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MASSACRE IN CHIAPAS

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Coffins of the victims of the massacre in Chiapas.

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Getting Over the Hump Part 7: Strategic Double C

by Bob Avakian



As of January 4, 1998 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for...

5 Years, 82 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete

dungeon at a naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's President Fujimori has publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. Fujimori changed Peru's constitution to legalize the death penalty, which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

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

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

The RW received this call from Refuse & Resist!:

R&R! Calls Demo for 25th Anniversary of Roe v. Wade

January 22, 1998: The 25th Anniversary of Roe v. Wade
Demonstrate for Pro-Choice in Washington
They Can't Have Our Day or Our Lives!
Women Need Abortion on Demand & Without Apology!

January 22, the anniversary of the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision which legalized abortion. But the anti-abortionists have taken over the day with their anti-woman protests. This year, especially, the eyes of the nation will be on Washington, D.C., so our side has to be there, to take back OUR day:

...because for 25 years, through legalized abortion, millions of women have been able to escape forced childbearing, to carry on with their lives, hopes and dreams and have children only if or when they chose to have them.

...because when abortion was illegal, the terror of an unwanted pregnancy meant your life was at risk. You had to have a baby you weren't ready for, had to come up with a lot of money to get a safe illegal abortion, or risk a possibly dangerous "back-alley" abortion or a desperate self-induced abortion from which thousands of women died.

...because now it's hard to get an abortion in most states if you're under 18, poor, or live in one of the 84 percent of U.S. counties where there is no abortion provider. Anti-abortion groups waving pictures of fetuses, claim concern for "life" while leaving women who want and need abortions not only invisible, but subjected to lies, shame and guilt. For many women the "right to choose" has become a hollow promise.

...because those against abortion have waged a systematic campaign of harassment, violence, and murder against abortion clinic workers, doctors, and patients. In 1997 15 clinics have been bombed or burned; in the past five years six doctors and clinic workers have been murdered, and others wounded and shot at, stalked, picketed, and threatened...

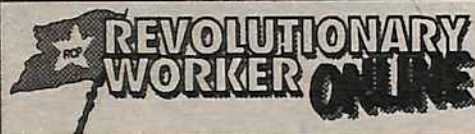
...because attacks on abortion are a basic part of today's whole reactionary agenda—a political program to restore the "traditional" values of white and male supremacy, while blaming and punishing the victims: people of color, immigrants, gays, women and youth.

Plan to be in Washington, D.C.
Thursday, January 22 • 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.
for a STRONG PRO-CHOICE PRESENCE!

Rally, Speak-Out, bring Signs and Visuals to Reclaim OUR DAY! Further plans to be announced in early January! Support & endorse this Call. Get this message to everyone you know! Get a van or bus reserved from your school, and sign people up NOW to be there!

To join in planning for Jan. 22, 1998. Please contact the Reproductive Freedom Task Force, R&R! Refuse & Resist! 305 Madison Avenue, Suite #1166, New York, NY 10165, refuse@calyx.com 212-713-5657.

March 10, 1998 will be the second National Day of Appreciation for Abortion Providers. This is the 5th anniversary of the murder of Dr. David Gunn, the first doctor killed in anti-abortion violence. We will use our imagination, creativity and dedication to help create situations at clinics where women, doctors and staff can hold their heads high without feeling shame or fearing assault. Help organize to support your local abortion provider! Honor abortion providers, without whom there is no "choice"!



Visit at:
<http://www.mcs.net/~rwor>

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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MASSACRE IN CHIAPAS

**MEXICO:
PRO GOVT SQUADS
MURDER 45 CAMPESINOS**



Federal troops in Chiapas.



Indian peasant refugees in Chiapas driven out of their homes by paramilitary troops.

It was just before noon on December 22, in the mountain village of Acteal in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. About 70 members of one of the pro-government and pro-landlord paramilitary groups entered this village of Tzotzil Indian peasants. The gunmen were heavily armed with AK-47 and R-15 combat rifles.

In a calculated and cowardly attack, the paramilitary forces began firing on the villagers, who had no way of defending themselves. Many were attending services at the small village church when they were gunned down in cold blood. Others were killed as they tried to flee toward a nearby river.

The shootings continued for several hours. By the end, 45 people had been massacred—21 women, 9 men and 15 children, including a baby less than a year old. Some of the children were shot at close range or hacked to death with machetes. Dozens of others were injured. The official state police were just outside the village—close enough to hear the gunfire—but they did not intervene in the bloodbath.

A doctor who treated many of the victims at the hospital in San Cristóbal de las Casas said, "I have never seen bullet wounds as large as these." The paramilitary gunmen apparently used expanding hollow-tip bullets. There is little doubt that these deadly ammunition and high-powered rifles used by the paramilitary assassins came from military or police sources.

Government Reign of Terror in Chiapas

The group that descended on Acteal is one of the paramilitary forces associated with the PRI—Institutional Revolutionary Party, the largest ruling class party in Mexico, which controls the federal government and many of the state governments, including in Chiapas. Among the people locally, these paramilitary groups are known as "priistas." The attorney general of the state of Chiapas claimed that the

massacre was the result of a long-standing "feud" between several families in the region. But one young peasant man quoted in the *New York Times* said, "It's not between families. It's the priistas."

In the aftermath of the massacre, top PRI officials, including President Ernesto Zedillo, denied that they had anything to do with the incident. These PRI bigshots might try to pin the blame for the mass murder on low-level officials. The local PRI official in Chenalhó, the municipality where Acteal is located, has been arrested in connection with the massacre.

Whether or not the top PRI officials had direct prior knowledge of the massacre, it is clear that what happened in Acteal on December 22 is the result of the policies of Mexico's U.S.-backed government.

Acteal is located in the Los Altos (highland) region of Chiapas, where thousands of Indian peasants rose up in arms on the 1st of January 1994, under the leadership of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN). The Chiapas uprising electrified the whole nation of Mexico and sent shockwaves around the world. It focused attention on the poverty and oppression suffered by the peasant and Indian masses in Mexico—and on their demands for land and justice.

Since the uprising, the Mexican ruling class, with backing from the U.S. imperialists, have been carrying out counter-revolutionary dual tactics in an attempt to suppress the just struggle of the peasant masses. On one hand, the PRI-controlled federal government has held on-and-off talks with the EZLN and floated out promises of "reforms" and "economic development."

At the same time, the government has flooded the Los Altos region with thousands of army troops. The federal troops are laying siege to the EZLN bases deep in the Lacandón Jungle. In the villages and towns outside the Lacandón Jungle, the army—along with the police and the paramilitary groups—is carrying out a reign of terror against those who support

the EZLN.

The use of the reactionary paramilitary groups is similar to the way the U.S.-backed government in Peru has formed "rondas" in the countryside and cities as a counter-insurgency tool against the Maoist people's war. According to a recent article in the Mexican newspaper *La Jornada*, the paramilitaries are recruited mainly among rural youth who have no jobs or land to farm. They are lured with promises of "prestige" of belonging to an officially backed armed group, regular pay, and extra income—from the theft and extortion of crops, domestic animals and other items from peasant families.

According to various news reports, the paramilitary groups have been stepping up their activity in recent months. The people who came under attack in Acteal had already been driven out of other villages. The paramilitary groups targeted them because they were members of a non-armed group called Las Abejas, which supports the political and economic demands of the EZLN.

After the massacre, the whole region was thrown into turmoil as thousands of peasants fled their villages because of word that paramilitary groups—together with the police and elements of the federal army—might be planning new attacks. The *New York Times* reported: "The people fleeing told stories of being under virtual siege in recent months by paramilitary groups. They said that the gunmen, who opposition leaders say are loyal to the nation's ruling party, have blocked off tiny dirt roads in several small towns that are the only supply route for food and have barred anyone from leaving. The gunmen also stole people's possessions and stole or extorted money, they said."

One of those fleeing, a 31-year-old man from the village of Chorros, talked about the threats from the priistas: "First they demanded 10,000 pesos. Where do I get that? Then they said, 5,000 pesos. If you didn't give them the money, you were

going to die. They were going to shoot you."

The refugees say they are being forced to leave their homes because of dire shortages of food and other necessities. Many have had their homes burned to the ground by the paramilitaries. There are reports that many refugees, especially children, are suffering from severe undernourishment, diarrhea, respiratory problems and other illnesses.

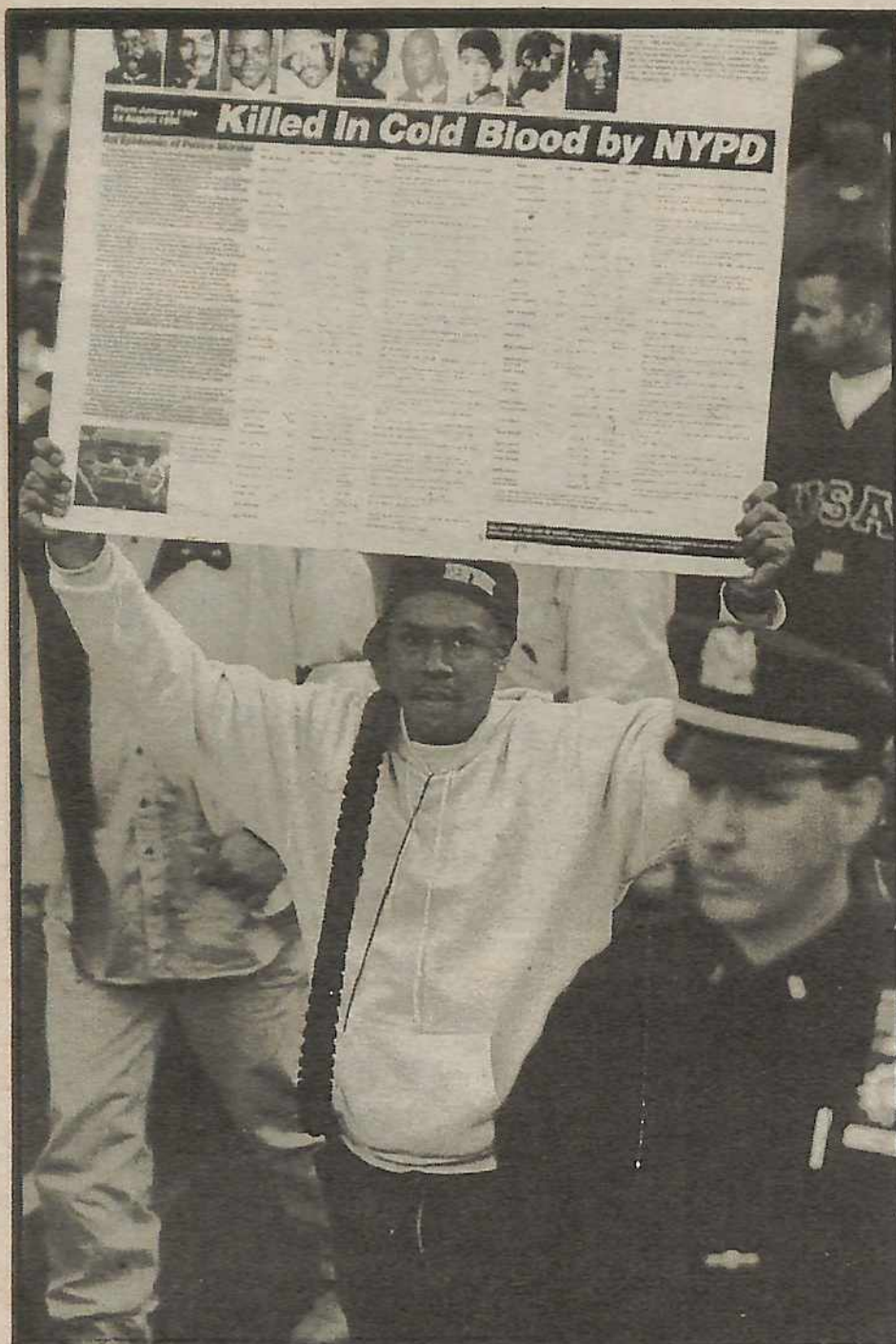
The Zedillo government is now using the recent developments as justification to send even more army troops into Chiapas and further ratchet up the militarization of the region. The federal army has declared itself on "maximum alert," and thousands of additional troops have been moved into the southeastern jungle zone of Chiapas. According to one report, the army presence has increased so much in the municipality of Chenalhó that there is now one soldier for every 20 residents.

From a Strategic Reserve to a Dagger Aimed at U.S. Imperialism

The massacre in Acteal shows that the Mexican rulers and their U.S. backers have no real solutions to the problems faced by the oppressed people of Mexico. Their only answer to the demands of the masses is more militarization, more paramilitary death squads, more landlessness, more poverty. It is not just that the rulers are cruel and heartless. They *cannot* provide real solutions, because their whole system is based on ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the people.

In the four years since the Chiapas uprising, the U.S. rulers have further tightened their imperialist hold over Mexico through the North American Free Trade Agreement. But they are also increasingly worried about the possibility of social upheaval and revolutionary struggle in Mexico. They are quickening the pace of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border. And the U.S. military and the CIA are providing Mexico's federal army with new levels of covert aid and training. This military aid is described as part of the "anti-drug" effort in Mexico. But the *New York Times* noted a few days after the Acteal massacre that there is "nothing to stop the transfer of American-trained army officers to similar special forces units that might be deployed against leftist insurgents in southern states like Guerrero and Chiapas."

The U.S. imperialists have long considered Mexico as their special "back yard"—a strategic reserve where they can freely profit off the backs of the oppressed and interfere in order to protect their interests. But as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement pointed out right after the Chiapas uprising: "Revolutionary struggle can transform Mexico from a strategic reserve of U.S. imperialism into a strategic dagger of the world proletarian revolution aimed at the very heart of U.S. imperialism." □



Racial Justice Day, New York City, April 7, 1997.

NYPD Murder Statistics: Lies and Reality

A week after the shooting of William Whitfield, the *New York Times* ran an article on the front page of its Metro section under the headline "Police's Use of Deadly Force in New York Is Low for Nation." The article, citing statistics from an FBI study that tracked police shootings between 1985 and 1989, claims that cops in the NYPD shoot people much less frequently than in any other large city in the country. The statistics are based on shootings per 1,000 cops and show, for example, that in San Diego there were 4.1 shootings compared to New York's 0.7 shootings.

When the figures list the number of people killed, a bloody picture emerges. In San Diego 6.6 people was the average number of people killed, in New York 22.7 was the number—coming in second only behind L.A. with 25.0!

It is curious that the *Times* chose to highlight a study whose information is almost 10 years old, especially given that, as the article points out, there has been a marked increase in the number of civilian complaints in the last five years. The article admits that the killing rate has increased, and that in 1992 there were 26 killings and in 1996 there were 30, but attempts to minimize this by saying "the number of police shootings has remained relatively stable."

The NYPD has long made it a practice to not release systematic figures on who it kills, under what conditions, and the total number of people whose lives they've taken. When they do release data, it is piecemeal and confusing. For example, they separate "shootings" from "deaths in custody" making the total number of people killed seem less.

The statistics in the chart below, based on figures released by the NYPD, was gathered by Amnesty International and the *Newsday* newspaper. This is the most current accounting of people killed in the epidemic of police brutality in New York (no figures are available for deaths in custody for 1995 and 1996). These figures show that between 1992 and 1996 the NYPD killed at least 187 people. According to these statistics, the NYPD has killed an average of 37.4 people a year.

Officially Acknowledged Killings of the NYPD

Year	Total Shots Fired	Deaths In Custody	Shot to Death
1992	1,094	15	24
1993	1,193	15	23
1994	1,383	23	31
1995	1,728	?	27
1996	1,293	?	29
Total	6,691	53	134

Total deaths (based on figures available) 187
Source: Amnesty International, New York Newsday, NYPD

Houston: The Thanksgiving Police Murder of Oliver Rodriguez, Jr.

On December 11, people gathered to protest the brutal police murder of 35-year-old Oliver Rodriguez, Jr. The protest, called by Madres Unidas, took place at the grand opening ceremony for the new Houston police headquarters. The action was called in concert with the family and was also attended by member of La Resistencia and supporters of the RCP.

Oliver Rodriguez, Jr. was shot to death on Saturday, November 29, during a family barbecue at their home over Thanksgiving weekend. Apparently a dispute broke out between Oliver and his father, and one of the family called 911 hoping the cops would come help cool things out. Instead, Officer A. Muñoz arrived on the scene, exited his car with his gun drawn and shouted out Oliver's name. Oliver, who was cutting up a plate of ribs at the time, turned to see who had called him, walked down a few steps and was immediately shot by Muñoz without warning. The cop claims that Oliver was lunging towards him with a knife, but the family says this is untrue. Officer Muñoz was at least 10 feet away from Oliver when he fired the fatal shot. After murdering Rodríguez, people say Muñoz started waving the gun and threatening the family, while shouting, "Yeah, I did it. I shot him."

Oliver's sister, Graciela Pérez, told the press, "He had got into an argument with our dad, but he had not touched a soul. The officer was only there a few seconds when he shot my brother...the knife was never meant to be for the police. He was cutting up ribs when the officer came."

The whole family was hauled off to the police station for questioning except for Oliver's 17-year-old niece, who passed out and had to be taken to the hospital, and Oliver's brother-in-law, who didn't see what happened. Oliver's mother, an older woman who has osteoporosis, was handcuffed and put in a squad car.

Meanwhile neighbors had begun to gather, and this murdering cop began to wave his gun and threaten them as he called for backup. Within a short time a whole mess of police were swarming over the area, threatening, cursing out and abusing the people. One man, who apparently just wandered over and asked a cop if he could help, was shoved and cursed by the police. Another neighbor protested, "You don't have to talk to us like that—there's children here!" Seeing how they were cordoning off the area, someone else said, "They're just trying to cover up what they did." One of the cops replied, "That's just what we're doing—covering up."

The cops took the body of Oliver Rodríguez and removed the bullet from the wall behind where he was shot. They never told the family anything after that and, according to the family, it has already been ruled "justifiable homicide." The family is upset that this cop is still in the streets working and they are determined not to let this injustice stand. □

Special to the RWOR



October 22, 1997, Houston.

Special to the RWOR

Why Did "Life" Bannerman Die?

Reginald Bannerman was a gym teacher at Lefferts High School in Brooklyn. He also was part-time cleanup man at the BBB cafe in Crown Heights. On the night of December 18, Reginald was in the club, though he wasn't working. At the same time, seven off-duty narcotics cops were having a party inside the club. The cops were drunk and loud and at one point Reginald (who his friends called "Life") asked them to quiet down. According to press accounts the cops did quiet down, but later they confronted Reginald outside the club. They circled him and searched him and then beat and kicked him in the face and ribs, dragged him by his ankle and fired at him as he tried to get away. The police claim this was the end of it.

However, less than two hours later, in the early morning hours of December 19, Reginald Bannerman was struck and killed by a subway train at a nearby subway station. Police initially said his death was a suicide. Witnesses, however, told the press that the cops followed Reginald to the train station and continued to beat him on the platform and that Reginald tried to get away by going onto the tracks to escape.

Initially only six cops were implicated in the incident, but a seventh cop was discovered after he returned to the club to search for a missing gun. The cops are under investigation by the Brooklyn District Attorney but continue to draw full pay after being put on "modified duty"—the NYPD's standard procedure for dealing with killer cops when their actions become public.

Reginald's wife, Joanna Carr, told the press, "I want justice to prevail. I want whoever was responsible for his death to pay for what they did." □

The NYPD Christmas Murder of William Whitfield

Once again the NYPD has shot and killed someone in cold blood. Once again they have shattered the lives of relatives and other loved ones of the victim. Once again the murdering cop has been allowed get his story together, using the notorious 48 hour rule which allows NYPD cops to go unquestioned for two days after an investigation begins on a cop shooting incident. Once again the press has floated out a story attempting to blame the victim. The people have responded with outrage and are demanding justice.

William "Smoke" Whitfield, a 22-year-old Black man, was getting ready to go to his Mom's house for Christmas dinner. He had been with his girlfriend, Candy Williams, at her apartment at the Glenwood Houses in Canarsie Brooklyn. Candy didn't have a phone so William stepped out to use a pay phone. He had just proposed to Candy and wanted to call his Mom to let her know he was on his way and was bringing his *new fiancée* and her two children to Christmas dinner.

The cops say they were responding to a call of a domestic dispute at the projects and they rolled by around the same time Williams was going to use the phone. As they got to the Glenwood Houses, the cops claim they heard shots fired from a rooftop and called for backup.

Two of the cops to arrive as backup were Michael Davitt and his partner Michael Duggan. They saw William come around the corner and ordered him to stop. William, who had some minor arrests in the past—a fact the NYPD immediately made available to the press—didn't stop. According to a *NY Post* source William said, "Not today." Whether this is true is unclear. However, as too many people who've been sweated by the police know, if you get picked up by cops, even on Christmas, it means going through the "system," which can mean days in jail. Witnesses say William walked briskly into the Milky Way grocery store.

The cops chased William into the store, where they ordered everyone to lie down. One of the cops, Michael Duggan, claims William rose from a crouched position with a "black object" in his hand which the cops thought was a gun. A woman who was in the store at the time told the press that the cops shouted "We got him! Everyone out of the store!" When Davitt was six feet from William, he shot him through the chest, killing him. Just like that, no regard and no respect. The life of another Black man snuffed out by the police.

Davitt immediately exercised the rule in the police contract that allows cops 48 hours to go unquestioned about shootings—allowing them to get their story/lies straight. The mayor pushed his own version of allowing the cops to get their story together, saying, "People shouldn't jump to conclusions before all the fact are known."

Davitt has had an itchy trigger finger for years. In the aftermath of the killing the NYPD disclosed that Davitt has been involved in more shootings that any other officer in the NYPD. Since 1983 he's shot and wounded two people and fired his gun eight times. In 1994 he opened fire on a "robbery suspect" holding a "dark object" in his hand that turned out to be a wristwatch. He later told investigators that it was "accidental."

The police commissioner announced after the shooting that the police would begin monitoring cops who shoot on more than three occasions. He said, referring to cops who are involved in shooting incidents, "It doesn't necessarily mean that any of these shootings are bad shootings." In fact, all of the shootings by Davitt have been found to be within NYPD guidelines.

Friends and relatives of William Whitfield are speaking out against and exposing this cold-blooded murder: an unarmed Black man, going about his business, trying to enjoy a holiday, confronted and shot dead by the police. William's uncle Farquhar Whitfield said, "It's common sense. No gun, no bullet shells, there was no prob-



William Whitfield



Outside William Whitfield's funeral.

Photo: Karl Crutchfield



Eunice Bracey standing over the body of her son, William Whitfield, at the funeral.

lem. He shot for nothing." The family immediately came together at a news conference in Harlem to denounce the killing and to demand justice. The family asked for the assistance of Rev. Al Sharpton, and Michael Hardy, Carl Thomas and Casilda Roper-Simpson—some of the lawyers representing Abner Louima, the Haitian man brutally tortured by the NYPD.

A demonstration and memorial took place the Saturday after the killing in Williamsburg, where William lived, and another rally was held in front of the Milky Way grocery where William was killed. At the memorial Willie Mae Whitfield, William's grandmother, told radio station WBAI, "I just want justice for my grandson, and not only him, there's plenty more grandsons out here..."

More than 600 people came to William Whitfield's funeral on New Year's Eve day. Among those attending were relatives and friends of other victims of police brutality, including Abner Louima and Patricia Baez, the sister of Anthony Baez—who was strangled to death by an NYPD cop three years ago. Patricia remarked to José Santiago from WBAI how each new police killing calls up the pain and the lack of justice the Baez family has confronted. She

said, "People have to unite, we have to say no more."

Speaking at the funeral on behalf of the family, Dolores Drayton powerfully gave voice to the anguish at such a cold-blooded killing of a loved one: "I'm dying inside, no one will ever know my sorrow, no one will ever know my pain... So now you know Officer Davitt we are devastated, devastated and our lives, and your life, won't ever, ever be the same."

On New Year's Day 200 people gathered outside of One Police Plaza, NYPD's headquarters, to denounce the ongoing brutality and murder of the NYPD and to demand justice for William Whitfield and other victims of the NYPD.

The crowd, mainly Black people but also many different nationalities, was spirited and determined, despite the harshness of sub-freezing temperatures and the police-state environment surrounding the "coronation" of Mayor "Adolf" Giuliani at nearby City Hall. People carried signs saying, "We Are Human Beings, Not Fair Game," "Another Isolated Incident," and "Shooting an Unarmed Civilian is Execution." Members of Parents Against Police Brutality, Norman Siegel of the New York Civil Liberties Union, the October 22nd

Coalition, RCP spokesperson Carl Dix, Worker's World Party, and the Rev. Al Sharpton, were among those participating.

This rally took place as hundreds of police manned barricades throughout the area around City Hall for the official inaugural ceremonies. People attempting to get to the demonstration were told that access was closed (though it wasn't) to One Police Plaza—even with this, hundreds of people were able to make their way to the demonstration.

The contrast of the two gatherings, the demonstration and the Mayoral inaugural, was striking. At One Police Plaza the victims and those that have taken up the cause of fighting police brutality gathered to greet the new year and voice their determination to continue the fight against police brutality and for justice. At City Hall the Mayor called for further unleashing the police—under the cover of eradicating drugs from the city—by hiring 1,600 more cops to bring the NYPD up to 40,000.

The killing of William Whitfield is one more outrageous, sorrowful loss for the people and another powerful reason to build and strengthen the movement against police brutality. □

Philippines 1901

The Bells of Balangiga



U.S. troops at the site of the massacre they had just committed on the island of Jolo in the Philippines.

*A hundred years ago, out of the dark,
An insignificant town made its mark.*

From the program for
"The Bells of Balangiga"

The Pintig Cultural Group in Chicago recently presented a new play, *The Bells of Balangiga*. This musical tells the story of a small town in the Philippines, Balangiga, where the people heroically resisted U.S. imperialism in 1901—successfully organizing and carrying out a plan to kill the U.S. soldiers who had invaded and occupied their town.

Rodolfo Carlos Vera, who wrote this Chicago version of the play, first put this story on the stage two years ago with a regional theater group in the Philippines. That production toured throughout Samar, the very island where the story takes place. Now, The Pintig Cultural Group has plans to take *The Bells of Balangiga* on the road in the United States.

Angela Mascareñas, a founding member of Pintig who is the producer of the play, says in her program notes: "*The Bells of Balangiga* is not just a musical production. It is a discourse on colonialism and the history of the Philippine-United States relations. It is an attempt to popularize those historical facts that have not made it in the mainstream history books nor in documentaries about the role of U.S. aggression in different parts of the world at the turn of the century. More importantly, it is a conscious effort to amplify those historically marginalized voices of the colonized Filipinos and of those who continue to suffer neocolonial oppression under U.S. imperialist stranglehold in the Philippines... We dedicate this production to all Filipinos who have died for justice and freedom as well as to all those who continue to fight for the same in the Philippines and elsewhere in the world, for those who have forgotten and for those who have yet to learn, we hope to bring back to life the songs, the stories, and the lessons of Balangiga."

The 1898 story of Balangiga is another chapter in the people's history which illustrates the truth that, as Mao Tsetung said, "Where there is oppression, there is resistance!"

In 1896, after 300 years of Spanish colonialism, the Philippine Revolution broke out against Spain. The Filipino people continued their proud history of fighting against foreign oppressors and when the Spanish-American War began in 1898, armed guerrilla struggle against Spanish colonial rule intensified. Spanish power collapsed throughout most of the archipelago. But meanwhile, the U.S. im-

perialists were maneuvering to become new colonial masters in the Philippines. Secret diplomatic negotiations were conducted between the U.S. and Spain, and on August 13, 1898 a mock battle was staged in order to justify Spain turning the Philippines over to the United States. After a few token shots were fired Spain surrendered, and on December 18, 1898 the U.S. "bought" the Philippines from Spain for 20 million dollars.

Less than two months later, U.S. troops made a surprise attack on Filipino revolutionary forces near the capital of Manila and at least 3,000 Filipinos were killed. The Filipino-American War began with the masses of Filipino people determined to resist U.S. imperialism. The U.S. won this war in 1902, after sending over 126,000 U.S. troops to the Philippines. Filipinos who refused to pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag were persecuted, sometimes imprisoned. Filipino rebels were tortured and organizations of workers and peasants were suppressed. For every U.S. soldier killed, 50 Filipinos were killed. It has been estimated that more than a quarter of a million Filipinos died as a direct and indirect result of the Filipino-American War. And one U.S. general even put the Filipino death casualty as high as 600,000 or one-sixth of the population in the main island of Luzon.

In the small town of Balangiga, the people were determined to fight against the U.S. occupation of their country. They decided to *invite* (lure) the U.S. military to their town in the guise of asking for "protection."

Company C of the 9th Infantry Battalion arrived in Balangiga on August 11, 1901. These 74 veteran soldiers, some of whom had carried out other U.S. exploits in China and Cuba, immediately began to oppress the people—using the racist term "goo-goo" to refer to the people, pressganging the men into labor, and raping the women.

Meanwhile, the townspeople, who seemed to be cooperating with the U.S. soldiers, were making secret plans. One account said that, on the recommendation of the town's mayor, other Filipinos were added to the workforce from the nearby hills where the revolutionary guerrillas were active. According to this account, "The Americans found them unusually industrious but they happened to be the guerrilla's best bolomen. (A bolo is a heavy, single-bladed machete.)"

After only a few weeks of putting up with the U.S. occupation, the people of Balangiga decided they had had enough and it was time to carry out their plans. One night, the people met in the jungle, away from the eyes and ears of the U.S. soldiers.



One of the bells from Balangiga, now at a U.S. Air Force base in Wyoming.

The women dressed the men up as women and then walked back with them to the town. The next morning, on September 28, 1901, the disguised men carried small coffins through the town—staging a mournful procession for dead babies killed by cholera. In fact, the coffins did have some dead babies in them, but they were also filled with bolos!

The American soldiers, totally off guard, were eating their breakfast. Some of them didn't even have their guns with them. The commander of Company C, Captain Thomas Connell, was at his desk working on a memorial service for U.S. President William McKinley, who had been assassinated three weeks earlier.

Then, according to one account, Balangiga's chief of police, Pedro Sanchez, walked behind a U.S. sentry and with casual swiftness, grabbed the sentry's rifle and brought the butt down in a smashing blow on his head. Then the church bells unexpectedly started to toll. This was the signal for the disguised men to launch their attack. Those in the mess tents were among the first U.S. soldiers hit. They tried to fight back with chairs and kitchen utensils but several of them swiftly lost their heads as the rebels swung their bolos with determination. Some townspeople outside cut the ropes to the tents, causing the tents to collapse on the struggling soldiers.

Of the 74 U.S. soldiers in the unit, 47 were killed and 22 were wounded. The survivors managed to escape to an American garrison.

Retaliation from the U.S. was swift, vicious and extreme. U.S. soldiers went back to Balangiga, burned the town and then went on a rampage, burning down the

whole island of Samar. This genocidal retribution was led by Brig. Gen. Jacob W. Smith, who had earned the nickname "Hell Roaring Jake." A decade earlier, as a cavalryman, Smith had fought at Wounded Knee, where hundreds of Indians were massacred. Now he told his men, "I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn, the better it will please me." He directed that Samar be converted into a "howling wilderness" and U.S. soldiers were instructed to shoot anyone over 10 years old. One U.S. Major reported that in an 11-day span his men burned 255 dwellings, slaughtered 13 carabaos (Filipino oxen), and killed 39 people. Other officers reported similar activity. The island's population dropped from around 300,000 to around less than 257,000.

U.S. soldiers stole the three church bells in Balangiga that had signaled the death of Company C. And to this day, two of these bells are in a monument in Cheyenne, Wyoming—at a military post first occupied by U.S. soldiers who fought and killed the Indians. The other bell is in South Korea, where the current Company C unit is stationed.

Now, in the Philippines, there is a campaign to demand that the Bells of Balangiga be returned to the Philippines, where they rightfully belong—as a reminder to the people of the atrocities carried out by U.S. imperialism and the heroism of those who dared to resist. □

In the early evening of December 17, people at 1340 N. Larrabee in Chicago's Cabrini Green housing project were coming and going after shopping and preparing for the upcoming Xmas holiday. Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) police approached the building to carry out what was referred to in the press as "a normal drug investigation."

To the residents of Cabrini Green, "normal" police operations mean that people get brutalized. One resident put it this way: "When the CHA police officers arrest somebody, it is not like they just frisk them and put the cuffs on them. When they arrest someone in this area, they normally beat them up." Lately, this has escalated to the point where the president of the local tenants organization has reported that the police have been regularly threatening "shorties" (youth in the 10-16 age range) with drawn weapons. There is a widespread view among the people that this escalation is basically aimed at pushing them out, since it is coming at exactly the same time as the authorities have stepped up their efforts to tear down most of the buildings in Cabrini.

While the police have been escalating their attacks, there has been increasing resistance among the people, fueled by the feeling that they have right on their side. Last March, hundreds protested the near fatal shooting of Shaunnay Royal by the CHA police after she stood up against the police brutalizing one of her cousins. When the police tried to disperse the protest by firing shotguns at the crowd and into a highrise occupied by women and children, wounding two, the people continued to protest in the face of armed intimidation. Last October 22, 50 to 60 Cabrini residents joined a downtown rally in Chicago for the National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality and the Criminalization of a Generation. The fading stickers from the October 22 protest can be seen plastered all over the entranceways of many buildings in the projects.

According to witnesses, it was in one of those entranceways, with many people around, that police on December 17 grabbed one youth and started to rough him up. Another youth, Quintus Royal, age 20 (nephew of Shaunnay Royal), stepped forward, and people heard someone yell at the cops, "Don't touch him! Don't put your hands on him!" One of the cops grabbed Quintus and, in full view of many people, beat him with billy clubs and sprayed mace in his eyes. The police called for back-up—the crowd refused to move on. A gunshot was heard. Angry voices were heard among the people that "this wasn't going to go down" and that "this wasn't the end of it." Finally, after backup arrived, the police were able to drag Quintus off to a jail away from the projects. They charged him with aggravated battery, disorderly conduct and obstructing a police officer.

Many residents described what happened next. Dozens of people went to the CHA police headquarters at 624 W. Division in the heart of the projects to find out if Quintus was all right and to demand he be released, since people felt his only "crime" was protesting police brutality. In the media, the police called this righteous action an "attempt by gangs to take over the projects." In order to confuse those outside the projects, authorities claimed that the people had come to physically spring Quintus from jail, even though everybody in Cabrini knows that CHA police always take those arrested to a jail a mile from where the people had gathered to protest.

Residents told the *RW* that at CHA police headquarters the people were treated with more disrespect and called all kinds of "n—gers" and "b—tches" by the police. Then, two cops came outside where the people had gathered, threatening people and flashing their guns and clubs. People refused to move on. Finally, the cops said they were going to start arresting people. Apparently, no one in the crowd wanted to be brutalized and arrested like Quintus, so the two cops ended up in the hospital with minor injuries, and the people made their way back to the buildings, still angry. In terms of the cops, one homeless man said: "They just got touched up a bit." Another resident emphasized that the police had brought this on themselves: "That would have never happened if the police hadn't been around here beating on people and harassing people." The media claimed that people in the crowd staged a fight to draw the police out and then jumped them.

Right away, hundreds of CHA police came into Cabrini from all over the city.



Protest at Cabrini Green after the cops shot Shaunnay Royal, March 15, 1997.

RWOR photo

People of Cabrini Green Stand Up Against Police Brutality

The TV news called what the police did next "sweeps" and announced that "everyone involved would be arrested."

But what actually happened had very little if anything to do with trying to find those involved, because the police rampaged

through the projects, grabbing, beating and arresting people. They attacked people in front of buildings far from where Quintus was arrested and in gang territories different from that where the original incident took place.

In one incident they attacked a number of youth in front of a building where resistance has been mounting to increasing efforts to force people out and demolish the building. It is also different gang territory than the area where Quintus was arrested. The police grabbed three youth and started beating one viciously as he lay on the ground. In fact, they beat so wildly and viciously that in the course of swinging at him they knocked a window out of a minivan belonging to one of the tenants.

People in the building heard the youth's cries for help and the crashing glass of the minivan. Quickly, dozens of people started throwing anything they could get their hands on from as high as 14 stories down on the cops who were beating the youth. The cops started to feel their control of the situation slipping. They pulled their guns and pointed them at a highrise full of women and children and threatened to shoot. People continued to throw things and in the course of this battle a police car was severely damaged by bricks.

The next day in the media all damages to the police were reported while none of the injuries to the people were mentioned. The media dutifully and uncritically quoted the police while failing to report how the police basically threatened to keep beating people until they were forced out of the building. A number of people on the scene told the *RW* that the police basically told them that the beatings and brutality would continue *until people were out of Cabrini Green*. People the *RW* talked with were proud that they had stood up to this police assault and convinced they probably saved this youth's life. As one woman put it, "It looked like they were going to kill him until they had to start worrying about their own heads."

Meanwhile, in the building where Quintus lives, the cops went door-to-door looking for "suspects." They threatened people and tried to get people to snitch on each other. Apparently all this failed because no one has been arrested and charged with any "crimes" in connection with the protest at CHA police headquarters. The media reported that on the night this all took place 18 to 20 shots were fired at the CHA police headquarters. There were some reports from the people that shots were fired at CHA police headquarters for the next three consecutive nights.

As of this printing the situation is still tense. The CHA police are still seeking revenge and trying to figure out how to finger people in the face of a wall of silence from the people. The media is still demanding that the authorities go full speed ahead in tearing down public housing. The city authorities and the media are still demanding that the CHA tear down most of the buildings. Editorials in the mainstream press have called the CHA cops "heroes." Quintus Royal is out on bond, and supporters are planning to show up and stand with him at his next court hearing, more determined than ever to stand together against this brutal onslaught. □

Photo: Mars



Protest at Cabrini Green after the cops shot Shaunnay Royal, March 15, 1997.

Movie Review

Amistad: It's C

In the darkness we can't, at first, tell what is going on. A flash of lightning. And we see human eyes. Another flash shows bloodied fingers working to loosen a nail. Suddenly we see chains. Chains on human wrists. Recognition.

Then comes the struggle. Weapons are snatched up. Black men break onto the rain-washed deck of a ship. The first quick chop digs deep into the neck of a crewman. Desperate fighting sweeps the ship. The captain stands with rifle and bayonet. Out of the darkness strides Cinqué, straight forward, with a saber. They fight.

The sword twists deep. Flashes of lightning show Cinqué standing over the fallen man, drenched by the rain, hollering from the depths of his soul.

The film *Amistad* opens hard with insurrectionary violence. It tears loose so suddenly, without hesitation or explanation, that our minds race to keep up.

The film sweeps us along. The desperate mutiny on the decks of the slave ship *Amistad* takes these 53 Africans to a strange and hostile land, the United States. A Coast Guard ship captures them off the coast of Long Island. They are thrown back into chains and must fight their way through the insane maze of U.S. courts. Outside their jail cells, the population and the authorities debate how to judge them.

And along the way, we arrive at moments from slavery—days that are still, today, only too familiar.

Shared Moments and Recognition

There is the moment when the Africans are being paraded, in chains, through a New England town on their way to the courthouse. When Cinqué—played brilliantly by Djimon Hounsou—says sharply, "Baukei, keep your head up!"

Yes. "Keep your head up"—in the face of both enemies and potential allies. Those words ring out strong today, when this society still marches young Black men in chains to judgment and punishment. Keep your head up, youngblood! It is not we who are the criminals. Keep your head up—we are not defeated or dead yet. There's more to come... including liberation.

There is the moment in the film when the Black abolitionist Theodore Joadson (played by Morgan Freeman) revisits the *Amistad*, to search for evidence. Joadson suddenly confronts the bloodstains and shackles dangling in the darkness of the ship's hold. He is gripped with horror at what is being done to Africans in such ships. And then he is suddenly seized with fear. Even with property and freeman status, Joadson can feel the closeness and danger of the chain gang.

And perhaps most powerful of all, when a young Mende interpreter is found, Cinqué, in his jail cell, begins to tell his story of capture and enslavement: when he and other kidnapped Africans were marched to the coastal slave fort and then packed naked into the holds of a Portuguese slave ship. We witness the dehumanization and the powerful spirit to survive. The captured Africans are brought on deck to watch as two of them are beaten to death. As blood from the whipping splatters onto Cinqué's face, a woman throws herself overboard with her baby—choosing death over slavery.

The violence Cinqué led on the *Amistad* has snapped into place, into context—who now can deny the justice of the Africans' machetes that night?

In hundreds of movie theaters, tears of sadness and recognition have been shed as we watch as people are literally thrown off the slave ship in mid-ocean and sink into

blue waters. This Middle Passage is the gate through which millions of Africans entered the American nightmare.

There is the unforgettable scene, after the Africans have won their freedom in court, and audiences in the theaters have cheered in celebration. The Africans are told by their lawyer Roger Baldwin (played by Matthew McConaughey) that the case has been appealed. They are not, after all, free.

Cinqué strips off the clothes of U.S. "civilization," tosses them into the bonfire and demands to know, "What kind of a place is this? How can you live like this?" How many today—trapped in the U.S. courts and prisons, snared by the system's false promises and murderous intentions—have been there.

And there is the humor—when the Africans try to decipher the grim-faced hymn-singing abolitionists ("Are they entertainers?") and earnest lawyers ("They are speaking complete gibberish!").

Hidden Stories

Here is a film that, in the final analysis, upholds a fundamental truth of human society: it is right to rebel. The raw violence on the deck of the *Amistad* is shown to be justified—and more—it is openly upheld as heroic. How rare it is for a Hollywood film to take such a stand.

At the same time, the very fact that such a film is so rare underscores the inequalities in the dominant culture of this society. The Middle Passage has never before been really portrayed on the Hollywood screen, and the story of how Black people came to America has not hit mainstream U.S. culture like this since *Roots* 20 years ago. We are struck by the deep inequality in the cultural arena—where films like Haile Gerima's *Sankofa*, a powerful story of slavery and rebellion, struggle for distribution and Black directors still cannot get the financial backing to do a film like *Amistad*.

There are many stories about the lives of the many different oppressed people, from both past and present, that lie buried (and more accurately, suppressed)—just like the story of the *Amistad* mutiny. *Amistad's* coproducer Debbie Allen remarked to *Essence* magazine that the story of *Amistad* is "a little drop in a big bucket of blood memory we need to share with the world." And the appearance of *Amistad*, and the reception it is receiving among oppressed people, underscores the urgency to fight hard for a revolutionary society—where the culture of oppressed people can flower, where artists can tell these many stories, and where the resources of society are put in the hands of the oppressed to transform the world.

White Gloves and Slave Chains

There are many controversies raging around *Amistad*. But we think the most important questions are: What is its overall effect among the masses of people? Does this film instill a burning hatred for the system of slavery? Does it encourage or discourage resistance to oppression? In the main does it strengthen or does it weaken the ways the ruling class uses to justify its oppression of Black people? In short: is it a good thing or a bad thing that millions of people are going to see *Amistad*?

Overall, the collaboration between producer Debbie Allen and director Steven Spielberg has created a powerful and positive work of art that is inspiring and disturbing audiences wherever it is shown.

While *Amistad's* treatment of historical events is "higher than life," it basically captures the story and the players of this important struggle. At a White House state



A scene from the Movie *Amistad* with Djimon Hounsou (center) as Cinqué.

dinner, we watch Senator John Calhoun pull on his white gloves and coldly threaten civil war, as he describes the centrality of slavery to the southern plantation class. The film introduces us to a supporter of the *Amistad* Africans, Lewis Tappan, who displays the abolitionist movement's distinctive mix of human passion and merchant puritanism. And in the White House, we see how the fraying compromise at the heart of the U.S. government has reduced President Martin Van Buren to befuddled mediocrity and knee-jerk concessions to the Southern slaveowners. And through it all, we accompany the towering figure of Cinqué as he leads the people in their fight for freedom.

But *Amistad* runs into problems in the way it describes the motivation of some of the key class forces in the struggle. Alongside its powerful portrayals of the right, and necessity, of the oppressed to overthrow their oppressors, the film seems to suggest that Black people might win their freedom with the ideals of the American Revolution. The film poses the central political issue of the times and the *Amistad* court case as a question of "will the United States live up to the ideals of its founding fathers, or will it leave those principles unfulfilled?"

A key dramatic purpose assigned to the fictional character of Black abolitionist Joadson is to challenge ex-president John Quincy Adams on this point. Will these ideals be realized? And will Adams, personally, rise to the challenge of defending them?

Morgan Freeman is saddled with the job of pleading for the self-realization of "American democracy"—and as a result Joadson comes across as stiff and mournful—as though his oversized hat and coat were weighted down with too much respect for the bourgeoisie. Joadson emerges as a pale reflection of the early Black abolitionists—like the fiery agitator David Walker whose famous 1829 "Appeal" gave this advice to the slaves about insurrection: "If you commence, make sure work—do not trifle, for they will not trifle with you...kill or be killed."

In the dramatic courtroom climax to the film, John Quincy Adams tells the Supreme Court that the problems of the day—the case of the *Amistad* Africans and the larger issue of slavery—can be solved by returning to the principles of the "ancestors." Adams repeats the words of the Declaration of Independence, "all men are created equal." But the contradiction is stark as Adams walks among the statues of the

Right to Rebel!



“Founding Fathers” in the courtroom—including the slaveowners George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

The United States has, of course, never “lived up” to the idea that “all men are created equal.” The words of the Declaration of Independence did not apply to the captured Africans, enslaved on the plantations, or the Native Americans, or women. And even as the label “all men” has—over two long centuries—slowly been extended, on paper, to include women, Black people, Native people and propertyless classes, in reality even that shallow promise of “equality before the law” has remained a lie. Aware of this contradiction, *Amistad* director Steven Spielberg points out, in *Vibe* magazine (February 1998), that “Blacks have been fucked by the American legal system, which hasn’t changed very much from 1839 to 1997.”

In telling the *Amistad* story there are some complicated historical realities to deal with that would pose challenges for anyone creating such a work of art. On one hand, at that moment of history, the Northern capitalist class (who Adams represented all his life) was moving to challenge the power of Southern slaveowners within the United States. The actual verdict in the *Amistad* court case which freed Cinqué and the

African mutineers did *not* question the legality of slavery within the United States. Politically, however, the case, the public campaign around it, and the participation of John Quincy Adams signaled the approach of war. Portraying Adams, Anthony Hopkins proclaims to the Supreme Court, “If it means civil war, then let it come and when it does let it be, finally, the last battle of the American Revolution.” This does, correctly, show that some political representatives of the capitalist class, like Adams, were motivated by the idea of carrying out a more thoroughgoing bourgeois democratic revolution.

At one point in the film *Amistad*, ex-President John Quincy Adams tells the prisoner Cinqué, “We find ourselves together by some mysterious set of circumstances.” The fictional dialogue captures a certain historical reality. But, in this temporary alliance of slaves and capitalists, the different forces were motivated by extremely different class interests. The slaves wanted freedom from slavery, but the northern capitalists wanted the freedom to consolidate the capitalist mode of production as the dominant economic system in the country.

In fact, the ideals of the U.S. “ancestors” did not, and could not, lead to the liberation

of Black people. The principles of that Declaration were, in fact, applied after the American Revolution, when those same authors wrote the U.S. Constitution, which legalized slavery and counted each Black person as only three-fifths of a human being. And the ideals of Adams’ “last battle of the American Revolution” became realized as the modern capitalist state emerged from the civil war and consolidated its grip on the continental United States during the last half of the 1800s.

That realization of the capitalist ideals meant the imposing of *new* forms of oppression on the freed Black slaves. The Northern capitalists helped bind Black people into Jim Crow segregation and plantation sharecropping.

Today there are a lot of people who think the language of the Declaration of Independence embodies timeless ideals that can liberate people. But Bob Avakian has pointed out that this is not possible: “The Declaration of Independence is not anything anybody wants to make out of it: it was written in a very definite historical context and has a very definite social and class content... The general declarations it contains about the equality of all men, their inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and so on assume their

meaning according to this actual and overall content—otherwise they have no real, concrete meaning.”

“The answer to the question, what if the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence were really applied?, is that they have been in the U.S. itself and generally in all bourgeois societies; and the time is long since past when *that* is the best and highest that humanity is capable of achieving.”*

Keeping this problem in mind, we urge people to see the movie *Amistad*, to appreciate its power and artistry, to share in the inspiring story it unfolds, and to explore the complex issues of struggle and liberation that it raises. □

See also:

Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?, Bob Avakian, Banner Press

“The *Amistad* Mutiny,” *RW* No. 937

Excerpts from “U.S. Constitution: An Exploiter’s Vision of Freedom” on page 10.

* “Declaration of Independence, Equal Opportunity and Bourgeois Right,” Bob Avakian, *RW* No. 230.

Excerpts from

U.S. Constitution: An Exploiter's Vision of Freedom

by Bob Avakian

The following passages from U.S. Constitution: An Exploiter's Vision of Freedom by Bob Avakian, provide important historical background for analyzing and critiquing the political viewpoint of the powerful film *Amistad*. In particular these passages shed light on the scene at the Supreme Court where the character of John Quincy Adams invokes "his ancestors," the "Founding Fathers" of the U.S., to support his demand that the African rebels of the ship *Amistad* must be released.

James Madison, who was the main author of the *Constitution of the United States*, was also an upholder of slavery and the interests of the slaveowners in the United States. Madison, the fourth president of the United States, not only wrote strongly in defense of the *Constitution*, he also strongly defended the part of the *Constitution* that declared the slaves to be only three-fifths of human beings (that provided for the slaves to be counted this way for the purposes of deciding on representation and taxation of the states—Article I, Section 2, 3 of the *Constitution*).

In writing this defense, Madison praised "the uncompromising expedient of the *Constitution*" which treats the slaves as "inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants; which regards the *slave* as divested of two-fifths of the *man*." Madison explained: "The true state of the case is that they partake of both these qualities: being considered by our laws, in some respects, as persons, and in other respects as property.... This is in fact their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be denied that these are the proper criterion." Madison got to the heart of the matter, the essence of what the U.S. *Constitution* is all about, when in the course of upholding the decision to treat slaves as three-fifths human beings he agrees with the following principle: "Government is instituted no less for protection of the property than of the persons of individuals." Property rights—that is the basis on which outright slavery as well as other forms of exploitation, discrimination, and oppression have been consistently upheld. And over the 200 years that this *Constitution* has been in force down to today, despite the formal rights of persons it proclaims, and even though the *Constitution* has been amended to outlaw slavery where one person actually owns

"How can I, I say, love a country thus cursed, thus bedewed with the blood of my brethren? A Country, the Church of which and the Government of which, and the Constitution of which are in favor of supporting and perpetuating this monstrous system of injustice and blood? I have not, I cannot have, any love for this country, as such, or for its Constitution. I desire to see it overthrown as speedily as possible and its Constitution shivered in a thousand fragments, rather than that this foul curse should continue to remain as now."

Frederick Douglass, "Country, Conscience, and the Anti-Slavery Cause," an address delivered in New York, NY, May 11, 1847.

another as property, the U.S. *Constitution* has always remained a document that upholds and gives legal authority to a system in which the masses of people, or their ability to work, have been used as wealth-creating property for the profit of the few.

The abolition of slavery through the Civil War meant the elimination of one form of exploitation and the further development and extension of other forms of exploitation. As I wrote in *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?*, "despite the efforts of abolitionists and the resistance and revolts of the slaves themselves—and their heroic fighting in the Civil War itself—it was not fought by the Union government in the North, and its president, Lincoln, for the purpose of abolishing the atrocity of slavery in some moral sense.... The Civil War arose out of the conflict between two modes of production, the slave system in the South and the capitalist system centered in the North; this erupted into open antagonism, warfare, when it was no longer possible for these two modes of production to co-exist within the same country."

The victory of the North over the South in the U.S. Civil War represented the victory of the capitalist system over the slave system. It represented the triumph of the capitalist form of using people as a means of creating wealth. Under the system of outright slavery, the slave is literally the property of the slaveowner. Under capitalism, slavery becomes wage-slavery: The exploited class of workers is not owned by the exploiting class of capitalists (the owners of factories, land, etc.), but the workers are in a position where they must sell their ability to work to a capitalist in order to earn a wage. Capitalism needs a mass of workers that is "free," in a two-fold sense: They must be "free" of all

means to live (all means of production), except their ability to work; and they must not be bound to a particular owner, a particular site, a particular guild, etc. — they must be "free" to do whatever work is demanded of them, they must be "free" to move from place to place, and "free" to be hired and fired according to the needs of capital! If they cannot enrich a capitalist through working, then the workers cannot work, they cannot earn a wage. But even if they cannot find a capitalist to exploit their labor, even if they are unemployed, they still remain under the domination of the capitalist class and of the process of capitalist accumulation of wealth—the proletarians (the workers) are dependent on the capitalist class and the capitalist system for their very lives, so long as the capitalist rules. It is this rule, this system of exploitation, that the U.S. *Constitution* has upheld and enforced, all the more so after outright slavery was abolished through the Civil War.

But here is another very important fact: In the concrete conditions of the U.S. coming out of the Civil War, and for some time afterward, wage-slavery was not the only major form of exploitation in force in the U.S. Up until very recently (until the 1950s), millions of Black people were exploited like serfs on Southern plantations, working as sharecroppers and tenant farmers to enrich big landowners (and bankers and other capitalists). A whole system of laws—commonly known as Jim Crow laws—were enforced to maintain this relationship of exploitation and oppression: Black people throughout the South—and really throughout the whole country—were subjected to the open discrimination, brutality and terror that such laws allowed and encouraged. All this, too, was upheld and enforced by the *Constitution* and its

interpretation and application by the highest political and legal authorities in the U.S. And, over the past several decades, when the great majority of Black people have been uprooted from the land in the South and have moved into the cities of the North (and South), they have still been discriminated against, forcibly segregated, and continually subjected to brutality and terror even while some formal civil rights have been extended to them.

Once again, this is in accordance with the interests of the ruling capitalist class, and capitalist system. It is consistent with the principle enunciated by James Madison: Governments must protect the property no less than the persons of individuals. In fact, what Madison obviously meant—and what the reality of the U.S. has clearly been—is that the government must protect the property of white people, especially the wealthy white people, more than the rights of Black people. It must never be forgotten that for most of their history in what is now the United States of America Black people were the property of white people, particularly wealthy plantation owners. Even after this outright slavery was abolished, Black people have never been allowed to achieve equality with whites: they have been held down, maintained as an oppressed nation, and denied the right of self-determination. Capitalism cannot exist without the oppression of nations, and this is all the more so when capitalism develops into its highest stage: monopoly capitalism-imperialism. If the history of the United States has demonstrated anything, it has demonstrated this.

Bourgeois ruling classes generally speak in the name of the people, all the people. From their standpoint, it may make a certain amount of sense: They do, after all, rule over the masses of people. But from a more basic and more objective standpoint, their claim to represent all the people is a deception. If it was a deception at the time of the founding of the United States and the adoption of its *Constitution*, it is all the more so now. For now the rule of the capitalists is in fundamental antagonism with the interests of the great majority of people, not just in a particular country, but all over the world. Now the decisive question is not overcoming economic and political obstacles to the development of capitalism and its corresponding political system. The time when that was on the historical agenda is long since passed. What is now on the historical agenda is the overthrow of capitalism and final elimination of all systems of exploitation, all oppressive social relations, all class distinctions, through the revolution of the exploited class under capitalism, the proletariat....

In conclusion, *The Constitution of the United States* is an exploiters' vision of freedom. It is a charter for a society based on exploitation, on slavery in one form or another. The rights and freedoms it proclaims are subordinate to and in the service of the system of exploitation it upholds. This *Constitution* has been and continues to be applied in accordance with this vision and with the interests of the ruling class of this system: In its application it has become more and more fully the instrument of bourgeois domination, dictatorship, oppression, conquest, and plunder.

Our answer is clear to those who argue: Even if *The Constitution of the United States* is not perfect, it is the best that has been devised—it sets a standard to be striven for. Our answer is: Why should we aim so low, when we have *The Communist Manifesto* to set a far higher standard of what humanity can strive for—and is capable of achieving—a far greater vision of freedom. □

NOTE: quotes from James Madison are from the *Federalist Paper No. 54* in *The Federalist Papers*, (New York: New American Library, 1961), pp. 336-341.



Thomas Jefferson with a slave at his estate in Virginia.

The Murder of Comrade Kamala Bhatt

The Crisis-Ridden State and Change of Government in Nepal

From the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

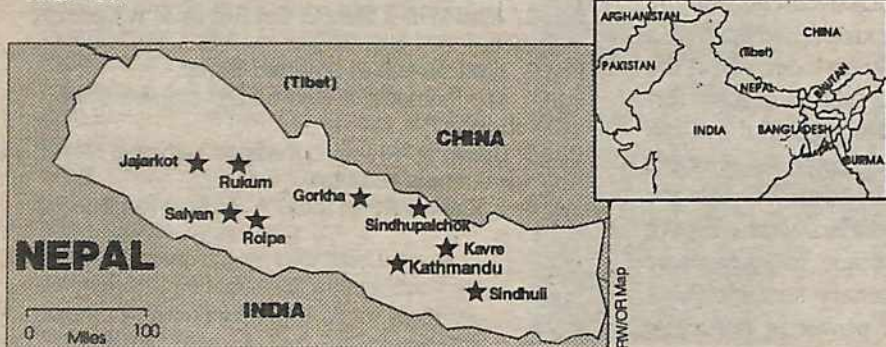
The RW recently received the following article, which is attributed to the International Department, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and dated November 15, 1997. The CPN(M), a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, initiated the people's war in Nepal in February 1996. For more information on the people's war in Nepal, see the 1996/22 issue of the magazine A World to Win.

The otherwise known "peaceful" Himalayan kingdom of Nepal is at present undergoing a big political turmoil. Within the last seven years of monarchical parliamentary system there have been six government changes all together. While general impoverishment has been the general trend of Nepal for the last few decades, what is hastening the present crisis in ruling class of Nepal is the Maoist people's war that was initiated barely two years back under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Since the initiation of people's war, there have been three changes of governments, each competing to outdo the other in trying to nip in the bud Maoist people's war. But each attempt has led to not only failures in their mission of suppressing the people's war but has also nakedly exposed their treacherous anti-people and anti-national policy before the masses.

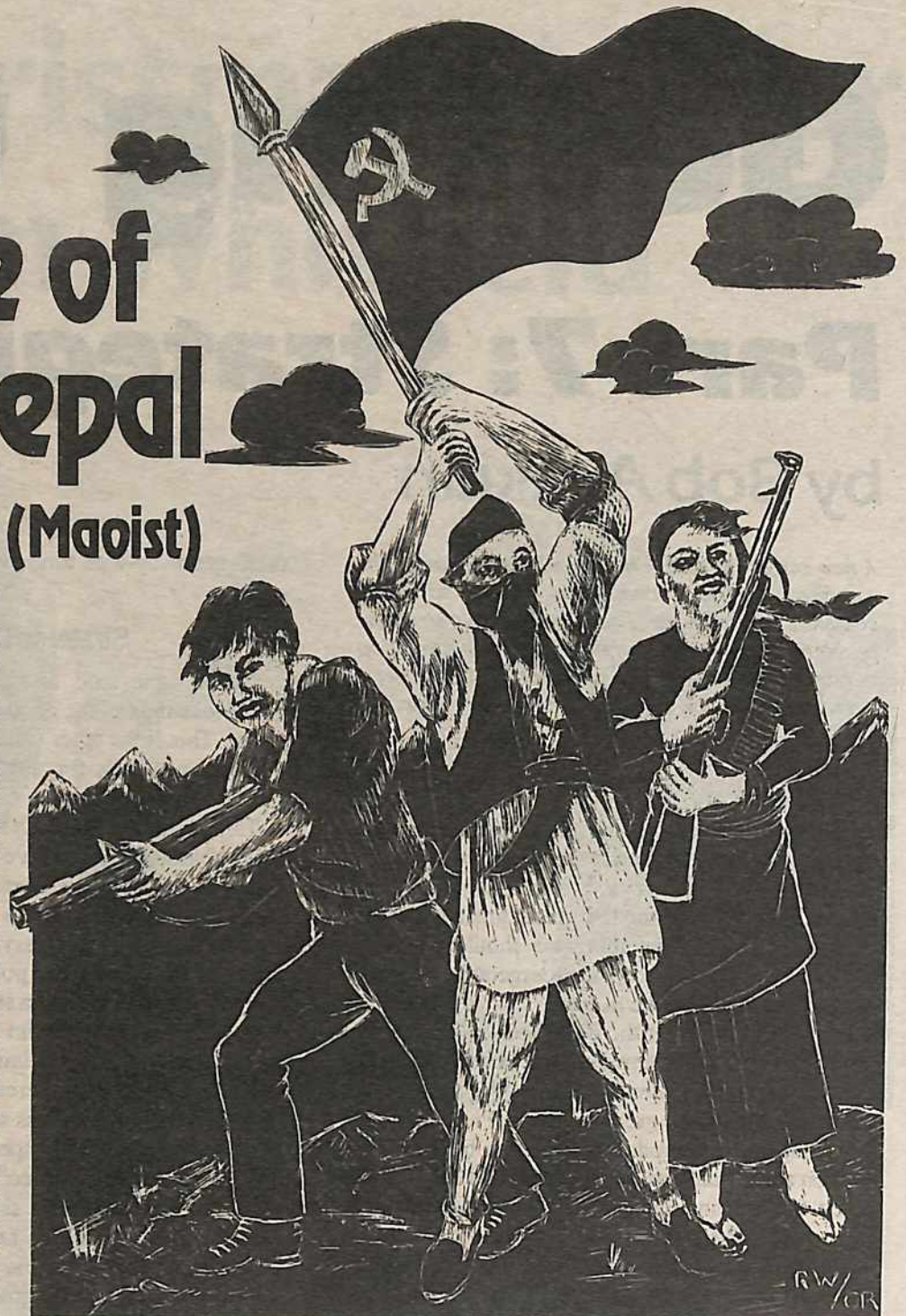
When the Nepali Congress, a party of big landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, failed to contain Maoist people's war, the ruling class (particularly the royal palace) decided to lend support to United Marxist-Leninist party in forming government. Taking example of India's experience where a powerful Naxalite movement* was

crushed with the help of the revisionist CPI(M), the ruling class in Nepal hoped the UML in power could effectively suppress the Maoist movement. However, UML's effort to bring the anti-terrorist black law, together with deploying military in Maoist stronghold areas so as to facilitate repression of people's war, met with big failure as the vigilant masses of Nepal, including the intellectuals, cultural activists, human right activists (including UML's own grassroots cadres) opposed their use vehemently. Seeing UML's vacillation in promulgating the black law and use of military force to crush the people's war, the ruling class replaced the so-called left government with a more nakedly reactionary and fascist coalition government headed by Surya Bahadur Thapa, a notorious rightist Prime Minister during the autocratic monarchical period from 1960 to 1990. Commenting on the formation of this new coalition government Com. Prachanda, General Secretary of CPN(Maoist), has blasted the two major parliamentary parties for facilitating the return of the old autocratic rule. In a press statement issued on October 11, 1997 he has also exposed the present parliament as a tool of feudal and imperialist forces and has called for the total overthrow of the present system through the armed people's war and establishment of a New Democratic state. Similarly, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, President of United People's Front, has issued a statement exposing Surya Bahadur Thapa's professed "priority to peace and security" as an indication of the depth of fear instilled in the ruling class by the Maoist people's war. He has warned the people against the present government's conspiracy of sending police and military in plain clothes as vigilantes and attacking the

* The Naxalite movement was an armed peasant uprising led by Maoists which broke out in spring of 1967 in northeast India—RW



Areas most affected by the people's war.



masses, thus giving an appearance of "people fighting against the people."

It is said that the morning shows the day. This is no less true in Nepal, where the coming of Thapa as Prime Minister has already triggered a chain of state repression.

Rape and Murder of Com. Kamala Bhatt

On October 20, 1997 Com. Kamala Bhatt, a young 25-year-old party member, a district secretary of All Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary) (Gorkha district) and a school teacher, was found raped and murdered on the bank of Daraundi river. She was returning after addressing a series of mass meetings in various villages. She was seen leaving Gohare village in Gorkha district around 8 a.m. Her dead body was found surrounded by policemen around 10 a.m. Thus within two hours of leaving the village she was ambushed by the combined forces of Commandos (specially deputed from Kathmandu to suppress Maoist acti-

vities), local police and vigilantes. She was tortured, raped and killed brutally by them. Her shawl, a pair of slippers and the rest of her clothes were found in a nearby jungle while her dead body with only her underpants was discovered nearby Daraundi river by the local villagers. This is the first evidence of the present government's new vigilante style of suppressing the people with the backing of policemen and commandos, when their other direct methods of suppressing the movement had failed. This incident has evoked a tremendous hatred amongst the masses against the reactionary state and a sense of revenge was prevalent in the air. On October 22 about 6,000 villagers gathered to pay homage to the brave martyr Bhatt. The genocidal police, scared to death with such a massive crowd, fired upon the masses when they were returning from the funeral, grievously injuring another young woman student, Tika Lamichhane.

From the nature of genocide and repression unleashed against the masses, specially against the women, it is clear that the ruling class is shaken by the increasing and daring participation of women in various Maoist activities, including guerrilla warfare. The present bizarre attack on women is clearly aimed at terrorizing young women from participating in the Maoist people's war. However this has evoked greater fury and zeal amongst the masses to punish the butchers of Com. Bhatt. Already hundreds of thousands of people have paid revolutionary homages to martyr Bhatt in different parts of Nepal with a pledge to advance the people's war with firmer conviction and to punish the butchers.

Today, more and more people are joining the Maoist forces. In fact state repression is encouraging the people to revolt against this rotten system and usher in New Democracy in Nepal. Today even a section of the ruling class has openly acknowledged that in Nepal there are only two forces, the royalist force and the Maoist force, contending for state power. Brutal repression has only hastened the revolutionary consciousness among the toiling masses. No wonder more and more masses, specially women, have been joining guerrilla units to take revenge against these butchers and to fight for New Democracy. And this seems to accelerate the process of hoisting the red flag on the roof of the world. □

Getting Over the

Part 7: Strategic Double C

by Bob Avakian

A new series by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian on the so-called "demise of communism" and the advance to communism worldwide. The series takes up strategic problems in the struggle of the proletarian revolution in particular countries and on a worldwide scale to "get over the hump" and defeat the imperialist system.*

I have spoken to a number of important problems confronting the world proletarian revolution—and these contradictions are important material facts. They are a material reality that must be transformed. But the even more powerful material reality is that the capitalist-imperialist system is a colossal failure and is definitely a disaster for the great, great majority of humanity. This is something we should continually put back in the face of the bourgeoisie as well as putting out boldly to the masses.

We should never let the bourgeoisie get away with talking in triumphal terms about what a great thing their system is. We should continually bring out what a disaster it is for the great majority of humanity, how it is completely outmoded and needs to be overthrown as soon as that can actually be done, and how we must go on and eliminate this system from the face of the earth once and for all.

The imperialists can talk about the great achievements of their technology and all that they're doing. And this can have a certain ring of truth. All they have to do in order to be convincing is to blot out 90 percent and more of the people of the world. But once you begin to look at the consequences for the great majority of people of the world—it's a crime and a disaster and a colossal bankruptcy, materially and ideologically. It has long since outlived any positive role in terms of the development of society and the emancipation of the people. And we should never let them get away with saying anything to the contrary.

But they want to continue to blot out the reality the masses of people face. It's like Ralph Ellison wrote that book *The Invisible Man*, speaking about the experience of Black people in America. And we can apply it in a larger sense. It's like the invisible masses—ninety-plus percent of the people of the world the ruling class tries to render invisible, to the extent they can. And on a daily basis they do this to a very real extent.

We, in opposition to that, have to enable these masses to become more and more visible, and in a more and more class-conscious way.

The basic point I'm stressing is that these imperialists and their ideologues and apologists—all of them, liberal as well as conservative—really do represent the past, and we should never let them get away with portraying themselves in any other way. Obviously, on some objective level, they're going to get away with it, till we overthrow them and then go on with the revolution. But in our work we should never let them get away with this—we should never concede an inch to them on this point. They are committing monstrous crimes and their system is a colossal disaster. And we should continue to hammer at this point: Not only do these colossal disasters exist, but their system is responsible for this—we can show this concretely and we will. We got the case, beyond a reasonable doubt! We can show it, and we should, in our all-around work and in a concentrated way in our work of creating public opinion and being creative and being relentless in our propaganda and agitation. We have to continually come back to, bring to light, the material reality that they are continually trying to blot out, along with the people who experience this reality in the most grotesque and extreme ways, that is—the great majority of humanity.

The imperialist system is a colossal failure and disaster in terms of its effects on the masses of people. It is a monstrous crime in terms of what it subjects the great majority of humanity to. And we should not let

them get away with this, even in the realm of public opinion.

Strategic Double-C

At the same time, and along with this, we must never lose sight of the great achievements of our class so far. This is the other side of our strategic double c: strategic contempt for them, strategic confidence in our class and our cause.

This strategic double-c has a profound material-historical basis. It's true we've encountered setbacks and reversals—these have been very real and in certain ways they have been body blows to us, in the short run, tactically. It isn't easy to have to deal with the material reality and the political-ideological fall-out from the loss of China as a socialist country coming on top of the loss of the Soviet Union. But because this is reality—reality that we have to confront and transform—we should not therefore lose sight of the great achievements of our class so far, and really in a very short period historically speaking.

Especially with historical perspective, seeing this in terms of the relatively short period of the world proletarian revolution so far, we shouldn't lose sight of the many world historic transformations that have been carried out and the great transformative potential of the world proletarian revolution that is illuminated by these achievements.

Let's put it this way: What our class has accomplished so far, even though it has been reversed, is a radically different and much better world than what the bourgeoisie is imposing on the mass of humanity—and it is radically different and far better than even the *ideals* proclaimed by the bourgeoisie. We should never forget this, and we should never fail to boldly bring this forward to the masses of people and enable them to learn and be inspired from this.

Even though, in the short run, these gains have been reversed, still, along with these achievements and the reality of them, so long as they existed, we have also acquired a tremendous store of knowledge about the means and methods for carrying this revolution forward and towards final victory. Through all the twists and turns, with all the reversals and setbacks, we have tremendous achievements both in terms of what we actually did bring into being and also what we have learned. We must and will continue to learn more through the continuing revolutionary struggle, both before and after the seizure of power in particular countries. But, at the same time, we should not lose sight of our achievements and lessons so far or the great prospects ahead, the potential even within the present situation.

In a general sense we could express this point by

going back to Mao Tsetung's famous formulation which I have spoken to several times: the "future is bright, the road is tortuous." This reflects material reality, in all its contradictoriness. This captures material reality in a very profound way. This is a truth that we should understand more and more deeply and popularize among the masses. There is a very powerful historical and present-day material basis for our strategic double-c. We must continually come back to this fundamental point of orientation and boldly put this forward and project this double-c in everything we do.

Drawing from the experience of the world revolution so far, on one level we could say everything is not going to work out and has not been working out exactly as Marx and Engels foresaw, and undoubtedly everything is not going to work out as we or anyone else can foresee now. But, on another level—on the grand strategic level—we can and must maintain our confidence that everything will work out just as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism foresees. In other words, the capitalist-imperialist system—and all the relations, institutions, and ideas corresponding to it and corresponding generally to exploitation, oppression and class division and social antagonism—all this will in fact be overthrown, transformed and revolutionized, worldwide. So in that sense we can say that, while everything on one level is not going to work out exactly as anybody in the international communist movement has foreseen or can foresee—including in the original conception of Marx and Engels—on another, more profound and grand strategic level, everything *will* work out as we foresee it. We have to be able to deal with that unity of opposites, not only in our own understanding, but in terms of how we present things to the masses. □

- * Other parts in this series are:
 Part 1: Ruling the Court Is Not a Straight Line Thing
 Part 2: What Will It Take to Get Rid of This Obsolete System
 Part 3: The Problem of Lowered Sights
 Part 4: The Problems of Uneven Development and "Leftovers"
 Part 5: Breaking Down the Division Between Mental and Manual: Stalin and Mao
 Part 6: A Radical Revolution, A Radical Rupture

Shanties in Bombay, India.



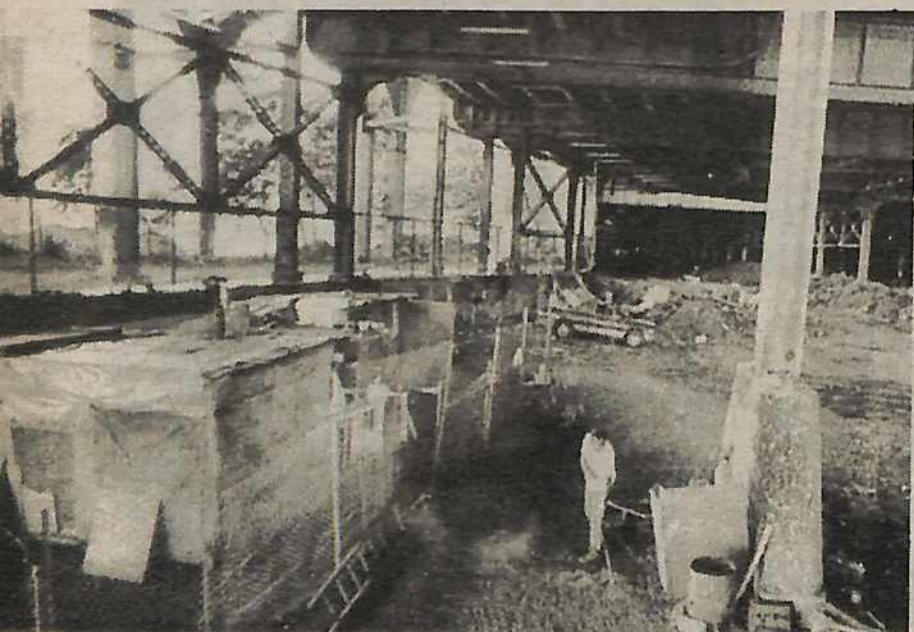
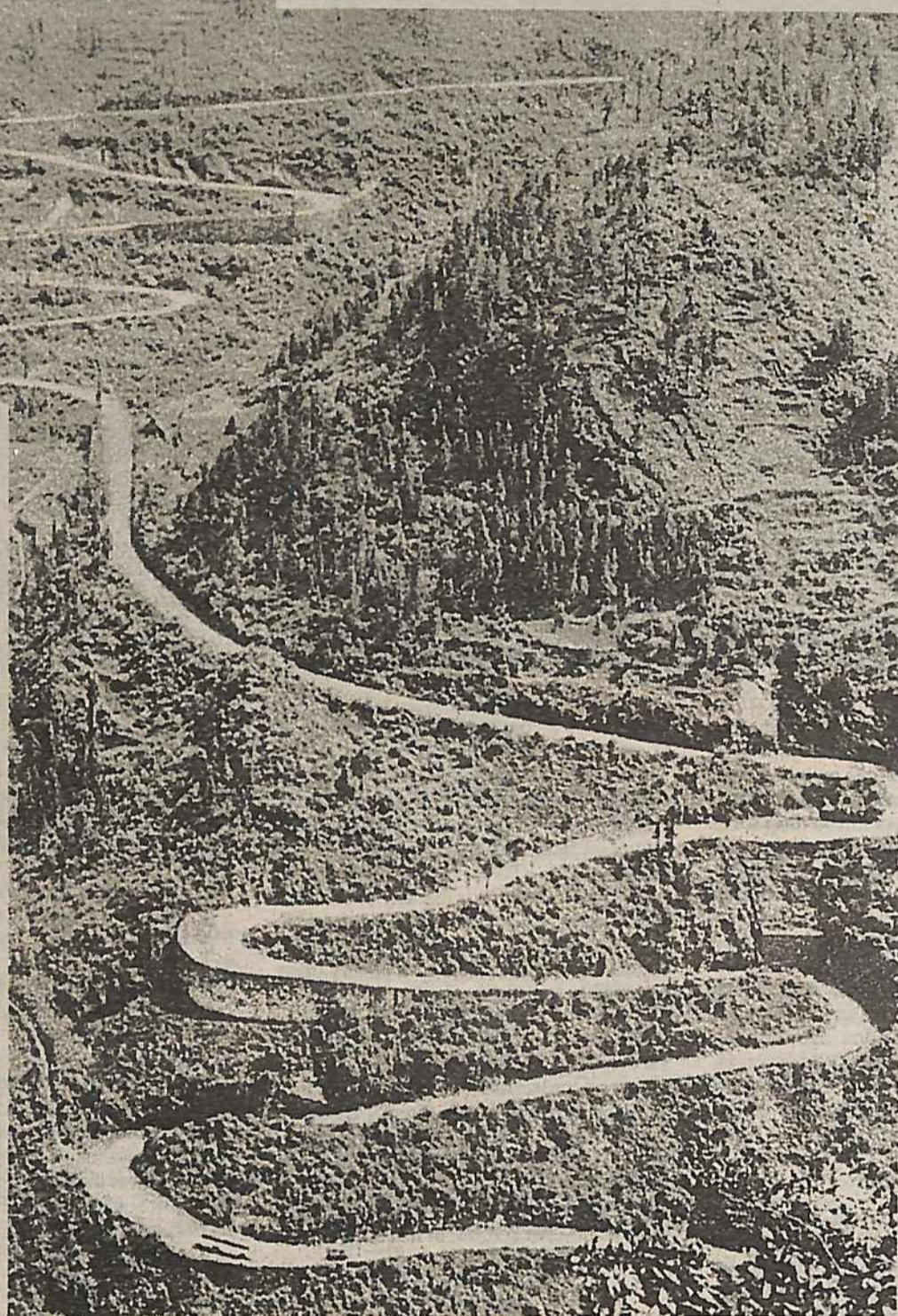
Hump



Thousands of dispossessed peasants march into the capital of Brazil after walking 70 days to demand land, April 1997.



Guerrillas of the Communist Party of Peru.



Shanties under the West Side Highway in New York City.

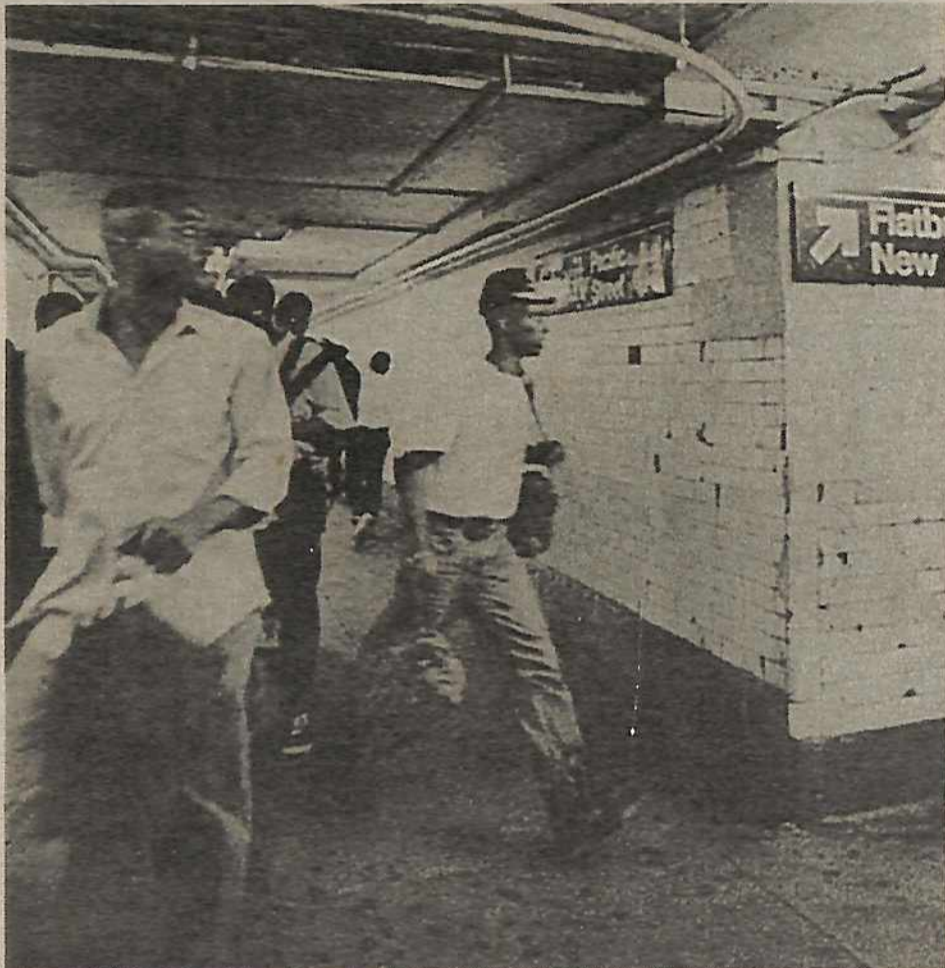


Mexican peasant carrying harvested crops to market.

"Know yourself and know the enemy and you can win a hundred battles..."

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

Fast, Convenient, E-Z...Big Brother Data Base



Brooklyn subway station

Until the recent few years, the way the government and transportation agencies have collected fares and tolls on buses, subways, bridges and highways has been pretty much the same for decades. You drop some change into a bus fare box, toss some coins into a toll booth, or use a token at a subway turnstile. An anonymous exchange of cash for a ride or passage.

This way of doing things is rapidly changing. Throughout the U.S. new technologies are being put in place to collect tolls and fares on highways and mass transit systems. The transportation agencies are seeking to increase efficiency and cut costs. But the new technologies also give the government and political police new potential to increase their Big Brother data base.

E-Z Pass

The E-Z Pass is a device used at toll booths on highways, bridges and tunnels in New York City. About the size of an audio cassette, the E-Z Pass is mounted with a velcro strip to the front windshield of a vehicle. When a driver goes through an "E-Z Pass lane," an electronic reader at the toll plaza connects via radio signal with the driver's E-Z Pass and automatically deducts the toll from the driver's account.

E-Z Pass is promoted as a "convenience" for drivers, since they don't have to stop and manually pay the toll. However, each time the E-Z Pass is used, a computerized entry is made. The location, time and date of each passage through detectors is recorded, tied to an individual account number, and stored in a centralized computer. What was once more or less an anonymous transaction is now a fully recorded one.

E-Z Pass is a major operation. An "inter-agency group"—including the major interstate highway, bridge and tunnel agencies in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware—was established in 1990 to set up E-Z Pass systems on some of the busiest highways in the Northeast. The system is already in place at the tunnels and bridges that are the entrance points to New York City for more than 700,000 people daily, and on the New York State Thruway. It is scheduled to be implemented on the New Jersey turnpikes and parkways by next year or early 1999.

A court decision has already approved the use of E-Z Pass records by the police. In July 1997, a judge ruled that the New York

City Police Department didn't need a subpoena to get E-Z Pass records from the Triborough Tunnel Authority (TbTA), which operates the bridges and tunnels in the city. The judge's ruling said, "Unlike attorney-client dialogue, the traffic movements of E-Z Pass holders are exposed to public view. Hence it is unlikely at best that motorists would be deterred from using E-Z Pass simply because the TbTA might be forced to release records of a plainly open and visible transaction."

The *New York Daily News* recently reported, "Transportation officials said so far they have provided E-Z Pass records to cops and prosecutors tracking the movement of suspects in 35 criminal cases—a number that is likely to grow astronomically." The *Daily News* quoted a New York Police Department investigator who said that E-Z Pass records "will become another item to be checked off in a routine investigation."

MetroCard

One of the most ambitious implementations of new technology is the New York City transit system's MetroCard, an electronic fare-paying system. In July of this year, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) announced that all subway stations and buses had been retooled for the MetroCard.

The MetroCard is about the size of a credit card, with a magnetic stripe on the back that stores information about how much monetary value is on it. When the card is swiped through an electronic reader on a bus or a subway turnstile, the fare is automatically deducted.

The MTA sees the card as a way to eliminate the more costly system of collecting and counting tokens—and the jobs of people involved in doing the work. It is part of the "downsizing" of the work force in the public sector.

The MTA has tried to convince people that the card is more convenient than tokens. They argue that people can put up to \$80 on the card, eliminating the frequent waits in lines to buy tokens. Until recently, however, most people did not use the card. The MTA then began a program of free transfers—paid for by a huge fare hike two years ago—to get more people to start using the card.

The authorities have downplayed the details of the technology involved. The *NY*

Times reported that the MTA "declined to explain how its new system works, except to confirm the obvious: 'There is a magnetic stripe and it is read when you swipe it or put it into the coin box.'"

But there is much more to it than that. Another article in the *Times*, discussing the difficulty of making bootleg copies of the MetroCard, revealed some interesting facts. The article said that the transit system's computers "are programmed to detect bogus cards by reading the serial number. If the same serial number is used at two distant places within a suspiciously short amount of time, or appears too frequently on the system, the computer will lock that serial number out and the card will no longer work. Serial numbers are stored for two years, meaning that the system has certain Big Brother capabilities. Employee movements could be tracked, for example, or if the police found the card on a murder victim, they could obtain a record of where the victim traveled."

In response to a phone inquiry, the MTA said that each MetroCard has a unique serial number stamped on the card and coded into the magnetic strip. The *NY Times* noted that unlike fare cards in some other cities, the MetroCard "is not simply a receptacle for stored value. Instead, each card appears to have...an account stored in the Transit Authority's main computer which communicates via phone lines and radio signals with its subway stations and buses."

A December 1995 report by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), evaluating a similar program in Los Angeles (also called Metrocard), said, "The information contained on this track [magnetic strip] includes the location and date the card was first issued, information related to the last transaction and the current value of the card." Moreover, the FTA report notes that "all of the information related to a Metrocard transaction" are sent via modem to a central computer and stored there.

This feature of the MetroCard system raises the possibility that the authorities could use it to find out about someone's comings and goings. If they seized someone's card—or were able to match a serial number with a card that someone is using—they could conceivably generate a record of what buses and subways that person took over a certain period of time. Will the police make checks into MetroCard records yet "another item to be checked off in a routine investigation"?

Other High-Tech "Innovations"

Another new technology in use in mass transit in Denver, Baltimore, Atlanta, and other cities is the global positioning system (GPS). Originally developed for military use, GPS uses satellites to track the location of a vehicle. One report from the Federal Transportation Administration described how GPS enabled the Denver police to track and arrest a man who allegedly robbed a store and then boarded a bus in an attempt to flee.

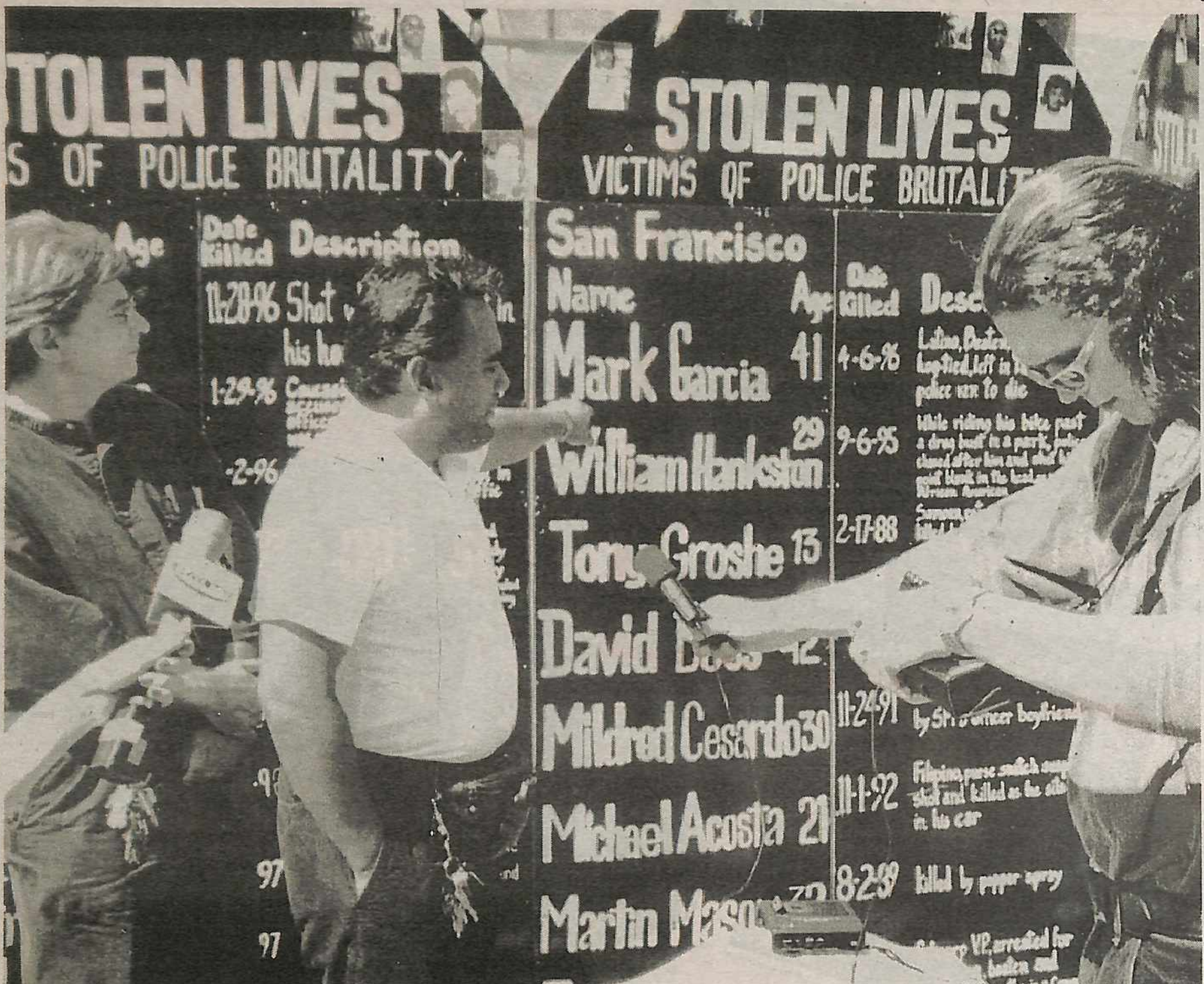
An article in the Spring 1996 issue of the *Covert Action Quarterly* describes what is known as "Intelligent Transportation Systems" (ITS): "ITS refers to a number of traffic management technologies, including crash-avoidance systems, automated toll collection, satellite-based position location and traffic-based toll pricing. To facilitate these services, the system tracks the movements of all people using public or private transportation. As currently proposed by TRW, a leading developer of the technologies involved, the data collected on travel will be available for both law enforcement and private uses such as direct marketing. Automated toll collection is already in operation in several states, including New York, Florida, and California. Tracking systems for counterintelligence purposes are also already in place in New York City, where the FBI has set up a permanent 'real time physical tracking system.'"

The government has a vision of linking various local ITS. A recent Department of Transportation report says: "In many cities and some rural areas, ITS systems have already been deployed but most systems are not integrated. Systems do not 'talk and listen' to each other. The main objective of Operation Time Saver [a federal government initiative] is to integrate separate ITS by linking them to share data within and across transportation modes and across local, state, and regional jurisdictions."

The use of new technologies in mass transit and traffic management may be mainly about "cutting costs" and making the vital transportation networks of this system "more efficient." But these technological "innovations" also give the police, FBI and other agencies more tools to track, hound and repress the people and political groups. It is important to keep a close eye on these developments and resist the moves by the power structure to step up their Big Brother capabilities. □



New York toll booth



Daniel Garcia points to the name of his brother on the Stolen Lives Wall, San Francisco, September 11, 1997.

The following information comes from the October 22 Coalition:

THE STOLEN LIVES PROJECT

A Record Of Victims Killed By Police And Border Patrol In The United States 1990-1997

A joint project of the Anthony Baez Foundation, the National Lawyers Guild and the October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality

FIRST EDITION OF THE STOLEN LIVES PROJECT BOOK

NOW AVAILABLE

Order from:

Stolen Lives Project/October 22 Coalition, c/o KHL, Inc., Box 124, 160 First Avenue, New York, NY 10009, \$5 plus shipping. Orders of 10 or more are \$3 each plus shipping. Make check or money order payable to "IFCO/Oct. 22 Coalition" and write "Stolen Lives books" in the memo. Additional tax-deductible donations are welcome.

The mission of the STOLEN LIVES PROJECT is to assemble a national list of names of people killed by police and U.S. Border Patrol from 1990-1997. Hundreds are killed by the "official violence" of the police every year. These victims—whose lives have been viciously cut short—all had lives, families and were part of our society. But rarely are their lives or names publicized, nor are the real circumstances surrounding their deaths caused by police made known, nor is the extent of this epidemic of police violence known.

STOLEN LIVES will help reveal to millions the reality of police terror and killing that is escalating in cities large and small across the United States, as well as along the U.S.-Mexico border. Our aim is to build the growing resistance against police brutality.

Stolen Lives is a work in progress. This first edition was prepared and produced for release prior to October 22, 1997—the 2nd National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality. The first edition contains more than 500 names of people killed by police and U.S. Border Patrol—and this is only the tip of the iceberg.

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY, REPRESSION AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF A GENERATION!

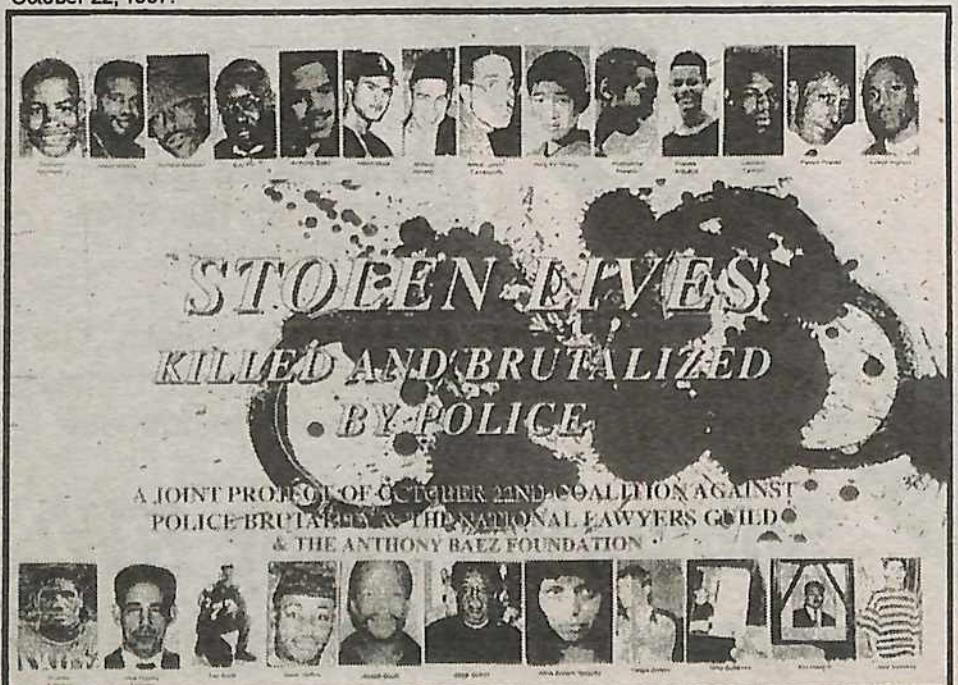
If you know someone who has been killed by police, contact the Stolen Lives Project.

October 22 Coalition, National Office c/o KHL, Inc. Box 124 160 First Avenue New York, NY 10009 212-822-8596 (voicemail)	National Lawyers Guild 8124 West 3rd Street Suite 201 Los Angeles, CA 90048 213-852-0578 213-653-3245 FAX	Anthony Baez Foundation 6 Cameron Place Bronx, NY 10453 718-364-2879 718-798-2466 718-653-1681 FAX
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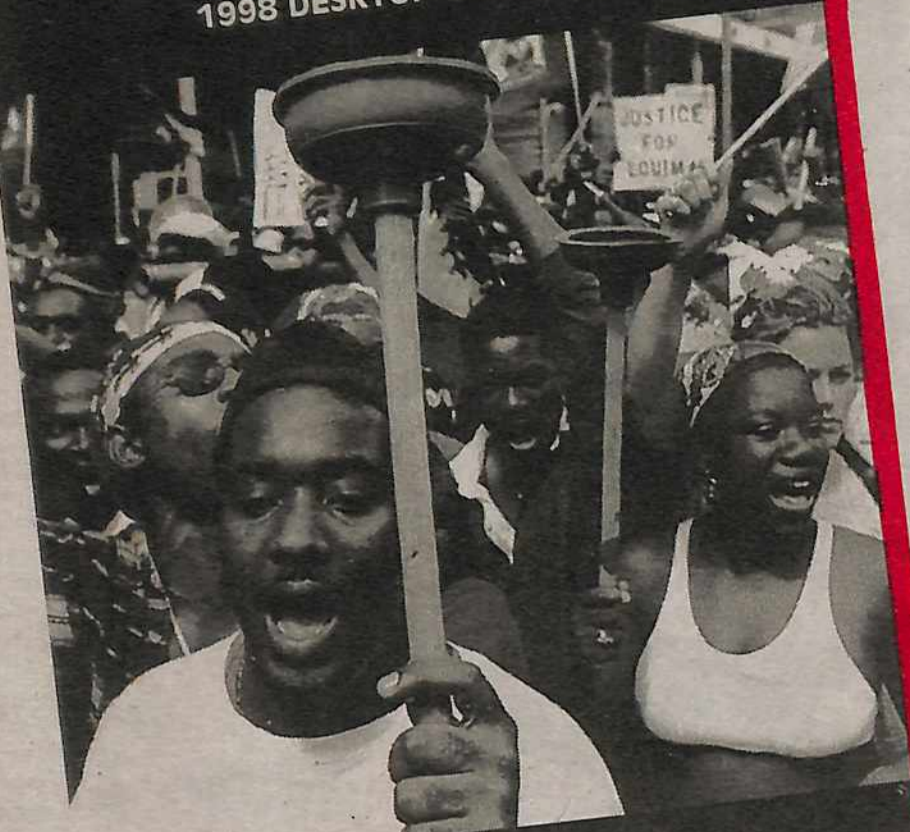
Or call 1-888-NO BRUTALITY for more information about the October 22 Coalition



Member of Mothers United for Justice in Miami holding the Stolen Lives book, October 22, 1997.



**STOP POLICE BRUTALITY
1998 DESKTOP CALENDAR**



ALTO A LA BRUTALIDAD POLICIAL

**STOP POLICE BRUTALITY
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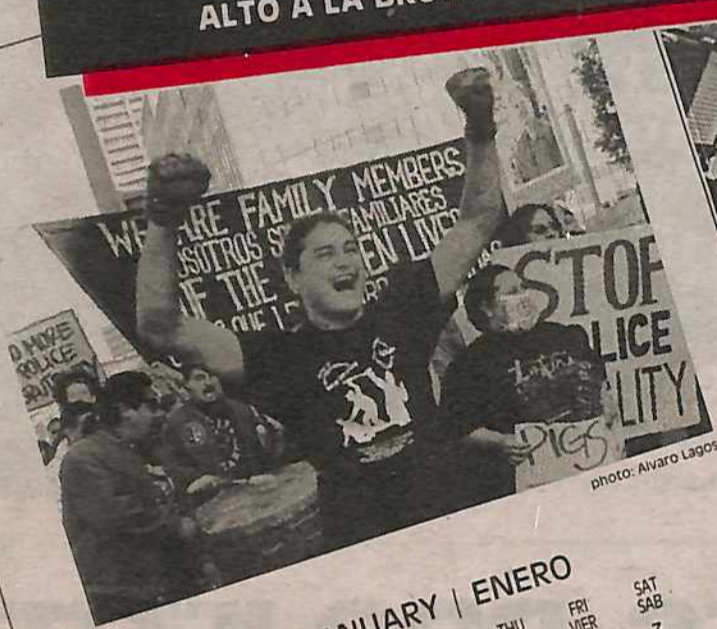


photo: Alvaro Lagos



MAY | MAYO

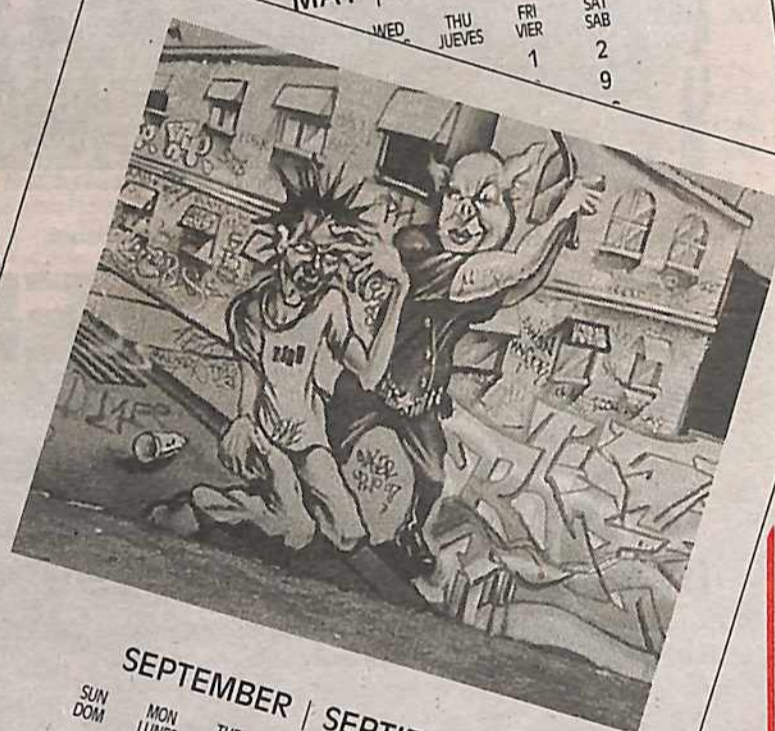
WED	THU JUEVES	FRI VIER	SAT SAB
		1	2
			9

JANUARY | ENERO

SUN DOM	MON LUNES	TUE MARTES	WED MIERC	THU JUEVES	FRI VIER	SAT SAB
	4	5	6	7	8	9
	11	12	13	14	15	16
	18	19	20	21	22	23
		26	27	28	29	30
						31

FEBRERO

THU JUEVES	FRI VIER	SAT SAB
5	6	7
	13	14
	20	21
	27	28



SEPTEMBER | SEPTIEMBRE

SUN DOM	MON LUNES	TUE MARTES	WED MIERC	THU JUEVES	FRI VIER	SAT SAB
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

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