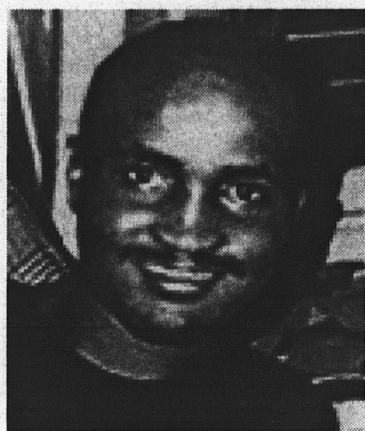




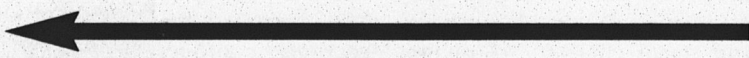
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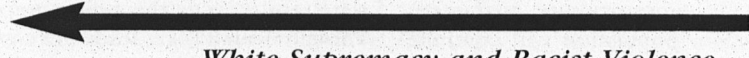
Volume XIX • Issue No. V • March 1999



Fitting "the Description" 1919 and 1999



Punish Those Who Resist!



*White Supremacy and Racist Violence
-Political Tools For Power*



Police Brutality: Violent Tool of Capitalism

BY IMAN EL-SAYED

The tragic death of Amadou Diallo shows that police brutality is part of our daily lives and targets the poor, the working class, people of color, immigrants and homosexuals.

Amadou Diallo, a working class immigrant from Guinea, was gun downed by four cops for no reason other than standing in front of his apartment building in the Bronx on Feb 2. Forty-one bullets were fired at this poor 22 year old street vendor with 19 bullets hitting him. The pigs excuse for this murder was that they were looking for a rapist and Diallo "fit the description." These four murderers have used many excuses to justify the killing. After claiming that Diallo resembled the rapist, The Street Crimes Unit reported that he was reaching into his pocket for something. First it was his beeper then it was a "big black" wallet. How many times have we heard that story? Beeper, wallet, Three Musketeers, Cell phone...

The cops fully utilized the 48 hour silence period to speak about the situation, fix up a story between each other and create all the lies they need to get out of their crime. This is unjustifiable, when a man kills a cop he gets the death penalty. When a cop kills an innocent man he is "just doing his job" and is rewarded for his courageous duty.

All of us who live in NYC should understand that the situation is not always a race issue but also a class issue. The vast majority of people who are brutalized and killed by the cops come from poor working class communities. Unfortunately, most people of color and immigrants live in these poor working communities. The cops duty is not to protect working peoples lives, but to police us. Their job is to protect the PROFITS, PROPERTY and PERSONS of the rich. They say they are out there to protect the community and make a better life for everybody, but we must understand what their definition of a better life really is. Who is this better life for?

To the rich a better life means more direct access to exploit workers. The violent nature of society emerges when we consider the effects of a factory closing down to move to a third world country for cheaper labor leaving hundreds of workers jobless. When these workers protest to get there jobs back, the cops are out in the streets beating, arresting and silencing them. The loss of these jobs causes mass destruction to the community and unmasks the role of the police. Depriving people of jobs at a living wage, necessarily raises drug use, suicide, theft and murder because these people have to feed their kids and deal with their pain.

Every month there are several confrontations that flare up between the police and regular civilians. Many of these situations occur at marches, rallies and protests. There have been beatings and arrests and of course it is always the protesters fault. What are they guilty of? Nothing more than challenging a capitalist order which has proven throughout histo-

ry to be thoroughly racist, sexist and homophobic.

At the Million Youth March there was a confrontation between the armed force of occupation, the cops, and the crowd. The clash was precipitated by some of the highest levels of repression ever seen in New York City. Despite having the streets forcibly shut down, being harassed by cops and herded into human pens the crowd remained entirely peaceful. The cops charged the stage trying to shut down the rally because it stayed on an extra 5 minutes and created the confrontation they so desired.

Another clash occurred during the Matthew Shepard protest in Midtown Manhattan. Several protesters were beaten and arrested for no reason other than speaking out against homophobic violence. When people speak out against the injustice of this world, you will inevitably see a herd of pigs in blue right beside you

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Fight Back Against the TAP Attack!

Working Class Students Targeted

BY RINI MARHONG

Once again the New York Republican and Democratic leaders have proven to the working class and minorities that they continue to wage war against us. Last month Governor Pataki released his proposed budget for 1999. In the face of a large budget surplus, Pataki plans to cut combined billions from education and healthcare.

Pataki's politics mean investing in prisons and the death penalty instead of higher education, so that the youth have a clear future ahead of them: the criminal injustice system.

Pataki wants to cut \$133 million from the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) which enables poor and working class students to continue their education so that they can compete in the workforce. Concurrently, he would like to fund a \$180 million maximum security prison for 750 inmates. He also proposes to give \$109 million to a police force which has terrorized the city.

This is not the first attack. On April 26, 1998 Governor Pataki vetoed \$500 million for school construction, \$77 million for teacher salary enhancement, and cut \$17.32 million from the SUNY budget and \$8.6 million from the CUNY budget. Governor Pataki also cut \$7.5 million from CUNY for hiring more faculty and \$13.5

million for a program that would of given \$65 credits for textbook purchases.

This trend exists not only in New York State but is occurring all over the country. The dramatic rise in funding for prison expansion has come at the expense of worthwhile social projects like higher education. The prison industrial complex is a combination of private business and government interest. Its double purpose is profit and social control. Its public rationale is fighting against crime. The building and maintenance of prisons is a huge business. Construction companies, investment houses, architects, transportation and food services have a lot to gain from prison expansion.

Pataki's politics mean investing in prisons and the death penalty instead of higher education, so that the youth have a clear future ahead of them: the criminal injustice system.

The lucrative prison industry can only grow as more and more people are incarcerated, even as crime rates do drop. Therefore, three strikes and harsh sentences are enforced for mainly drug crimes. This superstructure guarantees that the prison population will continue to flourish.

The most visibly drastic crisis lies in California, a state that now spends more

money on correctional facilities than on higher education. California spends \$5.6 billion on jails (not including the LAPD, city jails and psychiatric lock-ups) and only \$4.3 billion on higher education. In the past 10 years California has built 20 new state prisons

and only one state university campus. The salary for a corrections officer with 6 years experience is higher than for a tenured associate professor at the University of California. In 1985 the number of prison guards in California was 7,750. In 1990 it increased to 14,249 and in 1994 it nearly doubled to 25,547. California sends more people to prison than Indonesia, Germany, France, The United Kingdom, Singapore and Russia combined. To

make matters worse whereas blacks represent 6.8% of California's population they represent 31.6 of the prison population. Though overall Texas leads the country, its prison spending increased 5.7 times faster than education between 1977 and 1995.

Over 1.8 million people are currently

imprisoned in the United States. This is the highest per capita rate in the history of the world. In 1995 alone, 150 new prisons were built and filled. Our government has a blatant message for the poor, minority youth. First they force you out of college by cutting financial aid and raising tuition, then most people find a low paying job to support themselves, next you become unemployed because the company you work for has just moved to Honduras so they can exploit the indigenous people for a fraction of what they paid you and then you get involved in illegal activity so you can make the rent, you are



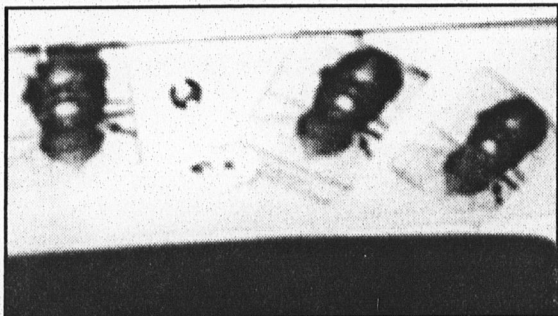
I make a solemn promise to lock up as many remedial students as possible! - our fine Governor George Pataki

then thrown in the newly constructed prison where you then become a convicted laborer.

Hands Off Soji!!!

A COLLEGE VOICE EXCLUSIVE

Throughout the history of revolutionary movements the most militant fighters for social justice have been targeted for extermination. Many freedom fighters have either been imprisoned or murdered. Now the establishment has set its sights on Soji Oluwole, another radical fighter for social justice. Voice activists have recently uncovered an insidious smear campaign which has undoubtedly been launched by reactionary forces bent on destroying the embryonic socialist move-



Pictures of Soji from Room 2N-108

ment on campus.

Three pictures of Soji were meticulously cut out of newspaper and placed on the wall of Room 2N-108. It is unclear at this point whether they were placed there as a scare tactic or to merely smear the good name of this man. Either way, the results

have been damaging.

Voice writer Leslie-Ann Alvaradous commented that, "Injustice to one is injustice to all, get your bloody hands off Soji." Lawyer of the People and Coordinator of the CSI Civil Liberties Union George Springer, told the

Voice that, "The perpetrator of this heinous act should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law and I have personally offered to help Mr. Oluwole bring

this cowardly fiend to justice. Vice President Jackson should personally assign one of our more virile BURNS Security guards to cover Mr. Oluwole's back. The very least Jackson should do is form a committee made up of distinguished students such as Joanne Gallo, Senator Andre Woods and President Morgan Healy to investigate this matter. This is a matter which is certainly worthy of students of this caliber." Soji vowed not to back down to the pressure

campaign and continue to struggle.

Only a mass movement of students can provide the effective defense campaign necessary to defend Soji. If anyone has any information relating to capture of these villains please contact the Voice immediately.

Time is of the essence in this matter and we call on every student to visit Room 2S-108 and familiarize themselves with the crime scene. The most militant students are always at risk but the armed masses of people can provide for their defense.



A worried Soji Oluwole consults with his attorney George Springer

Passing Through The Gates: Trying To Get Back In CSI

BY MARCO SAINTE

I had an old bill that I had to pay before I could register again. No problem, the school just wanted it's money, that's all. I was willing to pay, I just needed to raise the money.

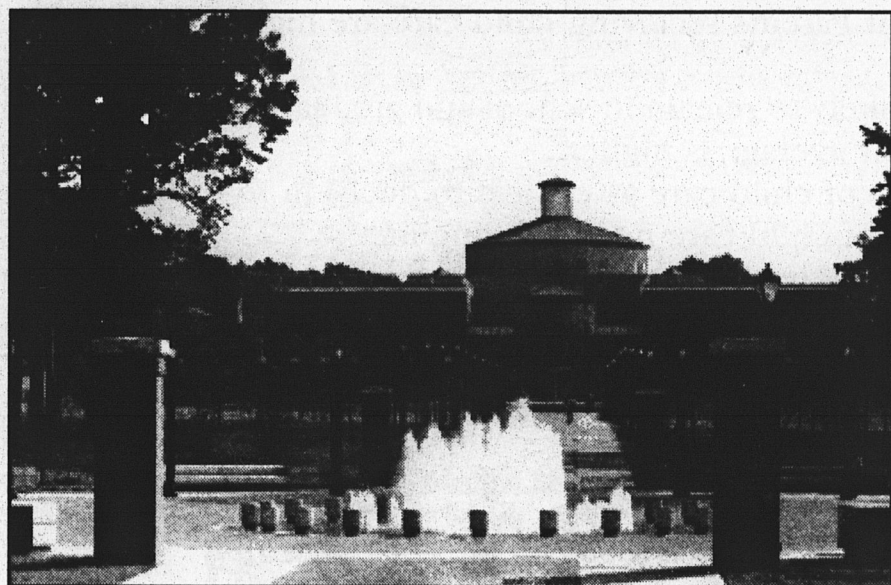
On September of '98, I was just about to reach my goal. I had about \$700 left to pay, and I figured that I would be finished with this business and get in via late registration. However, as I was about to make my final payments, a woman at the Bursar's window told me that my bill had been sent to a collection agency about 6 months prior, and that I had to pay through them. This puzzled me, for I had

and said she would get right on it. Happily, I thought that things would finally be set right.

It didn't happen.

I called Mr. Black a few weeks later to find that my records still hadn't changed. I called the woman again to find out what happened, but again the damn machine was all I was greeted with. I finally realized that there was no hope for me, there were forces working against me that did not want me to have any sort of justice, so I gave up. I figured that maybe when this was over I could then get things moving.

I ended up paying more than double what I really owed. By the time I was fin-



no problem giving these people my money up front before, and I had never received any notice of the action taken. I protested but was simply waved away. The walls of CSI had been raised

I called Enterprise Recovery Systems (ERS), and I soon was routed to a Mr. Black. Going through his files he informed me that I owed two bills, one for \$170, the other for \$1500. I told him, he must be kidding. The \$170 I had paid at least a year ago, and the other was down to \$700. He didn't see it my way, and said dryly that as long as those amounts were on his screen, I was going to pay. I asked him if there was anyway that he could just call the school and ask for my most recent records. He just simply ignored me and repeated what he said before. I silently cursed in Creole as I hung up the phone.

Back to the Bursar. I figured that if ERS wasn't going to get the true records, then maybe the Bursar would send them. Relying on the Bursar for compassion? I was getting desperate!

Of course, no one at the window was able to help me with that. There's a reason why those windows are bullet proof. They did, however, give me the number of someone who could help me, since she was in charge of the records.

I called that number, only to get the answering machine. Finally, one glorious day, I got in touch with the woman. I told her my problem, and that I would really appreciate it if she could transfer the records so that I could register next semester because, I had already given up on registering that semester. She asked for my name and social security number,

ished it was January of this year, and I was just in time to register for classes. After spending time in 45 minute lines I was taken to the back where my matter was finally resolved, and the stop taken off my files. While this was happening, I realized that the person taking care of me was the woman who I was trying to contact before. Here was my chance to get some of my money back at last! Keeping my eagerness suppressed, I spoke:

"While I was trying to clear my records I ended up paying more than I should. I need those records to prove that so that I can get my money back, hopefully to put towards my new bill."

"I'm sorry, but you can't do that."

"Why not?"

"Because whatever extra you've paid ERS goes toward fees for their service."

I stood there, befogged over this final slap that God sent my way. It didn't seem to make sense; ERS never mentioned anything about paying any fees. The amount I paid them was the same amount on an older bill I had. I know because I have the receipt. They didn't add anything extra to it.

Since the money transfer was so slow, the school didn't think I had finished paying. I had called Mr. Black one last time to see if he could call the school and tell them that I had indeed sent the last check. He said he couldn't; one of the policies of his organization was that they could not communicate with their clients. Yes, that's what he said.

I had been taken for at least \$1000. The reader is probably wondering why I

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Justice For Alycia

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

While the public relations brochures exclaim the beauty of the campus and the wonder of the loving family of CSI, students, faculty and community members have consistently faced the wrath of CSI's color line. Student Alycia Parker is the latest in a long line of victims.

Following an altercation with Olga Pozzo, a fellow student, which was precipitated by Pozzo telling Alycia, "nigger, fuck you", Alycia faced the full force of the CSI administration. Vice President of Student Affairs Carol Jackson quickly moved to suspend her, thereby eliminating the possibility of her attend classes and severing her access to campus. The Student/Faculty Disciplinary Committee, a group which hadn't met in eight years was then hastily organized in a secret administrative meeting run by Jackson. The identities of the committee were withheld from both the media and the college community.

As the committee began its inquiry, repression became universalized as both the media and the student community were banned from the proceedings. In addition to the media blackout, a small gathering of 10-15 students peacefully protesting against the proceedings was met by a contingent from the New York Police Department.

Despite student and faculty resistance to the proceedings, Alycia was ultimately found guilty of assaulting Pozzo but escaped the administration's preferred solution of expulsion. Instead, she received probation which stripped her of the position she held as a democratically elected student government senator. The student government has, as usual, issued no resolution condemning the committee for overturning a democratically elected student and thereby nullifying the voice of student voters.


Ultimately, Alycia was successful in her quest for justice. The criminal charges filed against her, which had resulted in her arrest, were recently thrown out of court. The same criminal justice system which has placed 2 million people in federal penitentiaries, 70% of whom are people of color, was able to deliver the justice that the Student Faculty Disciplinary Committee had refused her.

As long as CSI is dominated by bureaucratic power, the will of the administration, instead of the productive members of the college community-students, faculty and workers-there will be many more Alycia Parker's. As the budget cutting pressure from Albany has escalated we have seen the most vulnerable members of the community attacked-single mothers (the

continued on pg. 20

The Fertility Institute

at

 *The Brooklyn Hospital Center*

WOMEN AGES 21-32

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Ask for Nancy**

CUNY CHILD CARE

CHILD CARE THAT WORKS

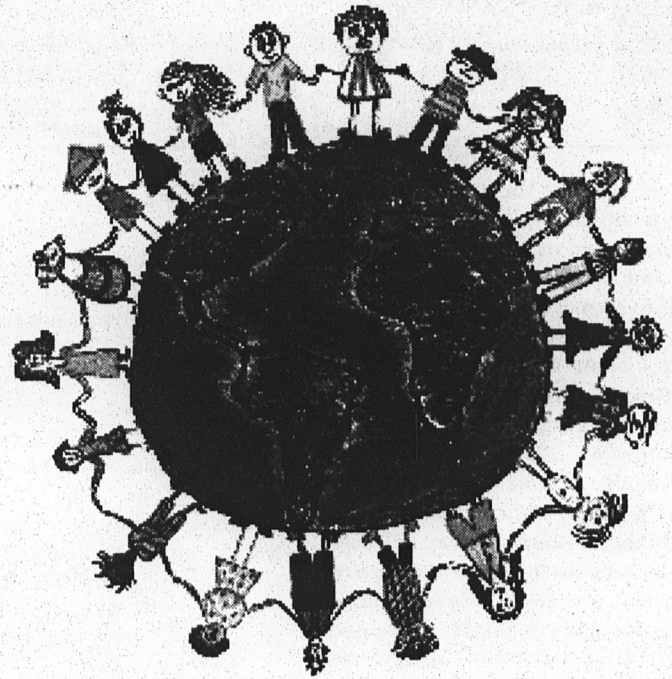
Research About CUNY Child Care Shows:



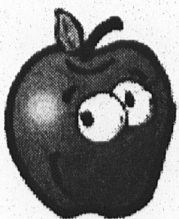
- ✓ Improvement of graduation rates
- ✓ Helps put people to work in jobs they keep and saves government money
- ✓ Graduation rates of Student Parents receiving child care are higher than campus counterparts.
- ✓ Student parents are more likely to remain in school and graduate in fewer years.
- ✓ Student parents grade point average is higher.
- ✓ Parents indicate availability of child care as critical to decision to enroll.
- ✓ Less than 25% of the present child care need is being met.
- ✓ Over 2,100 children are on active waiting lists this semester.

The **CHILDREN'S CENTER** at the College of Staten Island is in **JEOPARDY**

- ▲ Since 1995 enrollment has increased threefold - from 60 children to nearly 200 children.
- ▲ In 1995 there was a 25% federal funding cut and unaltered amount of state funds since 1987.
- ▲ Fall 1999 the Infant/Toddler room is scheduled to be closed due to lack of funding
- ▲ Reduction of class size in all rooms will occur due to lack of funding.
- ▲ Many student parents will have to drop out of school due to the lack of child care at an affordable rate made available.



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?!



- ⊗ Support the \$2 million CUNY Child Care Budget Passed by the legislature last year(New Funding)
- ⊗ Enable CUNY Child Care Block Grant Funding to keep pace with market rates
- ⊗ Ensure Child Care Subsidy Eligibility for low Income Student Parents
- ⊗ Participate and Support Fundraisers the Parent/Guardian Club at CSI organize

For More Information on What You Can Do Contact:

Théa Jon Curry

President of The Parent/Guardian Club

718-982-3190

The Personal Chaos of the WEP Program

The following is testimony given by Michelle Payton Garrett, President of Student Against WEP, to the New York City Council:

I am due to receive my associate's degree in June 2000 as a medical lab technician. I plan to work in that field while earning a BS in med. lab tech and eventually certification as a physician's assistant.

I want to speak to you about many concerns I

have about WEP. I have been a full-time student at the College of Staten Island since September 1997, when I also started in the WEP program. The WEP program has been a hardship on me and my children. I am 40 years

old. I have three children, two girls 10 and 2 years old, and one son 8 years old who attends classes for emotionally disturbed children at the Board of Education.

My first semester I took 12 credits and received a 3.59 GPA. These were all electives because I could not get science courses. Those come my second semester. I desperately needed tutoring in math, chemistry, and biology. I was unable to get this tutoring because of the mandatory 20 hours I had to work under WEP. Although my free daytime hours went to WEP, I could have gone to tutoring at night except I had no money to pay for a baby-sitter then. In essence, the WEP program was helping me to fail. That semester my overall GPA fell to 1.78. I failed math and chemistry, got a D in chemistry lab, a C in English, and a D in biology and it's lab. My first semester I had all A's except for one B. My personal circumstances were the same both semesters. While I might not have made A's and B's with tutoring help, I certainly would not have made D's and F's.

I would like to give you some details of four trips I made to BEGIN office during 1998.

By this point, going into the BEGIN office on the 19th, 20th and the 3rd I had spent \$21 on carfare, lost 3 hours of class, and 12 hours in round trip time, since it is a minimum 4-hour round trip. There is no way to regain money or time that was spent. My baby-sitter received an undated letter around September 14 (after she had already taken care of my children for two weeks) stating that the enrollment date was 9/22, and the dates they would pay were from 9/21 to 1/4/99. She received her first payment on 10/8 for only 9/21

through 10/2, which leaves me owing her \$804.00 for the period from 8/31 (first day of school) to September 21. I have no way of paying her, which means I will probably lose her as a baby-sitter. She has been with my children since January 1998, and the children like her very much. She is willing to keep my children until I get back from school about 6:30 at night 4 days a week and 7:30 one day a week.

Most baby-sitters aren't willing to go beyond 5 p.m.

When I reported to WEP on September 23rd, I was given the following WEP schedule to work in the college library: Monday 12:30 to 8 p.m., Tuesday 5 p.m. to 8 p.m., Wednesday 2:30 p.m. to 8 p.m., Thursdays from 10 am to 3 p.m., and no hours on Friday because the Jewish Community Council starts their Sabbath early. But I have three hours free on Friday, from 12:05 to 1:15. This class is required for my major. In addition, I take my children Tuesday nights to Staten Island Mental Health Center from 7:30

p.m. to 9 p.m. for counseling. So I did not accept this assignment. I talked with one

of the library supervisors, who could not understand the schedule I had been given. He said if I wanted to work in between my classes, they had no problem with this. She wanted to know the source of the schedule. I told her HRA. She had no idea of when people were going to start working.

In conclusion, I would like to say, If the WEP program is left alone to go on the path that it's laying down, it's for more people to stay on welfare, not to come off welfare. I feel as long as I'm trying and I'm going to

school, that the system should help me succeed, not help me fail. I also know this welfare is not the way I want to live or raise my kids. I am only on welfare because I lost my job and our family became homeless. I am not "a person on welfare." I don't plan on staying on welfare. I believe that the welfare system should be used the way it was set up during the depression, to help uplift, get me on my feet so I can be a contributing person to society.

The only way I can do this is through education. I teach my children that education is the only way to succeed. But unfortunately what the system is helping me teach my children is that going to school is not acceptable if you're poor and

on welfare. I am the face of welfare, what it was meant to be. I have spent 8 years abroad and at home serving my country, and now all I'm asking is for my country to serve me while I get my education. I am not asking you for a free ride nor do I want a free ride. Going to school full-time and raising a family is a job in itself. So I plead with you to please change this sys-

tem because those of us who are motivated and want to succeed, the system is constantly knocking us down. But I have decided if everything gets taken away from me, if I have to sleep on city hall steps with my children, I will continue my education. So I will become a person who will not need the system, who will come completely off the system, never to go back to the system, and become a contributing taxpayer again.

I teach my children that education is the only way to succeed. But unfortunately what the system is helping me teach my children is that going to school is not acceptable if you're poor and on welfare.

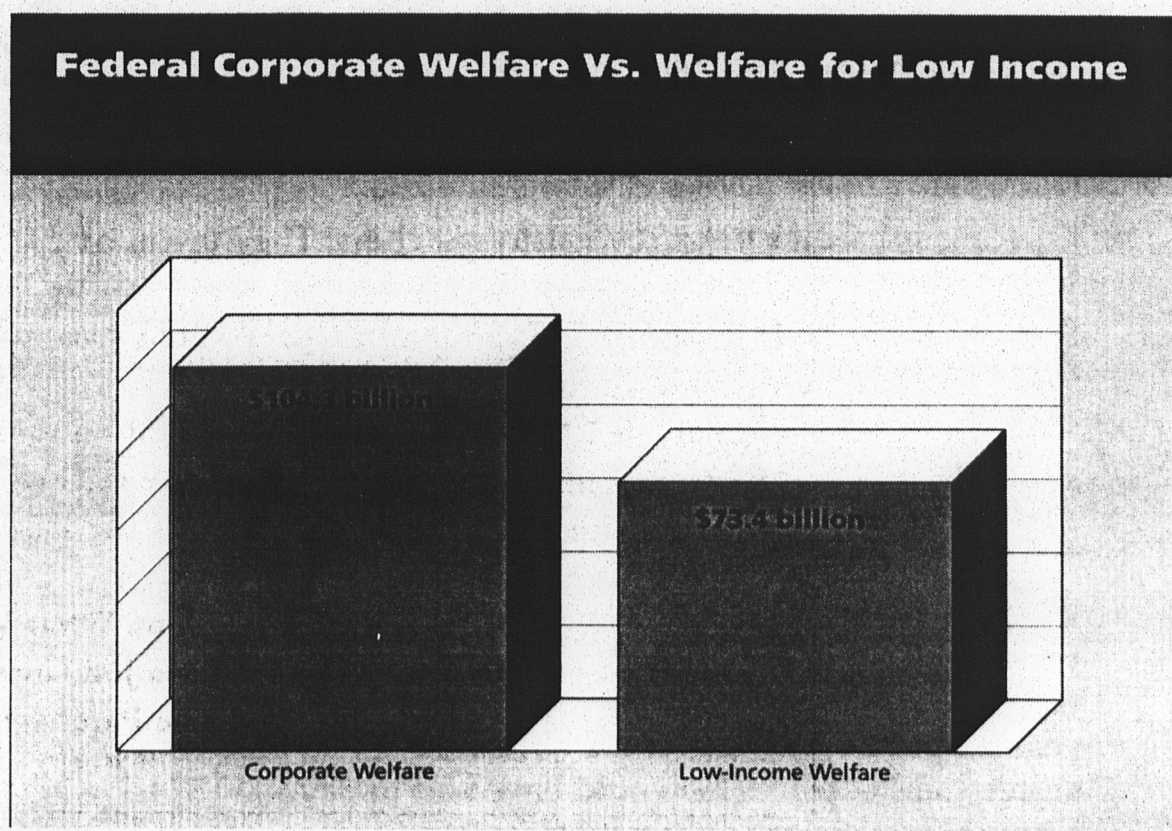
Thank you for the opportunity of hearing my experience. I'm sorry I couldn't be there in person but I had a five hour lab today beginning at 10:15 am.



Workfairness members march against the WEP program

3. How Does Low-Income Welfare Compare to Corporate Welfare?

Today the word "welfare" usually means getting something for nothing. By that definition, Corporate America gets more welfare than all the low-income people combined. The following chart compares the two.



Legalized Terrorism

The Street Crimes Unit and the NYPD

BY DIONNE MCGLAUGHIN

The police department of NYC has gone mad, they are trigger happy. There has been a rash of homicides committed by the police recently and the cops are not even paying for their crimes. From Twanna Brawley to Abner Louima to Amadou Diallo, it is evident that there is a systemic problem of violence as well as a racial problem in the New York City Police Department (NYPD). Neither Howard "pig face" Safir or Rudolph "Hitler" Giuliani want to admit that these problems exist. They are always eager to jump to the defense of their renegade fascists pigs. In an interview with ABC Good Morning America, August 18, 1997 Safir stated that "...it is a crime committed by criminals who happen to be wearing police uniforms. But this is, for my view, this is not police brutality. I mean this goes far beyond the place of police brutality..." Would that make Safir and Giuliani the crime bosses? If you have criminals in your organization then why aren't they in jail? Drug dealers get time, taking drugs gets you time, a fight gets you time. Cops are guilty and just as deserving of jail as people who abuse their kids or spouses or significant others. These people get time why should a cop be held above the law? They are not anymore special than the public at large. They are here to help



Outraged New Yorkers gathered in Foley Square to protest shooting death of Amadou Diallo by the NYPD

situation is especially tricky with the NYPD Street Crimes Unit. The unit was formed in 1990 to get guns off the streets and to patrol crime "hot spots". Who lives in these "crime hot spots"? Minority and poor working class people. Apparently the cops are not the ones living in our neighborhoods because they would have to go home and face the mother of one of their victims. Here are some facts about the Street Crime Unit of the NYPD

-In 1990-1997: The unit size was 100 offi-

cers

-In 1997 Police Commissioner Howard Safir increased the units size to 438 members.

- "The expansion of the unit dovetailed with the overall police department strategy, developed under William Bratton and Safir, to move away from beat cops and toward the targeting of crime hot spots." (Newsday, 2/11/99, p.43)

- In 1997-1998 The Street Crimes Unit:

- stopped and frisked 45,000 people (primarily Black and Latino youth)
- seized 2,072 guns
- 43,000 stop and frisk searches resulted in no guns seized.
- fired their weapons in 28 different incidents
- killed 3 people : all three were justified

Who were these killings justifiable to? Certainly not to the victims family. When is shooting someone from behind in the head justifiable like the case of Frankie Arzuega (15). Arzuega was sitting in the back of a car, getting a lift home. The cops claimed that the car fit the description of a stolen one. They opened fire because they felt their lives were in danger when the car jerked forward. They started firing through the back window killing Frankie Arzuega.

In another instance off duty cops beat a man to the point that his eyes were hanging out of their sockets. Reginald Bannerman's only offense was that while off from his job as a physical education teacher, he decided to help out his brother with his restaurant. While doing so, he heard loud noises coming from one table. He approached a group of 7 Black men who were making the noise and asked them to quiet down. One member of the table asked him 'Do you own this place?' he

replied 'No, but I know the owner'. Around 12:30, when the restaurant was getting ready to close, Mr. Bannerman heard a commotion outside and went to go to check it out. The men, all seven of them, started beating him. His brother ran out to help only to have a gun put to his temple. Reginald Bannerman managed to escape only to face a hail of bullets. A cop nearby heard the gun shots and came to the scene. Mr. Bannerman's assailants then flashed their badges. Mr. Bannerman fled to the train station trying to get to his mother's house. He never made it. The cops apparently caught up to him and in a plot to keep what they had done a secret they pushed him off the platform to his death. A veteran detective, upset over the indictment, argues that when Reginald "picked a fight" with the off duty cops inside the BBB Soul and Seafood House Restaurant in Crown Heights, he fit the pattern of a distraught person seeking death by police gunfire.

If someone wants you to kill them you say no and walk away. Arrest the person but do not kill them, send them to counseling do not beat them to death. Three out of the seven assailants have been indicted. Reginald Bannerman left behind a seven year old daughter, NaeNae.

The problem is nationwide and is getting out of hand. The recent killing of Amadou Diallo rocked New York and has made people realize that in 1999 as advanced as we claim to be, we haven't come that far from the KKK terror of earlier this century. Instead of white sheets they have blue uniforms.

How much longer must we stand aside and watch our youth get murdered? When they murder a young person they are taking away a future mathematician, a future doctor, or a philosopher. They are taking away the future, period.

We have to strike a blow to the people in office telling that we won't take it anymore. We can do this by protesting, petitioning, letter writing, even having our own neighborhood police watch. That means we watch the police. We go down to the precinct if someone gets arrested. Videotape arrests. Something has to be done. This has to stop.

The problem is nationwide. It is also getting out of hand, the recent killing of Amadou Diallo rocked New York and made people realize that in 1999 as advanced as we claim to be we haven't come that far from the KKK terror of earlier this century.

us but instead they are harming the very people they are sworn to protect. Criminals belong in jail, there is no such thing as an innocent criminal.

The NYPD is made up of approximately 40,000 police officers. However, most of the officers are not from our neighborhoods, they are from distant places like Upstate New York. The only thing they know about the minority and poor communities is what the media portrays. This

Police Brutality Violent Tool of Capitalism

continued from pg. 1

trying to intimidate and silence you.

The Mayor has forced these incidents so that any organization that wants a permit to speak their minds can be more easily denied. The city will tell the organizers "remember this march and that march that

resulted in violence."

In this society there is no such thing as "Free Speech." Free speech has a limit when it comes to speaking out against injustice. However, this type speech is the most important for all poor and working class people because it challenges the exploiters and demands greater freedoms for all. The voices of equality always come

from below, from the most exploited layers of society.

To effect progressive social change, we must understand that the Armed forces are not our forces, the Mayor is not our mayor, and the President is not our President. They represent a small but powerful portion of this country - the ruling class. Unless we can change this, there will be

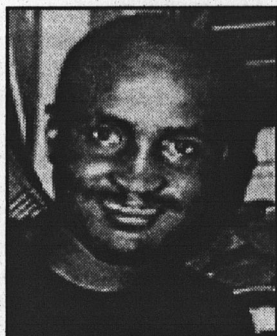
no justice for any of us. Next week we will mourn another Amadou Diallo. We need to start organizing against oppression and exploitation and create a multi-racial resistance against the capitalist system capable of carrying out a workers revolution.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All

Race and Class in the Execution of Amadou Diallo

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

The gangland style execution of immigrant street vendor Amadou Diallo by New York's only legally sanctioned gang of thugs, the New York Police Department (NYPD), have raised the issues of race, class and the role of the state to a new level. The word Fascist has been used in the usual irresponsible fashion by the opponents of Guiliani, but the actions of



Murder victim
Amadou Diallo

his Blue-Shirts add more and more validity to the claim. as the body count increases almost daily, each section of society is forced to deal with the heightening violence which is increasingly being met

with progressively larger and angrier fight back efforts.

For the ruling class, the vast majority of which are white, the Diallo shooting is just a small subplot in the larger scheme of maintaining social control. As we will see, as we move our analysis into the class structure, the more confusion and splits can be fostered within the working class, the greater the benefits for the capitalist class.

Among the white "middle class" we find the greatest popular support for the policies of Guiliani. Polarized by the increasing socioeconomic pressure being placed on them by the erosion of the traditional forms of social advancement - unionized

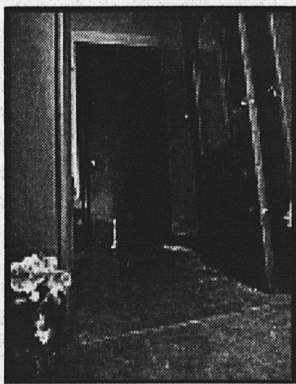
jobs, open access to public higher education and the demand for the high skilled workers by the economy - many have accepted racial prejudice and xenophobia as the explanations for their precarious social position.

Among the Black middle class, confusion seems to reign. While there is an intimate, historical understanding of the role of race in the Diallo shooting, the strategies for correcting the problems lie firmly within the structure of the existing order. Vote for me and I'll set you free!

Within the Black working class there is an absolute and complete rejection of the murder, a total identification with the powerlessness of "fitting a profile." Increasingly, black workers are beginning the process of questioning the role of the police force within the structure of society. Is racism endemic in the NYPD? Can the police as an institution be reformed? How many more Diallos must we have? The answers to these questions will make a significant impact in the possibilities of sparking a radical movement among the working class as a whole.

The group left out of the discussion concerning police brutality are white members of the working class. White workers often feel insulated from police brutality, protected by the color of their skin. In a recent conversation I had with a white worker I was asked, "Well, why was this guy out at 1:00 am in the Bronx?" I asked the worker if he had ever been out in his neighborhood at 1:00 am. He said that he had. I asked him if he ever worked a night shift and came home after midnight. He said that he had. I asked him if he had a beeper and a wallet. He said that he did. I asked him if he had ever been

shot at 41 times. He said he had not been. I asked who the police protected when he



Vestibule where Diallo was brutality executed

went on strike, the white workers or the black workers. He said they protected neither.

My conversation is a super-microcosmic description of arduous task of building class unity across racial lines. A difficult but necessary endeavor the success of which will determine the future of our society. Struggling against every idea that is

made to feel natural by every institution the worker has come into contact with. The institutions of the family, the commu-

nity and the education system powerfully codify notions of white supremacy. The institutions and their ideals must be struggled against vigorously by all progressive forces.

The

only way to break this vicious cycle is through a radical confrontation with ones racial prejudices. This occurs only through active engagement in struggle. This is precisely the reason why the mass organizations of the working class, the trade unions, must be mobilized to fight each class battle, which in this case is police brutality. As student organizers, we must spread a message of revolutionary unity which is focused on identifying understanding and obliterating racial discrimination. In the process, we will also be activating engaging the real enemy - the ruling class. Racism and police brutality must be seen as an issue of our class and struggled against to protect our very existence. As the violence escalates and more victims like Amadou Diallo are executed, the pressure is on the working class to produce revolutionary solutions.



The Hidden Torture of Leonard Peltier

BY IMAN EL-SAYED

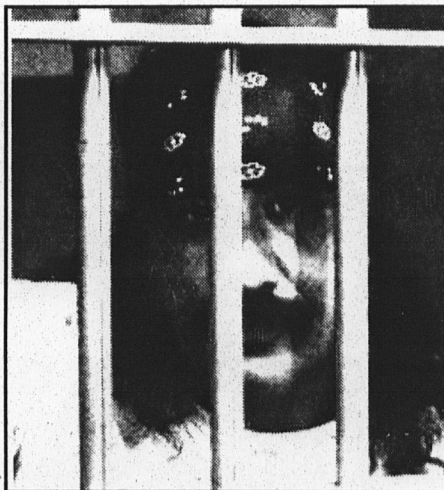
Leonard Peltier is a political prisoner falsely accused of killing two FBI agents who has been locked up in prison for 23 years as of February 6.

Peltier is an activist, artist and member of the American Indian Movement (AIM). On June 26, 1975, two unmarked cars came into the encampment of AIM at Jumping Bull's Compound on the Oglala, Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation and a fire-fight began after one of the FBI started shooting. The AIM encampment was setup because Pine Ridge was in a state of terror as a result of death squads commonly called "Goon Squads." In two years, 60 murders of Natives Americans took place. The community had been harassed by drive by shootings and had been assaulted many times.

Why would this level of repression exist on a Native American reservation? Urani-

um was found in the Sheep Mountains area of the Pine Ridge and the Oglala Lakota people would not allow the government to take more of their land. A diversion had to be created. At the same time the shoot out was happening, in Washington D.C. the illegal signing away of the land was taking place.

The FBI was also focused on suppressing AIM because they feared an awakening of resistance among the Native people. After hundreds of years of the worst sort of abuse, AIM began teaching people to stand up for their rights and stop the abuse and oppression. This was a period of time in which J. Edgar Hoover's COINTEL program was setup to



AIM activist Leonard Peltier is currently serving two consecutive life terms in prison

ported by Rev. Jesse Jackson, 55 members

crush movements such as AIM, the Black Panther Movement and any other group that stood up for basic rights and freedoms of oppressed minorities. Five years ago, Peltier applied for Executive Clemency, a move supported by Rev. Jesse Jackson, 55 members

of congress, European Parliament, Nelson Mandella, along with 50 million signatures. Usually, the review for Clemency takes 6 to 9 months. However, Peltier has been waiting for five years and he only recently received a letter stating that his application was still under review. "We can't prove who shot those agents" and "We don't know who shot those agents" are two statements made by Prosecutor Lynn Crooks in the Courts of Appeals. One statement came in Oct 15, 1985 and the other in Nov 9, 1992. There is evidence that the FBI has hidden that would prove Peltier's innocence. Senior Judge Gerald Heaney of the Eight Circuit Court of Appeals stated in his letter supporting Clemency for Peltier that "The U.S. government must show responsibility for the June 26th fire-fight. It appears that the FBI was equally to blame for the shootout".

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Profits or Humanity? The Future of Healthcare in America

BY WILLIAM WHARION

For working people, the poor and the elderly becoming ill is a constant fear. Horror stories about abuse and lack of care by Health Management Organizations (HMO's) pile ever higher each day. HMO's were presented as the "rational" alternative to President Bill Clinton's feeble, bureaucratically entangled national Healthcare proposal. Instead of enhancing patient care through the reduction in costs, HMO's have fattened the bottom lines of insurance companies, massively increased non-medical spending and reduced the level of patient care. Healthcare for profit has widened the gulf existing between rich and poor by rapidly increasing the ranks of the un-or under-insured. In order to understand the poverty of Healthcare in America we must examine the manner in which capitalist production organizes society and the glar-

What's Ailing the People?

Since the mid-60's the ranks of the uninsured have exploded at the rate of 100,000 persons per month. This process is accelerated by the two decade-long program by American capital of corporate downsizing, the elimination or reduction of benefits and the elimination of benefit programs for retiree's. In whole, over 42 million people, almost 20% of the entire population, have been left without Healthcare. Another 50 million are critically under insured and face bankruptcy as a result of being struck by a major illness. The cost of Healthcare payments is also being shifted from the employer to the employed. From 1988 to 1996 the share of Healthcare premiums paid by employees in small firms rose from \$408 to \$2,100 a year.

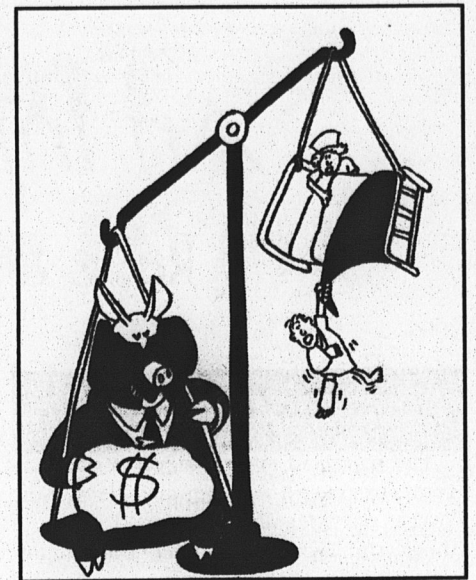
Profit-driven Healthcare has also produced dramatic consequences in the relations between caregivers and the patients

humanistic notion. Childbirth has become a particularly regulated healthcare function. Companies like Kaiser, one of the largest non-profit HMO's in the country, have imposed a 24-hour stay rule for discharges following childbirth. The California Nurses Association has reported that this practice has resulted in a 24% increase in re-admission of babies with jaundice, dehydration or infection. James Goldton, an obstetrician in Chicago, reported that he had allowed new mothers to sleep in the hospital lounge so that he could monitor them after their insurance companies had discharged them. All of this in the name of increased profitability at the expense of human lives.

Who's Benefiting From the Misery?

As with every endeavor in our society which is based on the accumulation of profit we find that the suffering of the masses leads directly to profits for the elite few. The crisis in availability and quality of Healthcare is no different. According to the Managed Health Report, Stephen Wiggins, the CEO of Oxford Healthcare received \$4.6 million in compensation in 1996 and controlled another \$230 million in company stockholdings. Malik Hassan, the ruthless corporate star of the HMO business, received \$17.2 million in pay and had stockholdings of \$166.4 million for his "work" as CEO of Foundation Corporation. In total the stock holdings of the top 25 Healthcare industry executives in 1995 amounted to nearly \$7 billion. At corporations like US Healthcare the focus on the bottom line has created a situation in which 26% of each premium dollar paid goes directly to profits and overhead.

While corporate America presents citizens with the fairy tale that cutting costs equals a more efficient system, HMO cost cutting has actually led to more waste. Health care industry employment has



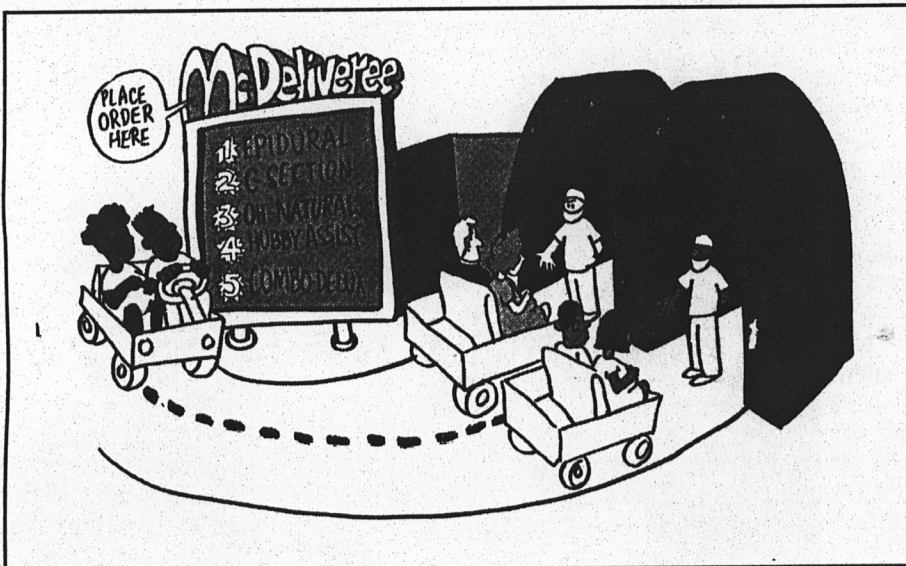
shifted from medical personnel, like nurses and other health care providers, to non-medical personnel like administrators and marketers. From 1992-97 there has been a 71% increase in the amount of marketing jobs created in the Healthcare industry. The Public Health and Labor Institutes reported in 1997 that marketing jobs increase nearly three times as much as job openings for doctors and nurses.

On a national scale, the percentage of the economy going to Healthcare has risen to 14.2%. In comparison, our neighbor to the north, Canada spends 9.8% of the economy on Healthcare. There is only one slight distinction between the two Healthcare systems. While America leaves 43 million people out in the cold, Canada's Healthcare system, a system with many flaws of its own, guarantees every citizen health care. Kathleen Connors, President of Canada's National Federation of Nurses Union, reported to the Labor Party Press that, "Some people say there are more Canadians who believe Elvis Presley is alive than believe in the American Healthcare system!"

Independent Working Class Politics - The Road Forward

Healthcare is another major part of the problem of the manner in which the two parties of the bosses, Democrats and Republicans, have tied the working class to the interests of corporate America. Catering to Corporate America is an institutional necessity for the Republ-ocrats as they attempt to satisfy their insatiable desire for campaign funding. In order to break this cycle, the Labor Party, an inde-

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ing need for a new independent party of working people to combat this oppressive organization.

they serve. Increased profitability has meant that every section of Healthcare is measured and administered along a strictly cost/profit analysis, a thoroughly un-

On Revolutionary Medicine

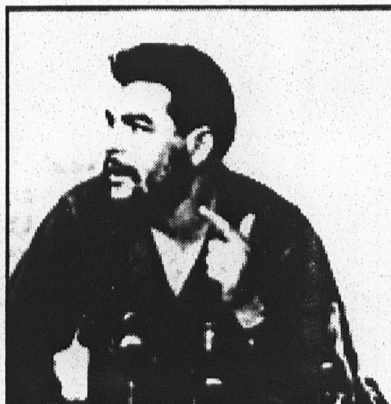
By Che Guevara, 1960

"Except for Haiti and Santo Domingo, I have visited, to some extent, all the other Latin American countries. Because of the circumstances in which I traveled, first as a student and later as a doctor, I came into close contact with poverty, hunger, and disease; with the inability to treat a child because of lack of money; with the stupefaction provoked by continual hunger and punishment, to the point that a father can accept the loss of a son as an unimportant accident, as occurs often in the downtrodden classes of our American homeland. And I began to realize that

there were things that were almost as important to me as becoming a famous scientist or making a significant contribution to medical science: I wanted to help those people.

"How does one actually carry out a work of social welfare? How does one unite individual endeavor with the needs of society?"

"For this task of organization, as for all revolutionary tasks, fundamentally it is the individual who is needed. The revolution does not, as some claim, standardize the collective will and the collective initiative. On the contrary, it liberates one's individual talent. What the revolution does



orient that talent. And our task now is to orient the creative abilities of all medical professionals toward the tasks of social medicine.

"The life of a single human being is worth a million times more than all the property of the richest man on earth... Far more important than a good remuneration is the pride of serving one's neighbor. Much more definitive and much more lasting than all the gold that one can accumulate is the gratitude of a people.

"We must begin to erase our old concepts. We should not go to the people and say, 'Here we are. We come to give you the charity of our presence, to teach you our science, to show you your errors, your lack of culture, your ignorance of elementary things.' We should go instead with an inquiring mind

and a humble spirit to learn at that great source of wisdom that is the people.

"Later we will realize many times how mistaken we were in concepts that were so familiar they became part of us and were an automatic part of our thinking. Often we need to change our concepts, not only the general concepts, the social or philosophical ones, but also sometimes our medical concepts.

"We shall see that diseases need not always be treated as they are in big-city hospitals. We shall see that the doctor has to be a farmer also and plant new foods and sow, by example, the desire to consume new foods, to diversify the nutritional structure which is so limited, so poor.

"If we plan to redistribute the wealth of those who have too much in order to give it to those who have nothing; if we intend to make creative work a daily, dynamic source of all our happiness, then we have goals towards which to work."

The Mystery Man Says:

Jail For Killer Cops and Justice For All!

BY THE MYSTERY MAN

A major epidemic of police brutality has spread all over the country at alarmingly high rates. The victims of this brutality are often seriously injured and die of the beatings they receive from the police. Often the officers who beat their suspects cover up their crime by writing fake reports. Many people in the affected communities around the country no longer trust the police because they feel they will be the next targets. The Internal Affairs of the Police Department publically say that they investigate the officers who brutalize but most get away with desk duty or a short suspension.

The History of Police Brutality

1988: The Tompkins Square Park incident was a big black eye for the New York City Police Department when officers using nightsticks hit protesters and a cop was caught on camera swinging at the photographer filming the riot. The park at the time was closed off and people who used the park were angry at the city and protests were frequented everyday before the riot broke out on a hot summer night.

In the Miami section of Overtown, a Miami police officer shot and killed an unarmed man who was riding his motor-

cycle touching off riots by community. Cars and business' were burned as a result of the anger in the African-American Community. The officer who shot the man was eventually found guilty of the murder and sent to prison.

1991-92 - Los Angeles Police Officers on a routine traffic stop suddenly attacked motorist Rodney King. A man with a video camera taped the incident and the media showed put it out on the airwaves. Every-



one was angered and outraged at the police. Police chief Darryl Gates became a poster boy for the brutality and coverups of the LAPD. The trail of the officers who carried out this beating was moved to Orange County, a suburb of Los Angeles and the jury, which was mostly white, gave not-guilty verdicts which touched off several days of rioting.

The streets were overtaken by the people, businesses were looted and burned, many motorists were pelted by rocks and bottles and a truck driver was ripped out of his car and beaten up. The police and national guard came to quell the uprising and gained control by arresting scores of people for looting and disorderly conduct. Criticism of the police was so ferocious that Chief Gates was forced to resign and the Justice department charged the cops with federal civil rights violations.

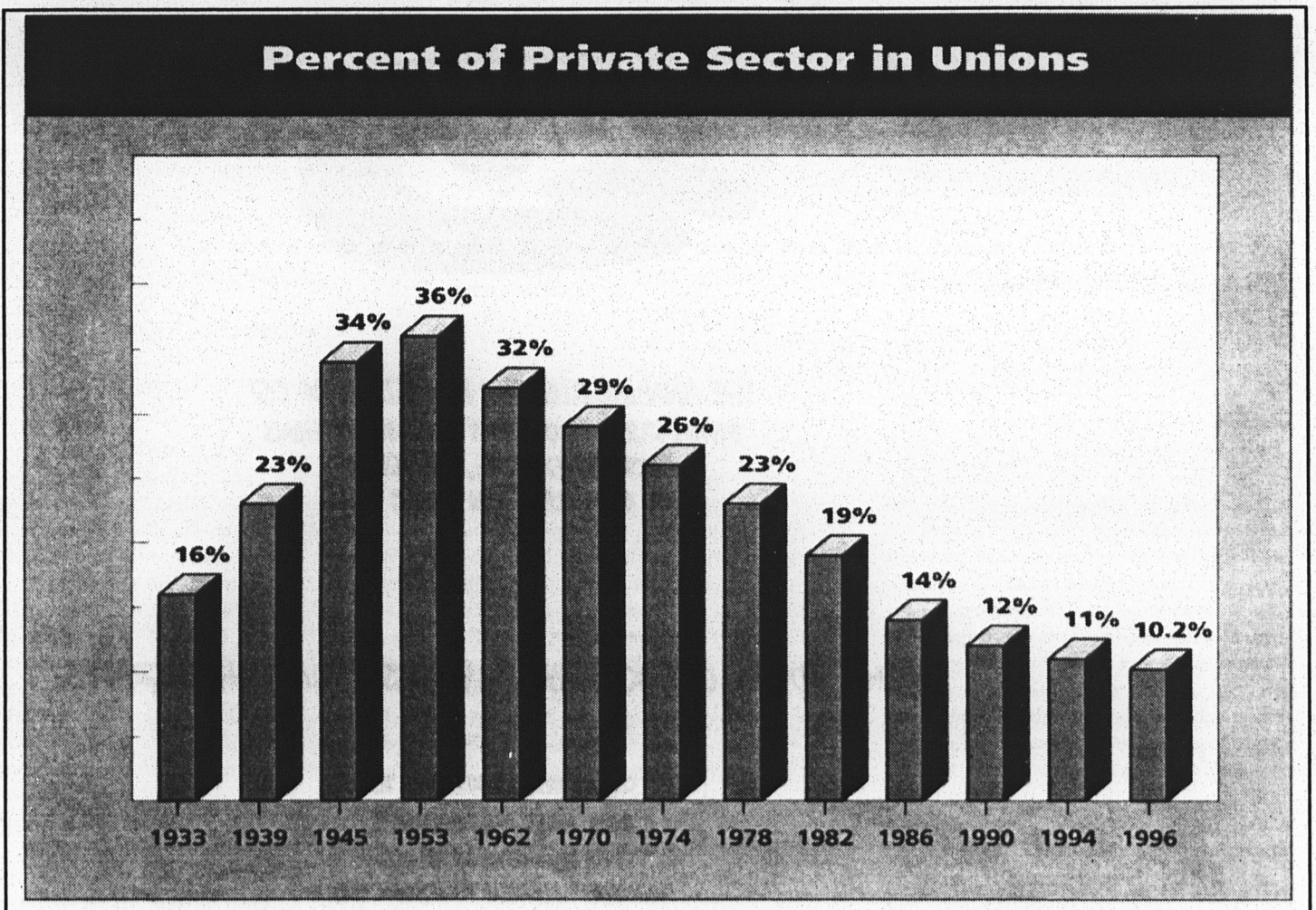
Thousands of people have turned out into the streets of New York City to protest the execution of Amadou Diallo.

Profits or Humanity?

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pendent working class party formed in 1996, has put forward a proposal called Just Healthcare. The resolution calls for the creation of a single payer national Healthcare system modeled after the Canadian system which will provide quality Healthcare to all citizens. To accomplish this, the Party will seek to tap into the mass discontent which has developed around the issue of Healthcare. A poll, taken in 1990, reported that only 10% of Americans polled were very satisfied with their Healthcare as opposed to a 58% approval rating in Canada.

The Labor Party offers the best hope for the future of American workers and challenging the forces of capitalism in such a head-on manner will require support from all sectors of the working class. Healthcare represents two sections of the working class. On the one hand, the patients at risk of being denied or given less than adequate care are overwhelmingly the working class and poor. On the other hand the shift in employment within the Healthcare industry from nurses to marketers is nothing less than an assault on organized labor. Just Healthcare is therefore a campaign which seeks to fight for both our health and the security of unionized jobs.



The Hidden Torture of Leonard Peltier

continued from pg. 7

Recently, Peltier has been suffering from excruciating pain in his jaw. He cannot open his mouth enough to bite or chew his food. Instead, he must sip his food

This is TORTURE!!! Torture is the act of allowing or causing excruciating pain for the purpose of punishment. This TORTURE must stop because he has already been suffering from a 2 consecutive life sentences for a crime he did not commit. This is a direct violation of Peltier's Human Rights.

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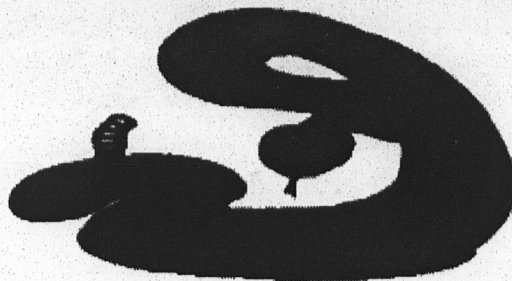
If you would like to show support for political prisoners such as Leonard Peltier, there will be a demonstration on the June 26 anniversary of the Pine Ridge shooting. It will start at 12pm and end at 5pm at the Ellipse

Park in front of the White House. Speakers will include Pam and Ramona Africa from the Move 9 Organization. Food not Bombs will be there giving out food. To hold a reservation or to find out more about the event call Green Belt National Park at 1800-365-226. **FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

through a small gap between his teeth and squash it with his tongue. The medical treatment he received at the Springfield Federal Medical Center has only made the problem worse. After refusing to accept anymore help from the medical center, prison officials are denying him an outside doctor. The right to a competent doctor is guaranteed by law. Recently, a surgeon at the Mayo Clinic, which has done medical work on many federal prisoners, agreed to treat Peltier for free. This request was denied by prison officials. This is TOR-



SERPENTINE
SERPENTINE



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Student Militancy in a Colonial Outpost

BY FREDDIE MARRERO

On September 16, 1997, ten days after a general assembly in which students expressed their firm opposition to the government's privatization policies, the Governor of Puerto Rico, Pedro Rosselló, had to rush out of the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) as a militant crowd of enraged students interrupted a private conference in which he was revealing

the latest news about the process of privatizing the Puerto Rico Telephone Company. Some skirmishes took place as students who were against privatization wanted to

participate by asking critical questions but were denied access to the conference. This event put UPR students on the national spotlight as the incident showed their willingness to stand firm and struggle against the governments' policies that affect workers, the majority of the citizens, and students themselves. Their courage was admired by PRTC workers and was taken as a symbol for the struggle that laid ahead. Among the students the firm and spontaneous reaction (since the conference was meant to be private, no



Scene from the Puerto Rican workers General Strike

purposes of the UPR in order to prevent classes from taking place as most of the island is public sector workers chose to join other civilian and union groups in a massive march in San Juan against the denationalization of the telephone company. The one day stoppage was very successful. However, it did not change government intentions, showing that the struggle would be an intense and long one.

A week later, October 7, the eyes of the island looked once again at the Rio Piedras campus of the UPR. For the third time in less than a month, a member of government visited the campus. Once again students organized to express their disapproval of the privatization of the PRTC. The

situation became very tense as more and more militant students gathered. Norma Burgos, Secretary of State, provoked students by laughing and sending kisses to all. She was escorted out of the campus by police. As soon as she left, riot police, that was surrounding the university since the morning-as if the government expected some confrontation to happen-entered the campus, then a violent clash between students and police broke out. Several students, professors, members of the press and university guards were injured by the riot police. It was the first confrontation

While continuing to show firm solidarity with the labor movement, students were soon to find themselves facing the politics of privatization in their university itself. In spring of 1998 the Governor presented a proposal to cut \$40 million of the University's budget to use it instead to pay for educational waivers for students interested in attending private universities.

one knew it was to be held until one hour before it was scheduled) boosted the student movement and unleashed a widespread sense of involvement and an increase in active participation.

The CAOS, a broad coalition of labor, student, environmental, community, cultural, political and religious groups, set the date of October 1 to be the date for a one-day national stoppage (Paro Nacional) to show the massive opposition to the privatization of the PRTC. Students also arranged several activities, including a march, a music festival and a vigil the night before the stoppage. Students, professors, and workers congregated at dawn in front of the entrances of all the cam-

between students and the police in sixteen years. Police violated the 'No Confrontation' accords, established in the eighties, which stated that the police should only enter the campus at an official request of the university's authorities. This accord sought to avoid violent clashes between police and students, as those that took place in the sixties and seventies had resulted in several deaths. Members of the Puerto Rican civil society condemned the incident and criticized the cabinet members visit as a proof of the government's poor judgement and confrontational style.

While continuing to show firm solidarity with the labor movement, students were soon to find themselves facing the

politics of privatization in their university itself. In spring of 1998 the Governor presented a proposal to cut \$40 million of the University's budget to use it instead to pay for educational waivers for students interested in attending private universities. This is a policy of privatization by blood-letting since those who will benefit from it are the private colleges in which most of the \$40 million will end up. During April and May, students and professors advocated very actively against the approval of such a measure in the parliament. Activities included a one day stoppage of the entire UPR system. In April 30, the day before the stoppage, the Board of Trustees declared an administrative five day recess claiming security reasons as a justification. This lock out strategy enraged the students and professors even more. The day after the stoppage they challenged the Board of Trustees by getting together in groups in order to discuss the current situation. Some classes were even given outside the classrooms. This was however not enough to change the mind of the government. The law was passed. Currently the constitutionality of such a law is debated in the appropriate tribunals.

The labor movement was very shy in supporting the students in their struggle against the approval of such law, specially since the student movement had shown its solidarity by playing such a central role in the struggle against the privatization of the PRTC. Notwithstanding that, in the morning of June 18, 1998, when the strike of

the two unions of the PRTC began, several UPR students were among those clubbed and pepper sprayed by the police in the very first clashes between police and strikers. At that point in time the process to sell the company was in a pretty advanced stage. The governor had already announced that the government will sell 50 percent plus one share to GTE Corp. for \$375 million. Popular, Inc., the holding company of El Banco Popular, Puerto Rico's largest financial institution, will immediately purchase from GTE a 5 percent share for \$37.5 million, and an additional 5 percent will be sold for the same price to other local partners in the GTE group. Only the official ratification by the House and Senate were needed prior to submitting the accord to the FCC for final approval.

The fact that the strike began in such a late stage of the selling process-because of the ambivalence of the union leaders in

taking the firm steps of organizing a strike in frontal opposition to the government-did not diminish at all PRTC workers' will to defend their jobs and to maintain the PRTC as an asset of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Strategically it was a very challenging strike that had to be on seven days a week twenty-four hours a day along all the PRTC buildings scattered throughout all the island. One of the most important buildings throughout all the struggle was Cellular Plaza which by its proximity to the UPR-Rio Piedras was selected by the student movement as the site for their participation in the struggle. From the first day of the strike until the last one, either at the critical hours of potential confrontation, at the most quiet hours of camaraderie and dominó, at the times of accelerated heartbeats, sweat and tears, or at those of light sleep, laughs and stories, students as well as professors and employees of the UPR were side by side with the PRTC strikers. For forty-two days Cellular Plaza became a home in which big hopes and strong wills shared a place with frus-



Striking worker is arrested by Puerto Rican Pigs

trations and pain. Not only many good friendships were born, but also student-worker solidarity became an everyday way of life.

From the very first strike day the government set the tone for repression, indifference, and arrogance not only toward the strikers but also to the citizens who supported the strike. On the streets by showing banners in their cars, blowing their horns, and donating food and money to the workers and in their homes, people's opposition to the government's decision was heard in radio and tv talk shows as well as in newspaper polls and letters. As support for the struggle was reaching a national scale and the most diverse sectors of civil society demanded dialogue and a referendum as possible democratic solutions to the stalemate between government and workers, the government

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Public Spectacle, Public History

BY EDWARD SAID

The recent death of Jordan's King Hussein offered the world media — and CNN in particular — a unique opportunity to do what it seems to do best so far as its consumers and sponsors are concerned: give spectators the sense that they are present at an important Historical Occasion where something of Great Significance unfolds before one's very eyes. CNN has now shot to an enviable position

In both cases it is sheer coverage that matters, the sense encouraged in the consumer that what is served up before his eyes has been put there by an all-knowing, wisely experienced, and tremendously influential authority of some sort.

of almost total global hegemony. Its format (which I shall describe in a moment) is now the dominant one, which dictates to all other broadcasting outlets how they should do things. The formula is a superficially simple one. A prominent reporter sits behind a desk at a news centre like Atlanta or London; then the cameras are

kept focused on the event, which is usually a procession, ceremony, or an unfolding series of happenings (like the bombings of Iraq). Then you cut from the public event to reporters who are at the scene itself, often with a local, native accredited expert. And so on for hours and days if necessary (as in the case of the Clinton trial). Thus television outlets like CNN come to be considered the voice and eyes of authenticity and truth: if one

wants to get the best perspective on news of major importance, there is now the prevailing assumption that CNN will be the first to deliver that perspective, since what CNN relays is

what is the most important news. The tautology is important. News is what CNN broadcasts, and what CNN broadcasts is therefore news.

Therefore the subjects on which CNN spends the most time (for example, the Gulf War, Princess Diana's funeral, the

Clinton impeachment) are immediately elevated to the position of preeminence. A generation ago the major global authority was Time magazine, like CNN an American pioneer in the diffusion of news. In both cases it is sheer coverage that matters, the sense encouraged in the consumer that what is served up before his eyes has been put there by an all-knowing, wisely experienced, and

tremendously influential authority of some sort. Most important is the feeling that what isn't there to be seen or commented on either does not exist or does not matter if it does. In short, this is a literal instance of contemporary history in the making. A trenchant American media critic, George W S Trow, has described this process succinctly as follows: "The work of television is to establish false contexts and to chronicle the unraveling of existing contexts; finally, to establish the context of no-context and to chronicle it."

Let me try to explain what I think he means. Reality is a confusing, complex

dynamic of events, processes, personalities. Consider as an example King Hussein's death, the final chapter in one man's life. The king of Jordan was of course a real person, but he is also the conjuncture of a particular family history (that of the Hashemites), a series of processes that involved several great powers including Britain, the US, the Arab

states, and Israel, and events that included (I mention only a few at random) the West Bank elections of 1956-7, the civil war of 1970, the relationship

between Jordan and Iraq, between Jordan and Israel, the cleavages and problems within Jordanian society, including army, Prince Hassan, the political class, Palestinian refugees and a tiny, but prosperous bourgeoisie.

So far as the presentation of Jordan in the media prior to Hussein's death is concerned, it is safe to say that none of these facts was given much prominence, although some may have been mentioned in passing in accounts of the Middle East peace process. But certainly, to return now to the king's funeral, the perspective provided by CNN and the others is that this was an event that had mostly to do with the passing of "a man of peace", as if a rich, often tragic and contradictory human life, a story of power, struggle, historical collisions and conjunctures, achievement and error, could be reduced simply and neatly to that of someone who served the US peace process as a wise and gifted partner. In other words, the local context was totally removed. Very little, if anything, of Jordan's history as a country was referred to. Occasional "experts" were summoned to aid star reporter Christiane Amanpour — who has now become almost a parody of the star or celebrity journalist who flies in and out of places to give them some momentary credibility and interest, then flies out, leaving each place to a perhaps deserved subsequent obscurity, until the next crisis may warrant her re-appearance. These local experts were never allowed to say very much — they were used just to identify somebody, or to give a tiny bit of background, none of it distracting the star reporter or her audience from the story and spectacle at hand. It was striking that a steady dose of misinformation was routinely delivered, e.g., that it is an Islamic tradition that women do not attend funerals, or that the crowd's grief was "authentic" and was unlike the scenes "of sham or manufactured grief so often the case in Arab crowds", which was a comment made by a prominent journalist during the proceedings. According to the coverage, what seemed most important in the end about Hussein was that he served others (i.e. the United States and Israel) more than he thought about himself. This ultimately Zionist perspective on what



Saddam Hussein: Creation of the United States

US Imperialism and World Peace

BY IMAN EL-SAYED

The US government has not stopped its genocidal war on the people of Iraq and has proved that it does not have any cares about the pain it is causing civilians in Iraq: 1.7 million have died since the gulf war and thousands died in the bombing between December 16-19. Recently the US dropped a 2,000 pound bomb on a residential area, the massacre continues...

On January 25, US planes dropped one, possibly two, bombs on a residential neighborhood in Basra, Iraq's second largest city. The people in that neighborhood had their lives taken away from them, a report said 11 died and 60 were wounded in this horrible bombing most of whom were children and their mothers. The United States' excuse for the bombing was that Iraq had violated the no-fly-zone that the US and Britain imposed on Iraq. When asked why they had bombed Iraqi residential areas Pentagon spokesperson Frank Leyhew responded "Iraqi actions pose serious threats to our air crews and our actions

today are an appropriate response to these threats"

The US, the biggest hypocrite in the world is constantly lying about how it is also controlling Iraq is because Iraq opposes a treaty to its neighbors, the Kurds, and the Shites. It is the same old story. In fact the United States was funding Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath party when they were fighting Iran because they felt that he would open his oil to American markets and that they can make big oil profits for the Wall Street corporations. The US supplies Turkey (the third largest recipient of military aid from the US) to massacre Kurds. Recently the CIA captured the Kurdish communist leader Abdullah Ocalan who is trying to create homeland for the Kurdish people. Instead of helping them get a state, since they care for them so much, they are trying to crush them and not allow them to form their own state.

How can we trust the United States



Women searches through garbage to feed her family

being in the Middle East and other countries and then saying it is there to promote "freedom" when it promotes racism, police brutality and sweatshop labor in its own land and in other countries? The United States promotes "freedom" by bombing another country and by killing thousands of people. Now they want to bomb Yugoslavia so there can be peace in that country.

The US policy towards Iraq is an injustice perpetrated against the people of Iraq. The recent bombing achieves nothing other than keeping US presence in the area. US out of Iraq! End the Murderous Sanctions against the people of Iraq!

**End the Embargo!
US Out of the Middle East!**

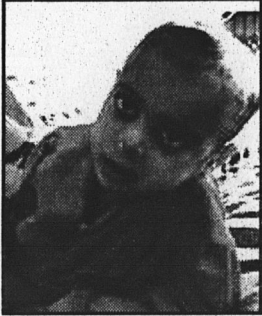
continued on pg. 19

Sanctions ARE weapons of Mass Destruction

End the Sanctions Against Iraq
Signature Ad Campaign
c/o Bookmarks P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 0616 phone:773-665-8695

Advisory Board: Noam Chomsky(MIT), Howard Zinn (Boston University), Edward Said (Columbia University), Edward Herman (University of Pennsylvania), Robert Jensen (University of Texas at Austin), William Keach (Srown University) and Ad Coordination: Sharon Smith.

We the undersigned call upon the United States government to end all sanctions against the people of Iraq.



At the end of 1998, the United States once again rained bombs on the people of Iraq. But even when the bombs stop falling, the U.S. war against the people of Iraq continues-through the United Nations harsh sanctions on Iraq, which are the direct result of U.S. policy.

This month, U.S. policy will kill 4,500 Iraqi children under the age of 5, according to United Nations studies, just as it did last month and the month before that all the way back to 1991. Since the end of

the Gulf War, more than a million Iraqis have died as a direct result of the UN sanctions on Iraq.

To oppose the sanctions is not equivalent to supporting the regime of Saddam Hussein. To oppose the sanctions is to support the Iraqi people. Saddam Hussein is a murderous dictator, who promotes those who are loyal to him and kills all those who voice opposition to his regime. But throughout the 1980's, when it suited U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East, the U.S. government was more than willing to ignore Saddam Hussein's brutality. In fact, U.S. and European companies provided Iraq with materials used to produce Saddam Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction." Moreover, the sanctions have not affected the lifestyle of Saddam Hussein or his inner circle. Food and medicine are available for those who can afford it. The sanctions hurt only the Iraqi people.

The sanctions are weapons of mass destruction. When a UN inspector team visited Iraq to survey the damage from the Gulf War in March 1991, it concluded that the bombing has reduced Iraq to a "pre-industrial age." The team said at that time that if the sanctions were not lifted, the country faced "immediate catastrophe." Yet the sanctions have continued for the last seven years, preventing Iraq from obtaining the hard currency to buy basic

food and medicines-or to rebuild its infrastructure. The oil-for-food deal the allows Iraq to sell \$5.2 billion of its oil every six months has had only marginal effects. The United Nations takes one-third of all oil revenues for war reparations and its own expenses. The oil-for-food program does not generate enough money to feed adequately a population of 22 million. Raising the ceiling would not help. The refineries and were bombed during the war and need to be rebuilt-even now, Iraq is unable to produce all the oil it is allowed to. In October, Denis Halliday, the UN coordinator for humanitarian aid to Iraq, resigned in protest, arguing that the sanctions "are starving to death 6,000 Iraqi infants every month, ignoring the human rights of ordinary Iraqis and turning a whole generation against the West."

The sanctions also prevent Iraq from importing many basic necessities. Most pesticides and fertilizer are banned because of their potential military use. Raw sewage is pumped continuously into water that people end up drinking because Iraq's water treatment plants were blown up by US bombs in 1991-and most have never been repaired. Yet chlorine is banned under the sanctions because it also could be of military use. Typhoid, dysentery and cholera have reached epidemic proportions. Farid Zarif, deputy director of the UN humani-

tarian aid program in Baghdad, argued recently, "We are told that pencils are forbidden because carbon could be extracted from them that might be used to coat airplanes and make them invisible to radar. I am not a military expert, but I find it very disturbing that because of this objection, we cannot give pencils to Iraqi school children."

For the past several years, individuals and groups have been delivering medicine and other supplies to Iraq in defiance to the U.S. blockade. Now, members of one of those groups, Chicago-based Voices in the Wilderness, have been threatened with massive fines by the federal government for "exportation of donated goods, including medical supplies and toys, to Iraq absent specific prior authorization." Our government is harassing a peace group that takes medicine and toys to dying children: we owe these courageous our support.

This is not foreign policy-it is state-sanctioned mass murder. The Iraqi people are suffering because of the actions of both the Iraqi and U.S. governments, but our moral responsibility lies here in the United States. If we remain silent, we are condoning a genocide that is being perpetrated in the name of peace in the Middle East, a mass slaughter that is being perpetrated in our names.

End the Sanctions Against Iraq

Signature Ad Campaign

February 8, 1999

Dear Friend,

A growing chorus of people, in this country and around the world, are demanding an end to the murderous sanctions against Iraq, which are a direct result of U.S. government policy. The sanctions have taken a staggering toll among Iraqi civilians-especially the sick, the elderly and, above all, children under the age of 5.

Here in the U.S., the mainstream media is finally giving some attention to the deadly effects of the sanctions. But much more is needed. Most people in this country have little or no knowledge of the human suffering that is being inflicted by our government, in our names.

We have initiated a campaign to place a full-page signature ad in the New York Times. We believe that such an ad can play an important part in giving voice to the growing opposition to the sanctions against the Iraqi people.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to sign on to the signature ad, which will appear in the New York Times within the next weeks. We also ask that, if at all possible, you enclose a contribution to help finance it. As you may imagine, the ad will cost a great deal of money-\$34,000. But it will allow us to reach the widest possible audience with the facts about the sanctions. All contribution will remain confidential.

We have enclosed the text of the ad as it will appear. Please fill out the form below and return it to us in the enclosed envelope at your earliest convenience. We are certain that you share our sense of urgency to place this ad as quickly as possible.

If you add your name, we will contact you to let you know when to look for the signature ad.

____ Yes, add my name to the New York Times signature ad:

Name/Title _____

Organization(If there is one) _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

E-Mail _____

____ I want to help finance the ad. Enclosed is a check for:

\$50 _____ \$100 _____ \$500 _____ \$1,000 _____ Other _____

Alice Walker on the U.S. Embargo of Cuba

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

Thank you very much for the invitation to the White House while I was in Washington in January. I am sorry circumstances made it impossible for us to meet. I was looking forward to experiencing the symbolic seat of North American government in a new way. In the past, I have only picketed the White House, and as a student walking up and down the street outside it. I used to wonder what might be inside. It seemed to be made of cardboard, and appeared empty and oppressive, remote from the concerns of a few black students and their courageous white teacher from the deep South.

The first protest I joined that picketed the White House was a Hands Off Cuba rally in 1962. I was eighteen. It was very cold, snow and sleet everywhere. Our hands and feet and heads were freezing as we trudged in circles, shouting slogans to keep our minds off our misery and to

encourage each other. Amazingly, someone from the President's office sent hot coffee out to us. The compassionate gesture humanized the president and the White House for me, and made it possible for me to feel a connection that I would not otherwise have felt. When President Kennedy was assassinated, and my whole school wept, it was of those warming sips of coffee that I thought.

I love Cuba and its people, including Fidel. The bill you have signed to further tighten the blockade hurts me deeply. I travel to Cuba whenever I can to take medicine and the small, perhaps insignificant comfort of my presence, to those whose courage and tenderness have inspired me practically my entire life.

I have seen how the embargo hurts everyone in Cuba, but especially Cuban children, infants in particular. I spend some nights in utter sleeplessness worrying about them. Someone has said that when you give birth to a child and perhaps I read this in Hillary's book, which I recently bought - you are really making a commitment to the agony of having your heart walking around outside your body. That is how I feel about Cuba: I am quite unable to think of it as separate from myself. I have taken seriously the beliefs and values I learned from my Georgia par-

ents, the most sincere and humble Christians I have ever known: Do unto others...Love thy neighbor...All of it. I feel the suffering of each child in Cuba as if it were my own.

The bill you have signed is wrong. Even if you despise Fidel and even if the Cubans should not have shot down the planes violating their air space. (Did you, by the way, see Oliver Stone's "Earth and Sky," about the U.S. bombing and general destruction of Vietnam over years and years? There was a major case of violating airspace!) The bill is wrong, the embargo is wrong, because it punishes people, some of them unborn, for being who they are. Cubans cannot help being who they are. Given their long struggle for freedom, particularly from Spain and the United States, they cannot help taking understandable pride in who they are. They have chosen a way of life different from ours, and I must say that from my limited exposure to that different way of life, it has brought them, fundamentally, a deep inner certainty about the meaning of existence (to develop one's self and to help others) and an equally deep psychic peace. One endearing quality I've found in the Cubans I have met is that they can listen with as much heart as they speak. I believe you and Fidel must speak to each other. Face to face. He is not the monster he has been portrayed; and in all the study you have done of Cuba surely is apparent to you that he has reason for being the leader he is. Nor am I saying he is without flaw. We are all substantially

flawed, wounded, angry, hurt, here on Earth. But this human condition, so painful to us, and in some ways shameful - because we feel we are weak when the reality of ourselves is exposed - is made much more bearable when it is shared, face to face, in words that have expressive human eyes behind them. Beyond any other reason for talking with Fidel, I think you would enjoy it.

In 1962 I also went to Russia. I was determined to impress upon all the Russians I met that I was not their enemy, and that I opposed the idea my government had, at that time, of possibly killing all of them. I have never regretted offering smiles to the children of Russia, instead of agreeing with a paranoid government to throw bombs.

The world, I believe, is easier to change than we think. And harder. Because the change begins with each one of us saying to ourselves, and meaning it: I will not harm anyone or anything in this moment. Until, like recovering alcoholics, we can look back on an hour, a day, a week, a year, of comparative harmlessness.

Is Jesse Helms, who speaks of Cuban Liberty, as he urges our country to harm Cuba's citizens, the same Jesse Helms who caused my grandparents, my parents and



my own generation profound suffering as we struggled against our enslavement under racist laws in the South? And can it be that you have joined your name to his in signing this bill? Although this is fact, it still strikes me as unbelievable. Inconceivable. I cannot think his is a name you will rejoice in later years to have associated with your own. I regret this action, sincerely, for your sake.

The country has lost its way, such as it

Is Jesse Helms, who speaks of Cuban Liberty, as he urges our country to harm Cuba's citizens, the same Jesse Helms who caused my grandparents, my parents and my own generation profound suffering as we struggled against our enslavement under racist laws in the South?

was. Primarily, because it is now understood by all, that resources and space itself are limited, and the days of infinite expansion and exploitation, sometimes referred to as "growth," are over. Greed has been a primary motivating factor from the beginning. And so the dream of the revengeful and the greedy is to re-take Cuba, never mind the cries of children who can no longer have milk to drink, or of adults whose ration card permits them one egg a week. Would you want Chelsea to have no milk, to have one egg a week? You are a large man, how would you yourself survive?

My heart goes out to your - I voted for you for President, even though I personally want compassionate feminine leadership in the world, at least for the next hundred years or so: uncompassionate woman-hating and child-forgetful masculine leadership has pretty much destroyed us - because I know the same forces that have demonized Fidel for so long are after

you and especially Hillary. I wonder if you can see this? Or if you really feel secure and confident of the future, standing shoulder to shoulder with the Republi-

cans and with Helms? Sometimes, when I don't know what to do, I imagine a little child standing beside my desk, or sometimes a small baby, kicking on my desk. There are Cuban children - as dear as any on earth, as dear as Chelsea, or my daughter, Rebecca - standing beside your desk all the time now. How could this not be so? They are standing beside the desks of those

in Congress, in the Senate. They are standing in our grossly overstuffed supermarkets and spying on us in Weightwatchers. One cannot justify starving them to death because their leader is a person of whom some people, themselves imperfect, human, disapprove.

America at the moment is like a badly wounded parent, the aging, spent and scared offspring of all the dysfunctional families of the multitudes of tribes who

settled here. It is the medicine of compassionate understanding that must be administered now, immediately, on a daily basis, indiscriminately. Not the poison of old patterns of

punishment and despair. Harmlessness now! must be our peace cry.

I often disagree with you - your treatment of black women, of Lani Guinier and the wonderful Jocelyn Elders in particular, has caused me to feel a regrettable distance - still, I care about you, Hillary and Chelsea, and wish you only good. I certainly would not deprive you of food in protest of anything you have done!

Similarly, I will always love and respect the Cuban people, and help them whenever I can. Their way of caring for all humanity has made them my family. Whenever you hurt them, or help them, please think of me.

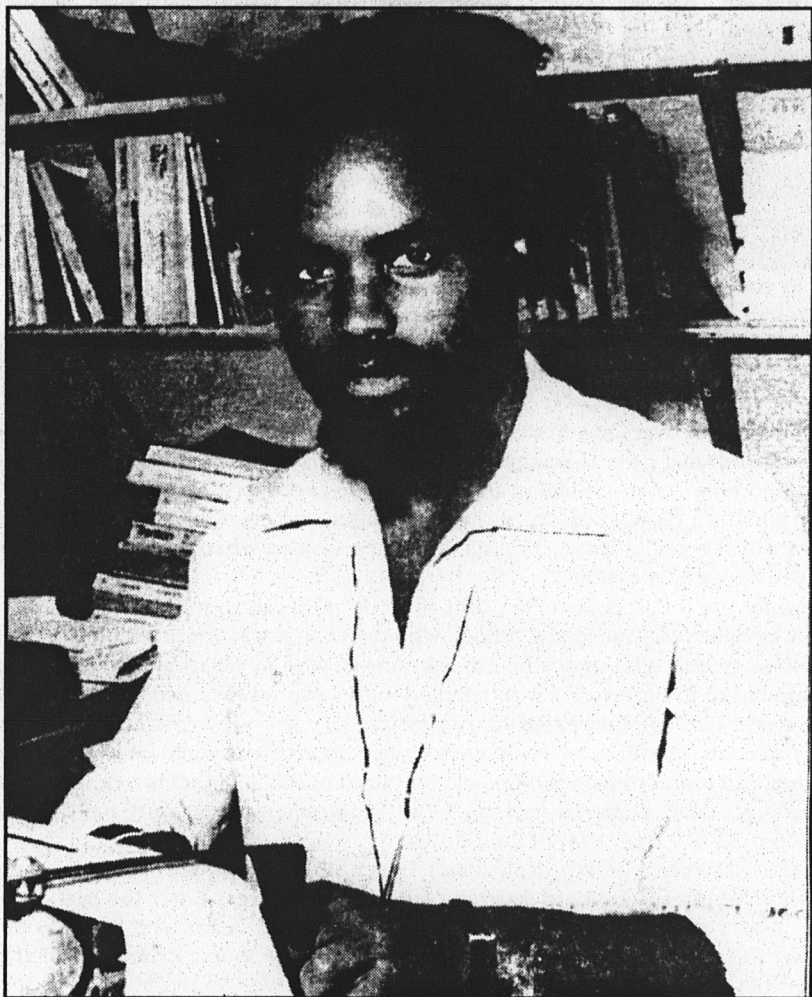
Sincerely,

Alice Walker



THE MUMIA TIMES

VOL. I MARCH 1999



Political Prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

You Be the Judge

THE JUDGE had sentenced more people to death than any other sitting judge in the United States. Six former Philadelphia prosecutors have sworn in court documents that no accused could receive a fair trial in the court of Judge Albert Sabo

THE JURY was empanelled only after eleven qualified African-Americans were removed by peremptory challenges from the prosecution, a practice that was recently revealed as having been taught to prosecutors in a special training video tape.

THE DEFENSE ATTORNEY testified that he didn't interview a single witness in preparation for the 1982 trial and he informed the court in advance that he was not prepared. Jamal was also denied the right to act as his own attorney.

Stop The Execution

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!!!

A Statement FROM DEATH ROW
By Mumia Abu-Jamal
SCI-Greene, Waynesburg, PA
October 31st, 1998

"Once again, Pennsylvania's highest court has shown us the best justice that FOP money can buy. Ignoring right reason, their own precedent, and fundamental justice, they have returned to the stranglehold of death. In their echoes of the tortured logic of Judge Albert Sabo, they have reflected a striking fidelity to the DA's office. If it is fair to have a tribunal who are in part admittedly paid by the FOP - and at least one justice who can double as DA one day and a judge the next in the same case - then fairness is just as empty a word as "justice." To paraphrase Judge Sabo, it is "just an emotional feeling."

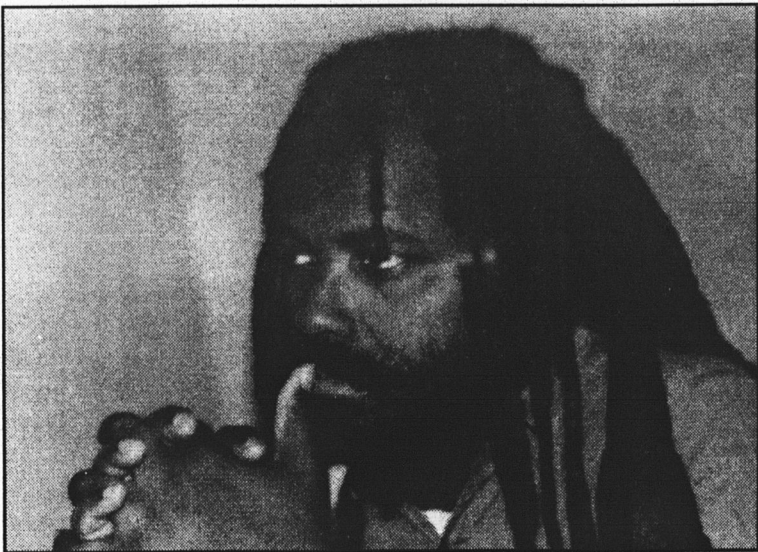
In recent months the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld death sentences in cases where an impartial reading of transcripts or pleadings would make an honest affirmation all but impossible. They have ignored all evidence of innocence, overlooked clear instances of jury taint, and cast a dead eye on defense attorneys' ineffectiveness. What they have done in my case is par for the course. This is a political decision, paid for by the FOP on the eve of the election. It is a Mischief Night gift from a court that has a talent for the macabre.

I am sorry that this court did not rule on the right side of history. But I am not surprised. Every time our nation has come to a fork in the road with regard to race, it has chosen to take the path of compromise and betrayal. On October 29th, 1998, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court committed a collective crime; it damned due process, strangled the fair trial, and raped justice.

Even after this legal legerdemain [sleight of hand] I remain innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty. Any ruling founded on injustice is not justice. The righteous fight for life, liberty, and for justice can only continue."

The Words of

Mumia Abu Jamal



FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE

ON TUESDAY, October 1st, 1996, a woman named Veronica Jones walked into a courtroom and a few hours later walked into history. In a throaty, deep voice she announced to a packed courtroom that, "I lied" in *Commonwealth v. Abu-Jamal* in 1982, when she denied seeing the men fogging away from a Center City killing. Police detectives, she testified, visited her in jail (where she was being held on armed robbery charges) and told her not only to change her statement, but to finger this writer. She went half way.

"They told me I'd hafta do 10 years away from my children if I said what I saw." She explained, weeping, "I couldn't leave my babies!"

"That's a part of my life I tried to erase," she said.

After her 1982 testimony, serious weapons charges (2 loaded pistols were allegedly seized by police from her pants' waistband) robbery charges and related offenses resulted in - probation!

Moments after her recantation, prosecutors promptly produced 2 NJ cops who arrested the young woman on an outstanding bench warrant stemming from a 1994, bad check charge (for less than \$250) from New Jersey - and hustled the startled witness off of the stand and into a jail cell.

Imagine that - a woman leaves her home state, crosses the bridge to give sworn testimony in a court of "Law", and gets busted there as a "fugitive of justice!" Is this proof that there ain't no justice in American courtrooms?

The courts are their courts - places where, as Judge Sabo so aptly put it, "Justice is just an emotional feeling." And because justice is foreign to US courts a woman can be hauled off to jail for speaking a powerful truth, that detectives tried to intimidate her into lying on the stand!

For over 20 months Ms. Jones lived openly in New Jersey, and state officials let a warrant sit in a file gathering dust. Only when she appeared in court in the *Commonwealth v. Abu-Jamal* case did detectives "find" her, in another state!

This poor, single mother, now on the brink of grandmotherhood, summoned up the courage to speak the truth, and the state attacked her savagely. As she was being led away, tears lining her dark face, stunned by the unprecedented premeditated prosecutorial ambush, she managed to say "You think that's going to make me change my story? It's not!"

In teary eyed defiance, she was marched off to jail to await a hearing in Southern New Jersey.

Hours later, adding insult to injury, Philadelphia police announced it was arresting Ms Jones again this time on a bench warrant for a prostitution charge from 1982!

That's right - 14 years ago!

New Jersey waits over 600 days and Philadelphia waits over 14 years to serve warrants and city prosecutors have the gall to say defense lawyers couldn't find her at anytime, when cops from two states couldn't find her to serve bench warrants!

Amazing!

In a blatant act of judicial vindictiveness and prosecutorial petulance, a witness is punished and humiliated for coming to court and speaking the truth.

In such a case, the law is naught but a tool of state repression, and the statute of limitations nothing but a forgotten memory.

Just like "Justice"

Judges of Death

A fair trial in a fair tribunal is a basic requirement of due process. Fairness of course requires an absence of actual bias in the trial of cases. But our system of law has always endeavored to prevent even the probability of unfairness...[T]o perform its high function in the best way "justice must satisfy the appearance of justice."-In re Murchison, US Supreme Court (1955)

If you stop the average American on the street, Black or white, and ask them about the U.S. Constitutional right to adequate counsel, most would agree easily that such a right is an important Constitutional guarantee, one long accepted by the people.

But, what is a right, even one written on paper, and even on a piece of paper that is known and revered as a Constitution, in comparison to what happened, and what continues to happen, in real life?

Consider the following real-life cases in front of American judges;

1) A lawyer, fresh out of law school, who never took classes in criminal law, criminal procedure, or trial advocacy while in law school; who never tried a jury or felony trial, was appointed to represent a man charged with a capital case, facing death (see *Paradis v. Arave*, 954 F.2d 1483, 1490-91(9th Cir. 1992)

2) Can a lawyer who was an alcoholic, who was arrested while en route to court one morning, and found to have a blood alcohol level of 0.27mg/1, meaningfully represent a man facing a death sentence that day? The California Appeals Court, in *People v. Garrison*, 765 p.2d 419 (Cal. 1989) found it O.K.

3) Can a lawyer who is a drug addict, hyped up on amphetamines and other drugs, and who later pleads guilty to state and federal drug charges (after the trial) have been, in any way, a meaningful advocate for his client facing death (see Stephen B. Bright, *Counsel for the Poor: The Death Sentence Not for the Worst Crime but of the Worst Lawyer*, 103 Yale L.J. 1835 (1994)?

Some supreme courts have said yes.

4) Is it fair that a lawyer can refer to a client as "a little old nigger boy" to a jury in a capital case (see *Goodwin v. Balkcom*, 684 F.2d 794 (11th Cir. 1982)?

Real cases. Real life. Real law, as applied to the lives and liberties of real people, who were tried, or appealed their cases before political tribunals masquerading as courts of equity, where "justice" is just a word carved on the marble facade, and where politics is the guiding force and engine that determines every result.

What is the difference between a politician and a judge? When one researches this question the answer becomes abundantly clear. Nothing.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that these political pressures have a significant impact on the fairness and integrity of capital trials. When presiding over a highly publicized capital case, a judge who declines to hand down a sentence of death, or who insists on upholding the Bill of Rights, may thereby sign his own political death warrant. In such circumstances, state court judges who desire to remain in office are no more able to protect the accused in a criminal case than elected judges have been to protect the civil rights of racial minorities against majority sentiment.

As Justice Stevens observed, "Not surprisingly, given the political pressures they face, judges are far more likely than juries to impose the death penalty." (From *Judges and the Politics of Death*, 75 Boston U.L.R. 759 (1995), pp. 765-766)(Also, *Harris v. Alabama*, 115 S. Ct. 1031 (1995) (Dissenting Opin.)

When one looks at it, one learns that judges are, above all, politicians. That is the case in Philadelphia as well:

A study of capital cases in Philadelphia found that "Philadelphia's poor defendants often find themselves being represented by ward leaders, ward committeemen, failed politicians, the sons of judges and party leaders, and contributors to the judges' election campaign." The lawyer who received the most appointments one year to homicide cases in Philadelphia was a former judge whom the state's supreme court removed from the bench for receiving union money. He handled thirty-four murder cases in that year and submitted bills for \$84,650 for fees and expenses.

As might be expected, treating the assignment of criminal cases as part of a judicial patronage system does not always result in the best legal representation. The study of capital cases in Philadelphia found that "even officials in charge of the system say they wouldn't want to be represented I Traffic Court by some of the people appointed to defend poor people accused of murder." [P.803]

What kind of law is that?

LEGALIZED COP VIOLENCE

by Mumia Abu-Jamal
(Column Written, Feb. 10, 1999. Copyright 1999, Mumia Abu-Jamal)

"When a gang member is beaten by persons unknown in a mixed neighborhood, and the black gangs begin terrorizing WHITES, it is called racism, a bunch of cops can ride through black neighborhoods all day beatin' ass, and call it law, when a bunch of blacks beat one of these cops' ass it's called mob violence."

JOHN AFRICA (May 1967)

A young woman, engulfed in a diabetic coma while sitting in her car, is repeatedly shot by a corps of cops, who say they are threatened by the young

They are an armed force organized to protect the interests of the established, and those who own capital. The history of labor in this country is splattered by the blood of trade unionists who were beaten, shot and crushed to the earth for striking against the trusts, combinations, and megacorporations of capital.

woman. Tyeshia Miller, of Riverside, California, becomes a statistic.

A young man sitting in his car in North Philly is surrounded by a phalanx of armed cops, whose guns are pointed at him from all points. He is ordered to raise his hands. When he does so, he is shot to death by one of the cops, who insists he thought he saw a gun. The 18-year old is unarmed. Dontae Dawson becomes a statistic.

An emigrant from the West African nation of Senegal comes to America, taking an apartment in New York's Bronx Borough. When four NYPD cops approach

his door, reportedly because of a suspected rape (he was not a suspect), he is shot at 41 times. Nineteen shots hit him. Amadou Diallo was unarmed, and will never return to West Africa.

In case after case after case, in city after city, from coast to coast, such cases arise with alarming regularity, worsened by the realization that, in most cases, cops who have committed these acts, that if committed by others would constitute high crimes, will face no serious prosecution, if any prosecution at all.

They are, the corporate media assures us, "just doing their jobs", "under an awful lot of pressure", or "in fear", and therefore justified in what they do. In the language

of the media, the very media that make their millions off of the punishment industry calling for the vilest sentences known to man, turn, in the twinkling of an eye, into paragons of mercy, who lament that the "fine young men" who "served their community" are in "trouble", or have "suffered enough."

The suffering of the slain, because they are young, and black, are all but forgotten in this unholy algebra that devalues Black life, while heightening the worth of the assailants because they work for the state.

The worst lie that is often trotted out when such cases occur is when politicians and media people sing the praises of such people, who are called, by virtue of their jobs, "public servants." Since when have servants (of any kind) acted in the vile, arrogant, monstrous manner that many of these cops do in Black, Hispanic and poor communities? Since when have such servants been in the position to slaughter,



A wounded Mumia lies near death in a Philly hospital

shoot, humiliate and imprison the very public they are sworn to serve?

They are servants, if at all, of the political structures of which they are a part, not of the people. They are servants, if at all, of the state. They serve the interests of capital, of the wealthy, of those who run this system from their bank vaults and corporate offices.

They do not serve the poor, the powerless, nor the uninfluential.

They never have.

They are an armed force organized to protect the interests of the established, and those who own capital. The history of labor in this country is splattered by the blood of trade unionists who were beaten, shot and crushed to the earth for striking against the trusts, combinations, and megacorporations of capital. Who did the beating? The shooting? The crushing? The cops, who served the interests of a state that declared, as did the Supreme Court, that unions were "criminal conspiracies", and that "The Constitution was... based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are ante-

rior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities" [from Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward, THE NEW CLASS WAR: REAGAN'S ATTACK ON THE WELFARE STATE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (1982), citing Charles A. Beard, AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES (1965)].

Capital's voice (the media) and their agents (the politicians) unite in a chorus of support for their legalized killers, who bomb babies with impunity (remember May 13, 1985 - Philadelphia), who shoot unarmed kids in their cars, and unarmed African emigrants, whose only capital crime is being Black in modern-day America. This legalized violence that they do daily proves that violence is not a problem to the system - when it is their's against the people.

Mumia Abu-Jamal

LET MUMIA ABU-JAMAL GO HOME

By CHRIS OBANYA

Mark Anthony, the "noblest" man in Rome and one of the lead characters in "Julius Caesar" expressed thus:

"Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears.

I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.

The evil that men do lives after them, the good is often interred with their bones.

So, let it be with Caesar..."

In Philadelphia, a scenario has been planned for the month October in a theater of the absurd, a place they call the execution chamber.

On a certain day in the tenth month of the year, nineteen hundred and ninety

nine, a forty-seven year old helpless man will be escorted from solitary confinement in chains and shackles to an isolated room with witnesses. The very same people that tried him in a "Kangaroo" court. Prior to this scene, many dress and technical rehearsals must have been held to set the stage for an execution of a man whose case, the prosecution did not and has not proved beyond reasonable doubts.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was accused of the shooting death of a Police officer, Daniel Faulkner sometime on December 9, 1981. One year after, in a Philadelphia court with Judge Albert Sabo, a man with a notorious death sentence record, presiding Mumia was sentenced to breath no more.

Seventeen years after that judgement,

pronounced by a man who was and still is a member of the Fraternal Order of Police, Mumia still breaths, only that the air is no longer fresh, the oxygen has been fouled by the scent of death.

Like Mumia, but in a different circumstance, Anthony Porter was ordered to submit his life to the hangman's noose in 1983, just about 365 days after Mumia's sentence. Reasonable doubts were raised but Porter spent 16 years, virtually the best part of his life in the gallows, awaiting when he would pay homage to the messenger of death.

Recent reports indicate that courtesy of a team of Northwestern University students, their professor, some lawyers as well as investigators, the double-murder mystery was solved and the "algebraic and

geometric" solution pointed to a Chicago laborer. A few weeks ago, Anthony Porter returned to the warm embrace of his aged mother.

Mumia maintains his innocence from behind bars. He says the Philadelphia state violated his rights to self representation since he was capable of performing such functions, by giving him a court-appointed attorney and even preventing his lawyer from getting the needed funds to investigate and prepare a defense.

The two state witnesses, William Singletary and Veronica Jones have since withdrawn their testimonies, saying they were coerced and cajoled by the police into giving false and misleading statements. Other witnesses that would have testified in favor of

Freedom For Mumia Abu-Jamal

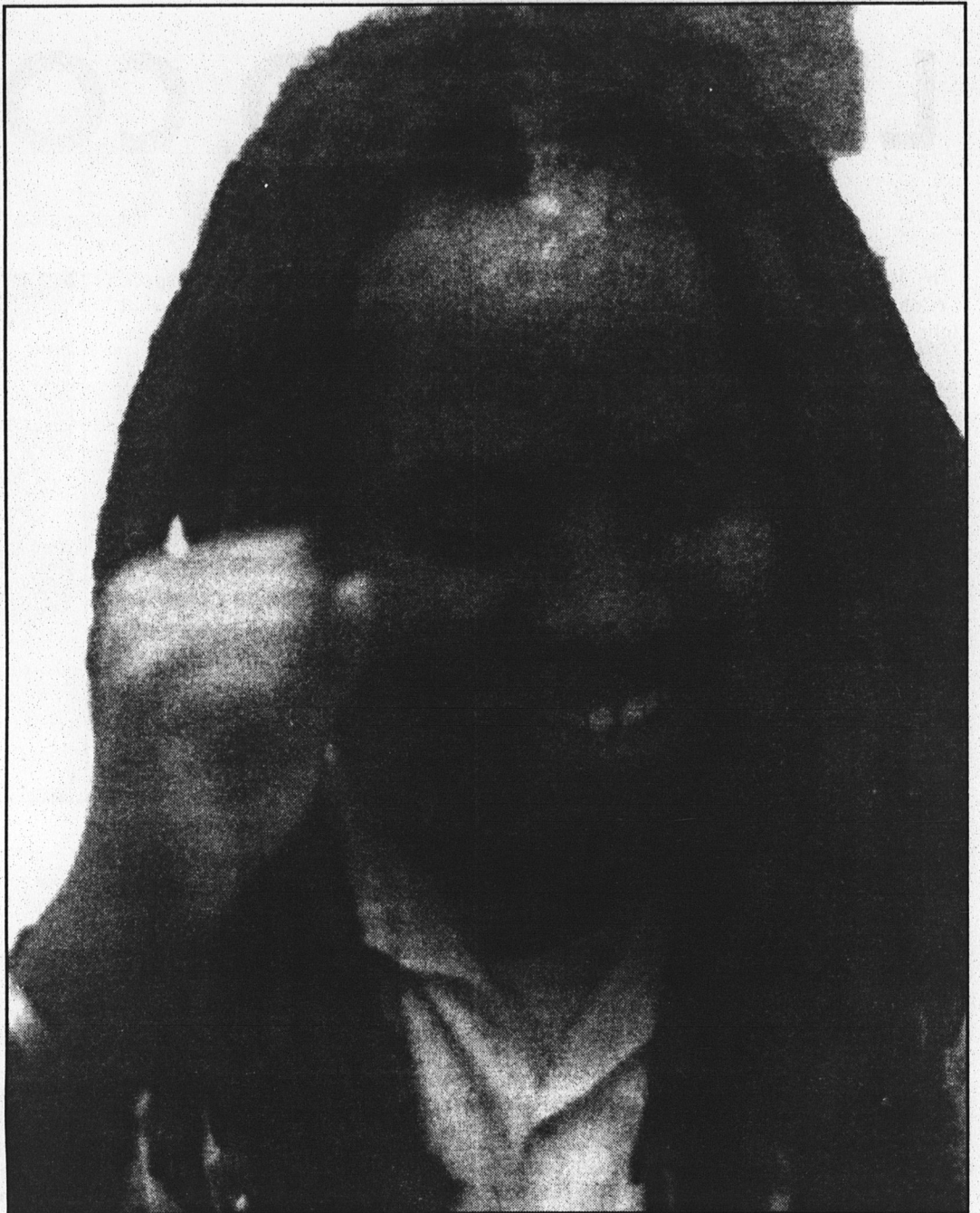
Desmond Tutu and Wole Soyinka
Oppose Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal

South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu has written an open letter to Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge requesting clemency for political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is facing execution. The letter was cosigned by Nigerian author Dr. Wole Soyinka. Both Archbishop Tutu and Dr. Wole Soyinka are Nobel Prize laureates.

The letter refers the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's recent decision to reject Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal appeals. It says: "The law has taken its course, now it is time for humanity to prevail. We earnestly plead with you for clemency. Reach out to him with the gift of life. Wield the authority conferred upon you by the good people of Pennsylvania on behalf of the highest cherished virtues of which humanity is capable—compassion and mercy."

Since late November, this letter has been widely circulated by the Bruderhof community and others. Many prominent people have added their names to the request, including four more Nobel Prize laureates. The following people had signed this clemency appeal as of January 7, 1999:

- Dorothy Allison, author
- Joan Baez, singer
- Harry Belafonte, actor, singer
- Rev. Dr. Joan Campbell, Gen. Sec. National Council of Churches
- Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General
- Congressman John Conyers Jr., MI
- Mairead Corrigan-Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
- Sister Camille D'Arienzo, RSM
- Rev. John Dear, Executive Dir. Fellowship of Reconciliation
- Martin Espada, Professor, University of Mass.
- Danny Glover, actor
- J. Christoph Arnold, author, Elder of the Bruderhof Communities
- Dick Gregory, actor/activist
- Bishop Richard Grein, Episcopal Diocese of New York
- Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit
- John Hume, Member of Parliament for Northern Ireland, 1998 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
- Reverend Jesse Jackson, Rainbow Coalition
- Sanford Kelson, Esq., Pres. Veterans for Peace
- Coretta Scott King
- Barbara Kingsolver, author
- Jonathan Kozol, author
- Congresswoman Barbara Lee, CA
- Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, GA
- Toni Morrison, author
- Sister Helen Prejean, author
- Tim Robbins, actor-producer
- Susan Sarandon, actor
- Martin Sheen, actor
- Sam Sheppard, author
- Mark Taylor, Prof. Princeton Theological Seminary
- Studs Terkel, author
- Lucius Walker, Dir. Pastors for Peace
- Cornel West, Prof. Harvard University
- John Edgar Wideman, author
- Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, author
- Betty Williams, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
- Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake, Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project
- Howard Zinn, historian



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Mumia were allegedly not allowed to come near the courthouse.

Ballistic reports allegedly proved that the life of the late Police Officer was snuffed out with a .44 calibre weapon. The gun that was found on Mumia at the time of arrest was a .38 calibre weapon. Couldn't the jury distinguish between these weapons?

Many other reasonable doubts raised to prove Mumia's innocence were thrown out by the Pennsylvania Supreme court which reviewed his case, October 30, 1998, one decade and six years after

judge Sabo's initial sentence in 1982!

If a man could be severely punished for his innocence, in a grossly political manner, and is forced to await execution, it is only judiciously fair to let Mumia go home to his family.

But, to save personal pride and prevent Mumia from claiming damages done to his person, the state will not release him from jail.

The forty-seven year old Mumia says he doesn't want to be released without due process. He says he wants to be tried by a competent court of law, not a

jury of ten whites and two black jurors.

There was an oversight in Anthony Porter's murder case and there are missing links in Mumia's case as well.

All the Philadelphia state, down through the Attorney-General needs to do is to dialogue with the heavily bearded activist and lay its cards before him: "The state is ready to declare a mistrial and let you go home, but we must have your pen on paper that you will not sue thereafter".

If the state does not see this as a way out, they could take their hands off the

case and invite the Feds to investigate further to set the stage for a new trial.

Mumia Abu-Jamal should not and must not be killed. Unlike Mark Anthony in "Julius Caesar", neither did I come to bury Mumia, nor did I come to praise him. But if it meets Mumia's captors to know how Mumia loves the Philadelphia state and the United States as a sovereign nation, the award winning Journalist will be released today, not TOMORROW.

Introduction to Liberation Theology

BY RINI MARHONG

WHAT IS LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Liberation theology is a term that was created in the 1950's to describe the attempt by Latin American theologians to make the gospel relevant to the social, economic and political situation in which many people in Latin America find themselves. In the past Christian doctrine has supported oppressive regimes. These theologians scriptures and the deed of Christ as a wealth of positive, relative and liberating doctrines and ideas that were indeed "good news" for the poor of Latin America. Liberation theology is a solid grass roots movement that was nourished from the hopes and dreams of overpowered people.

Liberation theologians believe that the gospel has to be reread and reinterpreted to make it relevant, refreshing and liberating to the oppressed people living under certain regimes in a particular geographic location at a specific point in history. Ultimately Liberation Theology tries to connect the true meaning of faith with the real situation faced by the global Christian community.

MARXIST LIBERATION THEOLOGY

In 1965 a young Catholic priest was spearheading liberation theology in Colombia named Camillo Torres. "I consider that there are circumstances that do not permit a man to offer himself to God, a priest must fight those circumstances,

and for me they are political... The fundamental decisions have to be political decisions, and these positions are now produced by the minorities and not by the majorities. Because of this the majority must form pressure groups; it must take political power."

Torres was of course speaking about the poor and powerless masses of Latin America when he mentioned the "majority". Though he did not mean the majority coming to power by democratic vote, labor unions or traditional forms of pressure. Torres remains the most dramatic example in Latin America of a "guerrilla priest" His primary goal was to fuse Catholicism and Marxism into a new revolutionary religion that embraced a "theology of violence", to cleanse a corrupted society.

Later that year Camillo "disappeared", and joined the Cuban-backed Marxist guerrillas in the wild Colombian Mountains, and was killed in an encounter with government troops in February 1966.



Sandanista Youth enjoy a game of checkers using bullets.

That was the beginning of the veritable invasion of the Latin American Roman Catholic Church by Marxist who were largely inspired by revolutionary Fidel Castro.

Rome became gradually aware that Latin America, the only part of the developing world that was both Western and Christian, must be saved for Western civilization. Otherwise, the whole underdeveloped world would be lost to Marxism. The Vatican began to fight back. Beginning in the 1960's in Chile, Catholic church-backed Christian Democrat parties began offering a liberal democratic but reformist alternative to the both static, class ridden, strict traditional Catholicism in Latin America and the imminent Marxism.

LATIN AMERICAN CHRISTIANS RESHAPE LIBERATION THEOLOGY

In the past these theologians have felt that the abolition of capitalism and the political shift to socialism was the only answer. During the 1960's there were guerrilla movements, organized unions and popular movements that still were not

successful in demolishing capitalism. Much momentum and sentiment were lost after this period. Also consumerism has greatly affected the liberation theology by the proliferation of shopping malls, the availability of credit cards and the marketing of expensive products such as Nike athletic shoes that are incredibly sought as a status symbol. The new generation of Latin American theologians are "rereading the bible" and are searching for words to describe what Christians have traditionally called the "new creation", a transformation that alters the economic and political spheres. Liberation theology has drifted away from socialism to broaden the scope and attempt to get at the pastoral needs of war ravaged Latin and Central America while still finding effective ways to critique an economy that exploits its people and its resources. With the fall of communism obviously much of the theology of liberation fell as well.

One cardinal explained at the Vatican, "the extraordinary degree to which the pope wants this historical visit (January 1999) to put a cap on all the philosophical and theological confusion that entered the hemisphere from the 1960's until the 1990's with the Marxist backed theology of liberation." The Latin Marxist, he said, "were trying to mix up the theology of redemption with the theology of liberation, to take Christ the Redeemer to Christ the Revolutionary, and to substitute for the institutional Church 'popular church' of the Marxist."

Public History, Public Spectacle

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constitutes a "good Arab" had the dual function of maintaining a general attitude of hostility to all other Arabs and Muslims, and at the same time transforming Hussein — rescuing him in effect from his own Arab history and thereby placing him into a new, universal one: that of being approved by the US.

Without knowing it, the American spectator was given a false context about Hussein and Jordan, Arabs, Muslims, and others, and in the process encouraged to regard the history of Jordan and its king as essentially unravelled, simplified, reduced from and cleansed of all its density and gravity to the status of a dignified funeral attended by a lot of world leaders, especially Americans and Israelis. Such considerable facts and forces as, for instance, power interests, the structure of Jordanian society influenced by the Palestinian conflict, the composition of the state, its army, bureaucracy, failing economy, difficult political future — all these were dissolved, and spun away as so many useless threads whose existence no longer mattered to the powerful story constructed before our very eyes. As Trow remarks, a new "no-context" emerged during the transmission: that this man whose funeral was being shown belonged to legend, idealized history, acceptable heroism, and approved-of reality (in the manner of Princess Die), all of them controlled not by his people, for example, but by the camera, the commentators, and in the end CNN itself.

The troubling thing is that CNN's broadcast represents all that one needs to know about the world, reduced, packaged, and delivered without a trace of conflict or contradiction. Its thought, its sensation, what it sees are insidiously substituted for what the spectator might himself see, feel, think about. This gradual replacement of a private and personal process with a ready-made, manufactured and processed system is nothing less than a hijacking of the mind by a sophisticated apparatus whose purpose is, I believe, deeply ideological. The kernel of this ideology is that "we" define the world, state its purposes and meaning, control its unfolding history. In effect then, the funeral became the occasion for re-asserting control over a distant country, its people, history and departed monarch. And this seizure or hijacking permitted a whole series of further distortions which were later amplified by print journalism.

To give one example: The Nation magazine, a prominent left-liberal weekly journal of opinion for which I write regularly both as music critic and as political commentator (it has a circulation of about 100,000) sought the services of one Milton Viorst, a free-lance journalist who has made the Middle East his speciality over the past 10 years or so. It is clear from what he writes that he is attracted to the Arab and Muslim world (without knowing their languages, by now a common qualification for "experts" on the Middle East!) mainly because he is fascinated as to why

Arabs and Muslims are in a state of prolonged decline and degeneration. In his article for The Nation he described Hussein as a good and unusual leader in that, unlike most Arab leaders in history, he tried to get close to his people. The vast generalisation is astonishing. What does Viorst know about "Arab history?" Where is his research and writing on the subject? Second, according to the sage Viorst, Hussein single-handedly tried to pull Jordan out of the "second-rateness" of the Arab world, its fate for many centuries. I doubt first of all whether any liberal and respectable journal would allow so enormous and hateful a descriptive phrase for any other culture, but it's considered appropriate for the Arabs. The point, though, is that, given the context provided for Hussein by CNN, this vision of him as something outside the ordinary framework of the other Arabs is now the acceptable one. Interestingly, Viorst further compliments the late king on his achievement in providing his people with "clean water", no doubt forgetting the recent water scandal that plagued Jordan just a few months ago. Never mind: facts are less important than the new context adopted unreflectingly by Viorst, whose lack of knowledge, originality, and insight are irrelevant to the "spin" he has taken over from television and the State Department.

This is not a trivial matter. CNN is now watched by Arabs as an authority on the Arabs. With its new position of dominance

goes an uncritical, almost unconscious belief indeed in the spectator that public events are being recorded faithfully as they happen. What we urgently require is a conscious resistance to the framework and its elaboration, a spirit of criticism and sceptical awareness that challenges the new hegemony. Yet unfortunately, this awareness is neither taught in schools nor compensated for by the Arab media, still chained undemocratically to state and corporate interests whose mode is to forbid criticism and disallow open debate. One can take heart, however, that a new generation of intellectuals and young people is not likely to tolerate this state of affairs for long: there are signs everywhere that censorship is under considerable attack. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that a critical response to what can be called the CNN world view will not arise out of simple rejection of it as "imperialist" or as an unwelcome symptom of "globalisation". What is required is the emergence of critical approaches to the media as exemplified in the work of Trow, Pierre Bourdieu, Chomsky and many others. As their work is better known (and a sophisticated Arab critique arises), one hopes that a new interplay will develop between consumers and suppliers of public spectacle. In the meantime, CNN's distortions and misrepresentations will continue, like Britannia in the 19th century, to rule the waves.

Student Militancy in Colonial Outpost

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responded only with harsh repression. In June 22 the police attacked several workers in Guaynabo. The image of a severely injured worker dragged by police over the bloody floor became a symbol of the government's brutal and thoughtless means. This increased popular indignation even more and even leading to rage: the stage was set for a national strike.

The CAOS, in a general assembly with over 3,000 delegates, approved a national strike. It was set to begin on July 7. Students from the UPR apart from assuming the responsibility of closing their university, also decided to organize a music festival in front of Celular Plaza. During more than six hours nearly 20 musical groups, artists, and members of the religious community shared the stage in a show of solidarity with the workers and the national strike that was just beginning. For 48 hours, Puerto Rico saw one of the most

ers decided, without the consent of the majority of their constituency, to go back to work if the government agreed not to take any retaliations against the unions and those who participated in the strike. This was an about-face in their demands. It surprised and demoralized nearly all those who had participated in the struggle including most union members themselves.

In spite of the fact that the final goals were not accomplished there are however some lessons that should not be forgotten. The government's unwillingness to dialogue and its quick resorts to violence was judged with disapproval by most of the people to the extent that some of the members of the ruling party criticized Rosselló for the arrogance shown throughout the whole process. His image was severely affected. He always stressed that he was elected by the majority of the people and he was allowed by law to

make that decision without popular approval, i.e. a referendum, and that at the end of his term people would be given the opportunity of selecting another governor if they wished. This type of authoritarian logic displayed the limits of the political system as it now



important events in its political history in this century. Police reported that in the first day of protest more than a hundred political events such as marches, rallies, and picket lines took place throughout the island nearly simultaneously. The main shopping centers were closed along with most public agencies including education, utilities, and administrative offices. The struggle against the privatization of the PRTC put the entire country to a halt. The national strike was successful in terms of participation, organization and support. However, the final goal, to deter the government from completing the sale, or a middle ground attainment such as the celebration of a referendum, were not achieved. The events of those two days showed that there was a momentum for the struggle and that public support was increasing. However, to achieve these goals even more pressure was needed. And while some, were willing to escalate the struggle, others such as the leaders of the telephone unions were not. Surprisingly, just after the strike, the lead-

is. Plenty of citizens felt engaged and showed their support by joining in some way with those struggling day to day. Student involvement experienced some sort of revitalization as the number of students willing to participate in student government as well as in political organizations has increased considerably throughout the year. Probably, "our loss came after some precious victories," as Gazir Sued, one of the students leaders, put it. He concluded: "this was the most intense political experience for many people, it has left a flavor of disenchantment and disillusionment among some people to realize that we were struggling against something way to big, but every one learned a lot, so many people showed their solidarity and even became a part of. Many of us actually think that maybe it is too early to make a final assessment, each struggle is part of a larger process. We lost a battle, but not the war!"

The Gates

would tell such a sordid tale knowing that it might lower ones view of my IQ It's simple; one day, you might be in this predicament, i.e. owning money to CSI, and I want you to know what might happen to you. I don't know if this was a scam or if the whole thing was out of sheer incompetence, but I do know that if enough people spread this story around, some light might be ahead on this dark corner of CSI money handling. I do know that Mr. Black, the woman at the Registrar and the other people I dealt with at CSI are not the problem. The problem is the SYSTEM, which makes people act the way they do - without compassion or humanity.

Alycia

Child Care Center) and welfare recipients (WEP). In turn, the areas of the CUNY system which have expanded despite of or better, because of, the overall cutbacks - the Administration and Security - will assert their power. We must consistently struggled against these two groups on each battleground that opens up, always focused on a future where we can receive our education free of the harassment of second rate cops and paper pushing Napoleans. The ultimate liberation of working class education will necessarily mean upsetting the repressive balance that currently exists. Securing an educational future for Alycia Parker is small step towards that goal.

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AN
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Why the Working Class Should Rule

by Manjula Wijerama

Those of us who have to rely on selling our labor for a living, know that our lives are incomparably harder than the lives of our bosses. Without the participation of the working class in production there would be no production. All things great and small in society from the glistening skyscraper to the newspaper that you are reading are the products of human labor. In the modern age ushered in by the industrial revolution the ability of humanity to produce the basic necessities for human survival - food, clothing, shelter - and much, much more that can expand the freedom and liberty of the human being has become possible. Unfortunately despite the so-called democratic pretensions of modern society, the vast bulk of humanity exists in utter misery, lacking the very basics of human survival, while a tiny minority has unimaginable wealth and power. Some 360 people in the world have a greater combined income than some 40% of the world's population. How can such massive inequality exist in a truly democratic world? The answer could be summed up in two words - private property.

Capitalist democracy

While countries like America, England, France and Japan call themselves democracies they conveniently leave out the fact they are capitalist democracies. A capitalist democracy is a country in which on the surface every has the same rights but in reality a small minority have effective control of society through their private ownership of factories, farms, banks, land, media, etc. The rest of society works for these owners for wages or salaries. So even though I have the constitutional right to the pursuit of riches my chances of getting there and the chances of a Bill Gates son getting there are astronomically skewed in the latter's favour. But why shouldn't one person control the fate of thousands and millions? To ask the question is to answer it. When IBM decides to lay off 40,000 workers it is not a democratic decision. If working people had their say there would be no 40,000 layoffs. But it is for purpose of efficiency isn't it? First of all what kind of efficiency is it that is measured by the disruption of so many lives, what greater good is served? Profit! The accumulation of more and more money and factories and land and goods by a ever smaller number, this is the greater good that capitalism asks us to sacrifice so much for.

The Capitalist System - Inequality is Systemic

Liberals, and some who even call them-

selves socialists, tell us that this is wrong, that all we have to do is vote for a "non-corrupt", "honest" politician who "cares about the people". We should vote for the Democratic Party they would say. But we all know that there is no such thing as a honest politician, you are more likely to find an honest mechanic. Of course we know that layoffs, budget cuts for public services and the like are not simply the product of the capitalists greed, although there is plenty of that. It is the very nature of capitalist economy that produces such inequality. Capitalist production is competitive. If capitalist A does not produce



at less cost than Capitalist B, then Capitalist A gets gobbled up by Capitalist B. Cutting costs necessarily involves squeezing as much out of the worker per hour as possible. Of course this squeezing is limited by the workers death, so the boss has to be careful he does not squeeze more out of the worker than the bare minimum she needs

to survive. Efficiency under capitalism then is the drive to squeeze more out of the worker in the course of capitalist competition. Another important indicator of what efficiency is under capitalism is people's actual living standards.

The Capitalist Economy - Firing Workers for the Good of the Economy

One would expect with such overwhelming concern for efficiency on the part of the capitalists we would have no hunger, no famines, no children dying of basic diseases, no degradation of the environment, no homelessness. Wrong! We know that getting by and paying the bills is barely what even most Americans do (and Americans are privileged by world standards). We know in America some 40 plus millions of people have no healthcare coverage. We know in NYC there are hundreds of thousands of homeless people. We know that schools are overcrowded and run like prisons. We know that working hard is no guarantee of a job. Yes, we know the society we live in is extremely inefficient for the working class and poor. Efficiency under capitalists is measured by how much more wealth the capitalists can acquire at the expense of working people's lives.

The Capitalist State - If You Don't Like It We Will Kill You

How come such a small minority has so much power over the vast majority of the human race? Are they genetically superior? Even though most of them probably think they are, they still employ a vast infrastructure for maintaining business as usual that includes police, spys (FBI, CIA), special forces (BATE, Secret Service),

armed forces, judges, courts and laws that protect the sanctity of the capitalist wealth and power. But capitalism does not survive by arms alone, although judging by just the US military budget of \$300 billion a year, one would think so. No sir, capitalism wants us to believe in it. Yes, step right up, you too can be filthy rich, all you have to do is don't give a damn about the next guy, after all he is your competition, obey your bosses, love your country and of course love God. Many working people know this is a load of shit, their broken lives are testimony to it but a lot of people still believe, particularly those born into the middle classes. Indeed a whole distinct industry has developed around getting people "motivated" to "get rich". Unscrupulous hucksters like Anthony Robbins make millions off of people looking to get out of their miserable lives.

Capitalist Ethics - "Hate Will Set You Free"

However capitalism knows that the good life, even if it is only the good life of owning a home, a car and taking a vacation once or twice a year is still accessible to only a limited minority. Therefore it has to come up with some reasons why most of us who struggle all our lives never get anywhere. For this purpose capitalism has offered the people a full array of bigotry and chauvinism. Life is hard because of the black people on welfare, the immigrants taking away jobs, foreign countries selling us goods, women having babies, people having sex, union workers being lazy and on and on. No one can accuse the capitalist of not having a vivid imagination. The only problem is it is sick and depraved. Working people frustrated with their daily lot often fall prey to these false ideas and focus their anger on fighting each other victimizing usually the most vulnerable sections of society, the poor, the elderly, women, children, immigrants and "racial minorities". Capitalists in other countries have their own "racial minorities" and favorite whipping boys and all of course have women and children to dump on. While workers swim in this sea of poison released by the capitalist media, government and other social institutions, the capitalists rob us all - black, white, woman and man.

Friends of Capitalism - Wolves in Sheep's Clothing

Although we say correctly that it is the capitalist that poisons us with hatred towards one another this is by no means a direct relationship. We hardly ever see the real capitalists who rule behind the scenes. Many different institutions and salaried Judases are employed in the task of confusing the working class and keeping it divided. Most trade union leaders are a good example of how those claiming to speak for the common persons rights are agents of the capitalists. In NYC Gus Bevona the leader of Local 32B-32J a large maintenance union, receives upwards of \$300,000 in salary alone, not to mention the many "perks" he receives. While this is chump change compared to what the big capitalists make, it is at least six or seven times more than what a union member makes.

The trade union leaders in general wants peace with the capitalist and blame "foreign countries" for taking away American jobs. While they focus on getting American workers to hate people of other lands, the American capitalists are busy laying off workers and busting unions. Then there is the priest who would tell us to turn the other cheek and prey for salvation once we are dead. Then there are the schools who will teach us that Columbus discovered America and that our present society is the highest development of democracy and freedom. Then there is ABC and CNN that would tell us that Arab people are terrorists and black youth are criminals. Then there is Giuliani and Clinton that wage "wars on drugs and crime" but only end up shooting dead unarmed black youth so that they can take more from the poor to give to the rich. It is the simultaneous functioning of all these institutions of capitalism that numb us into believing that its okay to kill hundreds of thousands of workers because they are over their in Iraq, that it is okay to deny assistance to the neediest amongst us.

Capitalism Breeds War...but also Revolution

The twentieth century has seen two world wars and many more that have been waged by competing national capitalism's for a greater control over resources costing millions of valuable lives of working and poor people. Still many of us workers and youth do not buy the capitalist hype about getting rich or hating each other. We struggle to unite all who labor and are oppressed by capitalism for their race or gender to face up to the capitalists and wrest power away from them. This is a struggle that has been taken up by countless millions of workers, youth, farmers and oppressed nationalities all throughout this century.

How is it that we can defeat the capitalists with all their wealth and arms? This takes us back to the fact that labor is the producer of all wealth. If workers refuse to work we can bring the whole capitalist system to a dead stop. We can run production ourselves without the bosses, deciding democratically what society needs to produce. Of course the capitalists will never accept voluntarily giving up their great fortunes and power for the benefit of society. They will use everything in their power to stop us which means ultimately using violence against the workers. That is why we need to build a working class movement that will unite under one banner the great mass of humanity. If the soldiers refuse to shoot their fellow workers and are won over to the goals of the working class how much violence can there be? If workers building and shipping arms take over their factories and shipyards and arm the working class instead, how much violence can there be? However, violence will be inevitable but compared to the daily violence and degradation meted out to working people all over the world, the revolution will be a real salvation. Not one brought about by some deity but by humanity itself for itself.

Next issue - The lessons of previous revolutions.

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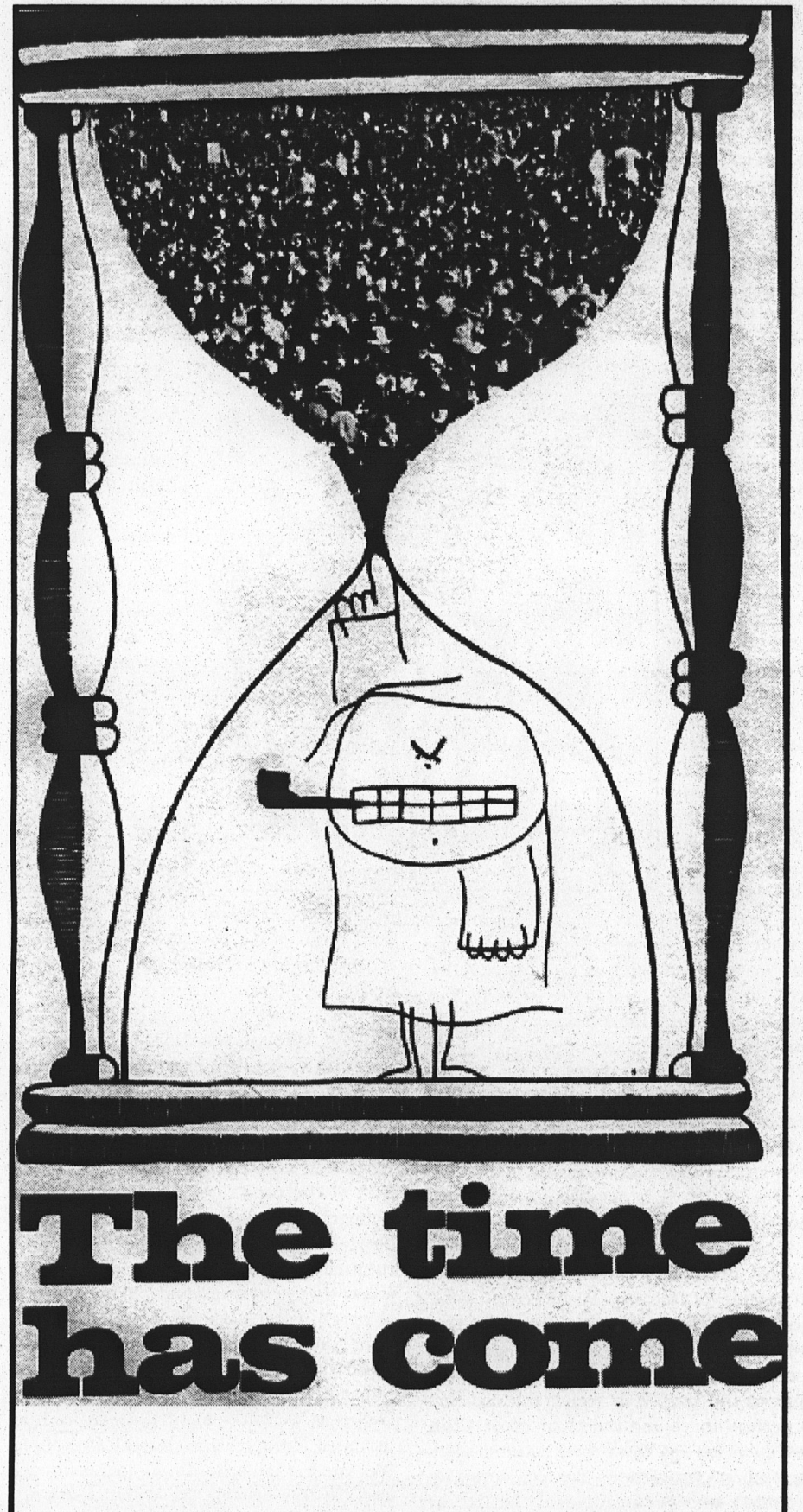
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Anti-Communism: An American Religion

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Tom Joad: Say, what are those "reds" anyway?

Another Okie: A "red" is anyone who wants thirtie cents an hour when they're paying twenty-five.

Religion has held the distinct historical classification of being at once, a dynamic element of unification and the most alienating mechanism for social disintegration.

Throughout the history of the United States of America, liberal and conservative ideologues alike have touted the country's ability to keep separate the religious and the political. Despite the theoretical separation of church from state there have been three main ideological points of unification around which a consensus has been reached among the ruling elite.

The first is the notion of racial superiority which was the bedrock on which the "founding fathers" rested their seemingly egalitarian notions of social equality. The Declaration of Independence shouts out "All men are created equal" while those Americans of African descent were counted as 3/5 of a man. The second notion is that of gender superiority, a notion which till this very day fills the boardrooms of power with white Anglo-Saxons as gender and race intersect. Woman's suffrage is not a time honored institution, its a historically recent phenomenon fought for and won with the blood and sweat of thousands of brave women.

The third and most recent ideological point of unity is that of anti-Communism. Anti-Communism, as an ideological motor for the ruling elite and subsequently as a notion enforced by popular culture among the middle and working classes is the birthchild of a sometimes violent repression of civil rights in the name of the protection of these same rights. As nominally Socialist or Labor Party governments prevail in major industrial powers such as Germany, France and England one wonders how American vot-



Mitchell Palmer, architect of the xenophobic anti-Communist crackdowns known as the "Palmer Raids"

ers are left to confront the two stodgy parties of business each year.

Bolsheviks in the Bathroom

"Bolsheviks may be hiding in your bathroom!" screamed the anti-Communist poster produced at the height of the hysteria manufactured by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 50's. And why not hide in the bathroom? The strident Bolshevik would then have access not only to the people living in the house but the plumber coming in to fix the toilet sure to be another dupe in the struggle to overthrow the government. Only 35 years of political maneuvering and mass anti-Communist propaganda would bring us to space in which a person of McCarthy's intellectual level and political track record would become a national leader.

The Great Proletarian Revolution of 1917 shocked the world. In the throws of the largest war in the history of the world, the Bolshevik party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and enjoying mass support of workers and peasants deposed the Provisional government and established the first workers state the world had ever known. As the shockwaves hit America, the U.S. government had already begun to establish its level of tolerance for subversive activity. The Alien and Sedition Acts, which had originally been put into law in 1798 in response to the French Revolution, were used to jail anyone, "willingly making or conveying false statements with the intent to interfere with the success of the American war effort or to promote the success of its enemies." Socialist leaders such as Eugene V. Debs soon found that the inside of the jail cell was the only place pacifist ideals would be tolerated.

Bolshevik hysteria led, in the years 1919-1920, to a series of raids and deportations known as the Palmer raids (so named after Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer). Although Attorney General

Hoover called on every U.S. citizen to "spot, expose and oppose Communist efforts to infiltrate and capture organizations." Terms such as "red", "Bolshevik" and "pinko" were employed to "expose" Communists to workers.

Palmer played a prominent role in the raids another rising star in the General Intelligence Division, the young J. Edgar Hoover, played a important role. Hoover commented on the raids by saying that, "Reds from this country will be pushed rapidly. Second, third and as many other 'Soviet Arks' as are necessary will be made ready as the convictions proceed." He insisted that the mere mention of a citizen's name on the membership list of a subversive organization was grounds for

arrest. Cedric Belfrage, author of *The American Inquisition*, related that, "Within two years he (Hoover) was credited with more dossiers, fingerprints, and agents within heretical groups than the Tsar's police at its peak."

An empowered J. Edgar Hoover was not the only factor to emerge from the period of the Palmer Raids. The American Legion, which would become the bulwark of Hoover's anti-Communist hunt, was formed in 1919 under the slogan "Deport Bolsheviks! Make America American!" Conservative historian Richard Powers described the American Legion as an "uncomfortably close parallel to the (German) Freikorps." The Freikorps were responsible for the brutal murder of German revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and represented the precursor to the Brown Shirts of the 30's. In November of 1919 Legionnaires castrated, hanged and shot to death Wesley Everest a veteran and member of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Are You Now or Have You Ever Been?

The hysteria produced by the post-Revolution "red scare" was merely a dress rehearsal for the repressive policy which would flower in the late 40's and 50's. Indeed, the soon to be created House on Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) would become the vanguard of American capitalism's struggle against Communism. HUAC also became a springboard for political opportunists looking to solidify their standings as patriotic Americans.

In May 1938, Representative Martin Dies of Texas presented a resolution which called for the creation of a 7 person committee to investigate the following areas:

1) The extent, character and objects of un-American activities in the U.S.

2) The diffusion within the U.S. of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our constitution

3) All other questions in relation there to that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

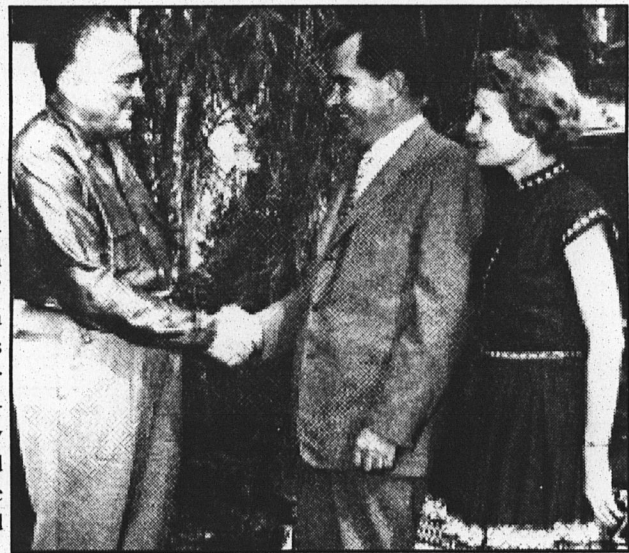
Out of this plan came a fully functioning HUAC which Dies claimed was, "determined to be fair and just to everyone."

For the next 17 years HUAC acted as a modern day witch trial targeting such high profile cases as former New Dealer

Alger Hiss, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and large sections of the Hollywood film industry. These cases literally launched the political careers of future U.S. Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Regan. Regan, playing the role patriotic American to the hilt, provided the names of fellow actors he "suspected" of having Communist connections.

Deeper than this the new religion of anti-Communism moved from a national to a local campaign. For example, state assemblyman Jack Tenney attempted to pass a bill which would ban all "politically controversial subjects" in the classroom. As author George Seldes described in *Witch Hunt: The Techniques and Profit of Red Baiting*: "parliaments, schools, and newspapers have all concurred upon the term red to denote the worst features of atheism, libertinism, murder and brutality. Since then they have consistently applied it to every man and every idea that does not conform, that they do not like, and

that they want to destroy." Anti-Communism, thanks to the apparatus constructed by the ruling class, had now become a deeply ingrained feature of American popular culture. It was transferred from mouths of Reagan, Nixon and Hoover into the hearts and minds of working class Americans.



J. Edgar Hoover greets fellow "red-hunter" Richard Nixon

Red-Baiting: A National Pastime

An ideology cannot exist as an isolated intellectual notion if it is to gain mass appeal. It must be given a functional aspect and put into a plan of action. The shock troops for the campaign against Communism were groups such as the American Legion and the John Birch Society. The technique most widely employed by anti-Communists became known as red-baiting.

In his major work on the anti-Communist campaign, *Masters of Deceit*, Hoover called on every U.S. citizen to "spot, expose and oppose Communist efforts to infiltrate and capture organizations." Terms such as "red", "Bolshevik" and "pinko" were employed to "expose" Communists to workers. Groups like the John Birch Society felt they had, "Truth, reality, human instinct and the overwhelming weight of human desire on our (their) side." Author George Seldes provides a more coherent view of both purpose of red baiting in the minds of the conscious anti-Communist and the transferable capabilities of this act. Seldes writes that "Two

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From 60's Radicals

BY IMAN EL-SAYED, MARCO SAINTI, MICHELLE PAYTON-GARRETT, WILLIAM WHARTON

"After their (the revolutionaries) death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter."

Lenin

Capitalism means everything is for sale. Each and every day we consume commodities, goods which represent the oppression of others. Fancy packaging and a slick marketing campaign can't hide the fact that the Tommy Hillfiger shirt you buy was made with the sweat of a 38 cent an hour sweatshop worker. Late Capitalism has taken this concept to a new level in which we are forced to consume our own revolutionaries. Stamps, cereal boxes and tacos are weapons used for social control.

In order to illustrate this new trend we will examine the cases of Muhammed Ali, Malcolm X, and Che Guevara. What do our examples have in common? They were warriors who lashed out against oppression and subjugation and challenged the mightiest pillar of imperialism - the United States government. The American ruling class, which is increasingly shedding its

Late Capitalism has taken this concept to a new level in which we are forced to consume our own revolutionaries. Stamps, cereal boxes and tacos are weapons used for social control.

national borders, has set its sights on eliminating all forms of opposition. The destruction of the Stalinist state has intensified the exploitation of the American working class through the elimination of national borders through policies like NAFTA, the destruction of the American trade union movement and the elimination of an international ideological opponent.

The last vestiges of social revolt, the radical icons of the 1960's are under direct assault by a system seeking to create a separation between the image and name recognition of revolutionaries and their message. The purpose of this separation is certainly profit driven, however ideological control offers a larger prize for the ruling class.

In this manner we can view the intense class consciousness that exists within the ranks of the ruling class. No matter how low or submerged the struggle between classes appears, the need for social control exists in direct relation to the exploitation of labor. The need for systemic control exists not only with the

physical armed forces of the state, but as a state of psychological warfare aimed at extinguishing dangerous notions. The working class, forced into a position in which it must mail letters, must eat breakfast and must consume fast food, confronts this manufactured reality daily. In order to resist this, we must begin to understand this process and change our history from the destructive, neutering machinations of the ruling class.

The Breakfast of Champions

The blinding thrust of his fists matched by the speed of his footwork propelled a 22-year old named Cassius Clay to the heavyweight title of the world. In contrast to the man he defeated, the quiet, lumbering Sonny Liston, Clay was a flashpoint, representative of the progressively radicalized black youth. White America felt Clay was too brash and outspoken, betraying the deeply imbedded sense of societal roles based on race consciousness. Liston's quiet persona was acceptable but Clay, a young strong Black man with the willingness to shout the world, "I am the greatest!," scared the dickens out of white America. The day after his victory over

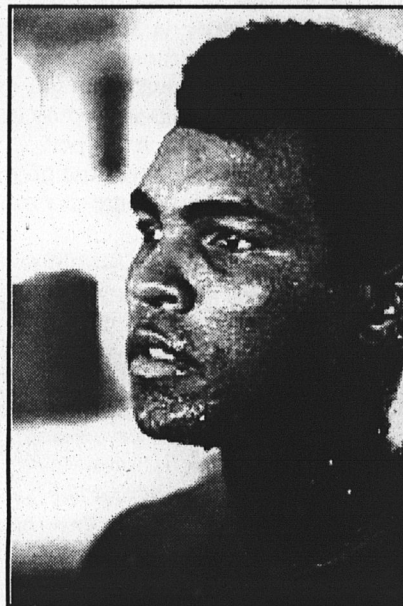
Liston, February 26, 1964, Clay was transformed into Muhammed Ali - a follower of Elijah M u h a m m e d , leader of the Nation of Islam. Ali's conversion to Islam and exposure to the radical teachings of Malcolm X provided

him with the ideology necessary in his coming confrontation with the U.S. government. Ali was quite familiar with the reality of oppression and exploitation from his childhood in Louisville, Kentucky and his first professional boxing contract signed with a group of six white businessmen from Louisville which guaranteed them 50% of all his earnings. As his fighting prowess grew so to did his respect as a leader among the Black community.

1966 and the massive escalation of the war on the Vietnamese provided the conditions for the induction of thousands of American youth and the subsequent radicalization of layers of society against the war. The draft, far from being a neutral policy, was utilized to target outspoken leaders and Ali became a prime target. In 66, the Selective Service classified Ali as 1-A and demanded that he report for duty. Ali did not view military service with the patriotic zeal of many other Americans. Instead he utilized an analysis rooted in the emerging revolutionary Black Nationalist movement of the 60's. Demonstrat-

ing his famed penchant for creating sound bite rhymes perfectly tailored for the media, Ali responded to questions about the war by singing:

"Keep asking me, no matter how



"The Greatest" - Muhammad Ali

long

On the war in Vietnam, I sing this song

I ain't got no quarrel with the Viet Cong"

To Ali and other radicalized layers of the Black community, the liberation movement launched by Communist forces in Vietnam against first French and then U.S. imperialism forces, had a commonality with the oppression faced by Black Americans.

In 1967, Ali informed the Selective Service that as "a minister of the religion of Islam" he would not serve in the U.S. military. He produced sworn testimony by 3,800 people that he was indeed their minister. Despite this, on June 2 of that year, Ali was indicted by a federal grand jury in Houston for draft evasion. An all white jury convicted

him and he was sentenced to a maximum of 5 years in prison and fine of \$10,000. This jury "of his peers" took only 20 minutes to deliberate the question of Ali's guilt. His passport was revoked and his title was stripped from him as a result of the conviction.

Ultimately, Ali's conviction was overturned as a result of his appeal of the 1967 ruling. On June 28, 1970 his conviction was overturned by a vote of 8-0 based on violations of Ali's civil liberties. It was proven in a court of law that Ali was one of the many radicals in the Black National-

ist movement who had been victimized by the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) launched by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). COINTELPRO agents had wiretapped Ali's home telephone as part of their ongoing surveillance program.

28 years later, with Muhammed Ali severely debilitated by Parkinson's disease, corporate America has reached out its arms. Despite being perhaps the greatest athlete of all time, while missing out on 3 years in the prime of his career, Ali's principled political decision about the Vietnamese war was constantly used against him.

However, on February 5, 1999 General Mills Corporation announced that Ali would appear on the cover of a box of their famed breakfast cereal Wheaties. The obvious question of why Ali had been selected now and not 30 years ago was addressed by both Ali and General Mills. Ali stated that the reason for his exclusion was "the Vietnam War. We ended up admitting it was wrong and we shouldn't have been there." Jim Murphy, Marketing Manager for General Mills gave an even more enlightening comment about the Ali box when he stated, "Muhammed Ali, for the character and the equity he represents, was an easy decision for Wheaties now."

The "now" of the question is the point. What is Wheaties publicizing? Corporate America is trying to create two Muhammed Ali's. The first, and most dangerous, Ali was the person who challenged the U.S. state and was rewarded by being wire tapped and bugged. This Ali has no place on the front of a corporate cereal box and is replaced by Ali the athlete able to excel at a sport which glamorizes violence. The corporate Ali is the "easy decision" produced to generate profits and submerge the message of the radical Ali.



Chihuahua front for Capitalism

Something which appears as innocent as a box of unflavored flakes of grain is transformed by corporate America into an ideological weapon. It points to the glaring need for poor and working class people and those intellectuals dedicated to their

cause to control their own histories. Such a radical re-writing of history, whether this history is centuries or hours old, will ensure the principles of Muhammad Ali will achieve dominance over his use of violence to escape from poverty. In this way, we remain vigilant both, awaiting and facilitating the next mass uprising against the system.

CHE GUEVARA, 1928-1967

to 90's Commodities

by Iman El-Sayed

Che Guevara grew up as an early reader of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Freud confined to his house with an asthma problem which he suffered with all his life. After attending Buenos Aires University in 1947, where he studied medicine, he took part in journeys exploring northern Argentina and came into contact with the poor and the remnants of Native Indian tribes. After this experience working among the poorest segments of society, Guevara decided he didn't want to become a middle class practitioner.

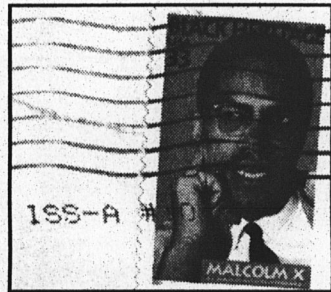
In Guatemala he began writing archaeological articles on Inca and Maya ruins. By 1951 he had become a big reader of the works of Lenin and considered himself a Marxist. He saw the CIA at work, as an agent of counterrevolution, and was convinced that revolution could only be made by armed insurrection. He went to Mexico in September 1954 where he met Fidel Castro.

He joined Castro and his army of peasants at a farm where they were being trained in guerrilla warfare. Guevara quickly became the most aggressive, clever and successful of the guerrilla officers. He became renowned for giving lessons in Leninist education to the officers. Following the successful revolution in Cuba, Guevara became second to Castro in the new government and represented the most radical element of the push towards the establishment of a socialist state.

Solidifying his position as an international revolutionary, Guevara visited Egypt, India, Japan, Pakistan and Yugoslavia following the revolution in Cuba. Guevara also went to the Congo where he worked to assist Patrice Lumumba and other African revolutionaries in the anti-colonial struggle going on in Kinshasa. Many rumors spread about his death but he returned after feeling that his work in Africa had been defeated by the forces of reaction. His final revolutionary activity came in Bolivia where he was captured by the CIA and a Bolivian army unit and shot the next day. At the end of June 1997, his remains were found near Vallegrande, Bolivia and returned to Cuba.

Che Guevara has inspired millions of revolutionary fighters around the world. His writings have been published in books in many languages and many revolutionary groups have used them. Now corporate America is attempting to steal his revolutionary status. In revolutionary circles he is known as a key element in the Cuban revolution but in the Taco Bell commercials his work is used as a source of comedy. For instance in one Taco Bell

commercial a scraggly dog, who is supposed to represent Guevara, leads a group of peasants to their liberation. This commercial is very offensive to anyone who understand the oppression faced by peasants throughout the globe. These people have seen the worst in their life and a Burrito or a Gordita will not provide independence. What is dangerous is that young people who see these commercials may view Che Guevara as a chihuahua dog instead of a freedom fighter and comply with their oppressors.



Can the white man finally stamp out Malcolm?

Stamping out Mal-

com X

by Marco Sainte Jr. and Michele Payton-Garrett

By the time you read this, February will be over, with it all the usual media, token handouts, hypocritical speeches, and television specials that help to support "black history month". One of the more memorable events was the unveiling of the Malcolm X stamp at the Apollo Theater. This

Malcom X was too much of a straight shooter, too much of an exposor of government BS to ever be comemorated by them.

is pretty strange, considering that the same government that had tried it's hardest to villify this man, is now supposedly honoring him. Malcom X was too much of a straight shooter, too much of an exposor of government BS to ever be comemorated by them. Giving him a stamp is a nice and simple way of undermining his message and influence the masses, though it may not seem that way to the casual observer.

While everyone else was saying that someday things will get better during the civil rights movement, Malcolm X was just about the only leader who was telling his people, and anyone else who would listen, how the government was really works. He spoke of the importance of voting; how the black vote was instrumental in bringing Kennedy and the Democrats into power, and how they didn't get anything

out of it;

"You're the one who put Kennedy in Washington...It was the fact that you threw 80% of your vote's behind the Democrats, that put the Democrats in the White House...despite the fact that you are in a position to be the determining factor, what do you get out of it?...You put them first and they put you last. Cause you're a chump! A political chump...the party that you backed, controls two thirds of the house of representatives AND the senate, and STILL they can't keep their promise to you, cause you're a chump."

He was also the only one at that time to expose the fact that there was really no split between northern and southern democrats. Since most of the government was being run by southern legislators, the power of the dems came from the south. This helped to explain why even though black americans helped to vote the Democrats in the were still being ignored and abused.

"I was in wash. a couple of weeks ago, while the senators were phillobustering. and I noticed in the back of the senate a huge map. And on this map it showed the distribution of negroes in america and suprisingly the senators that were involved in the philobuster, were from the states where there were the most negroes. ...those senators from those states know that if the negroes from those states can vote, those senators are down the drain.

Malcolm was not afraid to attack the president, Lyndon Johnson, for political trickery, again something not done by many other leaders:

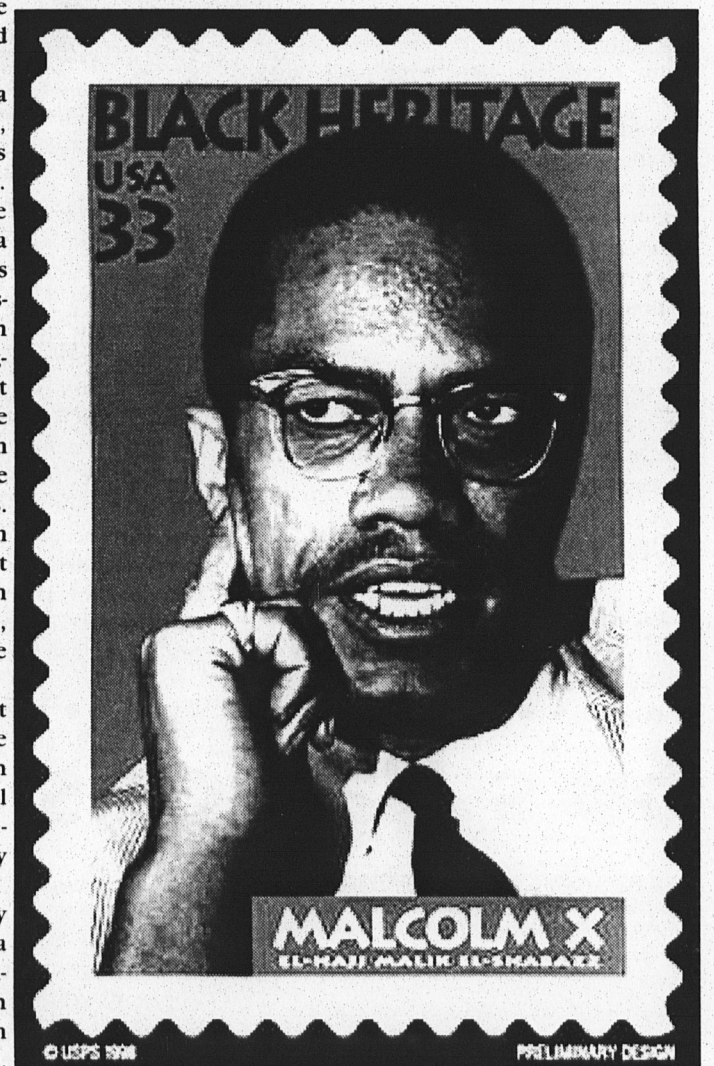
"I've said and I'll say it again; you've got a president, who's nothing but a southern segregationist. From the State of Texas. They'll lynch you in texas as quick as they'll lynch you in Mississippi. Only in Texas, they'll

lynch you with a Texas accent, in Mississippi they'll lynch you with a Mississippi accent. and the first thing the cracker does when he comes in power he takes all the negro leaders, and invites them for coffee, to show that he's alright. And those Uncle Tom's can't pass up the coffee. They come away from the coffee

table, telling you and me that this man is all right, cause he's from the south, and since he's from the south he can deal with the south."

As you can see, Malcom X had some pretty harsh words for the United States government, and had no qualms about speaking out. He kept exposing the injustices of the nation and the government to the point where they tried every thing they could to defame and get rid of him. They tried to denounce him in African countries, they tapped his phone, made sure that the media did not have a kind word for him, and had him tailed by CIA agents. The government hounded him all the way up to his assassination, an action with some evidence of government involvement.

Now they want to give him a stamp. The ad for the stamp from the US postal Service says, "His carismatic presence,



Does the U.S. government endorse Malcolm or are they just attempting to control his legacy?

firey oratory and brilliant mind encouraged black Americans to take pride in their African roots." How funny; it was these very characteristics that made him such a threat to this government in the first place. Intelligent people have no place in political matters, they tend to

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"The Power of Truth is Final"

25 Years on the MOVE

by Leslie Ann Alvaradous

A right fist raised to the sky indicates "Power to the People," the shouts and cries of the oppressed echo into the streets to Capital Hill. Every unliberated minority wanted equality. These were the signs that the times were changing.

During the 1960's through the 1970's strong radical organizations developed to improve African American status in the fascistic, segregated White America. Among these groups were the MOVE Community. Each group had different practices, and beliefs but they all shared something in common equality and justice for the Black community.

During the early 1970's, the MOVE Community developed in Philadelphia. The meaning of MOVE is working and being active, MOVE is the meaning of life. Members of MOVE adopted the surname Africa and grew dreadlocked hair. "Our hair is left the way nature intended, uncombed and uncut". The government, media and right wing politicians portrayed MOVE's cultural and political ideologies as a threat to the community. These groups tried to annihilate the MOVE community through any means possible. Some of their tactics included spreading lies about the people in MOVE, wrongful imprisonment, assassinations and constant brutality.

The soulful and afro-centric appearance of MOVE made them distinct from the average person. MOVE received different reactions about their looks but it never discouraged them.

The Cultural and Political Ideologies of MOVE

MOVE combined their cultural and political ideologies to form a unique and effective movement. The cultural ideolo-

gies of MOVE were caring for life in its totality both human or animal. Scrubbing



Delbert Africa is assaulted by the Philly cops

and sweeping the floors, as well as walking and running the dogs were some of the daily chores MOVE did to maintain their bodies health and vitality. Maintenance of the body was very important for the MOVE organization. A strong body is a revolutionary body.

In the MOVE community, a revolutionary family united and helped the household move in one positive direction. MOVE did not believe in the institution of marriage, because it is not a natural law. It is a social institution they did not conform to. However, they still practiced monogamy. The most prize possession of the MOVE movement was their children.

Their children were raised to be stronger and healthier than their parents because they were considered to be MOVE's next generation of revolutionaries. "We don't send them off to school for the system brainwashing and indoctrination. We stay close to our children and they stay close to us".

One of the main political ideologies of MOVE was self defense. Defending themselves and their rights from the racist police, government and the media. Another political ideology of MOVE was being a Revolutionary, which means having the commitment to do right through helping the community. In MOVE's theory a revolutionary cannot be envious, a domestic abuser, drug user, or a miser. People are not committed to the struggle if they do these things. MOVE believes in "Natural Law", which allows people to govern themselves. Man-made laws do not apply to every one, they are unequal, discriminatory and are always being amended.

State Annihilation Tactics

On May 13, 1985 the state, local and federal authorities constructed a plan to bomb the MOVE community house. Between the hours of 6:00 and 7:30 am the police surrounded the house. They threw tear gas and fired 10,000 rounds of ammunition in the house. The F.B.I tried to blast through the walls with military explosives knowing there were people inside the house. None of these tactics forced MOVE out of their

house.

Later that afternoon, a state police helicopter dropped a bomb on the roof of the MOVE house. This ignited a massive fire, that officials wickedly allowed to burn. The fire spread to adjacent houses and the entire block of 60 homes were burnt down. The bombing of MOVE resulted in the death of six adults and five children. The media reported the incident but no action was taken against the authorities. The F.B.I., state and local authorities were not imprisoned for their crimes. They went free. This is another demonstration of how unequal the justice system is.

The Purpose Of MOVE

MOVE fought for the power of the oppressed masses. They challenged people to think and be critical. They exposed police brutality and encouraged people to be revolutionaries. My brothers and sisters fight fascism, educate yourselves



1985 bombing of the MOVE house resulted in a fire which destroyed 61 houses

and become a radical. In order to fight the oppression we need to work collectively.

"The Power Of Truth Is Final On The Move".

60's Radicals 90's Commodities

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expose too much. Just think about some of the "leaders" we have; how many of them do YOU think have a high I.Q and are courageous enough to use it?

So why give a stamp to someone that is considered a menace?

After his death, Malcom X's words stirred many a black revolutionary's heart to fight for the freedom of their people. The end result was a rise in black pride, consciousness, and revolutionary groups, the most popular of which was the Black Panther Party. There had to be some way to nullify this man and his message, because even from beyond the grave he was causing trouble for his oppressors.

Action was taken by both black and

white leaders to denounce Malcom and his message. They called him an extremist and a racist. They've done that before, but now that he was dead, he couldn't defend his name, which was vanishing from the lips of "civil rights activists, save in either a dry and brief acknowledgement or condemnation. His name wasn't even in encyclopedias, save for a short paragraph in the index. By the 80's, what group of people still reading his words were strong enough to really spread his ideas?

In late 1992, independent film director Spike Lee, supposedly in an attempt to bring back interest in the influential speaker, released the movie "Malcolm X". It was widely watched by Black Americans and for a while he was the subject of debate among a few circles, bringing a small

rekindling of Black pride. Unfortunately, in an attempt to hype up the movie, he was transformed into a marketing icon. Caps, Tee-shirts, book bags, etc, all bore the letter "X", and almost everyone was wearing them. It became the cool thing to do, a fad. As with all fads, the interest didn't last. Being interested in your culture and history doesn't stay "cool" for long, and all the "X" paraphernalia was soon put aside. If the reader feels we are wrong in our assessment of the the popularity of Black History, ask yourself this; what ever happened to groups like Public Enemy, Poor Righteous Teachers, the X-Clan, etc...

Now that the fever for this man has died down, the last nail in the coffin is the stamp. When someone is put on a stamp, it's like a final remembrance. People see

almost like a final goal, the persons legacy is finally preserved. The fight for recognition over, they can now move on. To this day people are still confused as to what Malcom's message actually was. If his work were more widely known and understood, things might be a little different around here. If we were to really commemorate Malcom X, we'd do better by making his ideas more well known, not just his image. Proof of this is shown during an incident in Washington DC in the year of 1994. A white boy was seen wearing an "X" cap, upon which he was asked did he know about him. The child had no clue who Malcom X was; he thought the "X" stood for "X-Men", his favorite comic book.

“Ready For the Revolution”

A Tribute to Kwame Ture

THIS IS AN EDITED VERSION OF
AN ARTICLE BY
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER
NOVEMBER 29, 1998

Born Stokely Carmichael, Kwame Ture was part of a whole generation of revolutionaries molded by the intense fires of struggle in the '60s. He emerged as a leader who embodied and advanced the “spirit of the times.” A young rebel who hated the system, loved the people and bravely fought against injustice. He met the challenges of an historic juncture—leading the people as the Civil Rights Movement gave way to the Black Liberation struggles of the '60s.

Awakening in the South

Stokely Carmichael was born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and came to live in Harlem and then the East Bronx with his family when he was 11 years old. When he



SNCC Activist Stokely Carmichael

gained admission to the elite Bronx High School of Science he was already searching for radical ideas and philosophy. He remembers that while some of his old friends were reading the funnies, “I was trying to dig Darwin and Marx.”

Stokely entered Howard University in Washington in 1960 and became a political activist on campus. His freshman year ended in the spring of 1961—the same time the Freedom Rides began in the South. Like many others around the country Stokely joined the struggle to challenge segregated interstate travel in the South. Groups of Black and white activists took dangerous bus rides, knowing they faced the reactionary violence of the Ku Klux Klan and Southern sheriffs. Freedom Riders were often arrested when they reached their destinations. Stokely spent 49 days in the infamous Parchman Penitentiary in Mississippi where he was beaten constantly—the first of what was to be over 30 times he ended up in jail during the Civil Rights Movement.

But Stokely and other young college students were undeterred by the KKK, police brutality and jail. They kept coming to Mississippi—across four time zones and deep cultural gaps, knowing that going up against Jim Crow could cost you your life. They came to build freedom schools, register Black voters, set up clinics and address other problems of poverty and racism. This was a movement that changed people's lives. Stokely returned every

summer to the struggle in Mississippi until he graduated from Howard University in 1964. Then he went to the South to stay.

As a full-time organizer with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Stokely became project director for the Second Congressional District—Mississippi Delta, cotton country, where two-thirds of the population was Black and virtually none was registered to vote. Stokely said, “Our work was to go into a little town or a little village where nobody knew us. We just come to tell them we're looking for the strongest people here who can put us up, give us a floor space to stay on so we can organize the people. Whoever

gave you that floor space, their houses would be burnt. They would be shot into, they would probably be killed. They certainly would come under all sorts of terrorism. But our job was to find them and of course we would always find them.”

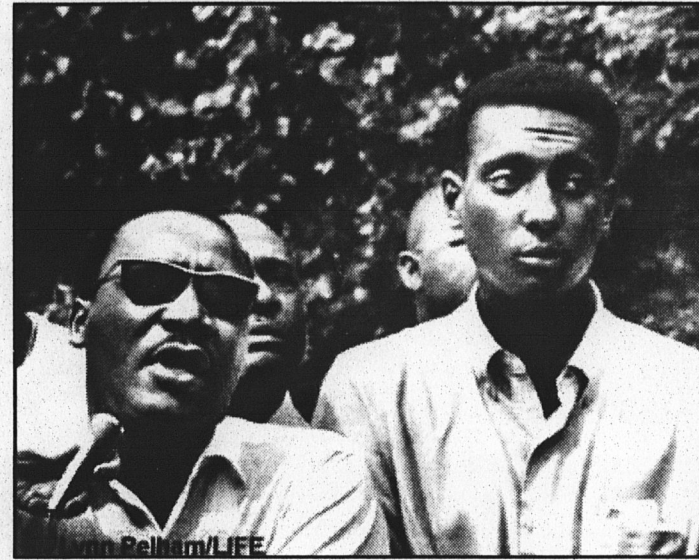
The viciousness of the system radicalized Stokely—his determination and commitment grew as he witnessed protesters beaten, brutalized and sometimes killed just for seeking basic human rights. He recalled watching from his hotel room in a little Alabama town while Black demonstrators were beaten and shocked with cattle prods by the police. Horrified, he said he screamed and could not stop.

Stokely emerged as a dynamic leader of SNCC—the kind of leader who brought fearlessness as well as humor to the struggle. Writer and photographer Gordon Parks said that watching Stokely made him believe that the young man could “stroll through Dixie in broad daylight using the Confederate flag for a handkerchief.” Indeed, Stokely exuded a defiance and confidence people could believe in. Bill Strickland, another SNCC organizer at the time, remembers Stokely as a role model of courage, of humor, of we-can-do-it-ness, of our-time-has-come-ness—a “rolemodel of possibility.”

Stokely said he learned from the people of Mississippi, more than from any distinguished professor, the meaning of courage and dedication. “The important aspect of SNCC,” he said, “was that you had to depend on the people. Learning that has saved me, keeps me going.”

This revolutionary love for the people stayed with Kwame Ture all his life. At a tribute for him in 1997, he said, “I have known that people who are poor will make any sacrifice for those who sacrifice for them. I have known this since I was a young man working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, sometimes staying in the shack that I was given to by the people there. At about two o'clock in the morning they

would knock on the door and say, ‘Come on, get up, they're coming to get you.’ They'd put me in a car, I didn't know whose car it was, and drive me to another shack, put me there. Somebody else would take care of me until the morning. They always sacrificed their lives for me; so I know that once you sacrifice for the peo-



Stokely and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

ple, the people will sacrifice for you.... We are revolutionaries and we are never pessimistic, never; because we know the people are going to win no matter how long it takes. No matter how long it takes.”

Challenge in Lowndes County

Lowndes County in Alabama straddled U.S. 80, the route from Selma to Montgomery. This was real old South—for Black people here, the rustle of movement in the woods and swamps always smelled of danger. In 1965 fewer than 90 white families owned 90 percent of the land. Of the county's Black population, more than half lived below the poverty line, many in unpainted shacks, along dirt roads. Many were sharecroppers or tenant farmers.

ended. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights volunteer from Detroit, and Leroy Moton, a young Black man from Selma, were driving back to Montgomery. A car of four Klansmen drew alongside, shots rang out. Viola Liuzzo was dead.

The next day Stokely went to Lowndes County to form the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. The group took as its logo the black panther—later adopted by the Black Panther Party. Stokely said, “The SNCC people had seen raw terror and they understood properly this raw terror had nothing to do with morality but had to do clearly with power. It was a question of economic power, of the exploitation of our people, and they clearly saw that the route to this liberation came first through political organization of the masses of the people.”

From the beginning, the Civil Rights Movement had to confront the terror of the Klan, cops, state troopers and sheriffs and there was sharp struggle over the question of non-violence and pacifism. Early civil rights leaders like Robert Williams had advocated taking up guns in self-defense. The Deacons for Self-Defense and Justice came to civil rights marches, armed and ready to defend the people. And while Martin Luther King became widely known and promoted for his non-violent, turn-the-other-cheek views, many other organizers in the South came to advocate the right of the people to defend themselves with guns.



Lowndes County, Alabama - birthplace of the Black Panthers

Half the women commuted daily to Montgomery to work for \$4 a day as domestics. The Democratic Party's official motto in Alabama was “White Supremacy.” Not one Black person here was registered to vote. The Klan was active everywhere.

Few people outside Alabama had heard of Lowndes County until the night of March 25, 1965. The famous Selma-to-Montgomery Civil Rights March had just

Black Power!

In June 1966, three weeks before his 25th birthday, Stokely was elected national chairman of SNCC. Shortly after this, he raised his famous cry, “Black Power,” which reverberated around the world.

It was June 16, 1966. Stokely had been arrested earlier in the day. When he got out of jail, 3,000 people were gathered in

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The Poor of the World Resist With Armed Struggle What Is to Be Done In the US?

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

"For the holidays, the multinationals went on a shopping spree in Latin America"

"For Latin policymakers, one downside to the foreign influx is the rise in unemployment as the new owners slash payrolls"

- Business Week Jan 18 1999

The New World Order ushered in by US president Bush after the collapse of the Soviet Union was loudly trumpeted as being the 'end of history', the final triumph of capitalism as a way of life for the

whole world under the fatherly watch of the United States. Unfortunately for the vast majority of humanity this Order has been cataclysmic. The poorest regions of the world including Africa, Asia and Latin America are even poorer today causing



bloody outbreaks of fratricidal conflict, most sanguinely in central Africa where around a million people were butchered in Rwanda in a span of two months. Nearly every African country from Algeria in the north to countries just north of South Africa are embroiled in what can only be described as the complete disintegration of the societies themselves. Pockets of barbarism, where mass killings, state terror, rape and random violence are prevalent are developing and existing ones expanding at an alarming rate.

Some 60 civil wars rage around the world today. This mass violence rocking the new world order is the result of the inability of capitalism to provide for the basic necessities of humanity.

World capitalism, led by the US, has long waged a relentless war to destroy any country or social system that did not follow a "free market" policy. The Soviet Union, the eastern European peoples democracies, Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam have come under the stiffest military and economic pressure from imperialism as they openly espoused some form of socialist economy. This struggle between world capitalism and world socialism represented the main social and political contradiction in the

world since the Russian revolution in 1917 but particularly after WW2 when an increasing number of nations turned toward the socialist model.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 and the restoration of capitalism across Eastern Europe greatly altered the world political economy. Under its bureaucratic dictatorship, China has opened vast sectors of its economy to imperialist plunder. Vietnam, after winning its national independence against first the French and then the US imperialists in 1975 is now opening itself up to those very same invaders. Cuba has also been forced to open up to imperialism by

way of the tourist industry.

Capitalists, in particular imperialist capitalists i.e. the big capitalist powers of the US, Europe and Japan, have used this opportunity to buy the economies of smaller countries for dirt cheap prices. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and the US was also played out throughout the world as the Americans and Soviets provided material relief to poorer countries to win their allegiance. With the fall of the Soviet Union this relief has abruptly slowed to a trickle. The Soviet Union, in a sense, served a buffer between world imperialism and the poor countries. With this buffer gone, imperialism has been on a rampage gobbling up the national resources of poorer countries, forcing open markets and using massive, deadly force against any country that doesn't obey their dictates to the letter.

As a result of this process, the living standards of working people worldwide have plummeted. Imperialist treaties like NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and GATT (General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs) and most recently the MAI (Multinational Agreement on Investment) serve to legalize the ability of the wealthy states of the world to plunder the resources of poor states on a scale not seen since the days of colonialism.

In countries like Mexico, NAFTA has caused enormous dislocation of the poor peasantry and the working class. The common lands that were cultivated by peasants provided meagre sustenance for millions. Increasingly these lands have been taken over for private use by capitalist agro-business. These land enclosures are enforced by paramilitary violence against peasants by big landlords. Combined with the skyrocketing cost of living for the urban working class has created conditions in which the poor have begun to organize armed self defence in the form of the EZLN, known as the Zapatistas, after the great Mexican peasant liberator and the EPA.

Resistance to barbarism

Here are some of the fronts upon which armed resistance is ongoing:

* In Columbia today, the guerillas of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) control 40% of the country. FARC dates back to the 60's and have received renewed impetus from the regions worsening social conditions for the country's poor peasantry.

* In Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, the long oppressed Kurds have battled savage repression by the governments of the respective countries to achieve national self-determination. The PKK, Kurdish Workers Party, and others are waging armed struggle to bring about a Kurdish homeland of Kurdistan.

* In the Israeli Occupied Territories and Lebanon, armed resistance continues against the Zionist expansionist state of Israel but largely on a defensive level.

* In areas of India and Nepal, Maoist guerillas continue to wage armed struggle against the big landlords and their paramilitaries.

* In Sri Lanka, the LTTE (the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) have effective control over roughly 1/3 of the country, in their fight for a separate Tamil state.

* In the Congo, an armed rebellion overthrew the US and French backed dictatorship of Mobutu in 1995 and armed conflict persists to this day between the forces of the newly created Democratic Republic of Congo and the surrounding states that have since turned against the new regime.

* In the Philippines armed struggle is being waged by the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines through its New People's Army against the neo-colonial puppet state.

While the driving forces behind the armed struggle in the New World Order of US global hegemony may be the same i.e. starvation, landlessness, state terror, massive unemployment, epidemic disease, etc

the political character of this resistance is quite varied. In the Middle East, much of the armed resistance is carried out in the name of Islam. Throughout Africa mostly ethnic parameters define the character of the insurgents. In Latin America, socialist ideas continue to animate the peasant guerrillas. In Asia, a mix of ethnic, religious and socialist ideas inform the programs of insurgents. In the former Yugoslavia and across the former Soviet Union, ethnic and religious struggles have broken out.

Indeed, the political character of the ideologies of the armed combatants span from the far right to the far left. Some, like the Islamist groupings, while engaging in a just struggle against racist Zionism are defined by extremely backward positions on women, gays and non-believers. Others like the LTTE of Sri Lanka, fighting against the national oppression of the Tamil people, are defined by a narrow nationalism that amounts to desiring their own separate capitalist state.

The important lesson in surveying the condition of the poor of the world is that capitalism has failed them yet again and a growing segment of the world's poor is entering into open, armed resistance to it. In the urban societies of North America, Europe and Japan the misery of capitalism is more restrained compared to the utter barbarism unleashed by capitalism in the majority of the world. This relative stability combined with the Soviet collapse has led to demoralization and disorientation across a broad spectrum of the left in the wealthy states. However much of this ideological backsliding has occurred amongst currents in the workers movement that had long ago given up on the idea of transforming their societies through mass socialist revolution. In particular the Communist Parties and the Socialist Parties of the imperialist countries

...much of this ideological backsliding has occurred amongst currents in the workers movement that had long ago given up on the idea of transforming their societies through mass socialist revolution.

instead of transforming capitalism had been transformed by capitalism into toothless electoral parties long ago. The fall of the equally rotten Soviet state which too had long ago, under Stalin, given up

on revolutionary socialism, simply accelerated the process of the conversion of the fake left into open adherents of capitalism.

While our strategies and tactics must be based on the conditions we face within the capitalism we live in, our commitment to revolution and our program for revolution must be based on the reality of global capitalism. Otherwise the danger of sliding into ideological confusion based on the exceptional conditions existing for the small percentage of the world's population living in the imperialist countries is

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The Poor of the World Resist With Armed Struggle

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great.

Armed Struggle As Strategy and Tactic

The armed liberation organizations of the oppressed except for the IRA in Northern Ireland and the ETA in the Basque country in Spain exist outside of Europe in the poorer states of the world. These groups follow a range of armed strategy from terrorism to peasant armies to advance their goals. While any who struggle under tyrannical conditions for justice for the people must be hailed for their courage and humanity, we must not hesitate to discuss openly the way forward to victory and importantly, learn from the lessons of those who rose and fell before us.

For revolutionary socialists militarism and violence are abhorrent things. However all revolutionaries understand that the violence of everyday life for the poor and the armed violence of the State cannot be combatted by words and good ideas alone. The strategy of armed insurrection has been part of every successful revolutionary struggle against the capitalist order. However armed struggle, history has taught us, is not a substitute for the mass, organized uprising of the vast majority of toiling people. Attempts at such substitution usually end in disaster for the insurgents as well as for the class that they are trying to liberate. The battlefield of history is littered with the lives of brave men and women who were cut down by the forces of oppression because they picked up the gun before the people were ready

to fight as a whole.

VI Lenin, the leader of the Russian Socialist Revolution, based his struggle for power on the readiness of the working class and the poor peasantry to rise up in arms. Lenin taught that revolution is an art that requires great audacity as well as great patience. Lenin described the conditions for the physical overthrow of the State as follows:

- 1) the division and confusion of the ruling class
- 2) the division and confusion of the middle classes and
- 3) the conscious readiness of the toiling classes to take power.

Lenin's teachings in hand, those of us who reject the capitalist system of exploitation must begin the arduous

process of building a Socialist alternative. In the US, we stand at the centerpiece of the "New World Order." We must therefore work to subvert the machine internally by constantly challenging capitalism at its most vulnerable point—the point of production. There are no shortcuts in this process. Gurrealism will not provide the high level of organization necessary to complete a total transformation of society, especially in the highly industrialized nations like the US. We stand in solidarity with our brothers and sisters carry out just resistance to capitalist domination but will learn from the historical lessons they have provided us as we push the struggle forward.

Ready For the Revolution

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a park in Greenwood, Mississippi. Stokely got up to address the crowd. He said, "This is the 27th time," referring to his arrest, "I ain't going to jail no more... We been saying 'Freedom' for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is Black Power!" The crowd roared. People shouted back, "Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!"

The cry of "Black Power" signaled a crossroads in the struggle. And Stokely became a pivotal figure in the transition from the Civil Rights Movement to the

Back Liberation Struggle. "Black Power" soon echoed in communities from Oakland to Newark. It helped instill a new sense of militancy and pride among Black people, affirming, "We are Black and beautiful"—"Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud!"

As Stokely said, "From birth, Black people are told a set of lies about themselves. We are told that we are lazy—yet I drive through the Delta area of Mississippi and watch Black people picking cotton in the hot sun for fourteen hours. We are told, 'If you work hard, you'll succeed—but if that were true, Black people would own this country. We are oppressed because we are Black—not because we are ignorant, not because we are lazy, not because we're stupid (and got good rhythm), but because we're Black.'"

As leaders like Stokely began to articulate, capitalism is based on exploitation and racism. And in order to get real liberation, the people had to go up against and

make revolution against the system.

Looking back on that period, Stokely said in 1997: "Ultimately, the economic foundations of this country must be shaken if Black people are to control their lives. The colonies of the United States—and this includes the Black ghettos within its borders, North and South—must be liberated. For a century this nation has been like an octopus of exploitation, its tentacles stretching from Mississippi and Harlem to South America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Vietnam; the form of exploitation varies from area to area but the essential result has been the same—a powerful few have been maintained and enriched at the expense of the poor and voiceless colored masses. This pattern must be broken... For racism to die, a totally different America must be born."

From Stokely Carmichael to Kwame Ture

In 1967 Stokely left SNCC and the Black Panther Party named him as its Prime Minister. Soon after this he took his first trip to Africa and met Ghana's President, Kwame Nkrumah, who had been ousted in a military coup and was living in Guinea. Stokely traveled to Northern Vietnam and Cuba, promoting international revolutionary solidarity and calling on Black people in the U.S. to take up guerrilla warfare. He continued to lecture throughout the U.S., speaking out against and exposing the crimes of U.S. imperialism. He also spoke out against Zionism and in support of the Palestinian struggle for liberation. For all this he became a key target in Hoover's infamous FBI COINTELPRO operations aimed at "neutralizing" Black revolutionary leaders.

Stokely's revolutionary nationalist views led him to oppose the Black Panther Party's decision to seek support from and build revolutionary alliances with white

radicals. He began to see the struggle of Black people as a component part of the struggle to liberate Africa. And when Nkrumah asked him to be his political secretary, Stokely accepted and moved to Guinea with his then-wife, South African-born singer and political activist Miriam Makeba. He headed up Nkrumah's All African Peoples Revolutionary Party and soon after this, in a public letter, he announced his resignation from the Black Panther Party. He declared himself a Pan-Africanist with the goal of forming "one cohesive force to wage an unrelenting armed struggle against the white Western empire for the liberation of our people." In 1978, Stokely changed his name to Kwame Ture—to honor Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea's head of state, Ahmed Sekou Toure.

Always "Ready for the Revolution"

Kwame Ture was a promoter of REVOLUTION. He could always be counted on to firmly stand against U.S. imperialism. To his dying day, Kwame Ture continued to stand with the struggle of the people against oppression.

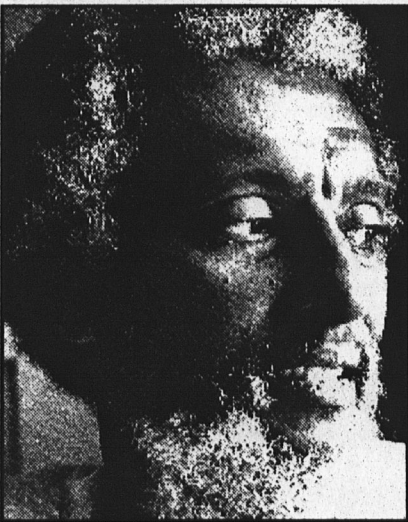
When the masses rose up in 1992 in the L.A. Rebellion, he said, "Do you know what it takes to organize a rebellion in an urban area? Just dream about it. Do you know what it takes? It takes discussion, it takes planning, it takes logistics, it takes movement. I mean seriously, where the Africans in Los Angeles—the decision is unjust against Rodney King—3 o'clock in the afternoon, without the slightest discussion, without the slightest decision, without anything, they all take the street and already it's happening. Attack capitalism with a vengeance, taking lives, wreaking serious damage, keeping the police and the army at bay. But after all it's only a couple of days. It's not organized, it's mobilization, it's spontaneous. Can you imagine what is going to happen when these Africans organize a rebellion in Los Angeles? And it will come, I want to tell you that. I will tell you I'm not a prophet but I'm a revolutionary and my job is to know the future of the political trends and

it is going to come, there is no question about it."

Message to the Youth

Kwame Ture recognized the important role students and youth play in initiating and spreading struggle against the system's status quo. Even after he became weakened by cancer, he continued to lecture throughout campuses in the U.S., calling on youth to step forward and serve the people. He told them:

"You are students and you have a special responsibility here. You must be careful: capitalism will confuse you and let you think that everything is a commodity. Well, during slavery they made me a commodity; so they make everything a commodity. If you're not careful they will let you think that knowledge is a commodity, that you come to the university, pay somebody to acquire it and then when you come out, you let somebody pay you to give it back—otherwise you don't give it up. But knowledge cannot be made into a commodity. Knowledge can never belong to any one person, it belongs to the people... Knowledge has but one function. Its function is to alleviate the sufferings of humanity. It has no other purpose. Any time it is used for any other purpose, it is a deviation from the path of knowledge. Not only is it a deviation, it is a betrayal of the people's struggle... You must come to show that you have the ability to change the world and the only way you can change it is by serving humanity, by advancing progress, by fighting against all forms of injustice." "We want to tell you that we have total faith in the mass of the people and we're convinced of the correctness of our position since the early sixties, and the conditions in America prove it today. Clearly, America is more ripe for revolution in 1997 than it was in 1967."



Kwame Ture - Ready for the Revolution

A Primer on Global Inequality

Multi-Lateral Agreement on Investment

The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) is a treaty being developed by primarily the US through the Paris based OECD group of 29 industrialized countries. It has been called "NAFTA on crack", because it attempts to duplicate the benefits of NAFTA for big corporations within North America all across the world.

A united coalition of some 600 NGO's or Non-Governmental Organizations like environmental and human rights groups were amongst the first to confront this plan and expose it to the wider public. Although this plan will be affecting the poor countries of the world, they have been shut out of the decision making.

Critics claim that by granting Trans National Corporations (TNCs) near unlimited power the MAI poses a grave danger to the living standards and ecologies, par-

ticularly of the poorer countries, as region is played off against region in a global "leveling down". It threatens also to reassert a colonial policy towards poor countries as their governments become sidelined in the determination of economic, social and political policy.

If we reflected upon the economic, social and ethical ramifications of the MAI, they reveal what is perhaps its most salient feature. It challenges the right of a nation to determine its own economic, social and ethical development.

- Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, director, Just World Trust

North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a key mechanism in the new world capitalist order instituted in 1993. It basically legalizes the ability for big corporations, particularly those in the US, to close up shop where they are and pick up and move to a cheap labor pool anywhere in North America without being regulated for labor and environmental standards. The Democratic Party under the leadership of Bill Clinton lead the effort to ram through ("fast track") this blatantly anti-worker treaty.

Bill Clinton claimed that 200,000 new jobs would be created by NAFTA but instead 200,000 jobs have been eliminated because of NAFTA by 1995 alone. The Global Trade Watch project of Public Citizen revealed that every company that had testified before the US Congress that NAFTA will generate more employment has laid off workers. A vice-president of Mattel Corp. testified that NAFTA would have "a very positive effect" and two years later Mattel laid off 520 workers from its Medina, NY plant. Lawrence Bossidy, CEO of AlliedSignal, and head of the USA*NAFTA lobby, similarly promised no job losses in the US. Within two years of NAFTA's passage the Department of Labor

reported the highest number of petitions from workers who had been fired by AlliedSignal due to NAFTA. In Mexico Allied's 3,800 workers earned a combined total of about \$7.8 million in 1995, less than what CEO Bossidy raked in for himself.

Mexico has been cited by the partisans of NAFTA such as Michael Mortimore of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean as a success story. In Mexico well over a million workers have been sacked, 2.5 million workers have crossed the line from poverty to extreme poverty according to the Secretary of Social Development. The average wage in the "maquilas", the companies that have been opening just south of the border, has dropped 50% since 1993. Cholera cases are epidemic, with more cases since NAFTA than in the whole preceding century in Mexico. Meanwhile the crime rate has doubled since 1990 and increased by 50% in 1995 alone in the capital, Mexico City, as the social fabric disintegrates under NAFTA.

Research based on an article by David Morris, NAFTA: A Clear Failure of Public Policy

Anti-Communism: An American Religion

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types of persons thus indiscriminately use the word red: the ignorant, for whom it is a synonym for non-conformity; and the very wise in malice, who know that sticks and stones may break your bones but that names can inspire massacres."

Increasingly, redbaiting became intimately intertwined with other forms of racial and religious prejudice. Early in the century, immigrants from Russia and the Soviet Union offered an easy target due to the fact that they were, as Cedric Belfrage remarked, "aliens twice over." Both Jewish and Communists, the red baiting of the early 20's and 30's took on harshly anti-semitic, xenophobic tones. Despite Hoover's paranoia inducing proclamation that, "most Communists are ordinary looking people, like your seatmate on the bus or a clerk in one of your neighborhood stores," revolutionary organizers continued to emerge from the most oppressed layers of society.

One of the many reasons the Civil Rights movement of the late 50's and 60's

was considered a threat to ruling class was its ability to unite a multi-racial group against segregation. In order to combat this, the HUAC launched an assault on the movement which was both legislative and ideological. Attempts were made to create

MARTIN LUTHER KING.... AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



Above is a Klu Klux Klan leaflet showing Rev. Martin Luther King, Abner Barry, Aubrey Williams and Myles Horton at the Highlander Folk School. The school was a central location for the training of Civil Rights activists.

divisions between newly radicalized students and national civil rights organizations. At Virginia University in Richmond, sit-in group leader Charles Sherrod report-

ed that, "We needed help and somebody suggested we get in touch with CORE. Then somebody else said no, CORE was Communist and we'd better be careful. So we didn't. Then somebody said there were probably Communists in our group, and we started looking around. I didn't even know what Communism was - and then somebody called me a Communist. We were all looking at each other wondering, 'which rock are they under.' We wasted months that way before we finally decided to forget it and go after segregation."

Anti-Communist attitudes also took a more dangerous toll on the Civil Rights movement as Highlander Folk School, the training ground for integrationist activists became the target for a state crackdown. The school was closed down, padlocked and the property was seized by the state of Tennessee. Following this, the school was burned to the ground by white racists. Civil Rights leader Reverend Martin King Jr. was attacked in a series of pamphlets produced by the Christian Crusade and the American Nazi Party entitled "Unmasking Martin Luther King Jr., the Deceiver" and "Is Martin Luther a Communist? The Shocking Record!" While the groups that

produced these pamphlets come as no surprise, they were in violent opposition to integration, the source of their information flowed directly from HUAC and its satellite state committees. This information was then disseminated into the mainstream press, the Birmingham News and the Richmond News Leader. Indeed, the Anti-Communist campaign had lost none of the racist, xenophobic undertones it had acquired at its birth during the Palmer raids. The intensity of the charges leveled against Martin Luther King would escalate as the Civil Rights campaign branched out into broader issues of socio-economic inequality.

the Rockwell Report

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IS MARTIN LUTHER KING A COMMUNIST? THE SHOCKING RECORD!

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Next Month:

- ▲The Damaging Effects of Anti-Communism
- ▲Removing the Ideal From Idealism
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▲Progress? What Progress?

Letters to the Editor

CUBA and the EMBARGO

Within the last few weeks, the Clinton administration has become lenient with regards to travel restrictions, and certain parts of the embargo. The embargo dates back to a revolution led by Fidel Castro during the early 1950's. The embargo against Cuba has had a severe affect on its people. An embargo, issued by the government of the country, may restrict or suspend trade between that country and another nation.

Prior to the regime of Fidel Castro, a dictator named Fulgencio Batista served as president of Cuba from 1940 to 1944. He ruled again from 1952 to 1959. Prior to the regime of Castro, Cuba had been governed by the regime of Batista. Under the Batista regime in the late 1950's Cuba was dominated by foreign business interests. There also was an enormous disparity of wealth between the black and white Cubans. Racism, inequities in education, employment opportunities was rampant throughout Cuba during his regime.

The U.S. embargo is an immoral attempt to punish innocent Cubans. US companies may not trade with Cuba. US citizens are prohibited from travelling to Cuba (except under special circumstances). Congress has passed a bill that makes the embargo even stronger, and imposes sanctions against any country that trades with Cuba. Sometimes a nation uses an embargo against a country whose misconduct has been condemned by the international community. We have taken the most drastic measures imaginable against a country that poses virtually no threat to anyone. We have invaded Cuba (more than once), we have tried to assassinate Fidel Castro (many times), and we have a naval base at Guantayago Bay in Cuba (how would we feel if the former Soviet Union had naval bases on the US mainland?) We are attempting to starve children and other civilians, Why?

One of the key items that we should focus on is why this embargo continues as we speak. For example, China is a Communist country and we've established a trading policy with them (China even has most favored nation trading status, and until after resident went there we wouldn't even recognize them as the legitimate government) We trade with Vietnam, Russia, and most other communist countries. Another key reason is politics. In the US small but fanatical groups can wield disproportionate political power (that was built into the constitution on purpose, to protect the interests of minorities.) There is a large Cuban-American population in Florida that loathes Fidel Castro. Many of the Cuban elite were wealthy landowners or businessmen who had their property seized during the Cuban revolution in the late 1950's. These people will automatically vote against anyone who displays any sympathy with Cuba.

The U.S. government should abolish the embargo because we are interfering with the affairs of a sovereign nation. It isn't pertinent if the United States admires or detests Castro. Also, it isn't our prerogative to choose the leaders of other countries. There are countries with despots as their leaders, and our government does not have an embargo against them. If Cubans or Cuban Americans want democracy restored, then the last thing they should want is the U.S. deciding who can or cannot be in charge there. The U.N. has condemned the US embargo against Cuba. This embargo is yet another facet of the U.S. imperialist project.

Soji Oluwole

FROM THE GRAVE

By: Ndeye K. Seck

Don't bring me flowers now that I'm dead.
My grave and I could care less.
Don't try to do justice after the mess is done.
Don't make the communities more upset than they are.
Didn't I work hard for your country?
Didn't I pay enough taxes?
Didn't I participate in developing your country?
I tried hard for the year that I lived here.
What a reward you gave me!
Ha! 11 bullets.

Who We Are

The College Voice(CV) is a publication committed to the interests of working people. The working class is composed of all those people who own nothing but their ability to perform manual or mental labor and are forced to see it for wage. As students at CUNY, we recognize that we are a part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY has undergone are mirrored by the endless assaults on their jobs, wages and living standards of working people, as well as by the attacks on trade union, democratic and civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses, who make black and white workers fight each other for the crumbs off their table...even though it is the workers who produce all the wealth.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined "feminine" status, that serves to legitimize the special oppression they face as women and the additional exploitation they undergo as workers.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrant workers, who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses job market, and who are thus used to drive all workers wages down.

We oppose every form of bigotry, on principle, as unfitting our species and recognize that the fight for human liberation will be achieved only in the course of combatting these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of short-term profit and plunder by the ruling rich regardless of the consequences for the majority of the world's population.

The CV recognizes that it is the capitalist system, based upon the private ownership of the means of producing the wealth, that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery that the vast majority of our species undergoes across the globe...in the midst of plenty.

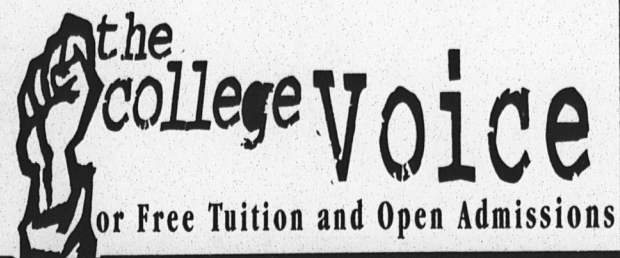
The CV recognizes that this contradiction, far from being some "natural" condition, is one maintained by the armed power of the capitalist state (army, cops and courts) and ideological apparatus (media, church and schools) of the capitalist class that insures the domination of the few over the many; of the bosses, who produce nothing and appropriate everything over the workers, who produce everything but appropriate nothing.

The CV recognizes the possibility and the burning necessity for creating a society in which the productive forces are democratically organized through the cooperative association of workers and production is based on human needs instead of private profits in harmony with the environment.

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a revolutionary party of the working class, based upon a program of militant mass action and class struggle politics, that will organize internationally against world capitalism and its multi- and transnational corporation and fight for a socialist revolution against them.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

I'm in my body,
I ached to death.
You made my friends and family sad.
Look at my mother's face.
My father and brothers lost me forever.
My grandfather predicted my celebrity.
I don't want any posthumous glory.
But at least now I am at peace.
Peace with my mind and my soul.
Though now I am known throughout the world.
Please don't bring me flowers.



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Sue us: Opinions expressed are those of the writers and not necessarily shared by anyone else.

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The Misery of Global Capitalism



Misery for the Many

- X A fifth of the developing world's population goes hungry every night.
- X 30 million people die a year of hunger. 800 million suffer from chronic malnutrition.
- X Enough food is grown in the world to provide each individual with at least 2,700 calories a day.
- X A quarter lacks access to even a basic necessity like clean drinking water.
- X A third lives in a state of abject poverty.
- X 2 billion have anaemia
- X All the world's food and sanitation requirements cost about \$13 billion or less than what the US and Europe spend on perfume.
- X The gap between the rich and the poor doubled world wide between 1960-1991.
- X 12% of the world's population living in the advanced capitalist countries consume 43% of the world's fossil fuel, 64% of the world's paper and 55-60% of aluminum, copper, lead, nickel and tin.
- X The US, with less than 5% of the world's population consume close to 25% of all fossil fuels, over 33% of paper while creating 50% of the world's solid waste.

Workers Squeezed in the US and Europe

- ✓ The US has 32 million people with a life expectancy below 60 years; * 40 million without medical coverage;
- ✓ 45 million living below the poverty line; and
- ✓ 52 million that cannot read or write.
- ✓ The US has the greatest inequality of any industrialized nation.
- ✓ The European Union has 50 million living in poverty and 18 million unemployed.

From Slave Chains to Free... Jails

- ▼ In 1995, out of 22 million black adults, 767,000 were held in prison, 990,000 were on probation and 325,000 others on parole.
- ▼ More than 1/3 of all blacks between 20 and 29 years of age are either in prison, on probation or awaiting trial. In the inner city this is as high as 80%.
- ▼ The "War on Drugs" is a racist war against poor blacks. Blacks account for 13% of drug users but 75% of drug imprisonments.
- ▼ In 1995 6 of 10 jailed were for the possession or dealing of drugs.
- ▼ The prison system is taking the place of a social welfare net for the poorest under capitalism.

Super-Profits for a Handful

- ◆ The top 3 richest individuals in the world have the same income as 48 of the world's poorest countries (25% of the world's countries).
- ◆ 225 people have a total income equal to that of 47% of the world's population or 2.5 billion people.
- ◆ The richest 15 have income that exceeds the total GDP of sub-Saharan Africa.
- ◆ Bill Gates, CEO of Microsoft, with \$51 billion in declared assets, and \$18 billion in spending money has "enough to purchase half a dozen poor countries" according to Martin Khor, "Third World Network"

The Corporations That Own the World

- Fifty-one of the world's hundred largest economies are corporations.
- The combined revenues of GM and Ford is greater than the total income (GDP) of all sub-Saharan Africa.
- The combined revenues of Mitsubishi, Mitsui, ITOCHU, Sumitomo, Marubeni and Nisso Iwai, the six top Japanese trading companies, is equal to the total GDP of all of South America.
- The revenues of the top 500 corporations in the US is equal to about 60% of US GDP.
- Trans-national corporation's (TNC's) hold 90% of the world's technology and product patents.
- The top 100 TNC's control 70% of world trade
- There are 40,000 TNC's in the world today, up from 7000 in 1970.
- More than 50% are based in 5 nations - the US, Japan, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

Information Sources: Third World Network, Le Monde Diplomatique, International Viewpoint, Corporate Watch, United Nations Sources

**Unite and Fight Against the
Enemy of Humanity
Smash Capitalism and Build a
Revolutionary Socialist Alternative!**

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