become more conscious and that same fearlessness and anger and contempt for death begins to be directed at the system and the powers that be, then you have a whole different ballgame. All that is a necessary part of what we have to do in bringing this whole thing down, you need that, you need that spirit. You obviously need a lot more than "heart" but you do need *that*. So that's how it divides into two. On the one hand the way it plays itself out in the streets and in prison and all of that is a reflection of machoism and gangsterism and that sort of thing. But on the other hand, there is the situation that when that attitude gets transformed through the leadership of a party and when people begin to take up the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it's not like you lose that same fearlessness and that same hatred—it's just tempered, if you want to put it that way.

I can remember having a lot of hatred, but it was not focused and not directed and oftentimes it would be focused in the wrong way and the wrong direction, but it's not like I've lost that hatred and anger. I still have a monumental anger and a monumental hatred for imperialism, as the song says, "deep in my heart I still abhor 'em." And after all these years, *I still don't fear them*. So the question is how do you lead that, how do you have a first-string orientation.

When I was coming up, there wasn't a party, there wasn't a party that was based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, that could give some direction. And later as I got into my teens there was the Black Panther Party which played a vanguard role and made a tremendous difference. Today there is a party, our party, that is preparing to make revolution in this country as a component part of the world revolution. There is a party with the line, leadership and battle plan to lead things all the way this time around.

A whole generation of youth came forward in the '60s who wouldn't be intimidated and weren't too impressed with the power of the state, and we need to bring that forward again and take it all the way this time. □



Photo: Richard Buzzer

The following leaflet was put out by Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist:

A Message From Veterans to the Troops at Fort Saudi Arabia

The U.S. government is dressing you up in poison gas suits to play Rambo for them in the Persian Gulf. You are sitting out in the middle of the desert with your ass on the line, wondering what's going to happen next. We suspect you are a decoy to draw the gas attack which would be used as an excuse for a U.S. invasion of Kuwait or Iraq.

We know what you are going through, because we spent some time in the shooting gallery too. As veterans we want to say straight up: you have no more interest in fighting in the war the U.S. is preparing for today than we did in the war they were waging in the '60s. Vietnam-era GIs were told that we were bringing Asian people democracy. We wound up killing 2-1/2 million of those people in a war of genocide. You are in the Middle East supposedly to protect "our" oil. You could wind up killing hundreds of thousands. AND FOR WHAT? So that the Pentagon can finally establish Fort Saudi Arabia, like they have been wanting to for so long? So they, by extension, can control their main economic competitors like Japan and Europe who depend on that oil? The bottom line seems to be expanding the U.S. empire as the motive, and hair-trigger politics and massive troop deployments as the method.

The situation is volatile. When the orders come to Rambo out, your response will profoundly impact the lives of millions of people in the Middle East and have unknown effects on world history. The politicians stuck you in a situation where you can't now see the end result of your actions. But you, like us, will have to live with those results forever.

The Brass want you to obey, we want you to think. We feel that our experience may have an effect on your decisions. Those of us who sat in the jungles of Vietnam learned that we could see no bravery in "Search-and-Destroy" missions in which we directed massive firepower to slaughter anything that moved. We could find no glory in destroying the village to save it. Similarly, many Beirut vets speak of the rude awakening when they realized that the people they were sent to "protect" hated them and that every U.S. GI was a sitting duck. (Remember the Marine barracks?) Those of us who are vets of the U.S. invasion of Panama ask where is the honor in house-to-house terror, or in pushing back the Panamanian families who had come to mass grave sites seeking to identify and reclaim their loved ones. You undoubtedly will have many of the same experiences we did. Ghosts march through our dreams every night. Your nightmares have yet to begin.

CHECK OUT THESE FACTS:

- It's one thing to kill, die or get maimed for a worthy cause. But once the smoke clears and the shouting is over, as history has shown time and again, we shouldn't have been in there.
- When you are choking in a poisoned atmosphere, remember that you are facing chemical and other weapons sold to Iraq by Western powers only too happy to make a buck off the deal. And ask any veteran who suffers from Agent Orange exposure what help you can expect if you survive. Remember that the U.S. is still operating massive defoliation programs in Central and South America under the phony excuse of the war on drugs.
- Remember, too, that for eight years the U.S. government cheered on Iraq while it gassed Iran and its own Kurdish people.
- Bush says you are there to stop naked aggression. That hypocrite has no right to speak on this question, having just finished invading Panama.
- Saddam Hussein is a reactionary ruler who invaded Kuwait in his own interests. But while the media calls him a fascist madman, the U.S. government is busily trying to keep you from being able to buy unap-

proved record albums. In the U.S., racism and police attacks are on the rise. There are major efforts to stifle political protest, and women are fighting their own government to protect their reproductive rights.

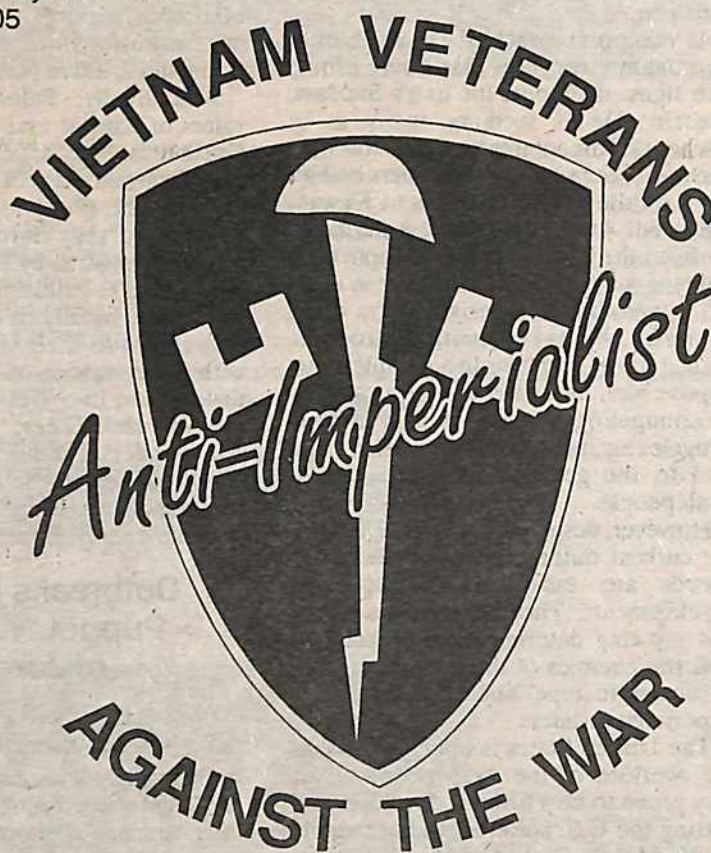
Meanwhile, you sweat it out on a lie and a humbug. Sure, there are those Rambozoids who can hardly wait for the order to charge. Well, let those who proudly wear the "KILL THEM ALL AND LET GOD SORT THEM OUT" shirts pay the price. But to those of you who question blindly going along with the program, we have something to say.

You should know that while you are carrying out your orders there are veterans from previous wars and military actions leading demonstrations against your presence in the Middle East. We will welcome you back to join our ranks. Like you, we were ordered to do our duty. Take Vietnam (which some of us tried to do). Fooled at first, we began to question the lies and the hypocrisy that put us there. Many of us were sickened by what we were ordered to do. Others were inspired by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese. We began to resist. Thousands of us in Vietnam (and in the U.S.) refused to carry out orders. Many went to prison rather than bear arms against our so-called enemy. Whole companies and naval units mutinied and refused to fight. A half million U.S. troops deserted. GI resistance took every form, from the fragging of officers to a number of troops that actually joined and fought for the other side. Out of all that we learned to question what the hell was going on. All the government learned was to tell bigger lies. Welcome to Fort Saudi Arabia.

As veterans we came to understand that our duty was to the people of the world and to the future, not to the Empire. We resisted and rebelled. **WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?**

U.S. TROOPS OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist
4710 University Way NE #1612
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 292-1624



Actions Oppose U.S. Intervention

Seattle

On Monday, August 13 a spirited demonstration against the U.S. escalations in the Middle East wound its way through downtown Seattle. Called together by a new coalition of forces, the Ad Hoc Coalition against U.S. Military Intervention in the Mid East, more than two hundred people took part, including punk youth, activists around Palestine and Central America, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, plus many immigrants from the Middle East.

The marchers took over the streets, defying police orders and chanting: "No more bombings, no more war! Kuwait, Palestine, El Salvador!" "Hell no, we won't go! We won't fight for Texaco!" and "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! George Bush, Go Fuck Yourself!" Ten revolutionary youth burned draft registration cards to enthusiastic cheers from the crowd.

Cleveland

An outdoor teach-in was held Saturday evening at a popular youth street scene near Revolution Books. One hundred people were hanging out that evening when the teach-in started up, and the crowd grew from there. Speakers included an RCP spokesperson and an activist from the anti-interventionist movement.

A Palestinian student from Kuwait read a statement from the Executive Committee of Arab-American Action Committee in Cleveland; "As Arab-Americans, we believe that the United States is making a grave mistake by intervening in this internal situation concerning the Arab world. America's threats of using force against the Arab people of Iraq will endanger the lives of innocent people, as well as add tension to the conflict."

A lively three-hour debate followed in which the action in the Middle East was

repeatedly compared to the racist oppression carried out in the United States. For example, after hearing the Palestinian speaker taunted by some racist fools, a white woman got up and said, "I am confused on the issue of the Persian Gulf, but after hearing the bullshit from many of you, I am ashamed to be an American, and my husband who is Black is also ashamed to be an American."

Many youth took materials to organize for the Carl Dix tour in Detroit. One young Black man said, "People here will wake up tomorrow morning and think deeply about these issues and what side they are on. It will leave them with ideas they had never considered, because of the intensity of the debate."

Also, dozens of left activists demonstrated at the federal building in downtown Cleveland. The action was called by Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice and by the Committee Against U.S. War in the Persian Gulf.

New York

"Out of the Middle East!" came the demand from a diverse demonstration on Friday, August 17 as 100 people marched from the Armed Forces Recruiting Station in Times Square to the world headquarters of Exxon, sparking both hostile jeers and fists of solidarity.

Statements protesting the U.S. intervention were given by representatives from the War Resisters League, Radical Women, the Revolutionary Communist Party, Paper Tiger Television Collective, activists from Tompkins Square Park, the Long Island sanctuary movement and others. Speakers generally expressed uncompromising opposition to U.S. moves in the Middle East, and several pointedly denounced U.S. plans to murder thousands of Arab brothers and sisters. □

Anti-U.S. Tide Rises in Middle East

For almost fifty years the United States has dominated the Middle East—but it has done this mainly by backing various local oppressors like Israel and the Shah of Iran. Now, for the first time, the United States is inserting its own massive military forces directly into the region. It is doing this in open alliance with the hated feudal monarchies of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. U.S. guns and missiles are there to enforce the most basic imperialist realities: the U.S. is insisting that it ultimately controls the wealth and resources of this region, not local Arab governments, and *certainly not* the broad masses of Arab peoples.

All of this threatens to ignite a firestorm of mass hatred and resistance throughout the Arab countries. In fact, the flames have already started. This past week hundreds of thousands of people in the Arab world have vented their hatred of the U.S. From desert villages to capital cities across the Middle East, masses of people are standing up. Many eagerly enlisted to fight against Yankee imperialism.

At this point, much of the Arab outrage against the U.S. has come along with signs of support for Iraq's Saddam Hussein. He is seen by many as a defender of the interests of the Arab nations—for the simple reason that he has taken on the rich monarchies of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and because he dares confront the U.S. itself. Such support for Saddam is a mistake, because he is himself a creation of imperialism, he is an oppressor, he has committed atrocities against Iraqi and Kurdish people who oppose him, and he is totally incapable of conducting a revolutionary armed struggle against imperialism that can lead to the genuine liberation of the Arab people.

However, despite support for Hussein, the current outbreaks among the Arab masses are exciting and important developments. They represent a fierce and growing determination to actually fight the enemies of the people—and in particular to repel and defeat the U.S. imperialist invaders.

The United States is openly acting as the overlord of the Arab people. This may prove to be a historic development, getting the U.S. powers into big trouble in the Middle East. And these first important outbreaks of mass struggle may be only early gusts announcing the approach of a great mass storm.

Outbreaks Among Palestinians

Anti-American resistance started among Palestinians at the earliest days of this U.S. invasion. In the West Bank and Gaza hundreds marched and answered Israeli tear gas with stones.

This is a natural ignition point: Palestinians have gone through complex experiences during their struggle against the Zionist occupiers of their land. Among them, there is wide understanding of a basic truth: the U.S. is a major backer of oppressors on earth and if you want to rise up, you are likely to find the big-time gangsters of U.S. imperialism backing those who torment you.

At the same time, a great deal of this mass activity has supported Saddam Hussein, the ruler of Iraq who now faces the U.S. As they stoned an Israeli patrol, youths at a Gaza Strip refugee camp yelled: "Saddam is coming! Saddam is going to sweep you away!" There are several reasons for this support.

First there is the logic of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." In the last year, Saddam stepped up threats against Israel and developed a reputation as a possible ally of the Palestinians.

Then, after the first U.S. troops started arriving, Saddam said he might withdraw from Kuwait if the Israelis would withdraw from the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights. This raised the possibility that the Gulf conflict might become a regional matter. West Bank demonstrations swelled: 1,000 people in Jenin and 2,000 in Nablus.

And finally, Palestinians hate the rulers of Kuwait and the other oil-rich Gulf states. They believe these monarchs have hoarded oil wealth that should be used for the liberation struggle against Israel. And they have themselves been directly exploited by these oil kings. Almost 400,000 Palestinians live and work in Kuwait, mostly as skilled laborers—they return to their villages in Palestine with angry stories of being treated like dirt. A man in a West Bank village told the *New York Times*, "What these other Arab leaders are doing is selling cheap oil to America so the Americans can improve their economy and use it to support our enemy, Israel."

Outbreaks Rock the Puppet "Kingdom of Jordan"

In Jordan, where Palestinians live in camps ruled by the brutal American puppet King Hussein, demonstrations rock the country every single day. In the capital, Amman, demonstrators took the streets as kaffiyeh-wrapped men burned American and Israeli flags along the rooftops. Three busloads of protesters headed toward the American and Egyptian embassies and were attacked by police.

Similar actions of thousands took place in towns and refugee camps just outside the capital. Arab leaders who have joined the U.S. effort were denounced as traitors. American and British flags and posters of Egypt's Mubarak went up in flames.

One engineer at the protest said, "Israeli troops have occupied Palestinian territories for 23 years and the U.S. did nothing. Now Iraq occupies Kuwait for a few days and they want to go to war?" This difference is pointed out everywhere by the masses throughout the Arab world.

Ten thousand Palestinians demonstrated outside Sidon in southern Lebanon, chanting "Death to America." In Yemen, at the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, large demonstrations have occurred daily in the streets of the capital. Ten thousand people smashed windows in the embassies of the U.S., Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Britain and France and fought police. In Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania in North Africa, more thousands hit the streets.



Palestinian youth.

Burning for a Chance to Fight Imperialists with Guns

These are not the actions of people who want to oppose U.S. actions with words alone. Many thousands are burning for a chance to fight the United States and its various agents with guns in their hands. This was shown by a mass movement of volunteers in several countries signing up to fight alongside Saddam's forces. One week into this crisis, around 80,000 people had signed up in Jordan, creating a force almost as large as Jordan's own army. Similar recruitment brought volunteers in Lebanon, Algeria and Tunisia.

In a worried report, the voice of U.S. finance, *The Wall Street Journal*, said that most of the Jordanian volunteers are young men with some form of military experience, including Palestinian *fedayeen*, while others range from old Bedouin tribesmen to well-dressed urbanites. Boys and girls as young as seven have volunteered, and some whole families are signing up. Some of the youth, in the space for "other comments" on the sign-up forms, wrote "shaheed" (which means "martyr"). Outside recruitment centers, camps were springing up as volunteers waited for arms and orders. One Jordanian was asked about fear. He replied, "We have all seen Vietnam movies. These Americans can't stand the heat."

The sad fact is that these fighters are volunteering to fight for Saddam, a medium-sized local oppressor with a long history of serving imperialism. Even if Iraq's army wins some kind of victory in the Gulf, it will not lead to the liberation of people in the region.

But the tremendous fighting spirit of the masses shows the tremendous poten-

tial that exists for genuine people's war aimed at U.S. imperialism, Israel, and Arab reactionaries.

Shaking Thrones

In the strategic debates of imperialists, worried voices are already saying that the U.S. invasion of the Gulf could lead to the collapse and overthrow of pro-U.S. regimes throughout the Arab world.

In the Middle East, there is a brutal difference between "haves" and "have-nots." The rich oil kingdoms are "have" countries that have hoarded their oil wealth and are hated by the impoverished Arab masses. And within the poorer Arab countries as well, the governments are in the hands of a wealthy and corrupt few who have everything to fear from the masses getting out of control. One worker said, "These other Arab leaders who are against Saddam, they are all worried about their own seats. They don't have support of 1 percent of their people."

Already Jordan's King Hussein is twisting—everyone knows he is a long-time U.S. bootlicker. U.S. spokespeople openly worry how long he will last and what might replace him.

But other lackeys may be in the fire next. For example, Egypt has reportedly not been infected by this outburst of anti-Americanism—but that could easily change. Pro-U.S. forces like Egypt's Mubarak and the Saudi royal house have enlisted their troops in the American cause. This is sure to arouse anger among the masses of people.

A university sociologist in Jordan commented, "I have never seen such collective zest," adding that if war breaks out, "the whole region could erupt, and God knows where that will lead." □

Big Power Double-Think

Throughout the crisis in the Middle East, the U.S. government and their closest allies have reached new levels of hypocrisy and double-think.

On "Killing His Own People"

The United States points out that "Hussein used chemical weapons against citizens of his own country" and says this is an extreme example of his brutality. True enough—but the United States and its western allies were backing Hussein at the time! Now suddenly there is much news footage available of Saddam's use of chemical weapons. But there was no major protest from the Western powers at the time when Saddam used chemical weapons against the Iranians or the Kurds. In fact Western powers helped him create the chemical weapons. West Germany, for example, provided most of the ingredients! The protests only started when he developed the long-range capacity to send these weapons against Israel and now, when he threatens to use them against U.S. forces.

The United States has no right to pretend horror at the way "Iraq treats their own citizens" when its history is rooted in the mass murder of Native peoples and the massive enslavement of African people. American expansionists even created the first bacteriological weapons against Indian populations—distributing blankets infected with small-pox germs.

In the '50s, U.S. germ warfare experts reportedly tested their techniques by releasing viruses in the Washington, D.C.

subway and by San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge. In the 1960s, U.S. police murdered hundreds, perhaps thousands (the exact numbers are unknown), in their attempt to crush the Black liberation struggle and other upsurges that rocked the country. They fired into crowds during Black rebellions, they assassinated leading figures, they shot at student demonstrations, they raided movement offices. In the last few years, the U.S. actually *bombed* inhabitants of this country—when the MOVE commune was murdered by Philadelphia police in 1985.

On "Madmen with Nukes and Chemical Weapons"

The United States singles out Iraq's chemical weapons for condemnation. It warns the world that Iraq may get nuclear weapons and that Saddam may be "crazy enough" to use them. They say Saddam "should be stopped now before he gets those weapons."

However the truth is that the United States developed and pioneered the use of both these technologies of mass murder—and *countless others!* The United

States has already been "crazy enough" to use nuclear weapons—*twice* against the civilians of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And they have been brutal enough to threaten nuclear destruction constantly ever since—including now in their confrontation with Iraq!

The United States has had many different kinds of chemical weapons for over *eighty years* since it first used them in World War 1. It dropped Agent Orange (with the super-poison dioxin) all over Vietnam and used poison gases in tunnel warfare.

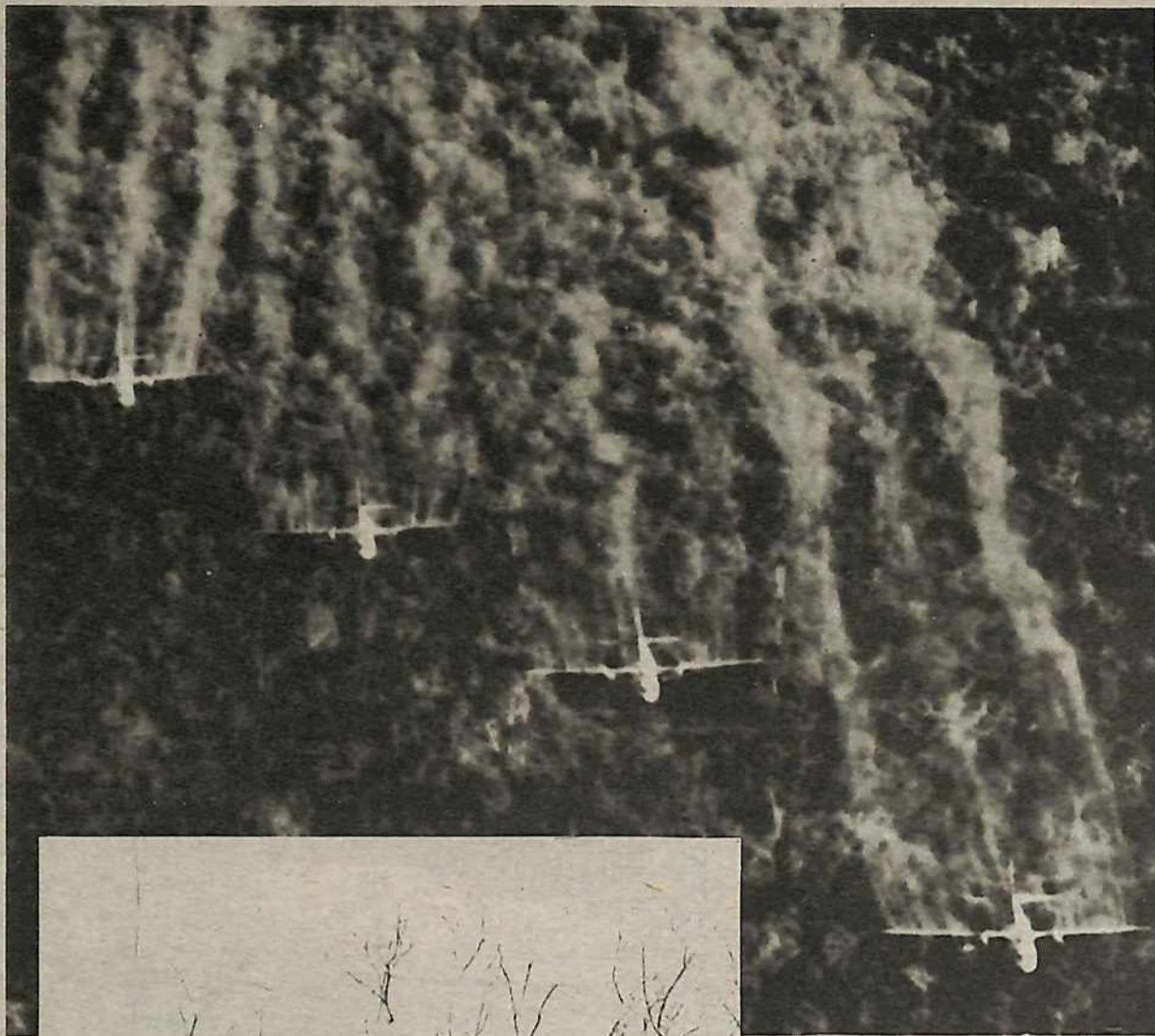
There is no modern war crime that the United States has not threatened, used, refined, exported and promoted *when it was in American interests*. Those who run the U.S. have no right to criticize anyone for being a "ruthless madman"!

Honorable Mention: Britain's Margaret Thatcher

When U.S. President George Bush called for a blockade of food to Iraq, Britain's Margaret Thatcher was right by his side. Britain has been hand in hand with the United States in calling for this war-by-starvation.

But when the issue was economic sanctions against the white racist apartheid regime of South Africa Margaret Thatcher argued (for years!) that such sanctions were immoral because she claimed that sanctions harm the masses of African people, not just the racists on top.

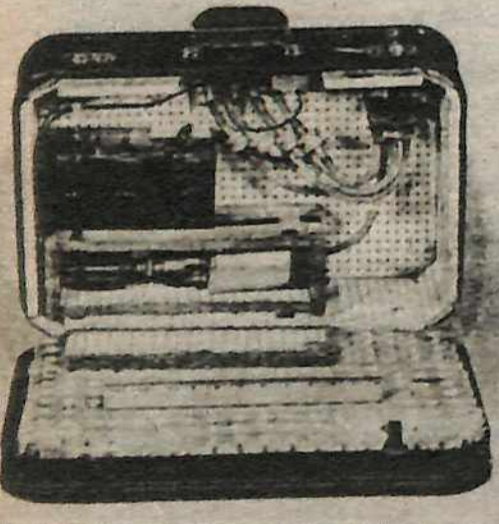
The truth is that Thatcher will not undermine the Apartheid regime of South Africa but she is willing to starve millions of Iraqi people when it is in the interests of British imperialism. □



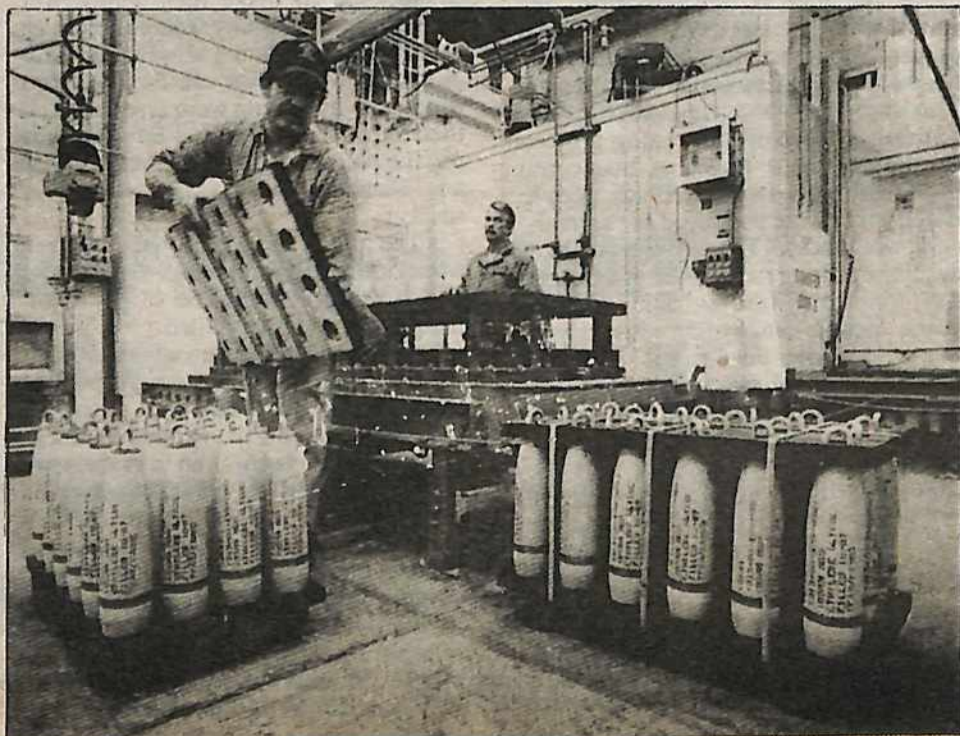
1970—U.S. Air Force C-123s spray toxic Agent Orange defoliant in Vietnam.



U.S. soldiers walk through sprayed forests where everything has been poisoned.



Above: Photos from secret U.S. germ warfare experiments in the 1950s. Suitcases were equipped to release bacteria and viruses in public places, including the ticket counter at Washington's National Airport.



Right: Current poison gas stockpiles in U.S.



Photo: James Hamilton/Village Voice

Straight Talk on the Central Park Rape

In April 1989 a woman jogger was found badly beaten and left for dead in New York City's Central Park. The press reported she'd been brutally gang-raped as well. Governor Cuomo called the attack the "ultimate shriek of alarm." Donald Trump took out full-page ads demanding the death penalty.

The masses of people should be—and were—outraged at this brutal attack. But when the powers-that-be start acting like the "defenders of women," the people have to start asking, "What's up?" And when the authorities act "concerned" about a woman that's been raped, the people have to expose what's behind such hypocrisy.

This system is thoroughly anti-woman and promotes the whole ideology behind rape. Every six minutes a woman is raped in this country. And every six minutes passes without a trace of outrage from the powers-that-be. But this time the rulers saw a chance to do some political dirty work. They looked at this horrible incident and saw the opportunity to advance their war on Black youth and their war on women.

Immediately the atmosphere got heavy and ugly as the authorities and media churned out racist and sexist poison. The woman jogger is white, highly educated, and an investment banker. Those accused of the crime are Black and Latino teenagers from housing projects in Harlem. So a finger of blame was thrust into the faces of Black people. Black youth were portrayed as "animals" and "wolf packs." The city was polarized even more along racial lines. And all this was done to justify the clampdown on Black people and bring down some more. Soon after the Central Park attack the state drafted new repressive "anti-wilding" laws clearly aimed at Black and Latino youth. Meanwhile a chilling message was put out to women that they should fear Black and Latino youth and "stay home"—even though it's a fact that home is the most common place women are brutalized and raped!

AMERIKKKA'S COURTROOM

On Saturday, August 18 a verdict came down in the trial of the first group of youth to be tried in the Central Park

case. Two Black youth and one Puerto Rican youth were found guilty of rape, assault, and robbery. They face up to ten years in jail and will be sentenced in September. But this is the oppressor's court and judicial system, and this trial was never about getting "justice." From the very beginning the authorities handled case in a racist way:

- When the cops first found the woman jogger bleeding, battered and near death, instead of rushing her to a closer, prestigious hospital with a trauma unit, she was taken to a city hospital that didn't have a trauma unit. A clue to why this happened is contained in an ambulance record which indicates that they weren't sure if she was white or *Hispanic*. But when authorities learned she was a white investment banker—they responded differently.

- After receiving a report of a group of youths attacking a homeless man and a jogger in the park the police admitted they went after the first group of Black youth they saw. These youth were simply walking in the park, but the police say they ran off when they saw the cops. This is supposed to make them guilty. But people know, in a city where the police have shot Black and Latino youth with impunity, *not* to run can be fatal. Two youth who didn't run were arrested. And the rest of that night and into the next day the police conducted a "hunt" where any Black or Puerto Rican youth was suspect.

- The *Village Voice* reported: "In seven weeks of pretrial hearings in October and November, a parade of police officers admitted they failed to promptly inform at least three defendants of their Fifth Amendment right to remain silent and a Sixth Amendment right to consult a lawyer. . . . that all the parents were separated from their children in violation of state laws protecting juvenile rights, and that at least two of the teenage suspects were later taken to the crime scene without the presence of their lawyers or parents. . . . despite Fifth Amendment prohibitions against compelled self-incrimination." One high-ranking cop admitted, "In the rush to collar these kids, we played fast and loose with the law."

- The arrested youth were held all

night and into the next day without any sleep or food. By the time one 15-year-old (who has not yet gone to trial) was put before a video camera to tape his "confession" he'd been in detention for 29 hours. This is the way the arrested youth were treated, but the judge still ruled that the "confessions" were admissible evidence. This ruling was very important to the prosecution which had little hard evidence to prove the youth did the crime. There is no physical evidence linking the youths on trial with the attack on the jogger. No weapon was ever recovered. No fingerprints of the youth were found on the jogger. And DNA from semen found on the woman does not match up with any of the youth.

- At the trial, videotaped statements from two of the defendants were played where the youth described in detail the assault on the woman. But their parents testified that the statements were coerced, that the cops made them up and got the youths to repeat their words. In the case of one youth (who was not on trial), the cops claimed he had a legal guardian present during his alleged confession. But the youth's guardian, his Spanish-speaking grandmother, was unable to understand what was going on because the cops stopped translating for her. Still, the cops claimed the youth had a guardian present and that his "confession" was valid.

One father testified that he told his son to lie to the cops, to tell them whatever they wanted to hear so that they could get out of the precinct. Oppressed people know how Black people are beaten and murdered in police custody all the time and it's called a "suicide." The father was afraid this was going to happen to his son so he told him to say what they wanted in order to get out of jail. But when this was brought up in court the prosecution dismissed this as unbelievable.

- One cop admitted on the witness stand that he lied to one of the defendants, Yusuf Salaam, to get a "confession" out of him. The cop said he tricked Salaam into making a confession by claiming they'd found his fingerprints on the jogger's clothing. But Yusuf Salaam never signed a statement to that effect

and never gave a videotaped confession. Still the cop's word and an unsigned "confession" were admitted as evidence.

The powers tolerate and promote the brutalization and murder of women every single day. But this time the powers decided to use this rape as a showcase to pose as "defenders of white womanhood" and in order to step up their attacks on Black youth overall.

The Central Park case reveals twin horrors of this system: the oppression of Black people and the oppression of women. The fight to expose and oppose the way the powers are using this trial should help to forge the kind of unity among different sections of the people that's needed to topple this system. But instead positions are being taken that undermine that. And these positions got to be spoken to and defeated because they will not lead to genuine liberation.

The powers have worked to try and get people to look at this whole case from a racist and sexist perspective. And because to some extent people have gone in for this kind of thinking—and not clearly targeted the SYSTEM in this battle—a situation has developed where Black people are being pitted against women. And this is hurting the struggle and preventing people from really taking on the enemy.

1. Attacking the Woman, Not the System:

People remember the case of the Scottsboro Boys in 1931 when nine Black youth were framed up on charges of raping a white woman and were sentenced to death. And people remember Boston in 1990 when a white man murdered his wife and said a Black man did it. Amerikkka's history is full of examples of Black men being set up on charges of raping and murdering white women. And so for good reason a lot of Black people have felt this is what's happening with the Central Park case. Some people are charging that a railroad is underway and many feel, correctly, that the accused youths are not getting the same treatment they would get if they were white.

But a lot of the focus of this anger has



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Death Rows overflow with Black, Hispanic, Indian and poor white human refuse, rejected by a society in degeneration.

And Judges (politicians still) play the game of Death using Africans, Hispanics, and others as slots in a macabre Wheel of Misfortune, where “players” are electrified, poisoned, gassed or garroted by hangman’s noose, and the “house,” the system, never loses.

But, it is right to rebel! I am right to resist.

Mumia Abu-Jamal

From a statement written to the *RW* after his death sentence appeal was denied in May 1989

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a revolutionary journalist, MOVE supporter, and former Black Panther Party spokesperson. In 1982 he was framed up and railroaded for the death of a Philadelphia cop.

Mumia has been on death row for over eight years now, but the powers have not been able to silence him and they have not kept him from being an inspiration to the struggle of the oppressed. In February 1990 the State Supreme Court of Pennsylvania denied Mumia’s petition to re-argue his appeal—the second time in less than a year that the court has turned down Mumia’s legal challenge of his death sentence.

The need for people to step up efforts to free Mumia is now even more urgent. It would be a tremendous blow to revolutionary and oppressed people to lose this brother. The system must not be allowed to murder him!

been aimed at the woman who was raped. Some people have made the main question, “Why is this white woman with money any special case?” Some have even asked, “What was she doing out at night in the park anyway? Was she there to score drugs?” When doctors said there was “unidentified semen,” some people said the woman probably wasn’t raped and was just sleeping with somebody other than her boyfriend. This whole line of anti-woman questioning has turned the focus of attack on the woman instead of the system.

2. Joining the System’s Racist Railroad:

There have also been some feminist forces who have spoken out about the Central Park case. They say the rape of the woman jogger is being excused because the accused perpetrators are Black, Puerto Rican and poor. Some feminists say race has no role in this case because rape is “colorblind.” They say that liberals are being wishy-washy in their support for the jogger because issues of race and class are always treated as more important than women. For this reason very few feminists have taken any action to protest the railroad of these youth. And in fact, some feminists have picketed the courthouse demanding justice for the jogger. Ironically, on at least one occasion they found themselves marching right alongside the vigilante, pro-police Guardian Angels.

WOMEN’S OPPRESSION IS THE ENEMY’S WEAPON

The system’s racist railroad cannot be opposed by adopting the system’s anti-woman thinking.

The fight against the racist railroad of the youth cannot be turned into an attack on another victim of this system—the woman who was raped. The people have to be clear: The brutalization of ANY woman cannot be tolerated. Rape is the oppressor’s way, period.

Some forces attack the woman because she’s white and upper middle class.

But whoever attacked the woman didn’t know she was an investment banker or how much money she had. She was not attacked because she’s part of the power structure. She was attacked because she’s a woman. Oppressed people have to fight the powers-that-be. But raping a woman CANNOT be justified by saying the woman is rich—or even that she is part of the ruling class. The rape of a rich white woman by oppressed Black youth cannot be justified any more than a poor white can justify a racist attack on a Black mayor.

Some people have argued the jogger wasn’t raped because there’s “unidentified semen.” But there have been many cases of women being raped where no semen has been found at all. Such “evidence” is frequently used to further humiliate a woman who has been raped by questioning her about her “sex life” and treating her like the rape is just a figment of her imagination. Isn’t this what the powers did to Tawana Brawley?

Raping women is one of the most violent expressions of male domination over women. It is an all-American activity, committed ten times an hour in this country. Just because this time the system is using this victim, acting like they own her, to attack another section of the people, doesn’t mean that Black people should then hate and attack *the woman*. This only derails the real struggle that has to be waged against the powers.

There must be firm opposition to every attempt by the powers to conduct a racist railroad in the Central Park case. But it is wrong to deny that rape is a big problem among the oppressed themselves. In this racist and sexist society people are pitted against each other in the most brutal ways. And this is something the people have to fight against.

And those who are attacking the woman jogger have to take a hard look at the ideology behind what they are saying. Aren’t they just parroting the reactionary view of the oppressors that says women are the property of men? Isn’t this what’s behind questioning the woman about why she was out alone in

the park so late or asking her how many lovers she had? As the *RW* has said before, **IF YOU’RE DISSING THE SISTERS, YOU AIN’T FIGHTING THE POWERS.**

CAN’T JOIN THE SYSTEM’S RACIST CLAMPDOWN

Some feminists are acting like they’ve never heard of the Scottsboro Boys, and maybe they haven’t. But they need to be clear on the fact that racist frame-ups are an integral part of the way this racist system operates. And they must be exposed and opposed.

Some women have argued that the evidence of a railroad doesn’t exist or isn’t very convincing. Or perhaps in their rush to condemn the brutalization of the woman, they don’t care if the youths were coerced into confessing and think “a confession is a confession.” But not so long ago a white man in Boston murdered his wife and blamed a Black man. And a Black man was picked up and beaten into confessing a murder he had not committed. In Amerikkka these things happen.

The rulers don’t want the oppressed to have any allies. They want the oppressed to be isolated, to feel isolated. They want middle class forces to support the powers’ moves to clamp down even harder on the Black youth. And they want women who are outraged over the Central Park attack to be cheerleaders for sending more shocktroops into the ghettos.

Is it justice if Black and Latino youths are sent to jail for something they didn’t do? Is it justice for Black people as a people to be degraded and attacked when a white woman is attacked? And how is getting behind the government’s prosecution and upholding their judicial system helpful to women when these are the same patriarchy who are spearheading a vicious war against women and attacking abortion rights? This system and its courts have *no* right to rule or judge anyone. Women have to unite with and join other who are fighting the powers—not join in the powers’ attacks on them.

Under no circumstances, even if the arrested youth are guilty, is it right for people to support the system’s racist clampdown. Condemning rape and refusing to tolerate or excuse it can’t mean joining the bourgeoisie’s attacks on the Black youth. This only strengthens the hand of the oppressors and allows them to tighten their vice-grip on the oppressed—the very forces who can help start and lead a revolution to overthrow this system, which is what it’s going to take to fundamentally deal with *all* this oppression.

The oppression of women and the oppression of Black people stem from the same source: this white supremacist, male-dominating system. The same Supreme Court that’s systematically chipping away at abortion rights and threatening to take them away completely is the same court that’s been overturning civil rights cases. Just look at the racist male chauvinists this system produces in places like Bensonhurst. The racist mob that shot down Yusuf Hawkins for being Black was angry because one of “their women” was stepping out of line. They were angry that Gina Feliciano had dared to invite Black and Latino youth to her birthday party. So they went on a racist hunting spree.

In Amerikkka 1990 Black people cannot walk down the streets for fear of being attacked and murdered because of the color of their skin. And women cannot walk down the streets for fear of being attacked because they are women.

This is a system that turns white boys into racist murderers and tells boys to be men by raping women. And this will continue as long as this system exists. The people need to overthrow this system as soon as possible. And then, and only then, will the people be able to go on to build a whole new revolutionary society where such twisted social relations can be uprooted and done away with once and for all. □

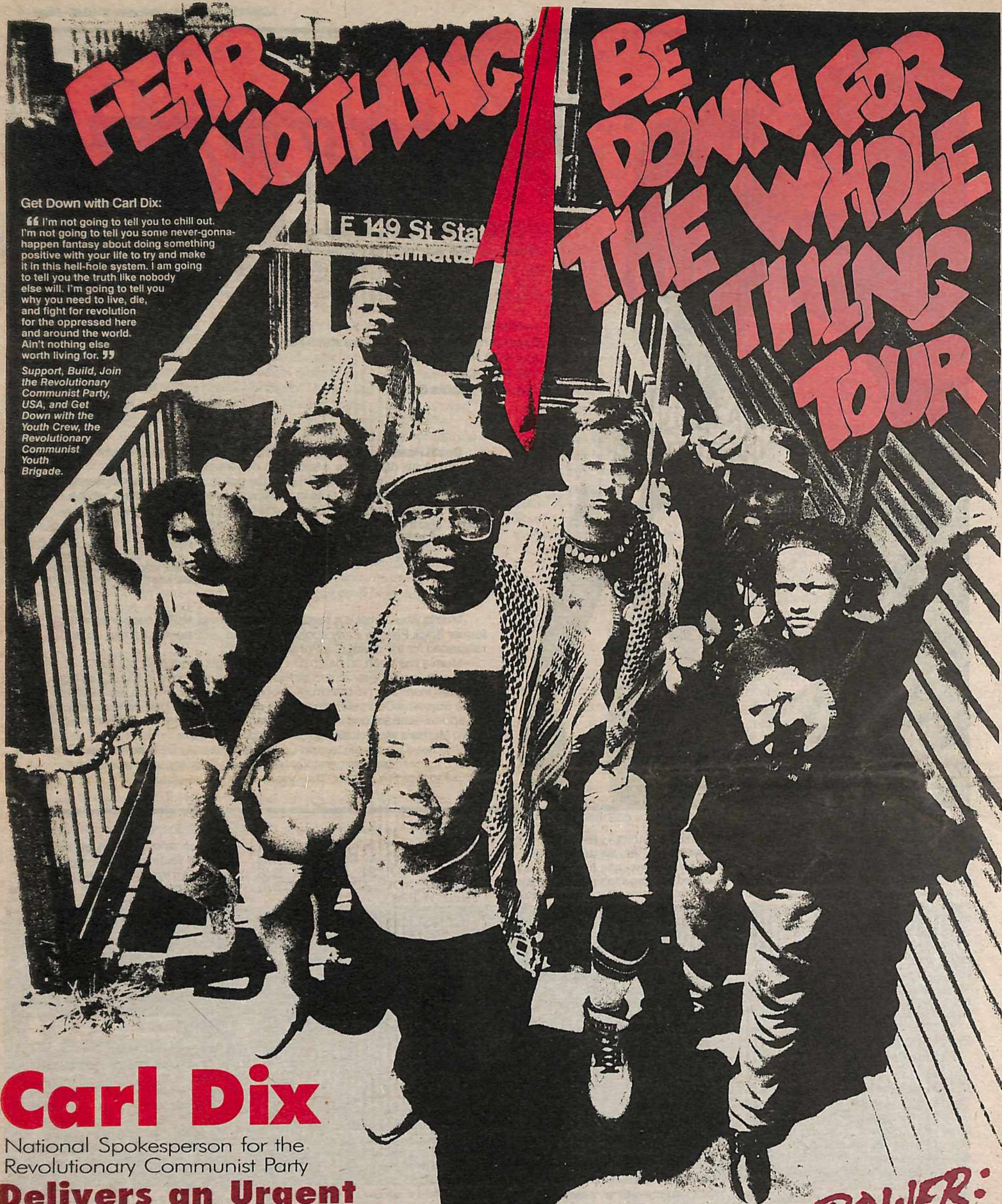
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