The racist oppressors in South Africa (Azania) are in deep trouble, and the end of the apartheid system is on the horizon. The black people's struggle forced the apartheid regime to back down and release ANC leader Nelson Mandela from prison. Opportunities are rising in South Africa for the black people to take the struggle higher and fight a real revolutionary war to break all the chains. The enemy is on the run. It's time to seize the time!

New Book by Bob Avakian

REFLECTIONS, SKETCHES & PROVOCATIONS
Special For Black History Month

Bob Avakian Talks About
HUEY NEWTON AND THE PANTHERS. . .
THE EARLY YEARS. . .
AND WHAT'S UP TODAY
Four part interview in the RW

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’s 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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All eyes are on South Africa. People can see that the hated apartheid regime is on the run. After 27 years of unjustly imprisoning ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the South Africa government had to let him go. Not out of any change in their oppressor hearts, but because they are staggering from the blows delivered by the courageous struggle of the black people in South Africa and the millions around the world who support the overthrow of apartheid. The racist oppressors and their system are in deep trouble. The end of apartheid is on the horizon.

The struggle of the Azanian people (the oppressed black people in South Africa) inspires the proletarians in the USA in our struggle. We can see that the apartheid rulers and the U.S. and other powers who back them are NOT all-powerful and in full control. And we can see the hypocrisy of the U.S. imperialists who rule over a system in this country which locks oppressed people into bantustan ghettos and housing projects and murders Black people every day in cold blood. The way the Azanian people forced the apartheid rulers to back down makes us think about the possibilities for seizing the power here in the USA.

Mandela and the ANC are calling for negotiations with the apartheid government. Their program and strategy are not for complete liberation but for accommodation. By talking with the ANC, the South African rulers want to do an end run around the masses and stop a new mass upsurge.

But opportunities are rising in South Africa for the black people to take the struggle higher and fight a real revolutionary war that will do away with the whole structure of oppression in South Africa. Opportunities too for the masses to break the chains.

To break the chains of a system where a white settler-colonial minority owns all the riches, resources, and 87 percent of the land and lives off the blood of the black masses.

To break the chains where the white settler regime controls the politics and the gun and has the power of life and death over black people.

To break the chains where the multinational corporations and imperialist powers prop up the apartheid murderers and get profits out of the black people.

To break ALL the chains of oppression.

The enemy is on the run. It's time to seize the time!

**Down with Apartheid and Imperialism from S.A. to U.S.A.!**

**Fight the Powers, Seize the Power!**
AZANIA ON FIRE, TAKE IT HIGHER!

Azanian People's Struggle On the Rise Once Again

Winds of change are blowing in South Africa.

The apartheid regime came down on the 1984-87 upsurge with brute force—emergency laws, hundreds of black workers that has built the cities, roads and factories we see. They cannot be excluded from sharing the wealth. The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as the present employers come to be. We are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address the inequalities caused by apartheid.

Mandela spoke a truth when he says that South Africa was built on the labor of black people. But fighting for a "share" of the wealth will not lead to liberation for the black people. The settler colonial state, and the U.S. and other imperialist powers behind it, has gotten huge profits out of the exploitation and oppression of the Azanian people. The white minority rulers live like parasites, and they control the state and the military which protect their privileged position. Any government, even one that calls itself "democratic," where these types still have a big say and power will not bring real freedom for the masses of black people.

It is an outrage that black people have no political rights in South Africa. But fighting for the right to vote is not a solution. Black people need to fight to liberate the whole country. And this will require a war.

The settler colonists are not going to be talked into anything they do not want to give up, without a fight. They will defend their position with the guns that they control. Power will have to be violently taken from their hands by a revolutionary war of the masses—a people's war. There has to be毛泽东《论持久战》called "new democratic operation" that overthrows and smashes the whole structure of apartheid, national oppression, and imperialist domination and builds a new society based on the real interests of the people.

What does it mean to say that the black people's goal should be to "share the wealth" in South Africa? It can only mean buying into the oppressive system. Today the settler colonial rulers and the Western imperialists face a crisis of capitalism in South Africa which comes in part out of the very way they have squeezed and oppressed the black masses.

The inferior education for black youth, the huge numbers of black workers forced to lead a shadowy and desperate existence for survival in the towns, the horrible health conditions—and the rebellion of the masses against these outrages—are increasingly cutting into the ability of the oppressors to squeeze out profits. So they want to "moderate" their system of super-exploitation by expanding education, improving skills levels of black workers, and so on.

Mandela's program of taking part in the "economic growth and productivity" of South Africa can only mean helping the oppressors out of their crisis. It means keeping the basic foundations of this structure, which is built on downpressing the masses of black people and depriving the interests of the South African rulers and the Western powers. It means that some aspiring black bourgeoisie might become part of a capitalist system that will be a fortress of imperialism and reaction.

Why should the oppressed people help save the system of their oppressors?

Just and Unjust Violence

Mandela says: "Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The fact that hundreds of black people were killed during the upsurge of 1984-1987 and say that the only way is the armed struggle. When the enemy says 'just' and 'unjust' violence is that some aspiring black bourgeoisie might become part of a capitalist system that will be a fortress of imperialism and reaction. Why should the oppressed people need to be defensive about taking up arms against the oppressors? The violence of the oppressors is reactionary and unjust and must be condemned and fought against. The revolutionary violence of the oppressed against the enemy is just and unalloyed. The opposite in South Africa is that there is not enough revolutionary violence. The oppressors do not do this, their noses are so much in power that they have to wage revolutionary war to hold power out of the oppressors' grasp."

In 1960 the ANC had carried out an armed struggle. But Mandela saw that "armed struggle" was not a genuine people's war. The ANC was backed by "aid" from the Soviet imperialists, and the occasional sabotage attempt by the U.S. were tactics to pressure the government into negotiations. Under Gorbachev's "new thinking" the Soviets have cut back on such "aid" to groups like the ANC, and the ANC has carried out a frequent armed struggle on a "negotiated settlement."

After coming out of prison, Mandela said that he and the ANC still upheld the armed struggle. But as Mandela also says, "African peoples have not won an armed struggle as soon as a 'climate' for a "negotiated settlement" is reached. A high-ranking Soviet diplomat recently said that the government does not feel threatened by an armed struggle as "supposedly being waged against the" armed struggle. When the enemy says there is a problem with that armed struggle, there is a serious problem with that armed struggle.

Some forces, like Bishop Tutu, focus on the fact that hundreds of black people were killed during the upsurge of 1964-1987 and say that the only way is the armed struggle. Mandela says: "I am disturbed by the specter of a South Africa split into two hostile camps: black and white. One side would be rich and the other, slaughtering one another."

But hundreds of black people in the U.S. are murdered by the system every year, whether or not they are armed. The problem is also known for trying to stir up fighting between different black groups. Much of the so-called "black on black" violence in South Africa is instigated by the police.

"As Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP USA, pointed out: "It's far better to make those sacrifices, in order to contribute to the overthrow of the system and moving beyond the horrendous conditions that people face under it every day through its normal workings, than to give up our power, resistance and murder and other forms of brutality inside and simply accepting this system—or still worse, helping to perpetuate this system with all of its horrors."

Black Liberation and Whites in South Africa

Mandela says: "The fears of whites about their rights and place in a South Africa they do not control exclusively are an obstacle we must understand and address. I stated in 1964 that I and the ANC are opposed to black domination, but we are to white domination. We must accept that our statements and declarations alone will not be sufficient to allay the fears of white South Africans. We must clearly demonstrate our good will to our white comrades and convince them by our conduct... that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better country for whites as well as blacks."

Mandela and the ANC have been trying hard to ease the pain of the white minority "structural guarantees" under a new political arrangement in South Africa. This business of assuring the white settler colonists and considering them "compatriots" is very much a part of the ANC's program of buying into the system instead of overthrowing it. White domination is the reality in South Africa. So-called "black domination" is a concept used by the South African rulers to oppose black liber-
Close to 1,000 Black students, joined by about forty white students, broke out of Heights High School. This high school, which is in an integrated suburb of Cleveland, is 63 percent Black and 36 percent White. The issue was straight-in to the struggle as a little added pressure. The actual situation is much more favorable. The agitators of apartheid and the struggle of the black masses have propelled some white people, like youth in the draft, to the draft, into serious opposition to the government. There is a real basis for a revolutionary movement to win over sections of whites. But if they are to become allies of, and not obstacles to, the revolutionary black masses, white South Africans must become revolutionaries in their own struggle.

Unleashing the Fury of Women and Youth for Revolution

Mandela says: "Stop up the struggle." And then he says, "Not a single one of you should do anything which will cause other people any that we can't control our own people.

There are great openings for stepping up the struggle in South Africa. The question is: what kind of struggle? The struggle of the black masses and the ANC needs to force the government into negotiations through demonstrations and other political actions, with some talk of armed struggle as a little added pressure. The ANC leaders have made it clear they do not want a revolutionary mass upheaval and are calling on people to "control" themselves.

In various ways Mandela has tried to quiet the anger and limit the initiative of the masses. In Soweto, Mandela lectured to the youth: "You're not strong enough yet to go into the streets. You're not strong enough to go to the哪里s and against the apartheid troops with their guns and ammunition."

Bob Avakian pointed out: "South Africa is a state whose fundamental base is the exploitation and oppression of the black majority. It is a state that defines South Africa as a state. . . . In South Africa, it's not only because black people are oppressed but because of their position in society, their defining role in society as a whole in South Africa, that a revolutionary uprising with revolutionary leadership based on a peacetime program and outlook which brings forward the black masses in revolutionary struggle in South Africa is the road to revolution there. And this involves both achieving the national liberation of the Azanian people, the black people who are oppressed by the racist settler-colonial system. The youth have been at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid schools and return to classes. The youth have been at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. The black youth of the townships prove their fearlessness every time they fight with stones and barricades against the apartheid cops with their guns and horses (armored military vehicles). They show that there is plenty of basis to build a revolutionary people's army in South Africa. Yet Mandela is now telling these youth to go back to school.

Mandela's patriarchal outlook towards women has also come out. A news report quoted Winnie Mandela, who married Nelson Mandela before he was imprisoned, "I've been giving orders, and now I have to take them. . . . It is fun, and very strange indeed at my age, to wake up in the morning and I am fighting. Put on my shirt, what shirt have you prepared? Where are my shoes? Where's my tie? Why would I wear a shirt?"

Some forces try to justify such male chauvinism by saying it is part of "traditional African culture" and therefore an expression of opposition to imperialism. But this is a totally backward view. How can maintaining the oppressive relations between men and women lead to anything else but enshrining imperialist domination and reactionary rule?

Women have also been at the forefront of the struggle in South Africa. It's estimated that the arrest rate of black women for political reasons in South Africa is the highest in the world. A sharp example of the oppression of Azanian women is that one black woman is raped every 30 seconds! Anyone serious about really ending the oppressive system in South Africa would want to liberate the black women--not put them in "their traditional place.

If there is to be real revolutionary change in South Africa that breaks ALL the chains, the fury and initiative of women and youth must be unleashed, not shut down.

The political program put forward by Mandela and the ANC cannot lead the masses in revolutionary struggle. But this is no reason for anyone—even those who hoped that Mandela would play a revolutionary role—to become discouraged. Mandela and the ANC have had a hundred years of imperialist "power-sharing" with the government. In any revolutionary struggle, the people must deal with foreign who try to keep things from going all the way and want to patch up a rotten system. And now the apartheid powers, trying to save their system, are engaging the ANC in talks. This is a sign that the enemy is weak and that there are openings to take the struggle higher and fight a real revolutionary war.

The racist South African rulers and their imperialist godfathers are deteriorating—their system has no future. The future is with the black masses. If they organize politically and militarily under revolutionary leadership and take up an independent revolutionary action, they can really be free.
Thursday, February 1, the government escalated its War on Drugs. And again. Once again, under the cover of the "war on drugs," the Police Department set up barricades around a large neighborhood surrounding Jefferson High School in South Central L.A. This is the fourth area to be blocked off by the police since barricades first went up around "La Centrona Americana" (in the Pico Union district) in October 1989. And they made this move right after the L.A. Sheriffs Department murdered Oliver X. Beasley, a Black man and a Muslim, in South Central.

The RCYB in L.A. has responded to this by leading the youth to take on the barricades. The Brigade participated in demonstrations in the La Centrona Americana district. And when the barricades went up in South Central, the RCYB led a rebellious march through the neighborhood where people confronted the police and kicked down the barricades. They also confronted Mayor Bradley at a community meeting called to discuss the war on drugs. The people in the neighborhood were about to barricade, even though some of their flunkies and cheerleaders to this meeting, the tables were turned on them right from the beginning when the L.A. Sheriffs Department and others called them out and disrupted their plans for an orderly and police meeting.

Following is an interview with Brigade youth leaders and others called out and disrupted their plans for an orderly and police meeting. It was an interview with Brigade youth leaders and others called out and disrupted their plans for an orderly and police meeting.
They are immigrants from El Salvador and Mexico. They come to the U.S. for all the same reasons: to make money and provide for their families. The American dream is supposed to be. And when they do get here it's more difficult to achieve. The cops are regrouping here and trying to get their support to push back the people as well as Hispanic people. They want to use them to push them down. And because they're so new to the country, they're hoping that their naivete will lead to this.

For the record, there was a complete media blackout on the meeting. It was supposedly a community meeting, which the whole town was supposed to hear about—this is what's going on in this neighborhood. Uncle Tom comes out and says it must be of some significance. But there was a complete media blackout. It seems to me they don't want anyone to know about this until the barricades are up.

Question: But their shit did get taken on. In a lot of ways, that's because of what the RCYB and the people who worked them did. Would that kind of thing have been possible without the RCYB? Isn't that what you're after: Get your poise together, fight the power everywhere—show the people revolution is the solution. Fear nothing, be down for the whole thing.

L: Being from the RCYB, the solution in revolution. That is our solution. That is our only solution. Four hundred years and nothing has come out of it. There has to be revolutionary change, and that will happen somehow, someway. Like it or not, that's what's going to happen. Historically, look at Russia in 1917, at China and Cuba and Nicaragua. It's going to be violent. There's no getting around it. The '90s are going to be a very explosive ten years.

L: Inclusion into this political system is just jumping into bed with these decadent, crooked politicians—taking part of everything they do. That's no change for the people. It's part of appeasement.

Question: For a lot of youth, it's easier to step out there for revolution than it is to join a gang. A lot of the youth aren't afraid to die. That's no change for the people.

L: It's a crazy world. Living in this crazy world you might have to take supposedly "crazy" actions. But, once again, the police are damnin' down harder. There's more of a police state happening in the U.S. We want to believe that. But it's about economics. Who's gonna have what. And once again capitalism is based on inequality. For one to have, one must not have. It's getting down to some fundamental things.

L: It's a weird world. Living in this crazy world you might have to take supposedly "crazy" actions. But, once again, the police are damnin' down harder. There's more of a police state happening in the U.S. We want to believe that. But it's about economics. Who's gonna have what. And once again capitalism is based on inequality. For one to have, one must not have. It's getting down to some fundamental things.

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What do you say about a leader of a revolutionary party who can analyze the style of play and attitude of one of the teams in an NCAA basketball championship game in order to draw lessons about revolution? And what do you say about a self-described communist and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist who can address some fundamental questions to Carl Sagan and Stephen Jay Gould concerning the character of intellectual inquiry and debate in socialist society, while at the same time he can decry the ossification of Marxism into a state religion? Well, you can say that his name is Bob Avakian and that he is one of the most original and provocative thinkers of our time.

Reflections, Sketches, and Provocations is a collection of articles and essays written over a period of seven years, a kind of political compass of the 1980s. Consistently fresh and vibrant in his perceptions, Avakian can look at a movie like Fort Apache, The Bronx and launch into a discussion of liberalism; or take the opening lines of a speech by Ronald Reagan and tear apart its historical, even its geological, assumptions; or contrast two different kinds of “festivals” occurring simultaneously in Miami: the Orange Bowl hoopla and a rebellion in the Black community.

Yet as broad-ranging as these writings are, certain basic themes run through them: the obscene hypocrisy of the imperialists, the limits of reformism, the shifts in the world since the 1960s and the strategic weakness of imperialism, the need to oppose war with revolution, and the nature and necessity of revolutionary preparation. And if Avakian is passionately concerned with the revolutionary seizure of power, he is no less absorbed with the difficulties of exercising that power and of advancing to communist society where there would be no class distinctions and no state—no power exercised by one part of society over another.

From a piece that extends no more than a paragraph to an expansive essay, Avakian has that rare ability to not only offer up insights but to force his reader to argue with him. For those unacquainted with his work, Reflections, Sketches, and Provocations will serve as a splendid introduction. For those who have encountered him before, here brought under one cover are some of his most engaging writings.
SONS, SONS & SONS

Haym Salvian

Commentary 1987-1987

Challenges the difficult feat of theoretical scope with a life experiences and the bottom. What this collection is not for Marxism but a depth, and, its essence, "

Introduction
Protest and rebellion has erupted in Selma. Students and civil rights leaders, furious over the suppression of the city's first Black school superintendent, Norwood Roussell, staged a series of mass actions to take on the city government. Trouble had been brewing for months. While members of the board of education had been having secret strategy sessions with Mayor Joe Smitherman. There is "white majority rule" on the board.—only five of the eleven appointed school board members are Black, although 70 percent of the students are Black. And in early February when white board members used their majority vote to not renew Roussell's contract, the five Black board members of the board resigned in protest.

Roussell is the first Black superintendent of the city's school system and one of the few Black officials in this predominantly Black community. He has been known for his efforts to improve the quality of education to eliminate the racist tracking system that systematically restricts educational opportunities for Black youth by labeling them "underachievers."

A school boycott was called for Monday, February 5. When a group of parents went to try and meet with Mayor Joe Smitherman, the police attacked them and four community leaders, including Black attorney Rose Sanders, were arrested. Sanders was assaulted and four community leaders, including Black attorney Rose Sanders, were arrested. The next day, February 6, attempts to end the occupation on February 12, after the mayor ordered Roussell to expel all the students. The students left the school and marched into a school of struggle. During the takeover they set up "classes" to study Black history, the struggle against the oppression of Black people in this country, and they also debated the strategy and tactics of their takeover.

One student said, "We marched in there and decided we were gonna stay as long as it took. In the classroom we all sat around and talked about different subjects. Unlike in an ordinary classroom where the teacher tells you about things and they don't ask your opinion—there's a limit to what you can say. This was your own classroom where you could say what you wanted to say and nobody put you down. We learned more in those four nights about African-American history than we learned in twelve years of school." Students from colleges as far away as Detroit and Atlanta came to allow their support. The students decided to end the occupation on February 12, after the mayor ordered Roussell to expel all the students. The students left the school and marched throughout the town in all the schools confronting state troopers and calling on students in other schools to join them. Meetings were held into the night by adults as well as youth, discussing where to take the struggle next.

Demonstrations have continued at City Hall and it has been a disruptive and rebellious scene. People marched from the First Baptist Church to visit their friends holding a vigil. Youth milled about in groups wearing African medallions of green, gold and black. They enthusiastically took up bright orange "No Peace for Racists" stickers from an RCYB member and soon everyone and everything was covered with these stickers. Older people either sat around maintaining the vigil or joined in with the students. An older Black man, a veteran of the '60s, told the RW proudly, "If they start hitting the kids now, they'll start hitting back. You better believe that—it ain't gonna be like it was in '65. That was then, this is now—there's a whole different breed of children. They aren't gonna cover up their heads no more, they're gonna fire up some heads."

As much as oppressed people everywhere must love what the masses are doing in Selma, the oppressors hate it. The press has been openly promoting the threats of white parents who are saying that "things are getting out of hand" and that they "can't be held responsible for the retaliation that might follow."

When the mayor met with white parents demanding the city restore "law and order," he promised he would do whatever was necessary to ensure the "safety" of students wishing to continue their education. Racists officials and pigs mouth about "Black mob rule" and congratulate themselves on their self-restraint while threatening violence if the protest doesn't stop. But the truth is, they are the mob that rules and oppresses the people and nothing but an all-the-way liberating revolution is going to change that.

Tuesday, February 12, 100 students in the high and middle schools held sit-ins in the cafe. Youth with "No Peace for Racists" stickers and Africa medallions were threatened with suspension for singing. Students called for a walkout and this time protest actions happened at the high school and middle school as well. The occupation of city hall continues. City officials have been forced to reintiate Roussell, even though his contract remains unrenewed. This small taste of a people's victory is sweet. And at the same time it has sparked a lot of questioning and debate about the oppression of Black people in this country and how to really get rid of it.

It is approaching the 25th anniversary of Bloody Sunday, when in 1965 civil rights marchers crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma and were viciously beaten by state troopers and Selma cops. City officials have been whining that all the recent upheaval in the city is going to spoil the anniversary "celebration." But the real truth is—what better way to remember Bloody Sunday than for people to step up the struggle and fight the racist power!
Malcolm X was telling it like it is. America, then and now, is a prison for Black and other oppressed people. Malcolm X came from those oppressed people, and they looked to him for leadership. It was for his uncompromising stand—giving voice to the deepest feelings of the most oppressed—that Malcolm X was hounded and finally assassinated by agents of imperialism, 25 years ago this week, in February 1965.

Malcolm X shook up Amerikkka. His bold defiance of the system, his intolerance for the oppression of Black people, his exposure of the rottenness at the core of the U.S. empire, and his basic revolutionary stand of fighting for liberation “by any means necessary” helped change the political climate in the country and the world. He was a revolutionary nationalist, but he is remembered by proletarian internationalists as a heroic fighter in the struggle against oppression and imperialism.

Malcolm X was courageously hostile to the American system. He always reminded his listeners that the Black people had been brought to America in chains and are still enslaved there today. He taught that chains of oppression can be erased by white power structure. He sat in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles—those are the ones who control the country or in this city to fight or agree to—will join with anyone, I don’t care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth. He drew great inspiration from the Chinese Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, which he said “took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. No more Uncle Toms in China.”

“Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overthrows and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, I’m going to love those folks no matter how much they hate me.”

No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution that they all agree on? We Shall Overcome! We Shall Overcome! We Shall Overcome!

Malcolm X broke with the Black Muslims. He was one of the millions of Black youth who are treated like “nobodies” under this system. An eighth-grade dropout who hustled the streets in Lansing, Michigan and Harlem, he got into a life of petty crime and drugs. During six years in prison, he began to think deeply, especially about the history of Blacks in America. Influenced by the Nation of Islam (“Black Muslims”), he took up the Islamic religion and changed his name to “X” to symbolize his true African family name that had been erased by white slavemasters.

Once out of prison, he became the most active minister of the Black Muslims. His fiery speeches, delivered on sidewalks or inside theaters and temples, he exposed the white supremacist society and spoke out against injustices faced by the Black masses. He was like a lightning rod, attracting the most rebellious, disaffected, militant people of the ghetto, especially among the youth. He talked to these people and when he saw on the streets among angry crowds, there was always the threat of spurs being faced into a general. Onstage he was different. People came to see his fiery speeches. But on their feet they were ready to fight. They were going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people. Why, they told him, you’re going to make him faster than you burn the ones who sent him.”

January 7, 1965

Early in 1964, a year before he died, Malcolm X broke with the Black Muslims. He felt the Muslim leaders had betrayed certain tenets of Islam, and he disagreed with their political passivity and their reluctance to antagonize the white power structure. He founded an organization to link the African-American struggle to the struggles of the Third World, and his political thinking further developed after extensive tours of Africa and the Middle East. He said, “I for one will join with anyone, I don’t care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth.” He delighted to see the U.S. Army pinned down by Vietnamese freedom fighters. He firmly supported liberation struggles that broke out in Congo, Kenya and other countries, and condemned the sending of U.S. forces to put down those “revolutions.” There was in him a sense of collaboration that the other Black leaders were assuaged from all corners of the planet.

“Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you that—that we’re fighting alone. By thinking we’re a minority, we struggle like a minority, we think like a minority, we feel like a minority. … But I say we’re a majority. We’re a majority of the whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. No more Uncle Toms in America into that context, we find out she’s not so bad after all, she’s not very bad.”

December 20, 1964

Malcolm X was a revolutionary and he should be remembered for that! But to make the revolutionary changes that need to be made, it is necessary to go beyond the philosophy of Malcolm X. As the special magazine section of the paper “Cold Truth, Liberating Truth” said: “The program and ideology of the revolutionary petitariat are the weapon and guide in the fight against the oppression of one nation by another and all the classist and racist garbage that is spewed out to justify this oppression. Even more basic, the whole line and program are the weapon and guide in the fight to finally end all forms of oppression and exploitation.”

As we remember the contributions of Malcolm X, his

TIME TO TAKE THE STAGE, TIME TO MAKE OUR RAGE

SERVE THE ONE AND ONLY REAL SOLUTION

ALL-THE-WAY LIBERATING REVOLUTION

Remember Malcolm X
On February 1 an outrageous cold-blooded police murder took place at the La Placita Olvera Church in Los Angeles. According to homeless day laborers who are sheltered at the church, Gabriel, a Mexican youth about 20 years old, and another homeless Mexican were attacked by a drunk and broken man. When the police came and GabrieO, Gabriel and his friend were chased through church property. When they tried to climb a wall to escape, Gabriel fell down. He was lying on the ground when a LAPD Sergeant came up and shot and killed him. Witnesses told La Opinion, “We were laying down in our sleeping bags when we saw two guys that were running and the sergeant who had his pistol in his hand. The one who was detained hid behind me, but Gabriel stood up against the wall and slipped, falling to the ground. That is when the sergeant shot the first shot pointblank. Then, seeing that the boy was moving, he gave him another bullet and that is when the boy lay dead.” Another immigrant witness said “This was cold-blooded murder.”

The LAPD is saying Gabriel and his friend had instigated someone. They are also saying Gabriel tried to stab the sergeant and that it’s a clear case of “self-defense.” The pigs say they even have the weapon Gabriel used, a filed-down screwdriver. However, one of the witnesses, who talked to La Opinion and said the pigs came up with the screwdriver later, said they had searched all the immigrants in the area gunpoint.

The following letter about the massacre’s response to this outrage is from the LA Migra Watch Committee (Ojo a la Migra). It was written in Spanish and the English translation is by the RW.

Comrades:

On February 8, at the entrance to the “Placita Olvera” church in Los Angeles which is a sanctuary for immigrants, there was a rally called by the Ojo a la Migra Committee, together with immigrants who stay at the church and nearby, to denounce the murder of a youth by the filthy Los Angeles pigs.

The youth, whose name was Gabriel, was killed on an LAPD office on February 1. When some of us who work with Ojo a la Migra read the news in La Opinion (a Spanish-language paper—so far the English press has kept its mouth shut) we went to the scene of the crime to investigate and to respond to this criminal act. The Committee, together with the immigrants who live there, put together a leaflet right there on the street where the killing took place. We called a rally to show our rage and to expose the murder of this youth.

There was a lot of discussion. Everybody was angry but some said, well, there’s a lot of us moving on, a lot of drugs, just a lot of confusion about what can be done and whether poor immigrants actually have any right to speak out. Our leaflet was distributed by young immigrants at La Placita and on the corners where day laborers gather. There was broad distribution, lots of debate and discussion.

On the day of the rally, we arrived an hour early. The mood was of great impatience and anticipation. Some of the youth were distributing leaflets inside the church and outside, others used the leaflet as a megaphone, calling out “Rally, 4:30; Rally 4:30.”

About 20 people attended the rally, some came from other places, among them street vendors and factory workers, but the majority came from the area by the street and alley where Gabriel was killed. They are the most oppressed of the immigrants and they are often attacked by the authorities.

At the rally people had the chance to unleash their fury and anger, defying the police right up in their face. When the police arrived, people blew their whistles and shouted and chanted, “MURDERING DOGS, COWARDS, YOU MURDERED GABRIEL” pointing right at them with their fingers. Then a Committee activist read a statement that said, “We are the Ojo a la Migra Committee. We are here to denounce this cowardly act. They say we don’t have the right to speak, that we have to have faith in the authorities, that they are in charge of the investigation... but we believe that we have every right to express our outrage, we have every right to denounce the murder of Gabriel. To the authorities, the lives of immigrants like Gabriel are worthless. We are chased by the Migra on the corners, in the factories and the neighborhoods where we work and live, and we are murdered in alleys by pigs. This is what happened to Gabriel. The truth is that the English-language news media has said nothing about this. Of course, he’s just a Mexican, who could be concerned about his life. But we in the Ojo a la Migra Committee will not permit or tolerate these brutal attacks. The Committee is made up of immigrants and oppressed people, and our aim is to fight back and resist pig attacks by the Migra/police against our people.”

After this another activist shouted, “A moment of silence now, followed by a lifetime of struggle.” During the moment of silence you could see the people were very firm, very committed. Then there was another round of blowing whistles and pointing at the uniformed gunman, shouts of “Diablos, murderers,” and everybody dancing and showing their defiance.

The rally was very enthusiastic, it raised people’s spirits, and it broke through the atmosphere that immigrants are victims and can’t do anything. Later a reporter from La Opinion came and the witnesses to the murder firmly demanded that the newspaper tell the whole truth. One witness said the police have threatened them but that they fear nothing.

Some activists in the Ojo a la Migra Committee, Los Angeles
In Memory of Keith Haring

Keith Haring died February 16 at the age of 31. He was one of those rare artists whose heart was with the people and whose art really connected with the masses of people while he was alive. One New York filmmaker and friend told the RW he was a genuine "warrior artist for the people."

Last year when Keith went to Chicago to paint a mural with 300 high school kids, a reporter witnessed this exchange: "One girl in a cluster of seniors says to him, 'I really got to thank you.' Another pipes in, 'Yeah, not many people pay attention to us.' The first girl says, 'Most people consider us an eyesore.' A tall boy who has been silently watching adds, 'Like we don't exist.'"

"I really got to thank you." The first girl says, 'Most people consider us an eyesore.' A tall boy who has been silently watching adds, 'Like we don't exist.'" Keith wrote later: "I was immediately attracted to the subway graffiti on several levels—the obvious mastery of drawing and color, the scale, the pop imagery, the commitment to drawing worthy of risk, and the direct relationship between artist and audience.

Keith was constantly doing public murals and billboards; he started a store, the "Pop Shop," which sells his T-shirts, butons and posters; and he created dozens of organizations and events.

The "Free South Africa" poster was perhaps his most famous image. It featured a giant black figure breaking the chains held by a white figure who is X'd out in red. Many people still have this poster hanging up—for years Keith handed out free (rolled up with a rubber band) to keep his art in the people's hands, to keep his art from the authorities' "War on Drugs," his Crack is Weird" imagery was drafted into service in this "war," which is really just an excuse to crack down on the youth, especially in the ghettos and barrios. In recent days, this war has become more and more openly exposed as a reactionary campaign, especially as the forces who are actually behind pushing drugs on the youth have become increasingly apparent. Last year Keith made this observation: "What's most conspicuous is that I don't think the powers-that-be really want to stop the crack problem. For them it's the perfect thing. It makes people very easy to control. After all, the government is really the one controlling the source. They're supposedly having a war on drugs now, but the whole time Bush was vice president the amounts of cocaine coming into this country were phenomenal."

In late 1988, Refuse & Resist!, an organization fighting the whole reactionary clampdown in the U.S., asked Keith to make a logo for their upcoming "Resist in Concert." He created a radiant dancing fist busting out of handcuffs, an image which continues to turn up at pro-choice demonstrations, protests against concentration camps for immigrants, anti-nuclear marches, and on the backs of various billboards. In an early discussion about what the logo might look like, an R&R! activist asked Keith what he thought about the Refuse & Resist! statement. Keith responded, "Yes, of course I agree with it. That's what my whole life is about—resistance."

With great courage in the last years Keith Haring fought a battle against AIDS. And even though it killed him, it never killed his spirit. Last summer he said, "No matter how long you work, it's always going to end sometime. And there's always going to be things left undone. And it wouldn't matter if you lived until you were 75: There would still be new ideas. There would still be things you wished you would have accomplished. You could work for several lifetimes. If I could do myself, there would still be too much work to do—"
SEATTLE DEFENDANTS ON WHY I BURNED THE FLAG

The "Flag Protection Act of 1989" made it a crime to burn the American flag. But just since this law went into effect (October 1989), flag burning has become even more popular as a way to express hatred and contempt for the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

The government is now pursuing two test cases of this law in Washington, D.C. and Seattle. In both cases the defendants have filed Motions to Dismiss saying the law is unconstitutional. The D.C. case stems from a protest on the Capitol steps on October 25, three days after the Flag Act went into effect. Four people, including the notorious Supreme Court flaggazer, Joey Johnson, deified the law right up in the face of Congress. The others were Dave Blodock of Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialists (VVAW-AI); Shawna Eichman, a revolutionary woman artist with Refuse & Resist; and Dread Scott, the revolutionary artist, who did the photo montage "What is the Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag?" John Johnson was not charged—a blatant case of selective non-prosecution," as attorney William Kunstler put it.

The Seattle case grew out of a demonstration the night the Flag Law took effect. Called by VVAW-AI, hundreds of people destroyed thousands of flags. Four people were charged under the Flag Law and also with "destruction of government property" (because a post office flag was dramatically burned as it was raised up the flagpole).

Oral arguments in the Seattle case were heard on February 14 but as we go to press the judge has not yet come down with a decision. (This could come down any day now.) The arguments in the D.C. case are scheduled for February 22. The Flag Law mandates that the decisions from both courts be reviewed by the Supreme Court.

Burning the flag for me is one way to express my disaffection, my lack of unquestioning allegiance and to cause people to focus on the suffering of people, both at home and abroad, and to thereby move America closer towards everywhere it is supposed to be.

Whenever I look at the flag, I cannot help but picture the spilled blood of African-Americans, the enslavement of African-Americans, the internment of Asian-Americans, and the breaking of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which previously entitled Chicanos-Americans to their land. Rather than demanding admiration and respect, the flag, in my view, cannot be separated from its history, and therefore deserves to be burned.

I burned the flag knowing full well that there are those who believe that my patriotism and respect for the flag is something that can be coerced through the passage of a law making it a crime to burn or deface the flag. I do not agree with these people and believe that my view towards the flag is inseparable from my view of America, and that to prohibit me from burning or defacing the flag is the equivalent of legislating how I should feel about this country's sorry history.

Darius Strong

On October 28, 1989, I was involved in a rally and demonstration in front of the United States Post Office located at Broadway and Denny in Seattle. At the rally a number of what looked like American flags were burned. It is claimed that a United States flag belonging to the Post Office was burned. My involvement in that demonstration was for political purposes. It has been my belief that the flag of the United States is a symbol of certain values commonly held by United States citizens; those values have produced the nation which the flag represents. Among those values is a tolerance of expression of opinion, no matter how extreme or objectionable the expressed opinion may be.

My involvement at the demonstration and rally, which is the subject of this prosecution, was consistent with my belief that the burning of a United States flag is an expression of disagreement with the Government's policy that you cannot burn a flag because a flag is some symbol of certain values commonly held by United States citizens; those values have produced the nation which the flag represents. Among those values is a tolerance of expression of opinion, no matter how extreme or objectionable the expressed opinion may be.

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The crowd, mostly youth, condemned Bush and the U.S. government for many crimes. For attacks on people with AIDS, attacks on abortion, homelessness, the rape of the rain forests, for the Panama invasion, for Central America. And as one young woman said, "Just everything." Mass flag burnings were the order of the day as hundreds of people defied the "flag law." This went right up in the face of current FBI investigations going on around recent flag burnings in the Bay Area. The Emergency Committee to Stop the Flag Amendment and Laws led one flag burning that many people joined. Vietnam vets, students, an anarchist, and a woman who brought a flag she had gotten from the Vietnam Vet who gave statements as they burned large cloth flags. Someone brought a thousand paper flags ("points of light") which were passed out and burned. More than thirty cloth flags and hundreds of paper ones were set on fire. Bush effigies were also burned while people chanted, "Chilly, chilly, putty head, Resist!" burned doors of a U.S. concentration camp marked "Casual Users" and "Black Youth" as people chanted, "The war on drugs is a war on the poor!" 

February 7, San Francisco Bay Area. George Bush was met by demonstrations wherever he went. About 200 anti-nuke activists and Greenpeace supporters protested his morning speech outside Lawrence Livermore Lab. Later, more than 1,000 people filled the streets in S.F. around the hotel where Bush was speaking. The protest was sponsored by ACT UP BACAOR (Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue), All People's Congress, CISPES and others. Police around the hotel where Bush was speaking were out in force, on the streets and on the rooftops, but the people had the day.

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Crisis in the Soviet Union: A Call to Students and Intellectuals—Research to Understand and Change the World

The world is being rocked, and the epicenter today is the Soviet bloc. Yet most discussion and analysis of these earthshaking events—whether mainstream or “left”—is stale, superficial and suffocating.

In the West the upheaval is labeled the “collapse of communism,” and government and media figures gloat over the supposed “triumph of capitalism and democracy”—even as poverty, homelessness, misogyny, racism, political repression, fiscal crises and urban decay mount daily. In the East the turmoil is called a step toward “revitalizing socialism.” Both sides agree that what exists in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is “socialism” and “Marxism.” Both, then, would have us believe that no higher form of society is possible: what we see today—whether Western-style capitalist democracy or Soviet-style “socialism”—is all we can get. Some even proclaim the “end of history.”

THE FORBIDDEN ANALYSIS—OR WHY REVOLUTIONARY MARXISTS CELEBRATE THIS SO-CALLED “CRISIS OF SOCIALISM”

There is another way to look at events in the Soviet bloc, one that doesn’t make it onto the evening news and is all but outlawed even in most “left” discussions of the Soviet Union. This forbidden viewpoint holds that the Soviet crisis is not a crisis of genuine socialism and revolutionary Marxism but a crisis of state capitalism and revisionism. It welcomes the fall of bankrupt and reactionary regimes, socialist in name only, from East Berlin to Prague. It views the political/economic turmoil in the Soviet empire not as a “triumph of the West” but as part and parcel of a global crisis of imperialism that could grow to consume many other regimes—far from Eastern Europe—and herald possibilities for truly revolutionary change. But much depends on many of us understanding and seizing the moment. . .

We call upon students—grads and undergrads—to join in a major research project to study and analyze the roots of the current Soviet crisis.

We are a group of academics, intellectuals and activists who are united that the Soviet Union is neither a revolutionary socialist society nor working to advance revolution internationally. Some of us are Maoists who view the Soviet Union as an imperialist state. Our research focuses on the deep contradictions in the Soviet economy and their relationship to global political and economic developments. This project is no sterile academic exercise but a serious effort to put our skills and understanding to work to help answer the history-turning questions on the minds of millions: what is the cause of this political earthquake and where is it headed? Expertise (Soviet studies, economics) is welcomed but not required; general agreement with our approach and a serious desire to break out of the confines of mainstream discussion is. Much good work has been done; much more needs doing.

Let us revive the spirit of the students and intellectuals of the 1960s who fought the power not only in the streets but intellectually as well—through penetrating research, analysis and criticism that was not intimidated by established dogma or afraid of upending prevailing sacred cows.

For those who think history isn’t over, but maybe just beginning...

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