

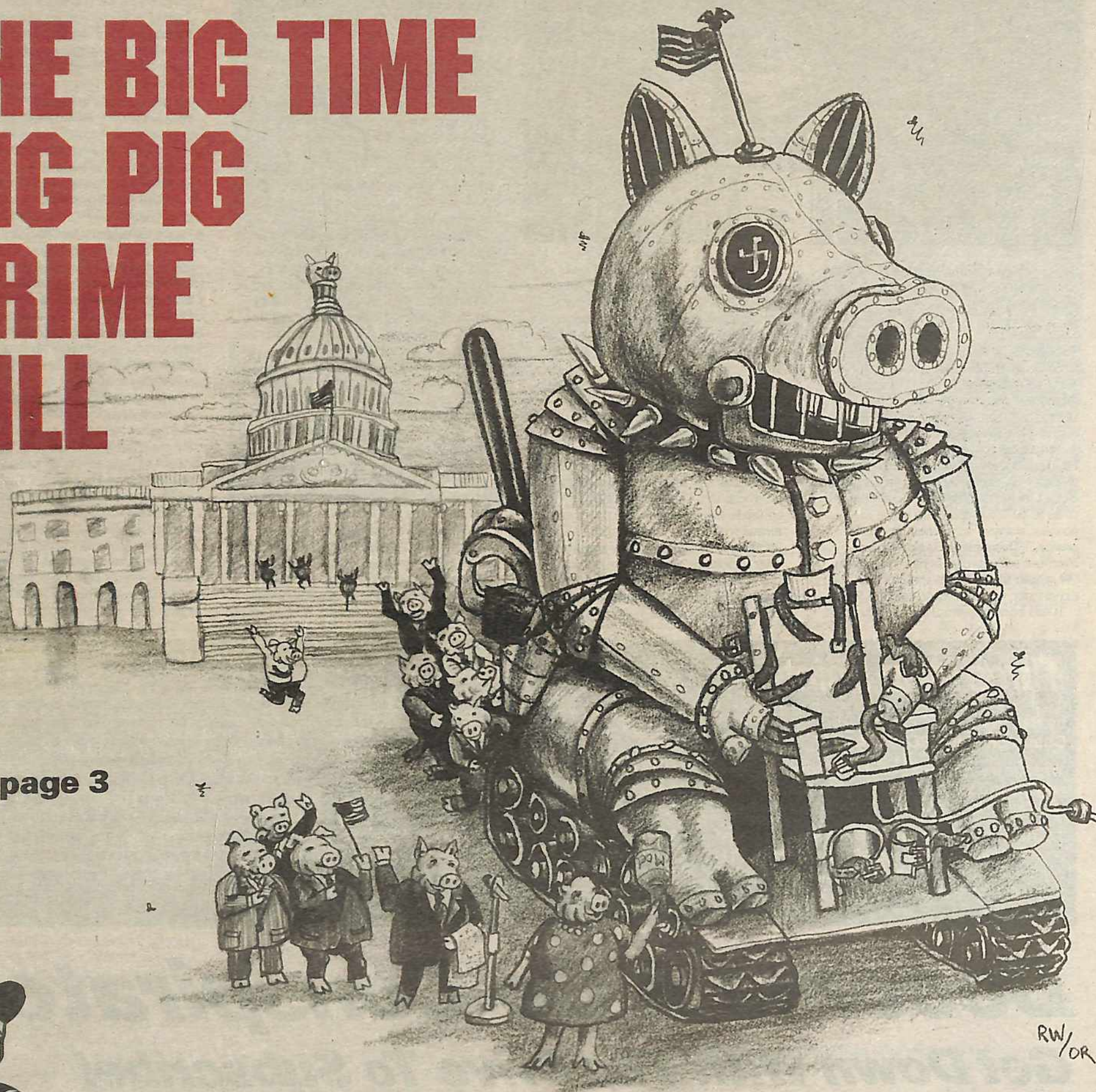


REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 629 (Vol. 13, No. 27) November 3, 1991 Editions in English and Spanish published weekly \$1.00

THE BIG TIME BIG PIG CRIME BILL



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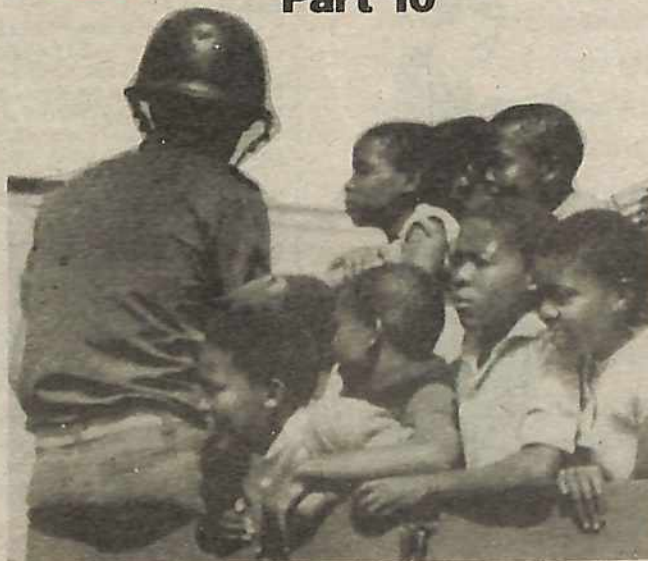


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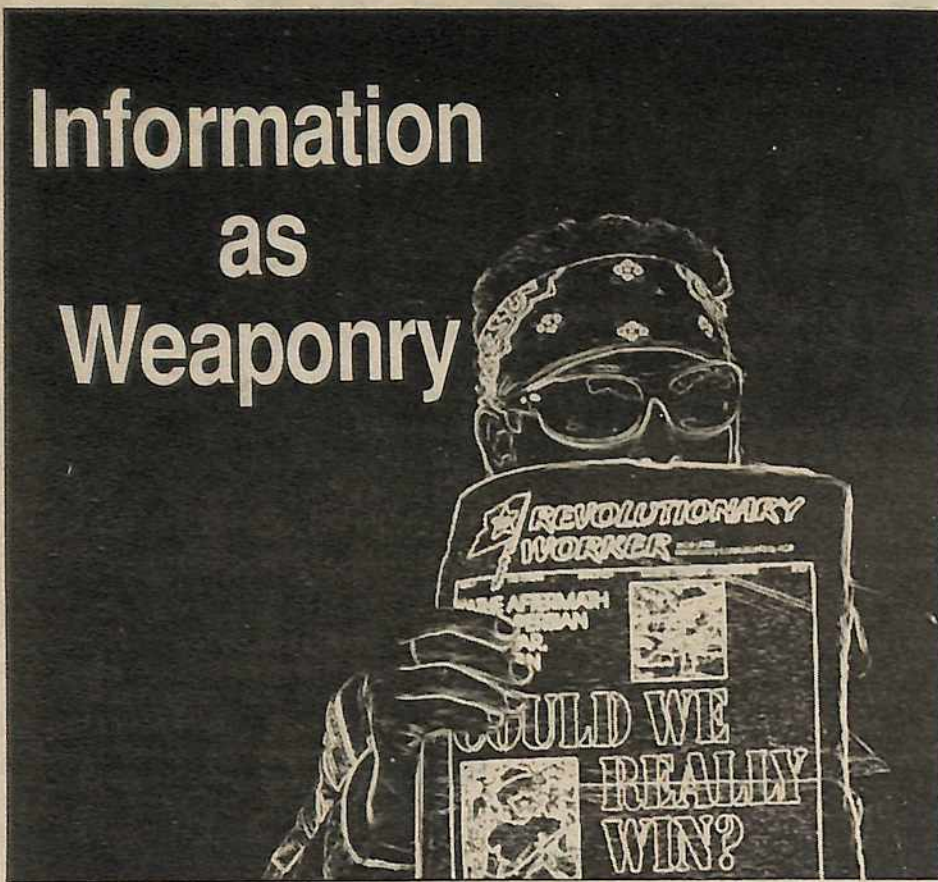


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**Cincinnati
"This Is Not Wichita!
This Clinic Is Open!"**



Information as Weaponry



We received the following letter from some comrades who have been taking up the RW subscription drive:

Dear Editors:

In our area we have been taking out the RW sub drive, "become a co-conspirator," for several months. In the course of this there has been struggle between selling subs as a "more efficient" means of distributing the paper, and the sub drive as a component part of the conspiracy, of building "networks of RW distribution, hidden from the powers and protected and spread by the creativity of the people..." so as to be "...prepared to battle the powers in a new way when the TIME comes." This struggle is by no means over, but some progress has been made. We would like to share some of our experience with the readers of the RW.

It has been important for us to keep in

mind and struggle over the contours of this period following the imperialist war against Iraq. In our area a lot of people opposed the war and there has been a lot of disappointment at its outcome, including among many immigrants and other oppressed who longed to see the U.S. defeated or at least battered. While there is disappointment, there is also increased outrage at the criminal nature of this system. At the same time life for broad sections of the people, especially the oppressed masses, has become very precarious and repression by the state is more intense. This has created a contradictory situation, but one by no means without favorable aspects. There is greater clarity among many people of the utter viciousness and repressive nature of this system, and the idea of developing a network of information against the lies and censorship of the system's media falls

on receptive ears.

Through the course of taking out the conspiracy an embryonic network of distribution, of co-conspirators, has begun to emerge as some, who have grasped the needs of the times, have begun to take this task up as their own.

In one case a Central American proletarian who has been in this country a number of years has begun taking out the conspiracy to some Black workers where he works, including one who feels politically close to Farrakhan. Some of the basis for this was laid even before the war when this co-conspirator used a film on the struggle in Peru to popularize the People's War with these friends from work. But it was around the conspiracy and beginning to get a vision of a network of organization around the paper that could become the backbone of a powerful revolutionary resistance that he began to take the paper seriously to these friends.

Some months ago, following the war, someone visited an activist that this person had known from years ago. This activist had long since stopped doing revolutionary work but still had strong feelings about the way people are treated, and had been shaken into action around the war. Reluctantly—very reluctantly—he began to read the RW for the first time in years. His feeling that the RW was "irrelevant to the lives of the people" changed remarkably! He said he found the RW exciting and a breath of fresh air. He was especially moved by exposure in the paper about the lives and feelings of the oppressed, and the expressions of outrage at the system that he himself felt. Just prior to the sub drive he bought a sub. Shortly after, a discussion was held with him about the conspiracy and the organized network reaching into the ghettos, barrios, factories, etc. Soon he was showing the paper to house guests and selectively to people at work. He was shocked when several times people said to him, "Oh the RW, yeah, I've read that, it's a good paper." This activist has sold a number of subs and is working on more. He has begun to think of a plan of distribution in the area he lives and works where there are a large number of Black people and

immigrants from Mexico. After a number of years in which any hope of revolution had seemed to have died, this "old" activist has begun to feel great possibilities unfolding. There is no doubt that the RW has been very important in this process.

Another sub was sold to an immigrant from Mexico who has been in the U.S. for a short time. This young immigrant is a veteran of street demonstrations in Mexico City among a section of street youths who have been swept up into the political storms that were unleashed around the Mexican elections of 1988 and since. While possessing the visionary and energetic qualities of youth, this youth's contact with the party has also meant a clash of political visions because in Mexico much of the left has a vision of "revolution" somehow emerging out of a spontaneous mass reform movement. There has been on-going struggle around this view and the strategy of People's War. Like many immigrants in our area, the war was a watershed event to him. Not only has he seen great contradictions in this, the great "monolithic" monster of the north, but during the war there was an outpouring of angry white youths and others—opposition that, frankly, many young immigrants had no idea existed here. This has by no means dispelled his doubts but has opened up possibilities he had not really believed existed. Following the rebellion among Central Americans in Pleasant Hill in D.C., he visited a housing project which is predominantly Black and argued and struggled with people, despite language difficulties, about the need and possibility of revolution.

After some struggle around the vision of the co-conspiracy this young immigrant has begun to put into practice the conspiracy with the help as well of a local shopkeeper who is assisting in the distribution of the paper.

These small but notable advances in the sentiments towards the paper and in actions to develop secure ways of getting it out are, to us, like seedlings. The conditions among the people are fertile, and the storms that are coming will help make these seedlings, if they are planted right, grow strong roots.

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE BIG TIME BIG PIG CRIME BILL

On October 22 the House of Representatives approved a new "crime bill" by an overwhelming vote. After some differences between the House and the Senate versions of the bill are ironed out, it will be sent to President Bush to be signed into law. The hype from the government and Congress is that this legislation will benefit people because it is "tough on crime." The truth is that the crime bill is a wide-ranging and dangerous attack on people's rights. It is part of the increasing moves by the big-time criminals who are in power to step up repression and tighten their control over society.

A Bill of Repression

The crime bill is a type of legislation called "omnibus," which means it contains various provisions for a number of new laws. A lot of the media focus has been on the debate about the part of the bill that deals with gun control. But there seems to be overall agreement among the top politicians and government officials about the parts of the bill that are direct assaults on political and legal rights. (See accompanying sidebar, "A Thousand Points of Repression," for explanation of key elements of the bill.)

A major feature of the bill is that it will virtually do away with habeas corpus review—the right of prisoners to challenge their state convictions in federal courts. This is used mainly in cases where prisoners are sentenced to death. The way the death penalty is applied in this country is clearly racist—over 40 percent of death row inmates are Black. (See the box "Deadly Inequality.") Currently at least two out of five state court death sentences reviewed by the federal courts are reversed because of unlawful conviction. What will be the effect of the elimination of habeas corpus review? According to an activist with the Movement Support Network, "It's like saying 'screw you' to people who are in prison or death row. In effect, a lot more people are going to be executed in this country based on this."

Another part of the bill would add to the number of executions. The bill calls for over 50 federal crimes to be made into capital punishment crimes—now there are only two. Some of these offenses are very political, like "treason" and "terrorism," and could be used against revolutionaries and radical activists.

The bill gives the state the ability to use evidence that was seized illegally by the police—as long as the cops were "acting in good faith." In other words, the police will be given even more freedom to plant and forge "evidence" and put people behind bars on the basis of this. The bill also doubles or triples the penalties for people caught dealing drugs near public housing. This is part of the whole reactionary offensive by the powers aimed at Black and other oppressed people under the cover of the "war on drugs." Hundreds of millions of dollars will go to local "anti-drug" programs and "community policing." People in the Black and Latino neighbor-

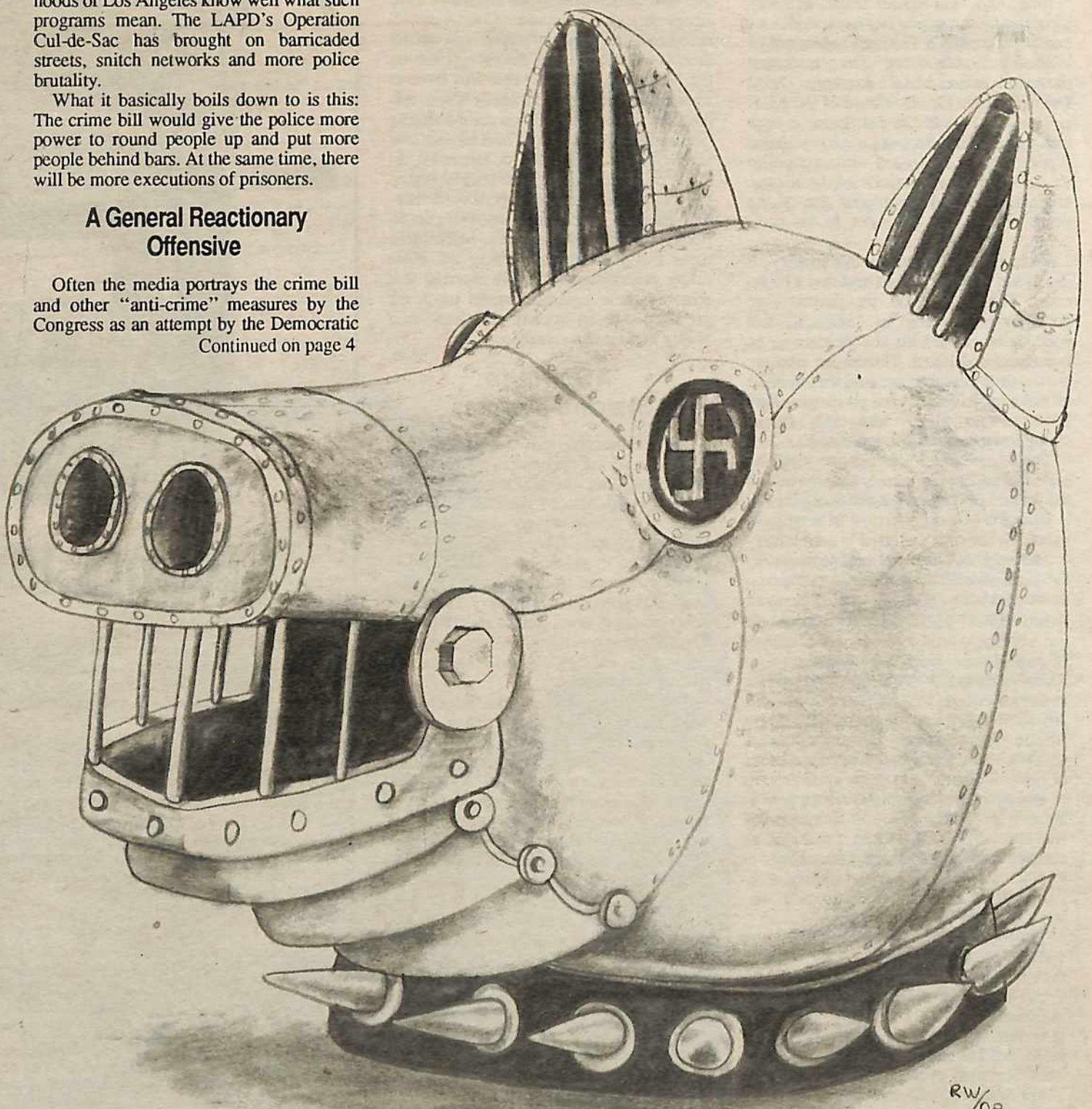
hoods of Los Angeles know well what such programs mean. The LAPD's Operation Cul-de-Sac has brought on barricaded streets, snitch networks and more police brutality.

What it basically boils down to is this: The crime bill would give the police more power to round people up and put more people behind bars. At the same time, there will be more executions of prisoners.

A General Reactionary Offensive

Often the media portrays the crime bill and other "anti-crime" measures by the Congress as an attempt by the Democratic

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A THOUSAND POINTS OF REPRESSION

The "crime bill" is a package of a wide range of repressive laws. The following is a summary of the key elements of the bill:

EXPANDING THE DEATH PENALTY

Right now the only crime under federal jurisdiction where a convicted person can get the death penalty is "drug-related" murder and airline hijacking resulting in death. The new bill adds about 50 crimes punishable by death. The new capital punishment crimes include openly political charges like "treason" and "terrorism." Other new capital punishment crimes include major drug dealers involved in attempted murder of witnesses and attempted political assassination.

An amendment approved by the Senate would create federal jurisdiction over and federal death penalty for *all* murders committed with guns that were carried across state or international borders. This extreme language may not pass, but the House adopted another amendment that would allow the death penalty for any killing

under federal jurisdiction that results from "reckless disregard for human life." This means that there does not need to be an "intent to kill." The "reckless disregard" language is so broad that if made into law, the death penalty could be applied in many different kinds of cases.

Both the Senate and the House rejected a proposal allowing people sentenced to death in state courts to appeal on the basis that capital punishment is unfairly applied to Black and other oppressed people compared to whites. Statistics clearly show that there is a racist pattern to the use of the death penalty.

ABOLISHING FEDERAL COURT REVIEWS OF STATE CONVICTIONS (HABEAS CORPUS)

The right of people convicted in state courts to appeal in the federal courts is called "habeas corpus." The Senate crime bill basically takes away this right. It gives prisoners sentenced to death a six-month

deadline on a single petition of habeas corpus. But it usually takes much longer than six months to get ready for an appeal by coming up with new witnesses, digging up new evidence through the Freedom of Information Act, and so forth. It also denies federal courts the power to reverse state court decisions as long as the issue was "fully and fairly" heard at the state level. This means a state court decision would stand even if it was based on a clearly wrong interpretation of the law. The House version is somewhat less drastic but would still restrict habeas corpus.

The restriction of habeas corpus would greatly increase capital punishment in this country. Right now federal courts reviewing state death penalties reverse more than 40 percent of them because the original conviction or death sentence was unlawful.

USE OF EVIDENCE (EXCLUSIONARY RULE)

Laws limiting the use of evidence by

police is called the "exclusionary rule." The Senate bill permits the use of evidence seized illegally through the use of a defective warrant, as long as the police acted in "good faith" in obtaining the warrant. The House version goes even further by allowing the use of evidence seized by police *without a warrant* if the cop acted in "good faith." This will make it much easier for police to plant stuff on people and otherwise manufacture "evidence."

"WAR ON DRUGS"

The Senate bill doubles the penalties for dealing drugs near public housing while the House bill triples such penalties. The bill also calls for drug testing of most federal prisoners. Hundreds of millions of dollars would be given to local areas for programs like "drug enforcement" and "community policing." Such "war on drugs" programs already in effect in various cities show that they are not about stopping drugs but about stepping up repression against the people.

THE BIG TIME BIG PIG CRIME BILL

Continued from page 3

and Republican politicians to win votes by looking "tough on crime" for their "constituents back home." Some activists involved in the fight against repression also see it this way.

It is true that bourgeois politicians use "crime" and "war against drugs" as a way of whipping up support among certain sections of the people. George Bush's use of Willie Horton ads in the 1988 presidential campaign is one blatant example. David Duke, a former Grand Wizard of the KKK and now a Republican politician, is now using almost the exact same tactic to rouse support among backward white people in the elections for governor of Louisiana. Duke is also making greater use of the death penalty a major issue in his campaign.

What does this say about this country? It is a system that is vicious and racist to the core. The people on the bottom are portrayed and treated as "animals" that need to be penned up and deserve to be brutalized and killed. Then those who are even a little better off are told that in order to hold on to their petty privileges, they need to go along with this fascist clampdown on the most oppressed.

The "anti-crime" demagoguery of the big-time politicians is truly sickening. But the crime bill is not just a political ploy—it is part of a *general* offensive of repressive moves by the ruling class of this country.

The original crime bill was proposed by the Bush administration. It included an extreme provision called the "Alien Terrorist Removal Act" that would have allowed the government to hold secret deportation trials of noncitizens—including permanent residents—accused of "terrorism." According to the American Civil Liberties Union, this provision would have given "the Executive Branch unprecedented powers to arrest, detain and deport foreign nationals accused of being terrorists without any due process or ability to challenge the evidence against them." Under the proposal a "terrorist" was defined so broadly that it included all sorts of activity, including raising funds or in other ways raising support for organizations that the U.S. government labels "terrorist."

This particular provision was later withdrawn. But the fact that this extreme measure was put forward as a proposal for a law by the President of the U.S. is an indication of where things are heading. And now that it has been raised in the open, there could be another attempt to make this "anti-terrorist" provision into law later on. Some of the repressive measures proposed by Bush for last year's version of the crime bill, like the virtual elimination of habeas corpus review, was thrown out by the Con-

gress at the time—but they are now in this year's crime bill.

It should also be pointed out that several of the provisions in this year's crime bill are along the lines of decisions already made by the Supreme Court. For example, during the 1990-91 term the Supreme Court handed down two decisions severely limiting the ability of prisoners to file appeals in federal court. As pointed out earlier, the cutting down of the right to appeal particularly affects prisoners sentenced to death. Chief Justice Rehnquist has openly declared that he wants to speed up executions of prisoners on death row. The crime bill would codify, or make into official law, the Supreme Court decisions that practically eliminated habeas corpus review.

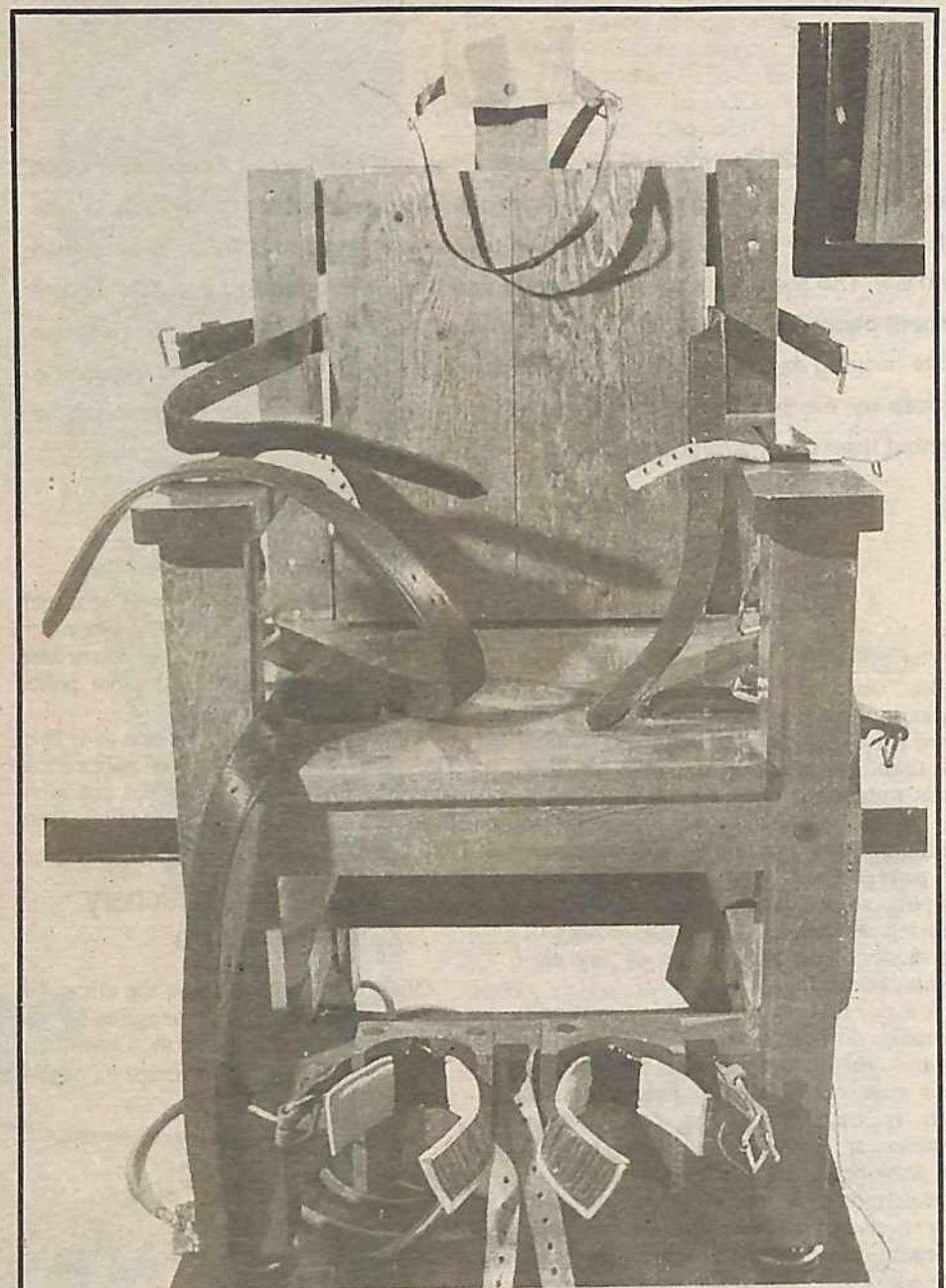
The fact that the three key institutions of the state machinery—the Executive, the Congress and the Supreme Court—are all mobilizing to gear up repression shows there is overall unity in the ruling class on the need to take these steps. But there is some disagreement over exactly how to impose such measures and how far the attacks on the masses should go. The dominant line among the powers calls for restricting all kinds of rights, giving full rein to fascist cops, expanding the death penalty, censoring ideas and speech, and promoting traditional male-dominator, white-supremacist ideas and relationships. There are other ruling class forces who are worried that some of these measures might touch off great outrage in society and hurt their ability to maintain control.

A Sign of the System's Weakness

These repressive moves need to be met with determined opposition—by the basic people who are the major targets of this repression but also by those in the middle class who refuse to go along with the criminal system. The broad masses of people need to get rid of the idea that any justice can come from the bourgeois class that holds power in this country. The whole setup of cops, laws, courts and prisons is used to preserve the privileges and positions of the ruling class and maintain control over the masses.

The enemy is very vicious, but they are not all-powerful. Is the increasing rush of repressive laws, court decisions, clampdowns in the name of "war on drugs" and other measures a sign of a strong, confident system? Or does it point more to a system which is strategically weak and vulnerable—a system which expects to face fierce opposition and outbreaks of rebellion by the people? The reality is that the powers-that-be have no answer to the deep crisis that is driving millions of people into desperation, misery and anger. No answer except *more* fascist cops, *more* jail, *more* executions. The powers are like a bloody-jawed beast who feels threatened and is lashing out.

The people can fight this beast, and eventually bring it down through revolution—as long as they don't put any faith in any ruling class forces and they organize around the class interests of the proletariat, those with nothing to lose and no stake in this system. □



Electric chair in Georgia State Penitentiary

DEADLY INEQUALITIES

The House version of the "crime bill" originally included a provision giving prisoners sentenced to death row the right to appeal based on the argument that capital punishment is unfairly applied to Black and other oppressed people as opposed to whites. The Bush administration campaigned hard to get this provision dropped and succeeded. But the inequality in the death penalty is clear for all to see:

- According to the NAACP, of the 2,500 prisoners now on death row in the 36 states that have capital punishment, 40 percent are Black. This is more than three times the percentage of Black people within the overall U.S. population.
- The death penalty is almost never imposed for a white person killing a Black person. Donald Gaskin, who was executed in South Carolina this September, was the first white to get the death penalty for killing a Black person in almost fifty years. The last time it happened was in 1944, and there have been over 1,000 executions since then. Gaskin had been convicted of nine other murders before getting the death penalty. A lawyer who represents many death row inmates commented, "That's apparently the sort of criminal record a white man needs to be executed for the murder of a Black."
- An article in the current issue of *Spin* magazine tells the story of Alvin Moore, a Black man executed in Louisiana in 1987 for the rape and murder of a white woman. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to death by an all-white jury. A year before Moore was arrested, his cousin was raped and murdered by three white men in the very same jurisdiction. The men got life imprisonment.
- All the elected prosecutors in Georgia, Alabama and most southern states are white. Black people are the victims in about 65 percent of murders in Georgia and Alabama. But 80 to 85 percent of death penalty cases are where whites have been killed.
- Black men in the U.S. are incarcerated at a higher rate than in apartheid South Africa. There are more Black men in prison than in college.

Pennsylvania Court Decision Targets Roe v. Wade

On October 21 a federal appeals court upheld most of the provisions of a Pennsylvania abortion law, putting serious restrictions on women's right to abortion in that state. The Pennsylvania law is one of the most restrictive laws against abortion in the country. This decision is only the latest attack in an overall offensive from the highest offices in the land against women's reproductive rights. And the stage has been set for an appeal to the Supreme Court that could mean the first direct test of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which said that women had a right to abortion.

Kathryn Kolbert, lawyer for the ACLU Reproductive Freedom Project who argued the pro-choice side of the case against the new law in Pennsylvania, said: "For the first time since 1973, a Federal court of appeals has directly said that *Roe v. Wade* is no longer the law of the land."

The three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals overturned a Federal district judge's decision which had declared two provisions of the Pennsylvania's Abortion Control Act of 1989—on parental consent and on "informed consent"—unconstitutional. The district judge had ruled that these provisions would impose an "undue burden" on women seeking abortions.

This U.S. Court of Appeals upheld a requirement in the Pennsylvania law that women under 18 must have parental consent for an abortion or a court ruling that parental consent was not required. The law requires not only that parents consent to an abortion but also that they be present to hear information from doctors about "alternatives." The Court of Appeals also upheld a provision that requires women seeking abortions to give "informed consent." The law says that a doctor is required to give the women pre-abortion counseling explaining

"all the alternatives," but what this means in practice is that if a woman wants an abortion, she has to sit and listen to arguments on why she should *not* have an abortion. And then she has to wait 24 hours after such counseling before an abortion can be performed.

The Court of Appeals did overturn a lower court decision that would have required women to notify their husbands before having an abortion. But the Pennsylvania attorney general and the Pennsylvania governor have already threatened to fight to uphold the husband notification if the Pennsylvania law goes before the Supreme Court. Governor Casey of Pennsylvania said: "I think the husband has the right to at least know that his wife is about to abort the child. I think that's very fundamental." And Casey has taken his reactionary proclamations a step further, announcing in advance that if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned by the Supreme Court, he would sign a bill banning all abortions except "where the life of the mother is at stake."

But the lives of women are at stake if any restrictions are placed by the state on a woman's right to abortion.

Deadly Precedents

The recent Pennsylvania case might be the first one to reach the Supreme Court. While other even more restrictive laws are headed for the Supreme Court—laws from Louisiana, Guam, and Utah banning abortion and imposing criminal penalties on women and doctors for abortion—Pennsylvania is ahead of the pack as a likely test case for *Roe v. Wade*. Pennsylvania was the first state to impose restrictions on abortion after the Supreme Court ruling in the *Webster* case—which gave the states authority to put restrictions on abortion as

long as the laws do not create "an absolute obstacle or severe limitation on a woman's decision to have an abortion." In *Webster* the Court upheld a Missouri law banning abortions in public hospitals and other restrictions. *Webster* was a major watershed, unleashing more than 600 bills restricting abortion across the country. Louisiana, Utah and Guam have now passed laws banning abortion, and Pennsylvania, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Carolina, Michigan, Missouri, and Nebraska have passed serious restrictions.

The Pennsylvania case also shows the impact of recent Supreme Court rulings against abortion rights—in terms of both chipping away at women's reproductive rights under the *Roe v. Wade* ruling and setting legal precedents to pave the way for the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* altogether.

In the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals on the Pennsylvania law, the judges argue that in recent decisions of the Supreme Court, language has been used setting a different standard from the legal standard set in the *Roe v. Wade* decision. In *Roe v. Wade* the court held that abortion was a "fundamental right" of women under the U.S. Constitution. But the Pennsylvania decision argues that in more recent Supreme Court cases—*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* and *Hodgson v. Minnesota*—Justice Sandra Day O'Connor has used *different* language, referring to abortion as a "limited fundamental right" and saying that state laws would be considered unconstitutional only if they cause an "undue burden" on a woman's decision to have an abortion. Furthermore, the Court of Appeals argues that Justice O'Connor has written that "an undue burden occurs when a regulation imposes an absolute obstacle or severe limitation on the abortion decision, not merely when a regulation may

inhibit abortions to some degree." So the Pennsylvania court has now argued that since different language has been used by Supreme Court justices in cases since *Roe v. Wade*, lower courts are not bound to follow the results reached by the Supreme Court in the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

Thus, in the Pennsylvania decision, the Court of Appeals has tried an end run around *Roe v. Wade*. And by doing so, they have also paved the way for a direct legal challenge to *Roe v. Wade* if the case comes before the Supreme Court.

Down with Parental Consent

The Pennsylvania law follows in the footsteps of the Supreme Court decision on parental consent, (*Hodgson v. Minnesota*). This decision of June 25, 1990 gave states the right to enforce parental consent laws that require teenage women to notify their parents or get permission from a judge before getting an abortion.

What it means is this: thousands of young women will be denied the right to have an abortion. Thousands of others will have to go through a cruel and humiliating judicial process. Many women's lives will be ruined. The health of many teenage women will be put at risk. Many hopes and dreams will be shattered.

As we pointed out in the *RW* in July 8, 1990, what the courts are upholding with such rulings is the ruling class's interests in regulating, controlling and repressing the actions of women and upholding the patriarchal setup where children are treated as the property of their parents and especially of their fathers. The masses of people have no interest whatsoever in supporting this oppressive setup.

What is the reality for young women?

Continued on page 6



New York, 1989.

Sexual Harassment:

It's a

"In the workplace, sexual harassment fixes the low status of women irreversibly. Women are sex; even filing or typing, women are sex. The debilitating, insidious violence of sexual harassment is pervasive in the workplace. It is part of nearly every working environment. Women shuffle; women placate; women submit; women leave; the rare, brave women fight and are tied up in the courts, often without jobs, for years. There is also rape in the workplace.

"Where is the place for intelligence—for literacy, intellect, creativity, moral discernment? Where in this world in which women live, circumscribed by the uses to which men put women's sexual organs, is the cultivation of skills, the cultivation of gifts, the cultivation of dreams, the cultivation of ambition?"

Andrea Dworkin in *Right Wing Women*

Polls and surveys reveal an ugly situation: 40 to 70 percent of all working women have experienced some form of sexual harassment on the job. In a recent New York Times/CBS News poll, four out of ten women said they encountered what they regarded as sexual harassment at work. Five out of ten men said that at some point on the job, they had said or done something that could have been construed as sexual harassment. And 38 percent of the women said they had found themselves the "object of sexual advances, propositions or unwanted sexual discussions" from men who supervise them or could affect their position at work. Only one out of ten of the women who were sexually harassed felt the freedom to report the incidents.

Sexual harassment is clearly a huge problem in this society. More than 58 million women work in the U.S. making up more than 45 percent of the total workforce. And a very large percentage of these women, on a day-to-day basis, face conditions that are demeaning, humiliating and threatening because of their sex.

In the last couple of weeks, millions of people have been talking about the issue of sexual harassment. Many women have stepped forward to speak bitterness about their personal experiences and the pervasiveness of sexual harassment. There is a lot of anger and rage. And there has been widespread debate and discussion. Clearly, this issue has touched a deep nerve in society.

Anyone who is for the liberation of women—and getting rid of all forms of oppression—needs to get clear on what sexual harassment is, what it reveals about this system, and what it's going to take to deal with this problem.

Power Relations

There is a lot of talk about how, when it comes to sexual harassment, men "just don't get it." Some men and even some women say, "what's the big deal"—can't women take a joke? There's a backlash from some men who complain that now, after all this public debate, men who are just "awkward" about asking for a date will be unjustly accused. Former editor of *Newsweek* William Broyles Jr. claimed in the *New York Times* that "the rules of sexual harassment are not objective" and that "each woman makes her own law." He whines, "If a man wants to ask a co-worker out, he shouldn't have to bring his lawyer along."

But all this talk misses the point—or more consciously tries to cover up—what sexual harassment is really all about. It is quite an exposure in itself that here we have millions of women who face an abusive and humiliating situation in the workplace and the first response of many men is that they are worried about how all this talk of sexual harassment will put a "cramp" on their ability to ask women out for a date! This just goes to show how deep male privilege and chauvinist attitudes are in this society.

But more to the point is the fact that relations between men and women in this society—from top to bottom, and whether you're talking about dating or on-the-job interaction between men and women—are

FILLED with power trips and oppressive relations where women are subordinated and abused as women. The objectification of women, the "hunting" attitudes of men, and the general treatment of women as inferior human beings whose role in society is to serve husband and children—all this is promoted and upheld from the highest offices of government. All this is socially taught to men from the time they are young boys and it's constantly offered up as justification for petty male privileges. So if all this talk about sexual harassment is helping to get these kinds of things out in the open, and if women calling this out is "putting a cramp" on some such attitudes and practices towards women, then that's a very good thing!

But let's look at the phenomenon of sexual harassment on another level. The overall relations between men and women in society are bound to exert a powerful force in work situations where women and men are working together. Sexual relations generally in society are stamped with power relations, and sexual harassment is about the exercise of power by men over women. While it may be carried out by individual men, it is one way that male domination is enforced in society overall. It is part of an oppressive political program for women that is promoted more broadly in society.

Women know well the ways sexual harassment takes place: from jokes and comments meant to humiliate you to daily

comments about your appearance. There's the subtle—or explicit—threat that you could be fired if you don't respond to various sexual come-ons. And there's the insulting promise that you'll be promoted if you date the boss. These experiences bring together two ugly features of the bourgeois way of life: the general oppressive way women are treated and sexually objectified by men in this society and the oppressive relations of production under capitalism more generally.

Sexual harassment on the job is a particular way that dog-eat-dog competition under capitalism gets expressed. It takes different forms among different classes. But from the corporate office to the factory floor, there are the power trips, the backstabbing, and rumor mongering that are all part of "getting ahead on the job."

Capitalism is based on private property and the exploitation of labor. And it produces economic and social relationships that viciously pit people against each other. We're told that competition is "healthy," provides incentive and is a necessary part of progress. But in real life it means a whole bureaucratic hierarchy of oppressive relationships where people are told that the only way to get ahead is by stepping on others. This is not a system that promotes cooperation and mutual respect. This is a system that promotes dog-eat-dog competition and thrives on male domination and national oppression. This system produces *bourgeois relations* which uphold the status quo—including the patriarchal domination of men over women. And this is what sexual harassment is part of.

But the workings of the capitalist system stir up forces and contradictions that tend to undermine its stability. Over the last several decades millions of women have been drawn into the workforce, and the sheer number of women working today has drastically changed the workplace and the family in the U.S. Women have also entered many occupations that were male dominated in the past. And at the same time, the ruling classes have unleashed a political and ideological offensive to strengthen the patriarchal relations that are key to social control and the whole private property setup of capitalism.

This has produced a real clash. Working women, especially those in previously male-dominated occupations, have come right up against relations and ways of operating that developed in a situation where women were not around—or were certainly not working as equal co-workers, or even superiors. All the "good ole boy" ways of relating on the job are being threatened by women, and in this situation men have looked for ways to "put women in their place." One way this has expressed itself is through the use of sex as a way to exercise power over and threaten women. Through sexual harassment, men devalue a woman's role in the workplace: women are told their worth is to be measured by their appearance, their subservience to others, and in many cases their willingness to submit to sexual advances and even rape. A

woman just trying to do her job finds out very quickly that simply because she is a woman and is in the workplace, she is presumed to be "available" and "fair game" for men. She is not evaluated for her skills, creativity, or abilities—but treated like a sexual object. And within the general dog-eat-dog environment of the workplace, sex is used as a powerful way to put women down.

Sexual harassment is an expression of male domination over women and it is important, for men and women, to understand how this kind of behavior upholds and promotes the oppression of women more generally in society. Even men who are not part of the bourgeois class can act the bourgeoisie by exercising their right to dominate women in this way. Sexual harassment is definitely a *bourgeois* thing, and men who are not about being an oppressor and are about fighting for the liberation of women need to thoroughly reject any kind of petty male privileges which allow them to act the bourgeois patriarch—whether it's in the home or on the job.

Built into the System

Some people have said that with all the public debate around sexual harassment, things will get better in the workplace—that companies and men at work (even senators!) will now be more "sensitive" to this problem. But the fact is, there is no way this system can really deal with the problem of sexual harassment.

First of all, it is not in the interest of this system to combat sexual harassment. The whole ideology behind this kind of behavior is a built-in part of how this system functions and operates. Male domination is part of the foundation of the economic and social relations in this capitalist society. So even though sexual harassment is now against the law and workplaces are required to have policies prohibiting sexual harassment—this system can't solve this problem. The best this system can offer is a completely ineffective law and a hypocritical double standard: On one hand sexual harassment is illegal and those who get caught may be punished. But on the other hand, the entire society is producing and promoting the values and relations that give rise to this behavior.

There have been a few well-publicized cases of women winning big settlements in sexual harassment suits. But these cases are not how things go down for millions of women who face sexual harassment.

Even in instances where law suits are filed, women speak of profound embarrassment, reprisals and fear that their career and reputation will suffer, even if they win. And in the majority of cases, filing an official claim proves to be a dead end. For instance, look at how the EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) has dealt with sexual harassment claims. This is the official government agency (the one Clarence Thomas headed) that is supposed to enforce federal laws against sexual harassment.

Pennsylvania Court Decision Targets Roe v. Wade

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More than one million teenagers in the United States become pregnant each year and almost half choose to have an abortion. About 18 percent of women in the U.S., will have had at least one abortion before their twentieth birthday. And abortions among teenagers account for more than a quarter of all the abortions performed in this country. The Pennsylvania decision will now make it extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, for teenage women to get an abortion.

In fact, parental consent laws are aimed at actually preventing teenage women from being able to get an abortion. Even without parental consent laws teenage women already have an extremely hard time getting abortions. On top of the fact that there are fewer and fewer clinics that provide abortion services, many young women find it hard to get the necessary money, get away from school and home without raising suspicion, travel long distances, etc. Paren-

tal consent laws make all this even more difficult, if not impossible.

In the last thirteen years all such parental consent laws have been drafted by anti-abortion groups which have as their primary goal making abortion illegal. And in many cases such parental consent laws have been introduced as part of a larger package of anti-abortion laws.

Those who support parental consent laws say teenage women are too "immature" to decide whether or not to have an abortion. And they say these laws "improve family communication" and "protect teenagers."

But the real deal with these laws is that they are meant to punish pregnant teenagers. They are aimed at shoving right-wing morality down young women's throats. They are used to place guilt on women and push anti-scientific and wrong views about "life beginning at conception." And they are designed to enforce oppressive family relations—where young

women are treated as the property of their parents and the state.

One 15-year-old woman at a New York speakout last year put it this way:

"We are not our parents' property. We are our own individuals and must retain the right to make our own decisions in matters so private, and keep them private if we so choose, regardless of age. This is not only a moral issue, but one affecting the safety of our youth. By forcing parental consent, the well-being of the child is being threatened. What happens in cases of abusive parents? Or when a parent feels they have somehow failed or been neglectful and out of guilt either turns away or takes their anger out on the child? Or when the parent-child relationship is already strained? This type of situation could only make things worse for both people involved. It really would be great if all kids could talk to their parents, and have them be supportive and helpful, but it just doesn't work that way."

Teenage women and all women must

have the right to choose, and parents and the courts have no right to dictate to women whether they will or will not bear children.

Parental consent laws mean enforced motherhood for teenage women. Thousands of teenage women are condemned to motherhood with little education, few skills, and in many cases no financial resources other than welfare. They mean more women crushed by the rules and regulations of a system which demands the submission of women. They mean broken dreams and shattered lives. Once again young women in the U.S. are dying from self-induced abortions and illegal abortions. The nightmare of the back-alley abortion has returned.

Down with "Informed Consent"

The so-called "informed consent" part of the Pennsylvania law is another nasty and insidious legal assault on women. This provision of the law requires that doctors

Bourgeois Thang

Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, anyone who wishes to pursue a charge of sexual harassment, or any other form of employment discrimination, must file a charge with the EEOC. The agency then investigates and decides whether it will sue on behalf of the individual. But the EEOC actually filed suits in only 50 of the 5,694 sexual harassment complaints it received in the fiscal year 1990. In all the other cases, the woman must find a private lawyer (and come up with thousands of dollars to hire this lawyer) to bring the lawsuit to court. And if women file under Title VII they are generally not entitled to damages beyond back pay and reinstatement in their job. Some lawyers who handle sexual harassment cases estimate that, nationwide, no more than 100 cases a year actually get to trial.

Most of the time women do not even file any kind of claim because they know that if they do they may lose their job or be subject to all kinds of rumors and attacks. Several studies have found that only around *three percent* of women who have been sexually harassed make a formal complaint. And in survey after survey women said they believed that reporting instances of sexual harassment would simply lead to more trouble, that they would not be believed, that they would be labeled as trouble-makers or would lose their jobs.

The story of one woman executive in New York is pretty typical. She filed a lawsuit in Federal Court in New York against the subsidiary of one of the country's largest banks, charging in part that it failed to properly address the complaints she filed. The woman said an executive solicited sexual favors, threatening that he would ruin her career if she did not comply. She decided to report the incident "just to get it on the record" but asked the company not to pursue an investigation. Soon after she filed her report, her career degenerated into a succession of demotions, denied transfers, and smaller-than-usual bonuses. Soon after this, the company told her that her job was being terminated.

The fact is, it is very hard, if not impossible, for women to get any kind of justice when they bring to light that they've been sexually harassed on the job. Women are constantly told they should be "team players," that if they want to climb the ladder of success they are going to have to "roll with the punches," sexist jokes and all. In the current climate where reactionary conservatives are attacking affirmative action, there is an ugly wind blowing that claims racist and sexist discrimination doesn't even exist and that women who complain about discrimination and sexual harassment are just trying to get ahead on something other than their qualifications. All this denies that for people of color and women, racism and sexism present real obstacles in the workplace. And all this makes it very hard for women to fight sexual discrimination and harassment on the job.

Many times sexual harassment goes on "behind closed doors" and women know

that if it comes down to their word against a man, especially a supervisor or boss, they won't be believed or will be accused of "fantasizing" or "asking for it." They are threatened and intimidated into not talking by men who have power over salaries, promotions, and firings. And women are put in a position of having to choose between exposing things that are very harmful to them and hurt *all* women or keeping their job. One law professor put it, "Many women tolerate harassment, even though it is debilitating and destructive. The willingness of women to tolerate a hostile work environment often has less to do with how bad the workplace is and more to do with how badly they need their jobs."

This is another example of how capitalist society compels the people to act against the interests of the oppressed in order to survive, and another example of why the oppressed have to rise up and break with the whole bourgeois way of life in order to get liberated.

Struggle Now and in the Future

It will take nothing short of revolution to fundamentally deal with the oppression of women, including sexual harassment on the job. As long as society is based on private property the economic structure in which people work is going to be organized in a way that promotes exploitative and oppressive relationships. And as long as the bourgeoisie rules, an ideology and political program that systematically oppresses women is going to be promoted and enforced throughout society.

Only by overthrowing capitalism will it be possible for the masses of people to really deal with sexual harassment and root out the ideology behind this behavior. Only then will it be possible for there to be the kind of mass debate, discussion and struggle around these questions that will actually lead to transforming the situation—led by the proletariat which is the only class that has no interest in maintaining any form of oppression. In this situation all the institutions in society—the schools, cultural forums, the workplace, etc.—will be organized in a whole new way that promotes real relations of equality. And throughout society there will be struggle to remold people's thinking on these questions and struggle with men to do self-criticism and change their male-chauvinist ideas and behavior.

The recent furor around sexual harassment has revealed a pervasive, deep and ugly part of this society. It is a good thing that there is widespread debate and struggle over this issue and revolutionaries have a responsibility to enter into this debate and shed some revolutionary light on this whole subject. In all the different battles today against the oppression of women, there are real opportunities to bring forward the rage of millions of women who hate this system. And this is a tremendous strength in the struggle for women's liberation and for the revolution as a whole. □



From the RCP's Points of Discipline

Imperialism is based on the oppression of women. Positions of authority in this society are used to exploit other people—including sexually. The power relations of this society mean that women are viewed as sex objects and treated like the property of men.

These are oppressive ways of thinking and acting that the revolution seeks to completely abolish.

To be part of the vanguard of the revolution, you must struggle against women's oppression and promote relations of equality between men and women—in your thinking and in your practice. It is written right in the RCP's "Points of Discipline for Party Members."

Point #4

Women are equals of men in every respect. They should be treated as comrades in the revolutionary struggle, not as property or prizes. Such things as physically or verbally abusing women or treating them as sexual objects are completely opposed to everything we stand for.

Point #6

Don't use your position as political leader among the masses for personal gain—financially, to take sexual advantage, etc.

Point #15

Practice criticism and self-criticism on these points and in general.

discuss "alternatives" to abortion with women and that women must wait 24 hours after such discussions before proceeding with an abortion. It sounds like something positive, as though "informed consent" would help a woman make a better decision. But in reality it is a directive from the state that doctors should attempt to talk women out of having abortions. It should be called the "mandatory coercion" law, not the "informed consent" law.

This ruling follows in the footsteps of the Supreme Court ruling of May 23, 1991—the infamous "gag rule"—which prohibits all employees of federally funded family planning clinics from having ANY discussion with their patients about abortion. The new federal regulations not only deny women information about abortion and abortion providers, but they also instruct clinic employees to *discourage* women from choosing abortion. Now the Pennsylvania law states that in order for women to have an abortion they must be subjected to a so-called counseling session on so-called

"alternatives," which means they must listen to arguments by a doctor as to why they should NOT have an abortion and why they should carry the pregnancy to full term. Doctors are now required by this law to *discourage* women from having abortions. And this also gives license to doctors who are opposed to abortion to run their anti-women politics.

This "informed consent" ruling is also applied to the parental consent part of the law—where a joint counseling session with parents present is required before a teenager can have an abortion. This provides yet another arena for parents who are opposed to abortion to coerce their daughter into having a baby.

What Is To Be Done

The Pennsylvania ruling has brought another round of doom and gloom from the women's movement. Correctly, many pro-choice advocates point out that *Roe v. Wade* appears doomed in the Supreme Court. It is

clear that powerful forces from Bush on down want to overturn the right to abortion, and the Supreme Court is packed with anti-abortionists. But there are also sections of the bourgeoisie who don't agree with overturning *Roe v. Wade*, and this disagreement was reflected in the inter-bourgeois debates over Thomas's nomination. Because of this split in the ruling class, some leaders of the pro-choice movement argue that pro-choice forces should now turn their focus to the state legislatures, put their energies into electing pro-choice officials, and forge an alliance with pro-choice women in the Republican Party. This is a dangerous and dead-end path. The people can never strategically rely on such splits in the ruling class. And this whole political path only paralyzes the masses of people and puts them on the defensive. Indeed, while mainstream pro-choice groups have been concentrating on lobbying Congress and state politicians, the assaults on abortion rights have only gotten more intense.

The question of whether women should

have the right to abortion is as fundamental as the right of Black people to not be slaves.

And the attacks on abortion can only be answered with mass social upheaval and an uncompromising, unapologetic stand.

As RW correspondent Li Onesto pointed out in the article "The Danger in Wichita and the Need for a Counteroffensive": "Today we are at a critical juncture. In terms of our ability to stop the government from taking away the right to abortion, and in terms of our ability to do more—to go further on the path toward the complete emancipation of women and of humanity as a whole. The mass resistance we build must rely on and draw strength from the millions who hate what this system does to women. It must be linked with other struggles going on in the world. And most importantly, it must be part of the struggle to overthrow this system. The powers-that-be have declared a war on women—now it's time for the people to go on the offensive." □

Special to the RW

WAR STORIES

RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA

Part 10

Michael Slate

In the mid-1980s a ferocious rebellion rocked the apartheid regime of South Africa—called Azania by the revolutionary people there. As the uprisings grew and intensified they drew in Black people from every part of the country and all walks of life. The South African government tried to bury the rebellions in prisons and in blood. And they failed. While the repression continued, the regime was forced to embark on a path that seemed unimaginable at the beginning of the decade. Many apartheid laws were formally repealed. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released from jail. Long banned political opposition groups were legalized and allowed to operate openly inside the country. And the apartheid regime began to carry out negotiations with its long-time opponents in the African National Congress and other Black opposition groups.

In the face of all this, the Azanian people continued to struggle for liberation. By mid-1989 the situation in the country was compared to the height of the nationwide uprisings in 1985. But the Western press continued to white-out the struggle in South Africa. They presented a sanitized and wildly distorted picture of what was happening—a rosy picture of negotiations leading to fundamental change. Reports on the struggle of the Azanian people were limited to sensationalized stories of "black on black violence."

In late 1990 Michael Slate, correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker, made his second trip to South Africa to bring back the truth of what was happening there. His first trip in 1987 resulted in the extraordinary series "War Stories: A Report from South Africa." The stories Slate has brought back—and the voices that tell them—are never heard in the mainstream press. They are the voices of the youth on the frontlines of battle in the townships and of the peasants with revolution in their hearts in the countryside. In the coming weeks the RW will continue this new series—in the hope that it will hasten the day the racist South African regime is brought down and genuine liberation for the Azanian people from apartheid and imperialism is achieved.

In Part 10 Slate talks with youth in Soweto-by-the-Sea. As in the discussions with the youth of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, the conversations here shed some light on the growing dissatisfaction of the rebellious youth with the line and program of the ANC.

Scorpions

One of the ways to enter Soweto-by-the-Sea is through an adjoining township. When you get to the end of the township there's a small shop right at the edge of a vacant lot. "Down with Negotiations" has been spraypainted across one wall of the shop. Fifty yards away the tarred road ends and a dirt one begins. The beginning of the dirt path marks the beginning of the Soweto squatter camp. Named after the Soweto township outside Johannesburg, this squat-

ter camp in Port Elizabeth is home to about 200,000 Azanians. It is one of the poorest and roughest areas in the country. Since the mid-1980s it has also gained a well-deserved reputation as one of the most rebellious areas of the country.

When you enter the Soweto-by-the-Sea settlement you are immediately facing a wall of jumbled shacks made from every possible type of scrap material that can be hammered together to form some type of shelter. It's the same view in every direction. Most of the buildings are built low enough so that if you stand on a bucket or on the hood of a car you can look over the rooftops and out onto what seems to be a never-ending sea of similar shacks. There is only one two-story building in all of Soweto-by-the-Sea. The residents of the squatter camp, jokingly refer to it as the settlement's only modern high rise, a sure

sign of progress in the "new South Africa." It's a building that looks dangerously shaky. It's also the building that serves as one of the main shebeens—illegal clubs—in the squatter camp.

We had come to the camp to visit with a young comrade we had met a few days earlier. The comrade was afraid that we would never be able to find our way through the maze of shacks to his home so he arranged to meet us next to the two-story shebeen. When we arrived at the meeting spot knots of angry people were standing outside the shebeen talking about the morning news. We heard a shout from the middle of the crowd, and soon the young comrade, who had been named after a famous revolutionary, was greeting us with a vigorous handshake and a quick explanation of the scene.

"Did you hear the news? The price of



Youth demonstration in Port Elizabeth, 1987.



A hippo patrolling in Cape Town, 1985.

fuel is going up. For some in this country the few cents it goes up will make no difference. But for us here it could be life-threatening. It is a very big thing—the bus and taxi fares will increase, and worse, the price of paraffin will certainly go up. In this area we need paraffin to live. It's what we use to heat our shacks, cook our meals and have light in our homes. We can barely get paraffin now and if the price goes up we will have to sacrifice those things. The people are talking now to decide what we should do. I'll find out later—perhaps there will be a mass meeting to make further decisions."

The comrade led us down one of the main dirt roads. The shacks lining the road were so close in you could feel the density of the place. After about ten minutes the narrow dirt road led into a large open space. Vendors lined up around the space selling fruit, cloth and other assorted goods from carts and stalls. A group of about a dozen women stood over huge homemade barbecue grills. They were grilling and selling "smiley" to passersby. They laughed and joked among themselves, and every now and then one of them would start yelling out to anyone who would listen. In her left hand she held a stick with a roasted pig's head on the end of it, and as she yelled out trying to entice buyers she would hold the stick up in the air to help in her advertising. The young comrade explained that this was "Soweto Square" and that, in addition to being a marketplace during normal times, it also served as a gathering spot for mass meetings and rallies. He explained that during the uprisings in the mid-1980s the square was sometimes used as a command center for the settlement.

There were about six main roads leading off of the square in all directions. We took one on the right and walked about fifty yards to the shack we were visiting. It was a small two-room shack made out of packing crates and tin. The dirt floor was covered with a soft piece of linoleum. Candles provided light, and an old radio powered by batteries was tuned in to some African jazz. A few overstuffed chairs and sofas gave the place a homey kind of feeling. The comrade introduced us to the other

two youth in the shack, and as one youth passed out cigarettes and glasses of coke, the other youth began to talk.

"I was not born here in Soweto. How I came here went something like this. You know the housing is not very much here for us. There are not too many places for us to live, and this is especially if there is no money. I have no work and so this was my sort of self-help project. I came here because I could just get a place to live and we don't have to pay rent or anything here. We don't have to pay rent so we can use what money we get to buy food, to buy clothes. Once, before the struggle, they tried to make us pay rent. They said we must pay ten Rand per month to live here. But we said, 'No, why must we pay rent when we come here to this spot and we build our own houses and you give us nothing.' We must even buy or find the materials we use to build our houses.

"You know the struggle started this time in our country in 1984. I came here in 1984 and Soweto was still quiet. I was in school then and we went to the school all year long. But then, when it came time to write our final exams, there were comrades who told us we must not write our final exams. They said this was a cruel government, this is Bantu education and we must not cooperate with them. They said we must drop everything down and move forward to our liberation. So then we didn't write and then we entered 1985 and then is when the struggle started here in Soweto.

"It was rough here, we fought hard. And they fought hard too. Sometimes you would just wake up in the morning and the whole place, the whole of Soweto, was surrounded by soldiers—the army soldiers, the SADF with their hippos and their machine guns in their hands, with their tear gasses. Then they would just come in and go house to house and start pulling people out and beating everyone. And if you were young you would be arrested. They assume you are guilty if you are young and you are wearing dirty clothes. They say that this is obvious case, it is obvious that you are guilty of struggling against their cruel government. So they beat you with their clubs and the ends of their machine guns.

They even shoot some people. If they suspect you then they would take you right away to the van or to the hippo and then you were sent to Algoa Park where the police are and you are detained. Sometimes they would then come with the hippo and just hit your house down. At Algoa Park they would just interrogate you and then they would torture you and then they would release you or you would be detained."

Another comrade cut in here. "But they couldn't stop us. People would just be in the streets when the army came in and we would be singing freedom songs, building barricades, throwing stones or whatever. We would fight all the while they were in here. I know one time when I woke up to hear something else in Soweto. There was so much noise and someone was at my door, beating on my door. I thought it must be the army again. But when I went out it was a time when everyone in Soweto, people so far I couldn't see the end, were leaving the area to go to town. They said we are going to town to destroy everything so you must come with us. This is all that was in the mind. Everybody was going to town with their kerries, their pangas, axes, swords, petrol bombs, stones, everything— young and old, everybody was there and all of us had only one thing in our minds. So we moved out of Soweto but the soldiers found out what we were doing so they waited for us down on the road and started shooting at us. This was a big war that day."

The young comrade who had brought us here laughed and stood up so that he illustrated his part of the story with action. "Yeah, they come at us with their guns and their tear gas and we had our weapons. But they had so many guns that they were able to defeat us in this battle. We didn't like this so we decided that we must do something. Then there came a time when we made our scorpions, we made our own machine guns, we called them scorpions and they were simple things that just operated with a spring. We learned how to fight them in a way we could win. We learned to dig trenches to trap the hippos in our roads—and we learned that we have to dig the trenches deep because when we didn't dig

them deep enough they would just go in and then they would go out again.

"You remember I told you about Soweto Square? Whenever something would happen in one zone of Soweto—some white men, some soldiers would come and torture someone or beat and arrest someone in one part of Soweto. Well, the word would go to all sections of Soweto and then everyone would just come to Soweto Square to address the issues. And we would take our vows there. We would say, 'We will not let them do this to us. We will fight these soldiers no matter what!' There is that true spirit there. People would rise up, rise up. Everyone gets involved. And when the soldiers would come to the square, we would go straight to fight them no matter what they are doing, no matter what they are shooting at us. No matter what, people would go forward. I remember one time when the people took a soldier. There was this soldier standing and shooting his machine gun. That was all you could hear—KAKAKAKAKAKA! Some youth were throwing stones at him and he was just shooting at them. Some of the comrades fell but others just came forward over them. Soon the comrades, they throw a petrol bomb and the soldier was set on fire. He was set on fire and he throw away the machine gun and he ran straight to his fellows, and when they saw this they all ran away. So the comrades came and took the machine gun. That is the best way to get our weapons.

"We became like our own army. At night we would even have groups of us sleep together so that we can respond to the attacks better. We would not sleep in any one place all the time. Today we sleep in this place and tomorrow we sleep in that place—so that it would not be too easy for them to catch us."

Elephant City

After a while we left the shack and took another walk through the streets. The comrade who had invited us to Soweto explained that he wanted to give us a feel for Soweto-by-the-Sea and that the best way to

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Youth captured by South African police in Soweto, 1985.

War Stories: Return to South Africa

Continued from page 9

do it was to take a walk through the community. The streets were crowded that morning. To our left an old man sitting in a cart pulled by a donkey lifted a thin stick with a short piece of rope attached to the end of it. The donkey brayed when the old man cracked the makeshift whip in the air above its ears. Six children sitting in the back of the empty coal cart cheered as the donkey started to pull the cart through the rutted dirt roads. Older children carried buckets of waste out beyond the perimeter of the shack settlement. Women carrying huge containers of water on their heads moved through the maze of streets, watching the children and talking, as they made their way back to their shacks from the few available water spigots. A huge hog laid on the side of the road while ten little piglets shoved at each other trying to position themselves to eat.

As we walked the comrade talked about how Soweto had come to be his home. "I've been here ten years now. I remember my mother and my father, but it is not so clear. My mother was killed in '76 and my father was killed in 1980. That left only my brother, my sister and myself. We first went to an aunt's place in another township, but soon they said that they could not take care of us and we must go and fend for ourselves. It was a very bad thing happening there so we left. We went to different places but we ended up in this one. We were lucky—when we came here we could move into the house that someone else had just left. If this place wasn't empty we would have to go to what we call Elephant City. That is the part of the community where people just go and bang up their own places, they just take what they can get and hammer it onto the empty ground. We had no way to survive and so my brother, who is the oldest, became a gangster to help us live. And now my sister, who is next oldest, works in a factory in town. This is why I can go to school now and maybe when I am done we can live some other way. The white government and some other people, even some black people, they say so much about change today. To me personally, these changes mean nothing, I don't see any change. I don't see any change—we are still living here, in these conditions—so where is the change?"

Comrade Thief and the People's Court

As we walked through the streets the young comrade told me how he fills some of his free time by writing poetry and plays to be performed for the people of Soweto.

He talked excitedly about his current project—a play that took up many of the major questions confronting the Azanian people today—from the oppression of women to negotiations.

Soweto-by-the-Sea was one of the areas in the country where the old authority had been pretty thoroughly intimidated and the new "People's Authority" that was born in the rebellions really began to take root. Literally every aspect of life in the squatter camp was affected by this—from culture to politics to home-life. The People's Courts were very strong in Soweto, and so I asked the comrade if he could tell me a little bit about them and arrange for me to meet some of the people involved in them.

The young comrade smiled shyly as he said, "You have been talking to one of the people all day. I am the leader of the People's Court for my section of Soweto. I have been elected by my comrades and the people in the community. We are elected because of our contribution to the struggle. The Street Committees and the People's Courts are only to make the struggle go ahead. We said that the white man must have no say in our communities. We must organize ourselves and take care of our own communities. For the Courts, we do many things from small to big. There is only one condition—that we must help the struggle. There was a time when we saw that the big double-decker shebeen was having a very bad effect on the people. It was open the whole of the day, from morning to next morning. Some of the people were drinking too much and they would fight or they would be picked up and by being drunk they might tell some things to the police. So we told the shebeen owner that he must only operate during these hours and then we made certain that he obeyed us.

"One very bad thing that happens is husbands beating wives. We will not allow this. If we have a woman come to us to say that her husband or some other man is beating her, we act fast. We punish the man in different ways and sometimes we say the woman and other women must punish the man. This is our justice.

"Our justice is not like the white man's justice. When the struggle was here every day we would see cases where people were accused of working with the police or the government and harming the struggle. We had no mercy for these people if this was true. Now, when things are not so much fighting, there are people, even people in the movement, who say we must stop the People's Courts. They say that we are just the kangaroo court and we must allow things to be normal again. We say that we are still in the struggle and our Committees

and our Courts are to help in the struggles. So today we still are working, but it is mainly things among the people that we must deal with. We try to bring justice when two of our people have a disagreement. Sometimes we see a man who says that this other man steals from him. If we find this other man guilty, we punish the man. We cannot have our people stealing from one another."

We walked back through Soweto Square and on the far end of the square there was a vendor whose stall was filled with radios, tapes, tape decks, appliances, jewelry and so on. The vendor called out to the comrade in a friendly way. They exchanged greetings and joked for a few minutes. As we moved on the comrade continued, "You see that man? He is a thief. We do not tolerate theft when it is stealing from the people. But when someone goes to town or to a white area and he comes back to Soweto with all that he has stolen from the whites, then we do whatever we can to help this man. We even help him to sell his wares. To us this person is 'Comrade Thief.'"

Searching

After a while we returned to the shack to rejoin the other youths and continue our discussion. Soon we were talking about negotiations and whether this was the path to liberation. The discussion got a little tense here. The comrade who had brought us into Soweto-by-the-Sea started things off. "Negotiations can do something if they are going to settle all of our demands. But if there are still some restrictions in the negotiations, I see no solution for South Africa. There can be no restrictions and everybody must be allowed to participate."

Another youth broke in. "We are fighting for our rights. That is our goal, to have equal rights to the white man. That is all we want and there can be no restrictions. Our ancestors gave the land to the whites. That was long times ago and we cannot change that. What we want now is just the democratic right to have equal rights in our land. We want to have liberty right in our land. Today this is a government of the few. This is not the government of South Africa, it is the government for the part of the people of South Africa. This government only represents 20 percent or less of the people. What we want is we want civil rights. We want to enjoy the same rights as the whites here in South Africa. Look, they are living here, they are born here. So we have no chance of throwing them to the sea. They were not born in the sea, they were born here. They came here only in 1652, but their fathers who came here in 1652

have died long ago and there is nothing we can do about what happened then. We have no power to do anything about it today."

The conversation continued back and forth for a while until the comrade who had brought us to Soweto stood up. He was definitely angry. When he spoke it was in a low voice and in very carefully chosen words. "We are ANC, we are members of the organization, so we must say what the organization says. In Soweto you find none of the violence between the groups because there is only ANC in Soweto. We do not have BC, PAC, Inkatha. We have only ANC. I have been ANC since I was small. It is all I know, ANC was the only group I ever saw here in Soweto. But it is too difficult so I must speak personally now. I must say what I believe and what I feel about South Africa. South Africa belongs to the black people. The whites, they came and robbed the land from us. It is our country. In 1985 no one of us would talk of negotiations with the white man. We wanted our liberation and we wanted our country. The one thing that they say must change us is when the government released Mr. Nelson Mandela. They say that this shows that we can negotiate. Comrades, it was not the government who released Mr. Mandela. It was us, we released him. The government did not release him, we the black people released him. The government was afraid of us and so they put him out of jail.

"Mr. Mandela gave his life for the struggle. He spent so much time in jail for the struggle. So we are loyal to him. But I cannot do what he says. I disagree with him when he leaves the armed struggle and says we can negotiate with de Klerk. I disagree with him, but I am not to say a word because I am conforming to the code. I can't do this. Mandela should never do what he is doing. The armed struggle must be the primary aspect of our struggle. Look at what the whites do to us. We are beaten, arrested, disappear. We are shot, massacred even right here close to us when they killed our comrades and innocents in Uitenhage. So, the idea that we don't need the armed struggle—I don't go with it. I think it is time for Mandela and the others to get out of the way. I foresee a time when the youth will get very angry with Mandela and the others for what they are doing today. I do not see the future being led by any of them, we must have other leaders. There are other leaders and we must find new ones. I liked Steve Biko very much even though I am not PAC or BC. Steve Biko was a leader of our people—he knew what he was fighting for, he knew what he was doing." □

Cincinnati

"This Is Not Wichita! This Clinic Is Open!"

We received this correspondence from Cincinnati:

With the rallying cry of "This is not Wichita!" students and youth and some women from the women's movement decisively defeated attempts of Operation Rescue to close down a major abortion clinic in Cincinnati. Operation Rescue thought they could come in with one of their woman-bashing blockades—in a city which is known for having headquarters of a national right-to-life organization—and shut down one or more clinics in another attempt to demoralize the pro-choice movement. But what the forces of reaction didn't recognize is that a year and a half ago in this heartland city, an attempt to close up the Mapplethorpe exhibit and indict Dennis Barry, the head of the museum, was defeated by thousands of people demonstrating for days in the streets of Cincinnati.

The latest chapter in an overall battle to defend women's right to abortion began four weeks ago when Tri-State Rescue, a local chapter of Operation Rescue, announced one of their blockades would be held on October 18 and 19. A week later students at the University of Cincinnati (U.C.) called on pro-choice forces to physically defend and keep open the clinics targeted by Operation Rescue. They formed the UC Coalition for Choice and began organizing mainly among students and some street youth.

During the three weeks building up for the OR action, there was lots of fierce struggle and discussion over how to win against the attacks on women's reproductive rights. There was continuing struggle between UC Coalition for Choice and many street youth, and the representatives of the local chapter of National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Planned Parenthood Center (PP). NOW and PP opposed clinic defense and argued that it would give the pro-choice movement bad publicity. They came to meetings of the Coalition and made dire predictions that if there was clinic defense, it would interfere with the clinic escorts ferrying patients across OR lines, there would be mass arrests, and there would be a blood-bath. The students argued that in fact Operation Rescue got the most publicity when the pro-choice did not take action, as in Wichita. Even though NOW and PP continued their opposition right up to the day of the first attack by Operation Rescue, the Coalition never wavered. They voted unanimously to go ahead with clinic defense, knowing from the hundreds of men and women who signed up to be involved that there were many more who are sick of seeing the right-wing forces going unopposed and are looking for ways to act.

As one organizer told the *RW*, "We didn't want another Wichita. Clinic defense is the only way to stop Operation Rescue." The students were angry with the passivity of the women's movement in Wichita and went out in a big way with leaflets and posters to students and others in the community to gather forces for the showdown. Opposition was building. In the evening of October 17, OR was having a revival at a church to get people revved up for women-hating action and over 1000 people picketed outside the church. With all the outrage over Clarence Thomas and all that Anita Hill's testimony unleashed in society, more and more people were being moved to act against the forces of reaction.

Before the sun came up on October 18, 125 people gathered at Coalition headquarters, ready to defend whichever clinic Operation Rescue had targeted. When the word came, the students and youth raced to the Campbell Center. Arriving before the OR forces, they linked hands in front of the fence surrounding the building. It was tense, the pigs were poised against the pro-choice people. But the youth

summed up their spirit this way: "Now it's time for people to go on the offensive." Then OR made a break for the fence; they were met by a force stronger than the cast iron the fence was made of. The students, outnumbered by OR, wholeheartedly challenged these bullies, fighting to keep them from going over onto the clinic grounds. They stripped away the altar cloths covering the real nature of OR in the process. These so-called "prayerful, peaceful, just-folks" began shoving, punching, and macing the clinic defenders. As one proud street youth said, "I told them 'come on with it' and we then got some punches in ourselves. That was good to do to show how much I hate their attacks on the rights of women to decide."

When over 70 Operation Rescue people made it over the fence, they were surrounded and the students formed a line in front of the clinic doors. Threatened with arrest, the students decided not to weaken their forces with arrest and rejoined their comrades on the sidewalk. It took the police four hours to arrest 73 anti-abortionists. One clinic defender was arrested and put in a cell with OR forces. Later that day the chief of police went to the cell and praised the OR attackers for a job well done and gave them all box lunches, unheard of for inmates.

After this day, in which OR had the upper hand and in fact for a few hours the clinic was unable to function, pro-choice forces called on people to come from different colleges in Ohio, others from Chicago and Detroit, to throw down against OR on Saturday. And OR was taken aback by the bold resistance on Friday by pro-choice. After Friday an OR leader stated, "If it means climbing on people to blockade the doors we aren't going to do it." Operation Rescue was clearly on the defensive. They saw a different approach from Wichita.

On Saturday, over 250 people came out to defend the clinic. They were shoulder-to-shoulder strong in front of the fence, a powerful force to be reckoned with. Despite shoving and hitting the defenders with ladders, which Operation Rescue had used to hit people and to get over the fence the day before, OR's attempts were futile. Except for eight attackers who got in behind some escorts and patients, the clinic was functioning all day. The students and youth proudly chanted, "This is not Wichita! This clinic is OPEN!" and "Sexist, Racist, Anti-gay, Born-Again Bigots Go Away." Throughout the day the students and youth boldly carried their signs into the



right-wing picket line and outchanted their prayers and hymns. Prayers were backed up with choruses of "blah blah blah, etc." And when the clinic officially closed on Saturday after seeing all scheduled patients, chants of "Operation Failure" and "Pray! You'll need it! Your cause has been defeated!" filled the air. A wonderful spirit of victory and defiance flooded the defenders and their supporters.

At a rally of 200 people called by NOW the following day, NOW publicly congratulated the Coalition for their courageous and inspiring stand. The crowd erupted in cheers. A student leader addressed the students and youth in the crowd, "You have led the way for the women's movement to follow!" Truly, the Coalition had done the right thing and no one could deny it, and the more mainstream women's movement was deeply inspired.

This victory came through lots of struggle. Even up to the day before the Operation Rescue attack, NOW and PP were calling supporters on the phone telling them not to come to the clinic. The PP director was quoted in the paper after Friday's defense saying, "We asked them not to come. They are not an extension of us. The patients don't know who's pro and who's anti." But none of these views held back the youth from acting to defeat Operation Rescue in this heartland city; the youth took inspiration from other cities like Detroit, Chicago, New York

and Iowa City where pro-life forces stopped OR from disrupting the clinics.

As RCYB members and an *RW* reporter went down Clifton Ave.—a strip where youth hang out on Sunday—selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and talking to people about joining the RCYB, lots of youth and students told about their experiences in the last few weeks. Two of the student organizers in the Coalition said: "The government is overconfident and also desperate, coming off the Gulf war. They (the ruling class) realize that people's living standards are going down, lots of unemployment, so they have to be more repressive to stop the people from revolting and rising up. I think the power has to lie in the masses [smiling], there needs to be a revolution. As long as we have a small ruling class, they are doing things in their interests as capitalists. We need to build this Coalition as part of a mass movement to beat back the attacks on women and Blacks. We aren't just talking about keeping *Roe vs. Wade* but going beyond to free abortion for everyone."

The youth are confident and ready to mobilize even more people if Operation Rescue comes back in mid-November, when they claim they will return. The students are sure they will be met with even stronger resistance. The spirit of these young fighters is reflected in their chant to the reactionaries: "Reverse Roe? Try it! We'll start a fucking riot!"

A woman activist and *RW* reader from Cincinnati



An anti-abortion protester tumbles over a fence during clinic defense organized by University of Cincinnati Coalition for Choice.



Israeli soldiers attack Palestinian women in the city of Betha.

Book Review

Gaza: A Year in the Intifada

This book review was sent to us by a reader:

Earlier this year in April, the Israeli army forced the family of Munzer Abdullah out of their home in the West Bank and told them that it was going to be demolished. For injuring an Israeli soldier, Mr. Abdullah was going to be punished by being prohibited from "exercising rights to the structure or land."

Mr. Abdullah, a 33-year-old shopkeeper and father of six young children, was already dead. The day before he had been shot eight times at point blank range by an Israeli soldier after a minor traffic accident. A soldier was slightly injured in the accident, according to the authorities. Mr. Abdullah paid with his life—his family would continue to pay, forced into the street to watch their home destroyed.

The *New York Times* treated the story as something of a curiosity. "Odd Twist in West Bank Punishment," said its headline. But this was no oddity. This is standard operating procedure for Israel's gestapo. Since the Palestinian uprising, the intifada, began in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on December 9, 1987, thousands of Palestinians have had their homes demolished by the Israeli occupiers. They are forced into the refugee camps with tens of thousands of other Palestinians.

Gloria Emerson, in her sympathetic and moving new book *Gaza, A Year in the Intifada: A Personal Account From an Occupied Land* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1991), tells us that the word intifada in Arabic means "shaking off." This spontaneous explosion of anger and rebellion by the Palestinian people has been a rising to shake off the chains of repression and enslavement. Like the Roman slave Spartacus, the Palestinians have struck back at their occupiers and shouted, "We are not animals!"

Life Under Occupation

Emerson recounts dozens of examples from the brutal, fascistic Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. With equal clarity she illustrates the dignity and defiance, the unbroken spirit and continued resistance of the Palestinian people in the face of their oppressors.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians have been jailed and many tortured as the Israelis attempt to crush the rebellion. One torture

technique used by the Israelis is to put a hood over the head of a prisoner during interrogation. Emerson writes: "The Israelis found it a useful method to induce acute disorientation, so had the British in Northern Ireland. It was an easy way to inflict deep harm." She recounts the harrowing experience of one Palestinian prisoner: "The man was not allowed to sleep, barely able to breathe inside the hood smelling of old sweat and old vomit.... 'When they put this hood on your head, saturate with water and close it—well if it is closed for forty seconds you are deeply thinking you are going to die. They expel tear gas inside it too.'"

Yet in these prisons, where nine or more people live in a 10 x 10 cell, the Palestinians have been steeled and have learned to strike back at their jailers. One Israeli author called Israeli prisons the Palestinians' universities.

The Palestinians compare themselves to the Vietnamese who fought against the U.S. imperialists. People in Jabalia, in the northern end of Gaza where the intifada began, call their refugee camp the Camp of Vietnam.

Women's Resistance

Emerson's descriptions of the attitude and role of the Palestinian women is striking. She reports: "The soldiers grumbled about the women in Gaza and the Strip, as if they were not behaving nicely and often grew quite heated about it. Surprised by their own surges of boldness, the women were not the serfs that Westerners often imagine inhabit each Muslim society. No one could describe them as drowsy little worms. In Gaza they were coming to life in the insurrection, while appearing to be the same in many ways, concealing their bodies and hair, staying home to take care of others, and walking as sedately as ever in the streets. But many were transformed, unforgiving of the soldiers, refusing to keep quiet about such trespasses, such injustice."

Emerson recounts the story of a 30-year-old midwife named Fatmah who was on duty one night in the maternity ward of a UN clinic in Khan Yunis, a small refugee camp in Gaza near the border with Egypt. There was a loud and insistent knocking on the door and Fatmah opened it, thinking it

Palestinians from the Gaza Strip wait for day labor in Israel.



was an anxious husband bringing in his wife. But it was not a patient.

"Israeli soldiers stormed in, commandos on an urgent mission. Fatmah, with seven years of experience, was accomplished in a crisis and held her ground. There were only ten high, narrow little beds, with clean sheets and green and white blankets in the ward, hardly a place to hide. One woman, only eighteen, was in labor but not yet ready to deliver in a room by herself. Two weeks later Fatmah was calm in her recital of that nasty night but still looked perturbed. A carpenter was working to repair more than a dozen doors kicked in by the soldiers."

Fatmah tells what happened next: "I was really shocked.... But I tried to protect the women in bed who were so agitated. The soldiers searched everywhere, in the closets, under the beds. I asked one of them 'What is it you want?' He just looked at me. A lot of them went into the delivery room and they kept kicking down the doors.... The woman who was in labor was undressed and she had been screaming but when she saw these men, the soldiers, she grew more frenzied and screamed more and more. At that moment I was terrified because I was so afraid for her. It was her first baby too...."

"The soldiers ordered us not to move or speak. They were laughing when they left here. They went into all the rooms knocking in the doors. The noise! They wanted to know if there were any boys—here!—so they kept searching all the rooms."

"I tried to call for help, and I was astonished to find the telephone line cut."

Then there is the story of Naela Zaquot, a young woman who had studied abroad to be a laboratory technician. One evening Naela sat at home after supper with her in-laws and husband. Suddenly Israeli soldiers "plunged in like men on a combat assault as if armed Palestinians were waiting in every room." Her mother-in-law was thrown into a bedroom, her father-in-law was dragged into the kitchen, and her hus-

band was beaten outside.

Naela was ordered to get dressed and go with the soldiers. "She wanted to tell one of the women among her captors that she was pregnant but was told she was not allowed to speak. That night, in the police station at Ashkelon in Israel, she was made to sleep on the floor, her head near the toilet."

The next day she was interrogated in a freezing cold room in the prison. She was hooded during the interrogation. "On the night of February 24, 1987 she began to hemorrhage and called out that she must be taken to the toilet. The cramps were so severe that she could not easily stand but she was ready to crawl if no one would help her. Permission was denied."

"'You must talk if you want a doctor,' said the guard. Even in pain she was astonished to hear this."

Naela Zaquot had a miscarriage, laying on the floor of that Israeli prison clotted in blood.

Naela and her husband were eventually released and on February 22, 1988 she and her husband had a child. Six days later her husband was again arrested and on August 1 he was deported, forbidden again to enter Palestine. Then 35 soldiers came to arrest her, her six-month-old child left behind. An international campaign was begun to denounce and protest this latest Israeli brutality. In October the baby was allowed to join his mother in prison. After months in prison the mother and child were released.

In June of 1989 Naela Zaquot was in the West Bank town of Ramallah visiting her elderly parents. About 11:30 p.m. soldiers burst into the house. "Where is the bitch, who does she go around screwing in Ramallah?" one Israeli hollered." They went into Naela's bedroom and took her diary and envelope of letters from her exiled husband.

The brutality and cruelty of the Israeli occupiers comes out sharply in Gloria Emerson's book. But what is also striking in Emerson's portrait of Naela Zaquot—and so many other Palestinians—is an incredible strength of spirit and determination. "The women in the intifada can do anything, almost the impossible," Naela Zaquot told Emerson. "In the light of harsh, traditional social customs they are always limited so it was difficult for us to break the chains. Not an easy task."

Voices from the Intifada

Emerson does not detail the daily battles of the intifada, how it has maintained and stayed strong and coherent in the face of Israel's savage repression. But through her interviews with Palestinians from all walks of life, different classes and political tendencies, the reader comes away with a vivid impression of this war of stones, its possibilities and the obstacles it confronts.

"America is the plague and the plague is America," a doctor in one of the Palestinian refugee camps told Emerson. "He wanted

to discuss the effects of the tear gas made in Pennsylvania in case I did not understand how awful it was."

"Many Israelis, and Americans too, claimed that the Palestinian parents forced their children to be belligerent but they did not need to be coaxed or tutored," writes the author. "All that they saw in their daily lives was reason enough and it was the children who were most eager for revenge, as if the matter was up to them. Many parents, who loathed the Israeli occupation, were pleased by the children's defiance but could not have kept them docile in any case; warnings went unheeded. The children believed they grew wings and would be too fast for the bullet, the club or the soldier giving chase. When caught, only the smallest were seen to be crying."

The Zionists' Criminal Occupation of Palestine

After reading Emerson's account, the question comes up: Is the Israeli occupiers' behavior any different from the Nazi soldiers who sealed off and slaughtered the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto in Poland during World War II? In the movie *Shoah* about the Holocaust, the filmmaker interviews a group of people who today live in houses and run businesses stolen from the Jews who were sent to the concentration camps by the Nazis. The Israelis have done the same thing to Palestinians.

One of the voices in Emerson's book is that of a Palestinian woman whose family, like many others, were driven out of their homeland by the Israelis in 1948: "Our house in Lod had six rooms, an Israeli engineer demolished it to build his own. There was such a good garden with many kinds of roses and jasmine. My father and uncles planted the roses. There were orange trees and a grape arbor and a swing for us."

Thirty-two years later she visited the place where her family's house had stood. "In 1980 we visited our house.... Oh I felt my heart thump.... I had a vision of my father and mother.... A woman came on the stairs shouting 'Go away, go away' and others came out of the house. They were very frightened. The women were shouting so loudly and shaking their fists so we left quickly."

Jews by the hundreds of thousands were brutalized and murdered in Auschwitz, a name that along with Hiroshima has come to symbolize the crimes of the powerful in the 20th century. Zionists have tried for four decades to justify their occupation of Palestinian people by what was done to the Jews by the Nazis. But by its own behavior the Israeli state and those who have participated in or supported its savagery have lost any right to claim the mantle of Auschwitz.

They have learned the wrong lessons from the Nazi death camps. The State of Israel does not represent the survivors of Auschwitz—it represents the perpetrators of Auschwitz.

And it is the youth of the intifada, these bold and ferocious Palestinians, who are the real heirs of the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto—those who would not remain silent and obedient in the face of repression and murder, who fought to the death on their feet rather than dying on their knees.

This is not Emerson's conclusion. But she provides rich evidence of its truth. □



Demonstrators carry the outlawed Palestinian flag, March, 1989.

New facts have come out recently about Israel's nuclear weapons arsenal. It's been known for many years that Israel has nukes, although Israel—and Israel's main backer, the U.S.—has never admitted it officially. A new book by Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option*, says that Israel's nuclear arsenal is even larger than what was estimated before and that Israel has gone on full nuclear alert three times, including during the U.S. war against Iraq earlier this year. This is coming out as the U.S. and its allies continue to threaten and commit aggression against Iraq, using the excuse of "stopping the nuclear threat."

Hersh is known as the reporter who broke the story of the U.S. atrocities at My Lai in Vietnam in 1969. His latest book is based largely on information Hersh got from current and former U.S. and Israeli government officials and technical experts. It describes the long history and vast extent of Israel's nuclear weapons program and how Israel, with U.S. support, stands ready to use their nukes against those they see as their enemies.

In 1985 *Aerospace Daily* reported that Israel had deployed nuclear-tipped missiles in the Negev (Naqab) desert and in the Golan Heights, a strip of Syrian territory seized by Israel in 1967. In April 1990, four months before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, U.S. government sources leaked that Israel had begun to put some of its nuclear forces on alert and keep its missiles in secret hardened silos. This was supposedly in response to Saddam Hussein's boast that Iraq could hit Israel with chemical weapons. At the time, former Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin issued a thinly veiled nuclear threat against Iraq when he said, "It would be best for Saddam Hussein not to provoke Israel. Iraq is not out of our range to harm it severely. We have a smashing response, many-fold stronger than the threats of Saddam Hussein."

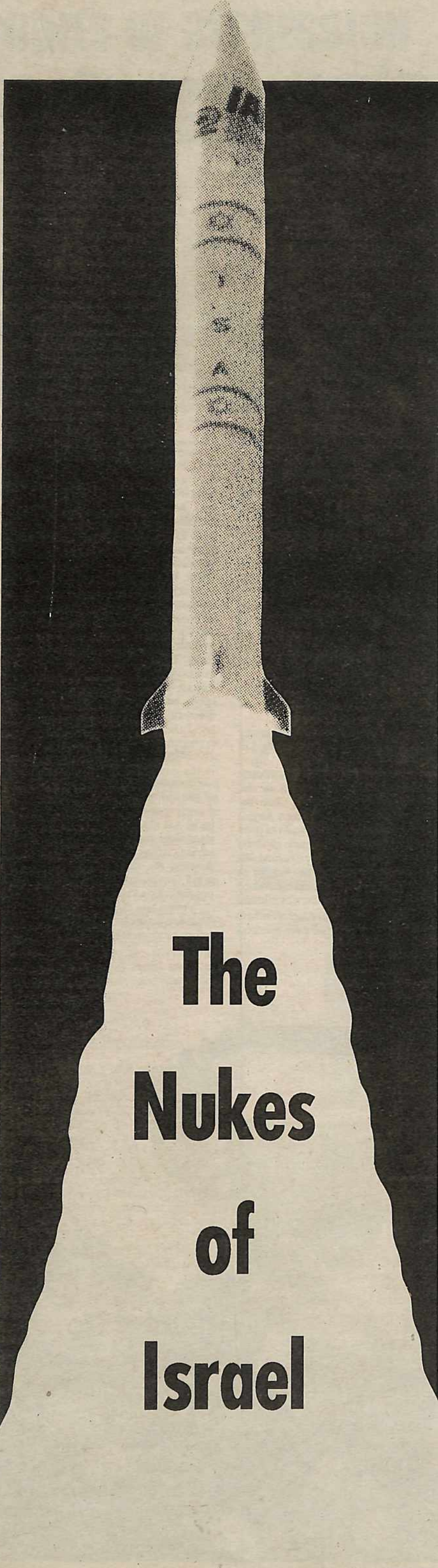
Israel officially was not part of the U.S. war coalition against Iraq during the Gulf war. This helped the U.S. imperialists pull Arab states like Syria and Egypt into the alliance. But the Zionist state participated in the war in various ways. Hersh's book reveals that during the Gulf war Israel placed its nuclear forces on the highest possible alert. He reports that after Iraq fired some Scud missiles at Tel Aviv, U.S. satellites detected that Israel's mobile missiles armed with nuclear warheads were moved out of their silos and pointed at Iraq. The full-scale alert continued for weeks.

Israel's nuclear arsenal is one of 69 topics that are banned by Israeli censors from public discussion. But in 1986 Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu supplied the London *Sunday Times* with details and photos of Israel's top-secret nuclear complex at Dimona in the Negev desert. Vanunu's information showed that Israel had acquired the ability to produce thermonuclear weapons with the explosive power of hundreds of thousands of tons of TNT—enough to level whole cities like Damascus or Baghdad. After these revelations, Vanunu was kidnapped by Israeli agents, convicted in an Israeli court and sentenced to 18 years of solitary confinement.

Intelligence sources in the U.S. had estimated that Israel had about 100 nuclear warheads. Vanunu's report suggested an arsenal of 150 to 200 nukes. Hersh says that the actual number is 300 or more.

U.S. officials always claim that "if" Israel has nuclear weapons, they were acquired without U.S. knowledge or help and against U.S. wishes. This is a lie. For decades U.S. intelligence has monitored Israel's nuclear development and knew about the Israeli nukes. But no U.S. administration has cut back on billions in military and economic aid to Israel. For Israel, the U.S. has waived the usual requirement that those receiving U.S. aid sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The U.S. military has approved the export of all kinds of nuclear technology to Israel, from supercomputers used for bomb blast simulations to krytrons used as bomb triggers.

The *Samson Option* describes how Israel came close to nuking Egypt and Syria during the October War in 1973. Faced with the possibility of crushing military defeat, Israel's top leaders met in an underground bunker and made the decision to ready their nuclear forces. Missile launchers at Hirtbat



The Nukes of Israel

Zachariah, a remote area in the foothills of Jerusalem, were armed with nuclear warheads and targeted. A squadron of eight F-4 jets loaded with nuclear bombs were put on alert at Tel Nof airbase in the Negev desert and issued target lists that included military headquarters near Cairo, Egypt and Damascus, Syria. At the same time the U.S. mounted a massive airlift of conventional weapons to Israel. The airlift rescued the Zionists and allowed them to go on the offensive against the Arab armies. U.S. President Nixon placed U.S. forces on Def Con 3 status, with the Strategic Air Command's fleet of nuclear-armed B-52s on alert. This move threatened the USSR with nuclear war if the Soviets landed troops in Egypt.

Israel's Dimona nuclear facility is a vast complex of at least nine buildings, known as Machons, and 2,700 employees. The most important parts are Machon 1, a silver-domed nuclear reactor, and Machon 2, a hidden six-level underground chemical reprocessing plant where Vanunu worked for several years, helping produce plutonium and other bomb materials around-the-clock. The complex is guarded by Israeli soldiers, electronic surveillance and U.S.-made Hawk and Chaparral surface-to-air missiles. Built in the later 1950s and early 1960s with French help, Dimona started making nuclear bombs by early 1968 at the rate of four or five a year. Vanunu reported that the facility began producing chemicals for thermonuclear hydrogen bombs in 1980 and for neutron bombs (which can kill masses of people while leaving property and land with little damage) in 1984.

Israel's first nuclear war plans were sometimes referred to as "the Samson Option," meaning Israel had the ability to "bring down the whole temple," as the Biblical figure Samson did, if faced with military defeat. But Hersh ends his book by noting: "The Samson Option is no longer the only nuclear option available to Israel." Israel can now mount strategic nuclear offensives by using its nuclear weapons against far-away targets. This has been the case for over a decade.

Hersh writes that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the U.S. leaked spy satellite data to the Israeli military, enabling Israel to draw up target lists for nuclear bombing of Arab countries and even of Moscow and other Soviet cities. In 1981 the satellite data was used by Israel to plan its unprovoked jet bombing of Osiraq, an Iraqi nuclear reactor under construction outside Baghdad. A few months later, according to Mark Gaffney's book *Dimona: The Third Temple?* and others, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon formulated secret contingency plans to bomb and occupy Saudi oil fields.

The new revelations about Israeli nukes show even more clearly how hypocritical the U.S. is in attacking Iraq for attempting to develop nuclear weapons of its own. The U.S. forces brought about 1,000 nuclear warheads of their own into the region during the Gulf war. And the U.S. government knew about the full nuclear alert in Israel. Clearly, what the Western powers oppose is not nuclear weapons in general in the Middle East but nuclear weapons in the "wrong hands"—those that could challenge Israeli and Western interests in the region.

The new exposures about Israeli nukes also come right before the start of U.S.-orchestrated Middle East "peace talks." Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's spokesman refused to comment on Hersh's book "since we are engaged in the important issue of promoting peace right now." More hypocrisy! Israel's nuclear arsenal has much to do with what the Zionists hope to achieve through the "peace process." As a settler-colonial state built on land stolen from the Palestinian people, Israel has fought repeated wars of aggression and conquest against the Arabs. It is a highly parasitic and militarized country that survives only with massive aid from the U.S. and other Western powers. Israel seized on nuclear weapons as an "economical" shortcut to maintain regional hegemony. In the wake of their Gulf war victory, the U.S. is trying to build a new "security arrangement" in the Middle East that includes more open ties with reactionary Arab states. But nuclear-armed Israel continues to be a very important part of U.S. power schemes in the region. □

"The Chop Stops Here"

BRAVES FEVER AND OTHER SOCIAL DISEASES

ATLANTA—"The Chop stops here!"

Fans of the Atlanta Braves and the Minnesota Twins got a political education they didn't expect at the World Series this year. Throughout the World Series games between the Minnesota Twins and the Atlanta Braves, there was a constant Native American presence calling for the Braves to change their name. The American Indian Movement called on people to stage a presence at the games and make this an issue to be taken up. AIM and their supporters raised the question vividly: What would you think if there were a team called the "Seattle Negroes?" What about the "New York Jews?" In Atlanta, AIM held three days of demonstrations as people entered the Fulton County Stadium to see the game. About thirty people from Refuse & Resist!, the RCYB, the RCP, ARISE (Against Racism in Sporting Events), and the Workers World Party joined the protests.

The news media was swept with controversy. Reporters had the gall to wonder aloud if ridiculing another culture was "offensive." Team officials and fans tried to explain it away by saying, "We just weren't thinking at the time." Defenders of the right-of-Americans-to-have-fun-no-matter-what-oppressed-people-they-trample-on questioned why this was suddenly such a big issue. Others accused the Indians of taking advantage of the success of the Atlanta Braves to make a "political statement."

In a land where genocide of Native peoples was turned into the theme for a children's game called "Cowboys and Indians," the ways of the oppressor die hard.

It was such a clear point that even the media couldn't avoid giving it some coverage. Actress Jane Fonda publicly apologized for doing the "Chop" and promised not to do it again. Brian Hunter, a first baseman rookie for the Braves, said on TV, "I never really thought about it, but I guess if they had a white man in blackface and an Afro running around with a spear, I'd feel pretty bad about that. This is pretty much the same thing." A woman interviewed on CNN mused that what was happening here was that you had a bunch of white men who didn't want to give up their toy tomahawks and their headdresses—no matter who it hurt. Atlanta papers were swarmed with letters taking both sides.

The media rushed to interview Native American people who think the name "Braves" and the trappings of the fans—the headdresses, "war paint," and the tomahawk chop and cheer are not offensive. But what kind of legacy are people celebrating when they cover their face in greasepaint and their heads with chicken feathers? 500 years of racism and genocide against the Native American people. In Georgia, the Cherokee were driven out and murdered in a massacre-by-starvation called the Trail of Tears. Blankets infested with smallpox were given to the people by the U.S. army. The "Tomahawk" was originally a tool for hunting and digging—it was the Europeans that promoted it as a war weapon, along with scalping. The whole "Braves Fever" thing makes a mockery out of this history of oppression and trains the people to belittle and ridicule the culture of the Native peoples. What kind of society turns oppressed peoples into "mascots" for sports teams?

The media hinted that the old Braves mascot, Chief "Knock-A-Homa"—who actually is a Native American—would be "brought out of retirement" if the controversy continued any further. Vernon Bellecourt of AIM was quick to respond: "Do



you remember Chief Knock-A-Homa? He was one of the most despicable examples of this—and they used one of our own people to do it! See how they do it—they always use our own people to do it! One of your writers, Lewis Grizzard—of the Atlanta Urinal Constipation newspaper—and these Nazi hosts on these radio talk stations, continue to attack us with the most vile racist slurs. And tonight we've been told that they want to resurrect Chief Knock-A-Homa at the game tonight. I'm telling you—support what we're saying. Run that clown off the field. He's an Uncle Tomahawk—an Uncle Tom-Tom. He's a 'hang-around-the-park' Indian. We had our scouts in history that rode with the Calvary, and we have our scouts now. Shame goes to Chief Knock-A-Homa."

Like so many aspects of popular culture in the U.S. the enthusiasm of the sports arena is used to promote and glorify imperialist plunder. As speakers from the American Indian Movement explained that the chants and costumes of "Braves Fever" were offensive racist caricatures, a group of suburbanites, their heads covered in chicken feathers and faces in greasepaint, arrogantly proved the point. They waved foam "tomahawks" saying "SHUT UP! We respect Indians!" "We're honoring Indians." When some AIM people demonstrated an authentic Indian song, these beer-bellied reactionaries "honored" them by drowning the real Indian song with the Braves "chant." A high school teacher with the AIM demo shot back: "Oh, I really enjoy that 'Indian song' you're singing. That's a Hamm's Beer commercial! You say you are 'honoring the Indians' and you're doing a Hamm's beer commercial!" Later he added, "We're the only race of people where you can go dig up our graves to build a house."

When a crowd of "fans" started yelling, "Go home! Go home!" Demonstrators replied: "YOU go home!" "If WE went home, we'd have to take your backyard. How do you like this white boy telling US to go home!" Though the most backward people confronted the demonstrators, throughout the speakout the breezeways of the stadium were filled with people—mainly Black youth—listening intently to what the protesters were saying.

After hearing some of the speakers that night, an onlooker threw his tomahawk down. □

"First they tell us: 'We love the Indians' and 'We respect the Indians.' But when we say that what you're doing is embarrassing and demeaning, a kind of schizophrenia sets in. You become very aggressive and hostile at the message and want to attack us. Then you tell us to 'go home.' If we 'went home,' we'd be in your backyard! Where do you think you got your houses and savings accounts? One of the greatest crimes in human history is what you people did to the Native people.... What these young people [with the tomahawks] need is to be taken to the woodshed and have their asses kicked. They are sort of like the Nazi Youth—they are the Nazi movement in America. These are the people that like George Bush, these are part of George Bush's New World Order."

Vernon Bellecourt, AIM spokesperson

"When we first came out here two weeks ago during the playoffs, we got a 75 percent negative response. Some of our people were assaulted physically and verbally. We see now about a 50 percent response from people that are with us. We are in dialog with the management now, who want to discuss this AFTER the Series is over...we will wait and see if the words they have spoken are true, or if once again the White man speaks with a forked tongue. We've received a lot of phone calls from people, from teachers wanting us to come to their classrooms, and from organizations sympathetic to human rights to issue a statement in solidarity with our efforts. Women have come to support us because they're being victimized in this society too, by the sexist attitudes here."

Aaron Two Elk, Oglala Lakota (also known as the Sioux people) Southeastern regional Coordinator for the American Indian Movement.

"I am standing in solidarity with my Indian brothers because I am just like them. Too long we have endured the atrocities of America. We have no rights here. We have no privileges here. When you tell me to go out and vote and then ask me who should I vote for, I say back to you: 'Who should I vote for? Another racist? Another bigot? Another murderer? Think about that.' The real Americans are the ones who are standing here today. They are the ones that lived on this land, who cultivated this land, who made it possible for you to survive. You would not have 'made it' if it were not for the Indian people. Many settlers came and could not survive under these conditions, and were aided by the Indians. Many of my people, my brothers and sisters, are still ignorant of the fact that they live in a land that cares nothing for them. Every time they go to the polls, they bring in a NEW oppressor. We just fought a war recently to take another land. How long can you do this? How long can you continue to take the land of the world for yourselves? Right here you have a statue of one of the baseball greats, Hank Aaron. Y'all claim that you love Hank Aaron. But did you really love him when he was in here? No! Did you love Jackie Robinson? No! So I say to you—stop being hypocritical! Stand up for what is true and what is right!... There is no Master Race and there never will be—and we pray now that you will join hands and join humanity in the league of nations. I would like to call all of you my brothers and sisters. But I can't do that because we do not act like brothers and sisters."

A Black Muslim



The Revolutionary Communist Party Fund Drive 1991

Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog, people-killing, spirit-crushing system. Something much better is possible. There is a REVOLUTIONARY way! Where the people work in common for the common good. We saw this in the high tide of the Cultural Revolution in Mao's China. And we can see it today in the mountains of Peru.

It's a fact: when the common people get connected with revolutionary politics, the New World Order can be brought down. The Revolutionary Communist Party is out to make it happen here.

We are striving to make some very big leaps in the revolutionary movement, to strengthen the people's side in the battles being waged now and get in position for THE TIME.

We need your financial support to make this happen. Many more party organizers and agitators need to be trained and sent out to wherever people are fighting back—organizing, mobilizing, strategizing and getting ready to lead people in revolutionizing. Networks of readers of the *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* newspaper need to spread everywhere—in the ghettos and barrios, schools, factories, on campuses and among all those fighting the outrages and abuses of this system.

We Dare To Dream!
We Dare To Struggle!
We Dare To Win!

The RCP needs funds to expand its influence and outreach. The following is only one of the urgent projects that your contributions will help accomplish.

The Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund \$4,000

The PRLF provides revolutionary literature and the *RW/OR* to thousands of sisters and brothers behind bars. It is their vital lifeline. Heartfelt, courageous requests for new prison subscriptions constantly arrive. These prisoners are usually kept penniless by their jailers. This major project cannot function without your ongoing support.

The following letters to the RW are from readers inside prison:

Dear RW:

I don't feel that there is any laudatory discourse which can sufficiently express my appreciation and praise toward the profound contents of the *Revolutionary Worker*. However, in the words that I can sum up, I must say, the literary of the *Revolutionary Worker* has had a tremendous effect on my social consciousness; educating me in a political front new to me. The *RW* mentally takes one to countries they've never been before, and at the same time makes one feel as though they were there doing all of the alarming factors expressed. The *RW* does not cut corners—it imparts knowledge, explicitly, upon its readers. If the above can be appropriately deciphered, then know for sure, those are just a few out of the many reasons why I support the *RW* and in light of the above, I feel that everyone should support the *RW*. And in doing so, they will be in for a consciousness raising experience.

In closing I'd like to say, even though I'm incarcerated, I support the *RW* in

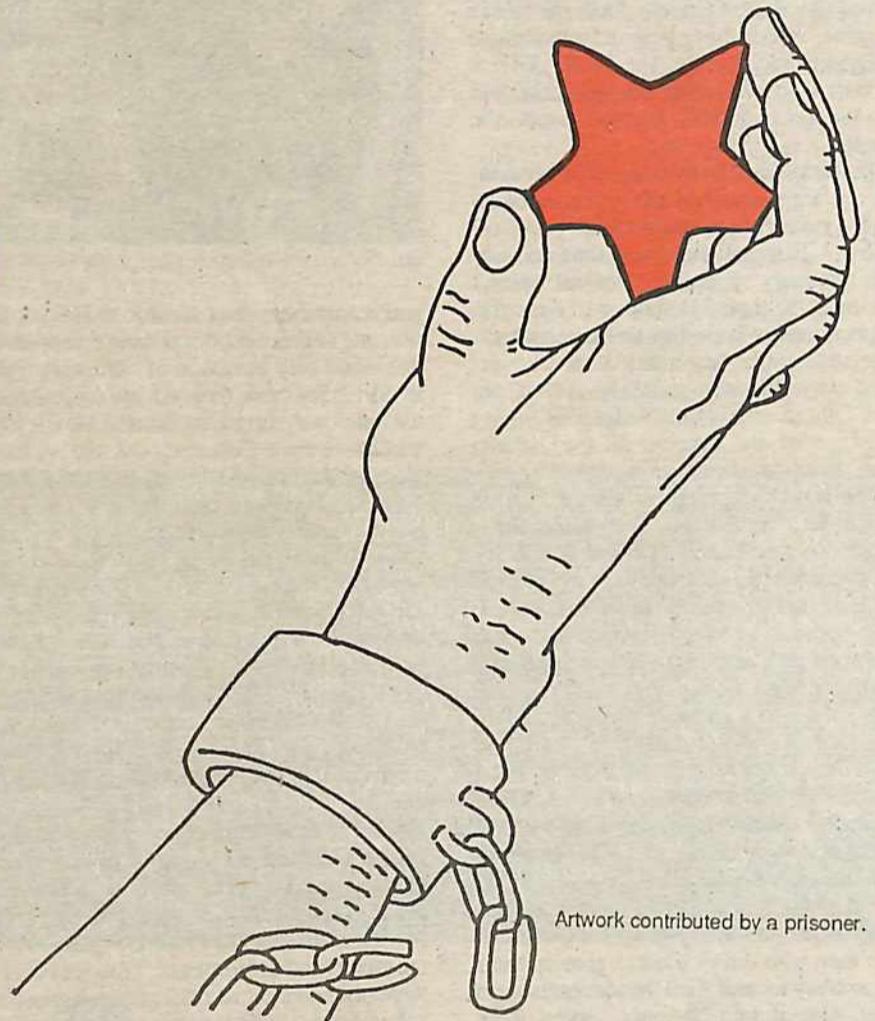
heart and mind.

I'm an advocate reader of your paper. I believe that your accurate coverage of the mass murder in the Persian Gulf war was unmatched and invaluable. My sincerest thanks to each and every one of you for giving us, your readers, an uncensored and objective look at what really occurred.

Lately, I have found your articles on the Rodney King beating are par-excellence. I agree in full with the "Gates Must Go" campaign, and also the coverage on the Washington uproar (the Mount Pleasant Rebellion) was excellent.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that the individual who was receiving your paper was recently moved to another section of the prison. I have no financial resources at the moment to offer. Therefore I would highly appreciate it if I could obtain a free subscription to your "much needed" paper.

Me and my fellow comrades here in lock-up need some insight. So my friends, keep the presses running and never stop exposing the corruption of this country.



Artwork contributed by a prisoner.

I am currently receiving some weekly socialist papers and they write a lot about our struggles around the world against imperialist aggression and the newly formed anti-war movement in this country, but I am seeking something younger and more militant. Judging from what I've read in your excerpts, the *RW/OR* is what I am looking for.

I am a 32-year-old prisoner serving time in one of King George's gulags for "crimes against the government." I am not afraid to speak out against the war, the "New World Order" and the desire and need to overthrow this corrupt, racist government. I support liberation movements around the world and in this country. I struggle every day against oppression from these fascists here who keep me behind bars. Is there any way you could help me by sending me your newspaper? Do you have a policy of sending free subscriptions to prisoners who can't afford a regular subscription? If you do, I would sure appreciate it. A lot of guys in here are sick and tired of all the lies and your newspaper would give me

the opportunity to reach out to them. Thanks for your time, I wish you much success!

I recently received a copy of the *RW* from a friend of mine. I'm currently incarcerated for a crime I did not commit. Henceforth I realize what we are up against! We all know capitalism has no long term solutions to its own inherent structural and economic problems. Yet we see the bourgeois media going on about the failure of "socialism" in Eastern Europe. Yet they don't go to places like Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, the Bronx, Watts, East L.A., etc. and say the devastated economy is a result of the failure of CAPITALISM! People these days just don't seem to realize where their own class interests lie. I do! Furthermore, I realize the *Revolutionary Worker* does!!

I am quite sure that your collective efforts have helped countless people to wake up and see the light. The oppressive regimes must be stopped. I applaud your efforts in this struggle. Keep up the good work!

Contributions, including anonymous donations, can be sent to:
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654.