Persian Gulf:

HELL NO
WE WON'T GO!

Rap Message from 2 BLACK 2 STRONG
"Burn, Baby, Burn"

Surrogate Motherhood
Women on the Auction Block

Crisis in an Occupied Territory

Panama

MIDDLE EAST COVERAGE BEGINS PAGE 3
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 dedicates itself to actions 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 all those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would see a real revolution. This Party, the RCP, USA, can lead such a struggle.

Cold Truth: Lib erating Truth gets into a deeper, knowing down lies and bringing out the real facts. We use knowledge of the past to shine a light on the present and point the way toward the future a future that does belong to us - all of us who have been counted as nothing, but who shall be all. We carve to see it and know how to seize it. Getting it fully clear on how and why Black people have been oppressed, discriminated against, exploited and expelled throughout the history of the USA, right down to today, and how all that can be changed is a key part of knowing and daring. It is everything to do with emancipation that is all the way and real. Not a sham or half-way deal, not only for Black people but for all exploited and oppressed people, not just in the USA but worldwide.

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How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, and How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended

Anyone who is serious and honest knows that the enslavement and exploitation of Black people has been a big part of building up the wealth and power that the rulers of this country have in their hands - wealth and power that these suckers use to further exploit and oppress people here and all over the world. And anyone who is honest and serious knows that for revolution to have a chance in this country - a revolution to do away with all this oppression and exploitation and to change society from bottom to top - Black people must and will play a big part in this revolution.

Three

Main

Points

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Lockdown in Palestine

In the weeks after Israeli troops killed over 21 Palestinians at Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem on October 8, Israel has continued with brutal military actions against Palestinians and people around the Middle East—at the same time as anger is growing among the Arab masses at the war moves in the Persian Gulf led by the U.S., Israel’s main godfather.

The ruling class media in the U.S. has been reporting that both the Israeli and Palestinian explanations of what happened at Haram al-Sharif have some truths to them. This is part of the cynical moves by the U.S. to try to appear “neutral” in order to avoid being the focus of anger among the Arabs, whilst at the same time continuing to basically support Israel. But various investigations have made it clear that the Israeli forces committed cold-blooded murders. Israeli claims that the troops opened fire with live ammunition only when Jewish worshipers in the area were “threatened” by Palestinian rock throwers. But eyewitness reports and a videotape show that Jewish worshipers were well out of the area when the Israeli border guards began their deadly assault on the Palestinian protestors.

Israel Continues Attacks

Israel followed the October 8 massacre with more moves aimed at suppressing the Palestinian people:

• As Palestinian demonstrations spread in the aftermath of the killings, Israeli tightened curfews in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and ordered all Palestinian colleges and schools closed until further notice. The army shot down three more Palestinians the same day as the massacre and two more several days later.

• On October 18, soldiers raised the Israeli flag in the center of a Palestinian refugee camp at Rafa in the Gaza Strip.

This was a clear provocation. When workers defended the soldiers in protest, the troops opened fire and wounded 55.

• The Israeli government said that they would refuse to cooperate with a team sent by the United Nations to investigate the massacre. The government instead set up its own commission to come up with a cover-up. To no one’s surprise, the commission came up with a report placing the blame for the massacre on the Palestinians. The report blatantly ignores findings by human rights organizations and others that show that the Israeli government’s story of what happened on October 8 is a lie.

• A committee of the Israeli cabinet declared that it is encouraging an increase in Soviet Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem. Israel claims all of Jerusalem as its capital, but the custom half of the city is mainly Arab. Some forces in Israel openly call for pushing all Palestinians out of Jerusalem as part of strengthening Israeli control over all of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, head of the cabinet committee, said that “there is no better answer” to the UN resolution for an investigation into the massacre “than strengthening the Jewish population” in Jerusalem.

More incidents followed. There were several other attacks by Palestinians against Israelis. Then Israelis in civilian clothes opened fire on a carload of Palestinian workers returning home to Gaza, killing one and wounding three. In the town of Jenin in the West Bank, Israeli troops firing on a Palestinian demonstration killed a 14-year-old youth and wounded others.

Along with locking down the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Zionist rulers are also whipping up a racist and pogromist mood among the Israelis. The agriculture minister declared: “Anyone who is employing Arabs from the territories is employing potential murderers. We should replace them with new Jewish immigrants. And whoever is caught in an attack like yesterday’s, we should expel his whole family and destroy his home.” The police said they were receiving many calls from Israelis saying they had “spotted Arabs” in their neighborhoods.

The above details point to the apartheid conditions that the Palestinian people are forced to live under Israeli rule. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip commute to work in Israel. They are a source of cheap labor for Israel—they do hard physical labor like construction work or other jobs that Israelis don’t want. The Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the occupied territories are under harsh military rule and often placed under curfew. Even the raising of the Palestinian flag is illegal. Palestinian workers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are under military intervention and are restricted to the territories to which they were imprisoned as the occupied territories.

Aggression and Cynical Moves by the U.S.

The U.S. has backed up Zionist Israel from its founding, which was accomplished through naked big-power aggression, terror attacks against the people, and destruction of entire Arab villages. Through the years, the U.S. has consistently blocked any UN resolutions or other criticisms of Israeli atrocities and aggression, including the 1967 takeover of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They have opposed genuine independence and sovereignty for the Palestinian people. But now, because of the huge military intervention in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. is using a somewhat different tack.

After the October 8 massacre the U.S. joined in two UN resolutions criticizing Israel. The U.S. rulers are certainly not supporting the Jewish settlers or settlers’ violence, and they don’t really care about the people. But they do want to increase the state of Israeli crimes. The U.S. criticism is only that Israeli police were “not prepared” and “went over the limit.” The U.S. is worried that anger at Israel will affect their so-called “peace process” in the Persian Gulf. An upsurge among the masses would make it more difficult for the reactionary Arab regimes in the region—like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and others—to openly side with the U.S. in the Gulf.

So the U.S. is trying to cover its ass by joining in UN resolutions and making some criticism of Israel. At the same time, U.S. officials maneuvered in the UN to water down the UN actions so that they were basically just empty words without any teeth. Although the U.S. is trying to strengthen its alliance with the reactionary Arab states, Israel continues to be a key focus for the U.S. empires of the Middle East.

In the Persian Gulf the U.S. is committing naked big-power aggression. In Palestine the U.S. is making cynical big-power political moves. Both are part of the U.S. drive to tighten its domination over the countries of the Middle East and claim the position of the No. 1 imperialist gangster in the world.

But the U.S. and its reactionary followers could end up facing a big upsurge of the masses in the Middle East. Here in this country, the demand of “Free Palestine!” was raised by many protesters in the October 20 demonstration against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. With the revolutionary forces of the oppressed in the Middle East and determined political action by people here in the U.S., a huge upsurge can become a stamping down for the oppressors.
Free Jeff Paterson!

Military Denies Conscientious Objector Status

Jeff Paterson has forced the military to back down from their efforts to keep him away from demonstrations, meetings and the media!

After Jeff refused to board a military plane bound for Saudi Arabia on August 29, the Marine Corps locked him up in the brig. He is the first active-duty GI to refuse deployment to the Persian Gulf. After three weeks Jeff was released from the brig, but the military restricted him to base and placed him under strict media gag orders. All requests by the media to interview Jeff in person and film him on camera had been denied.

A hearing on Friday, October 26 at Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, the restrictions on Jeff were lifted. The military had to admit that the only reason they were restricting Jeff to base was to control his access to the media and the military had to admit that the only reason they were restricting Jeff to base was to control his access to the media and the military and the public. The military has disapproved his conscientious objector application. The reasons the Marine Corps gave for the denial were that: (1) Jeff is not "opposed to war in all forms"; (2) his beliefs are "grounded solely on considerations of opposition to the United States foreign policy, politics and expediency"; (3) his stand was not gained through training, study, contemplation but "is a collateral by-product and spin-off from the political and sociological views he espouses." These justifications given by the U.S. blatantly challenge the Nuremberg principles, which gave military personnel the responsibility to oppose unjust wars (such as Hitler's war against the Jews).

The denial means that Jeff is now on active duty status. The document from the Marine Corps denying the CO application states: "Corporal Paterson can be assigned any normal combat duties, consistent with the mission of his unit, including duties requiring the bearing of arms in combat."

The Committee to Support Jeff Paterson in Hawaii points out: "The issues in this case are precedent-setting and are made even more urgent by the developing anti-war sentiment in this country. Last week-end seventeen military personnel declared their opposition to the war in the Middle East, and made public their refusal to fight. What happens to Jeff's case will affect them—and hundreds like them who believe that what they are being forced to do is morally and politically wrong."

This move by the military makes it all the more clear that the powers are going after Jeff for his strong political stand in opposition to the U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf and the U.S.'s unjust wars around the world. In their eyes, Jeff's refusal to be a "part of their war machine and his support for people's struggles in Latin America and South Africa is a crime. But for all those who stand against the U.S. intervention, Jeff is an inspiration to take determined action and build ever more and ever wider resistance to the U.S. war in the Middle East.

First New York Anti-Gulf War Trial

We received this leaflet from the Free Shawn and Joe Defense Committee:

FREE SHAWN AND JOE!
First New York Anti-Gulf War Trial
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1990—In a dramatic action to condemn U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf, SHAWN EICHMAN, a woman revolutionary and defendant in the recent Supreme Court flagburning case, and JOE URGO, revolutionary member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, climbed on the roof of the Times Square Recruiting Station during morning rush hour, the same location to which Shawn and Joe were arrested after posting a $100,000 unsecured bond each. Their attorneys are WILLIAM KUNSTLER, RONALD KUBY and JAN WEINSTEIN.

In a desperate attempt to suppress this and future defiant challenges to a "national war consensus," the government called in the FBI and joint terror task forces and charged Shawn and Joe with attempted arson, which carries a maximum sentence of 10 years. The U.S. Attorney claimed that Shawn and Joe were trying to burn down the recruiting station—while they were standing on the roof—and collapse it into the subway station below! They were finally released after posting a $100,000 unsecured bond each. Their attorneys are WILLIAM KUNSTLER, RONALD KUBY and JAN WEINSTEIN.

This action was clear and right on time—to stop the war BEFORE it starts! The blood and oil sharply focused the stakes in the coming war. They rejected Bush's call for "national unity" and took an internationalist stand with the Arab people as our sisters and brothers. They called the Gulf War a "Faustian bargain," "too advanced" or "too high a risk"?

Many will remember that the movement against the war in Vietnam also started with a few people who acted boldly. On August 29, 1990, Marine Cpl. Jeff Paterson sat down on the runway of the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station in Hawaii and refused to board a Saudi-bound troop transport plane. His act was reported from Australia to the Mid-East and inspired many to say, "HELL, NO! WE WON'T GO!"

The charges against Shawn and Joe must be opposed and defeated. This is more than a matter of "free speech." Will the government be allowed to bring trumped-up charges designed to silence opposition? Or will there be a powerful political opposition to the U.S. war moves in the Gulf? The FREE SHAWN AND JOE DEFENSE COMMITTEE has been initiated to defeat the government's effort to suppress opposition to this war by criminalizing dissent. WE MUST ACT NOW! DEFEND SHAWN AND JOE!

COME TO THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND RALLY on the steps of the courthouse on November 2, 1990 at 9 a.m. Join the defendants and hear statements from their lawyers, other resistors, and prominent initiators! U.S. Federal Courthouse, 40 Center St., New York City.

SEND DEMANDS THAT THE CHARGES BE DROPPED TO: William Pollard, Deputy Chief of the Criminal Division, U.S. Attorney's Office, 1 St. Andrew's Plaza, New York, NY 10007.

Jeff Paterson on duty refusing to board a military transport plane to Saudi Arabia.

South Africa is a crime. But for all those who stand against the U.S. intervention, Jeff is an inspiration to take determined action and build ever more and ever wider resistance to the U.S. war in the Middle East.
Thousands March Against U.S. Intervention

On October 20, thousands demonstrated in cities across the country against U.S. intervention in the Middle East. This was the largest protest since the U.S. began deploying troops to the Persian Gulf in August. What the powers are so worried about is beginning to arouse mass opposition to their faked aggression in the Middle East. The October 20 actions show the basis for even bigger and more widespread resistance to the U.S. war machine. We have reports from some of the major demonstrations that took place that day.

New York

The largest demonstration was in New York City, where 15,000 people marched in the streets. The protest was organized by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. Two of the coalition's demands call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf and an establishment of temporary or permanent U.S. bases in the region. The political forces involved in the demonstration were very diverse. Endorsers included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, actor Mike Farrell, radio personality Casey Kasem, the National Council of Black Lawyers, National Lawyers Guild, and many other organizations and individuals. Marchers included amateur youth with bandanas covering their faces...Korean youth with musical instruments performing a native dance...Palestinians chanting: "Free, Free, Palestinian!"...Muslims from Chablis, Pan Christ Church...Students from different colleges in the area turned out. A "Stop the U.S. War Machine" contingent carried a banner in support of Jeff Paterson. There was a statement of support for Jeff from the local Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. RCP supporter Travis Morales pointed out that the U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf is not some "bad policy" by the government but comes out of the very nature of imperialism. Travis got a big round of applause when he said, "If we have to fight, die and kill, let us fight, die and kill to overthrow this system."

San Francisco

Thousands marched in the streets, including hundreds of high school and college-age youth. Various held up the march, and there were banners and signs from many political organizations. Along the way, the march got a very enthusiastic response from the people in the predominately Black keeping projects of the Western Addition. One militant and lively contingent was a deportation office of "Dogs of Peace," a new student organization that has come to be very popular. The students carried a huge Palestinian flag, which was the CPUSA speaker and some others who pushed for a tactic of pressuring and relying on liberals in Congress. Speakers from VAWA At People to Stop U.S. Aggression, ACT-UP, and others put forward the kind of determined resistance that caused by Jeff Paterson. There was a statement of support for Jeff from the local Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. RCP supporter Travis Morales pointed out that the U.S. aggression in the Persian Gulf is not some "bad policy" by the government but comes out of the very nature of imperialism. Travis got a big round of applause when he said, "If we have to fight, die and kill, let us fight, die and kill to overthrow this system."

Seattle

One thousand people marched in a demonstration organized by the Northwest Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. A lot of different forces participated—from activists of "Peace Park" who have kept a constant vigil at a park since the U.S. began deploying troops to Palestinians carrying a huge Palestinian flag. Especially exciting was the presence of youth from many high schools, the University of Washington, and other colleges. At the rally downtown, speakers brought out different viewpoints on how to take on the U.S. intervention—pressing Congress, mass movements to "reorder priorities," radical resistance and revolution. A Vietnamese American, anti-imperialist member recalled the GI resistance to the Vietnam War and pointed out the importance of the fact that GI resistance to a Persian Gulf war has already started before the first shot has been fired. When the mike was opened to the people, a member of "Dogs of Peace," a new student group from the University of Washington, and they will be at the campus every day in order to go "up in ROTC's face" to "stop this fucking war."

Los Angeles

Up to 1,000 people gathered at a park in the largely Black South Central Mall for a rally called by the local Coalition for Peace in the Middle East. The main slogans were "No Blood for Oil" and "Out of the Middle East." Among the speakers was Ron Kovic, Vietnam veteran and author of Born on the Fourth of July. A statement from Jeff Paterson was read by a member of the Coalition. There was a particularly strong response from the people when a UCLA professor from the Middle East said, "We won't fight for the system, because we want to fight that system."
Scenes during the filming of the video "Burn Baby Burn."

"Burn Baby Burn" is currently being ordered by every major record distributor and chain in the country (except for the ones who've banned it); a video will be out in a couple of weeks; the record was just on the cover of the Village Voice and the New York Daily News.

"Burn Baby Burn" is currently being covered by the oppressed around the world: "Panama, talking 'bout Peru, Azania, Brixton, Berlin, can't forget Korea... East and South Central LA, Califor-nia... Do-dor-Dor-Bellevue... Never Run-Never-Wall-Brownsville, Boogie Down South Bronx, year six..."

The flip side of this 12-inch is full of more surprises. It's a whole different song. "Imperialist Infame" done to the tune of "Police Informer." Over a pounding house beat, the question is scratched in: "Can we, could we, could we, could we really win?" The line and the voice belong to RCP Chairman Bob Avakian. A sample from the film "The Hunter They Came To Get" and the real revolutionaries. Refuse & Resist's logo, the dancing handcuffed fist by Keith Haring, is on the credit sheet.

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Standing in the doorway of Wendy's look- ing forward. I see two police officers standing there. I hear some guys yelling down the street, "Who are you burning the American flag for?" I say, "I'm burning the American flag because the imperialist country is fucking with the people all across the globe. The Indians, the people with MOVE. South Africa. Iraq. They're even fucking with the artists. And every time police bash me in life, there's a big flag sitting next to the police. I say, well that's the flag you're "torching." I say, "It's a symbol of our country, I say well that's the flag you're "torching.""

RW: The police pulled the plug on you on Sunday. Why do you think they're so afraid of the Black Nation anthem? The record is put out by Clappers and distributed nationally by In-Effect/Relativity, the largest independent distributor in the U.S. The executive producer of the record and the head of Clappers, Lister Hewan-Lowe, brought together a number of small investors who politically supported the project. This allowed him to cut the tune at one of the top studios for rap music in NYC and to find the right distributor. He said about this project: "The masses are the ones who fought through all the bullshit for this record to happen. It's a revolutionary counterpoint of the day. It's a revolutionary time, and we need to make art that's on a revolutionary tip." (Hewan-Lowe is well known in reggae and hip hop circles for his work in this area.)

Court on your side, free speech is a sham in a society where you don't control the means of production—or much of anything else. It's gonna be a fight to get this record out. But it's a welcome battle for the oppressed since what is being censored here is straight-up fascist anti-American "expression." And this is a record uncut- cumbered by the woman-bashing lyrics which have often been the excuse used by the reactionary thought police to shut up and isolate Black rappers. The position of the RW in defense of both 2 Live Crew and N.W.A. against censorship attacks is well known. At the same time, the RW has made clear its view that the woman-hating shit projected by these rap groups (and many others) stands squarely in the way of the oppressed liberating themselves. The RW article—and slogans—"If You're Dissing the Sisters, You're Not Fighting the Power" (RW No. 574) is becoming famous in rap circles and has been mentioned in Spin, billboard, and other music magazines.

THE RW Interview:

"Doing Hard Time on Planet Earth"

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The forces lining up to fight for "Burn Baby Burn" show just who can be counted on in the battle against censorship, reactionary patriotism, and the whole attempt of the powers-that-be to attack and isolate the Black youth in this country. First there are the rebels and youth who love this record because it speaks directly for them. As one revolutionary young rapper from Detroit put it, "I've been waiting for a record like this all my life." Then there are others who feel a kinship with the culture of the oppressed—"the military rap, reggae, and rock which comes from the people who refuse to be silenced or toned—because they know, or sense, that the future of the planet is bound up with these people. For them "Burn Baby Burn" is a "boring and promising EP" as one Black music critic put it. Others do not necessarily get with the entire message and fury of 2 Black Strang/MMG but stand behind them in the fight against reactionary patriotism and censorship or strictly on "First Amendment, freedom of speech" grounds.

On Sunday, October 14, 2 Black Strang/MMG were part of the bill at an outdoor street fair sponsored by the City and Tower Records. When they got on stage before a mixed downtown crowd of about 200, they were ready and rowdy, but it was clear something was wrong. The DJ couldn't get a sound from the turntables. A well-known "Censorship is Un-American" poster (with Uncle Sam shown muzzling a Black woman) had been circulating and 2 Black, 2 Strong said, "You know these posters are wrong, don't you? We cleaned out the 'un' cause censorship is 2 America!" Then one member of the group, KZIOOL, looked into a Pink Floyd call-response: "We don't need your education! We don't need your police control! You many rolicks in the native. They stole your land and they stole your gold. You stickin' motherfuckers!" By this time, it was clear there would be no beats from these turntables so the group decided to do the rap without the music. As they stomped the U.S. flag, 2 Black, 2 Strong said: "Before we go into this, how many of you are down with Sincel O'Conner? How they try to make her sing her after the national anthem. Well, we gonna sing the national anthem. It's called Burn Baby Burn!"

They got out the first verse, then the mikes went dead. These brothers were so down and loud however, that they made it all the way through the rap, to cheers and ugly shouts of "Burn Baby Burn!" from the crowd. Meanwhile, the U.S. flag which the MMD had taken into the audience was in the process of being lit up. When the group finished the rap, a cop tried to get them off the stage but instead they launched into their next song, "The American Klan Nightmares." The next day the Daily News reported one of the sound men, "[After the first verse of "Burn Baby Burn!" a policewoman came up to me and she said, "Kill it, kill it." I say I have no authority to do that. She said, "Do it or I'll cut your powers! So I did."

Village Voice rock critic Robert Christ- ianis summed up this incident and other censoring moves around the record this way: ...from here it looks like a basic Revolu- tionary Communist Party precept is coming home to most even with the Supreme
SURROGATE MOTHERS

On October 22 a California judge came down with a reactionary anti-woman ruling that Anna Johnson has no rights whatsoever to the baby boy she gave birth to on September 19. The genetic parents, Mark and Crispina Calvert, were given sole custody of the child. This baby had been conceived in vitro (outside the body) using sperm and egg from the Calverts and then implanted in Johnson's uterus. (Crispina Calvert could not give birth because she had had a hysterectomy.) Midway through the pregnancy, Anna Johnson decided she wanted to keep the baby after it was born and took the case to court.

This whole case reveals how the law and courts uphold the oppressive relations of the traditional patriarchal family where women and children are completely subordinate to man. The fact that this fetus developed in the body of Anna Johnson was not considered important enough to allow her the legal rights as a mother. And instead the court upheld the arguments by the Calverts' lawyer which claimed "a deal's a deal" and stressed the so-called "right," especially for a man, to carry on "bloodlines." Forget the fact that it was Anna Johnson's blood which flowed through the fetus. Forget the nine months of pregnancy with its extreme physical changes and strains on the woman—without which no embryo would survive and grow. Forget the pain and intensity of the birth itself. The court only judges women by the quality of their wombs.

When Anna Johnson appeared on the Phil Donahue show, people in the audience attacked her for being "money hungry" and made racist comments about how she would not be fit to raise the child because she is a single, Black, working-class woman and the child would not "look like her." Now the Orange County Superior Court has put a seal of approval on these reactionary views. The judge specifically ruled against an arrangement in which the child would legally have three parents. He stated his willingness to do it. The whole deal is wrong, regardless of the fact that some surrogates might think it's fine. The willingness complicity of some slaves in their own slavery should never be used as a justification for slavery itself.

"But there was a contract..." So what? A contract is just a leash紧扣 method for formalizing a social relation between people. If this social relation is wrong, so is the contract. As a sidepoint it is interesting to note how the judge in this case got around the dilemma posed by the fact that Whitehead was deprived of the legal period in which to change her mind, customary in all previous adoption proceedings. He simply decided that, regardless of the fact that some surrogates might think it's fine, the willing complicity of some slaves in their own slavery should never be used as a justification for slavery itself.

"But what about the Sterns? Shouldn't they have a right to a child?" No, on one level it isn't "fair," and surely there's been lots of pain and grief on both sides of this mess, but that's frankly not the point. The point is that the courts are putting society's stamp of approval on the whole surrogate motherhood business and we're being asked to go along with it. This is not a soap opera, and much more is at stake than the personal happiness or misery of the individuals involved. We are talking about policies affecting the future of all women in society (and children as well). Furthermore, there is some real sick ideology concerning reproduction being promoted these days. With the neofascist revival of the most traditional values of home and hearth all the rage, both men and women are being made to think that there's something morally wrong with the Rent-a-Womb business is deemed perfectly in keeping with the American way! And in addition to this, the buying of a live baby on the open market is also considered to be perfectly OK.

When Black people were openly bought and sold as slaves, plantation owners or their agents used to go to slave auctions to look over the "merchandise," before deciding on their finery. Today, we are witnessing a form of the human auction block of slave days: wealthy individuals pay millions of dollars to purchase services of a suitable young "breeder." The auction houses are offices of lawyers specializing in surrogate motherhood contracts. The purchasers are typically white middle-class professional couples, often with a joint income of $100,000 or more; the breeders are healthy young women of proven fertility, and in need of money. The purchasers are for one or another reason unable to have children themselves, and so, in the way most familiar to them, they decide to plunk down some cash to buy themselves what they want. A few obligatory words are said to the effect that there is nothing more wonderful than helping people to have children, but everyone—purchasers, breeders, lawyers—knows that the real deal revolves around money.

Surrogate motherhood is becoming commercially commonplace. It involves the blatant hiring of a woman's body for breeder services, and the buying and selling of babies as well. Given all this, why is there not more clear opposition to this practice? Why has there been so much commotion around the Baby M case, the case of the surrogate mother who "breke ranks" and decided she wanted to keep the baby? Mary Beth Whitehead signed a contract, was inseminated with a man's sperm, went through a full pregnancy, labor, and delivery, and at that point decided not to collect the $10,000, and not to turn over the baby to the purchasers (William and Elizabeth Stern). She did not "change her mind" months later, but right at the time of the birth, before the Sterns had ever had the child. Afraid the baby would be forcibly taken from her, she fled, taking the baby, her husband, and her two other children with her. When the authorities caught up with her they in fact forcibly took the child away and gave it to the Sterns pending a resolution by the courts. Had this been an ordinary adoption procedure, as in the case of a pregnant woman who decides that she will give up the child for adoption at the time of birth, she would not have been allowed to sign over the final papers giving up her baby until after a certain amount of time after the birth. This is a stipulation under existing laws which exists exactly because it happens sometimes that a woman planning to give up a child for adoption changes her mind after the birth. Mary Beth Whitehead was not even given this standard opportunity to change her mind.

In fact the forcible taking of her child was given an "deal's a deal" and stressed the so-called "right," especially for a man, to carry on "bloodlines." Forget the fact that it was Anna Johnson's blood which flowed through the fetus. Forget the nine months of pregnancy with its extreme physical changes and strains on the woman—without which no embryo would survive and grow. Forget the pain and intensity of the birth itself. The court only judges women by the quality of their wombs.

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human species died out, but does that mean that every single individual absolutely has to reproduce to be a full-fledged member of human society? There is increasing propaganda emanating from reactionary corners to the ef-
fect that there is either some kind of "god-given" drive to reproduce or some kind of "innate biological drive" to reproduce. Bullshit. The judge in this case contributed to this reactionary nonsense by stating in his decision that "the desire to propagate the species...is within the souls of all men and women regardless of economic status." But there is no divine or biological "drive" to produce off-
spring.

What there are, then, are social values and customs which stem from the social relations of society and which tend to vary with time, place, and underlying modes of social organization. And there are different and conflicting views concerning these questions: whether people should or shouldn't have children; when, or how often, people should or shouldn't have children, etc.; social questions and they are answered differently by different strata and in different social contexts.

Some of the "answers" to these questions have been shoved down our throats for so long it's sometimes hard to remember it's not some law of nature. This certainly ap-
plies to the way women have been treated as property—whose reproduction must be closely monitored and controlled—in every patriarchal society based on a hierarchy of classes. It is not surprising then that most men should expect to have heirs insuring the continuity of their fam-
ily—and property—lineages, while most women expect to realize their very identity as women by being good wives and mothers. Centuries of conditioning have gone into this!

And yet such a view must be actively combated by all those who want to see women freed up to participate fully in all the affairs of society. It must be clearly said that a woman does not have to become a mother to be a woman or to be a member in good standing of the human species. This is important because propaganda to the contrary is reaching a fever pitch as part of Resurgent America's new offensive against women. In the U.S. having babies seems to be becoming a national obsession! There are definite connections between the anti-aborti-

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Panama: Crisis in an Occupied Territory

By Jack Gardener

Ten months after the U.S.-invaded Panama and murdered thousands of people while they slept, destroyed entire neighborhoods, threw out the regime of former U.S. junior partner Gen. Manuel Noriega and installed an obedient pro-U.S. regime, occupied Panama is racked by crisis. According to U.S.-based Panamanian activists who have recently visited the country, there is a significant change in the mood among the Panamanian people. There are more and more open expressions of outrage and disgust at the government and the Yankee troops that prop it up.

Protests against the government are taking place nearly all the time. Students, squatters who lost their homes in the Yankee bombings and missiles rained down on them, thousands of unemployed, and others have been taking to the streets. One measure of the sentiments of the people is that regular protests take place on the twentieth day of every month. The U.S. invasion took place December 20 last year.

Severe economic hardship is making the lives of the people intolerable. There is a new wave of repression by the official and unofficial government forces, backed by U.S. might. Growing divisions among the ranks of the Panamanian rulers are coming into the open.

Several public exhumations of victims of the U.S. attack have taken place. A group of relatives and friends of the many who disappeared and were reported dead in the invasion have been seeking out the mass graves where U.S. troops dumped bodies in the early hours and days of the invasion. So far, more than 600 corpses have been found. This is far more than the number of people the U.S. government admits to killing. But since there were bodies that were burned or thrown in the ocean by U.S. troops at the time of the invasion that are still in undiscovered locations, many Panamanians believe that thousands were killed by the invader. Panamanian and international human rights groups estimate that as many as 4,000 Panamanians lost their lives in the invasion.

High School Students Fight the Powers

The hardest struggle against the government has been waged by high school students in Panama City. In July students at the Instituto Nacional high school went on strike. They demanded more teachers and updated lesson plans. But the heart of the strike was the demand that the school building be repaired. It had no heat, lights were burned out, the ceiling had huge holes, and so forth.

It's no surprise that the invaders occupied and destroyed this school. The Instituto Nacional has a rich history of struggle against U.S. imperialists. Many of the students who fought against and were killed by U.S. troops in demonstrations in 1959 and again in the famous Flag Rebellion of 1964 (demanding that the Panamanian flag be flown in the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone) came from the school. It is an honored symbol and a living stronghold of Panamanian resistance to U.S. domination.

For the invaders, the Instituto Nacional is "the profile"—in the language that American cops use when they pick out inner-city youth to fuck over.

Five student leaders of the strike were immediately surrounded, and one was assailed with a knife by the school director's bodyguard. The leaders were members of Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER), a radical student group that has opposed the Noriega regime and now opposes the U.S.-installed Endara regime. The government announced that any of the suspended students who had participated in previous strikes would be expelled. A search of the school records showed that the five were involved in political action before—against the Noriega regime. They were expelled just a few months before graduation.

Joining by students from other public high schools in Panama City and Colon, the Instituto Nacional students held a massive rally on August 23. They faced off against the Panamanian Public Force—a replacement police outfit for the Noriega-led Panama Defense Force which was destroyed in the invasion. The students were surrounded by heavily armed anti-riot forces. These troops were the same uniforms and carried the same shields and weapons as the U.S.-hated anti-riot police known as the "Dobermans." According to reports, there were pitched battles in the streets. Students fought back against the Dobermans who opened fire with birdshot and tear gas. The police then went into the University of Panama and attacked students who were discussing how to respond to the invasion, visited refugee camps and mass grave sites, interviewed U.S. officials and soldiers, and uncovered evidence of U.S. atrocities. This journey is chronicled in a four-part series in the RW which began in issue #548.

More recently, Gardener has been covering the intense struggles of the mostly Central American immigrants in L.A.'s Pico-Union barrio who are fighting against police bracelets and an INS concentration camp. Gardener will be a participant in the upcoming "Voil! The World Is Being Turned Upside Down!" tour of revolutionary journalists.
the insistence of the U.S., the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank. The Panamanian Congress opposes the plan, but the U.S. is holding back most of its so-called "foreign aid" payments to Panama until Endara's plan is approved.

Reports of a "massive crime wave" fill the newspapers and airwaves—hotel and bank robberies, plane hijacking and unresolved bombings. Many Panamanians believe that the reason the Public Force can't seem to stop the crime wave is because they are the ones organizing it and carrying it out. A few of them have been caught in the act. Like the Dobcrmans, the Public Force is loaded with former members of Noriega's PDF. Sixty percent of the lieutenants belonged to Noriega officers have started private causes. They are the ones organizing it and carrying it out. A few of them have been caught in the act. Like the Dobcrmans, the Public Force is loaded with former members of Noriega's PDF. Sixty percent of the lieutenants belonged to Noriega's military.

Many of the former high-ranking pro-Noriega officials have started private security agencies and are hiring them selves out to the highest bidders. At the same time, and with the endorsement of some in the government, right-wing paramilitary "anti-crime" vigilante groups have been springing up. Many Panamanians see the threat of death-squad activity on the horizon. The Public Force has been one focus of disagreements among the top government officials. Second Vice President Billy Ford and others have publicly criticized the Public Force. President Endara recently fired the chief of the Public Force, Col. Eduardo Herrera Hassan, a former Noriega supporter who later plotted a coup against the general. The colonel was considered close to First Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, who is in overall charge of the repression apparatus. Herrera was notorious for having led a brutal 1987 military crackdown against anti-Noriega protesters. His replacement is another former Noriega loyalist.

Yankees Call the Shots

According to an eyewitness to a raid on a poor neighborhood, the U.S. units arrived with many soldiers, blocked off and took over an entire neighborhood, kicked down doors and aimed high-caliber weapons against the people.

Lurking just behind the Panamanian Public Force are the Yankees, with their thousands of troops, 14 military bases, and the Southern Command—headquarters for all U.S. military operations in Central and South America. The U.S. troops no longer number the streets as they did for months after December 20. They try to stay more in the background, because Panamanian sovereignty is a major issue in this country where the government was put in place by U.S. invaders. But the Yankees still call the shots. During the student strike, U.S. tanks and military personnel in civilian clothes were seen patrolling the area around Instituto Nacional. In the case of "controlling drugs and crime," U.S. military police carried out raids in poor areas like Curundu and Santa Ana in Panama City. An eyewitness to one of these raids told the RW that the U.S. forces arrived with many soldiers, blocked off and took over an entire neighborhood, kicked down doors and aimed high-caliber weapons against the people. The U.S. used the "war on drugs" pretext in carrying out the invasion. Now the Bush administration is using the same story as push for rules and regulations that would allow the U.S. more direct control over the banking and other sectors of the Panamanian economy as well as military control over Panama's coastal waters. Recent visitors to the region told the RW that drug trafficking through Panama has actually increased since the U.S. invasion.

U.S. Out of Panama!

As I reported in my series on Panama after the invasion, the U.S. sees Panama's strategic location as a launching pad for military operations in Central and South America. Since the invasion, it has become publicly known that the U.S. is running its counterinsurgency operation against the Maoist people's war in Peru from the Southern Command in Panama. The invasion was in large measure designed to install an obedient government that would allow the U.S. to break the Panama Canal treaty. According to the treaty, the canal and all U.S. military bases must return to Panamanian control by the year 2000. With the Panamanian military destroyed by the invasion and the Public Force in disarray, the stage is set for the U.S. to claim that Panama is "incapable of defending the canal" and that the U.S. military will have to stay beyond the treaty's terms. Vice President Arias Calderon has been saying publicly that to defend the Panama Canal in the way the U.S. has done is "outside the concrete practical and economic scope of Panama.

As the U.S. prepares to launch a new aggression in the Middle East, the media in this country is censoring news about the situation in the last place the Yankees invaded. But the struggle of the people in Panama is heating up. The Panamanian rulers are in increasing difficulty and pointing the finger at each other as well as at the U.S. The U.S. rulers are faced with a potentially very dangerous situation. Panama is vital to their domination of the Western Hemisphere, a region where they desperately need stability and control. For everyone who hopes for imperialism's doom, these could be very favorable developments.
"Doing Hard Time on Planet Earth"

Continued from page 7

RW: How should people fight the censors?

BB: They should do exactly what I do. They try to say what they think or worry that that's just gonna make more censors. People especially, take stands against what they're doing. I think the best approach is the direct approach. So that means make more controversial movies. Cause people want to accept the challenge. People want to stay in shape. People who are scared to make controversial music cause of the censorship thing, but there's a lot that's not scared.

RW: Why do you think they're so scared of rap music?

BB: Rap music is really the voice of Black America. People listen to music like the news, the part of the media that Black people never heard. Through the records they express themselves, and listen to a lot of white kids know too. Since rap crossed over it's in a high with the mainstream now. That makes them scared. People like Public Enemy and N.W.A., they talk about the plight of Black people, and white people are scared their little children will like Public Enemy and N.W.A. They want their white son to grow to be a racist, ass-kicking, resistance, so any time the police say so, they want to keep you down. They're mad at mainstream America to know that Black music and the police searching sayin they're getting dissed and abused by police, and the system don't want that to be known, and this Black truth hurts so bad that it's MY truth, and I'm too Black and on strong I'm coming. That means I'm a Black nigger that's gotta fucked around too much, and I'm comin on strong with the smack.

RW: When did you decide this system sucked?

BB: When I was born. When the white doctor pulled me out my mama and slapped me on my ass and said "Smack—Black nigger. Welcome to the real world." Then I grew up and it never changed. You know. My life was basically a life of poverty, drugs, murder, shit like that living in the photo! My neighborhood is the type of shit a white person would see on TV if he don't know what's gonna on. Them suburban kids sitin in their big homes, gettin a car for graduation, they live in their reality and I'm livin in mine. I'm the TV show, the fantasy, and this system want to keep me a fan. That's why they mad at Black music, at rap, cause we're telling the truth. I can't put my finger on one situation which made me think the way I do. It's just the whole thing. You'd probably need 10,000 tapes to tape it and we'd have to be here for the next 10 years to tell you every-thing that made me think the way I do.

Warchild, who stalks the stage in guerrilla fatigues with a bandoleer of bullet slugs across his shoulder and camouflage black and green make-up.

RW: What do you think it will take to overthrow this system?

BB: Well, for us to really overthrow this system, a whole lot of shit gonna have to go down. And it ain't gonna be like a handful it's gonna be able to do it. That would be impossible. It gotta be a majority in a majority. I mean white, Black, Puerto Rican, Korean, Chinese, Jamaican, everybody gonna have to get together. Fuck all that separation shit. You know what I'm saying?

RW: Who do you see as the audience for this record? Who do you want to reach?

BB: Everybody. I want to reach everybody. I can reach it. I see the audience as people who don't like the government and this system telling them what to do, what to think, what to buy, what to burn... So I think that should be everybody. And if now, then you're a damn fool. If you gonna listen to somebody tell you you can't bum this piece of cloth cause it's a flag on it, it's so better just worship it...

Warchild: Like I say "If you ain't down, stay down."

BB: And we comin on strong.

Warchild: Strong, strong, strong...
We Shall Overcome?"

Tm not an American. I'm one of the 22
million Black people....

It was for his uncompromising stand—
for giving voice to the deepest feelings of
the most oppressed—that Malcolm X was
banned and finally assassinated by agents
of imperialism on February 21, 1965.

Malcolm X shook up America. His
bold defiance of the system, his insistence
for the oppression of Black people, his ex-
posure 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 politi-
cal climate in the country and the world.
He was a revolutionary nationalist, but he
reminded 22 million Black people that they
were a people of oppression and imperialism.
Malcolm X was a revolutionary nationalist,
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imperialism.

On November 9, 1963

Malcolm X came up in a time of upsurge
and ferment. He was one of the millions of
Black youth who are treated like "no-
bodies" under this system. An eight-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 read hungrily, especial-
lly about the history of Blacks in America,
which originally appeared in

SERVE THE ONE AND ONLY
ALL-THE-WAY-LIBERATING
TIME TO TAKE THE STAGE,
TIME TO MAKE OUR RAGE
REAL SOLUTION
REVOLUTION

December 20, 1964

Malcolm X was a revolutionary and he
should be remembered for that. But to
make the revolutionary changes that need
to take place, it is necessary to examine
the philosophy of Malcolm X. As the special
magazine section of the RW "Cold Truth,
Liberating Truth" said: "The program and
ideology of the revolutionary proletariat
are the weapons and guide in the fight
against the oppression of one nation by
another and all the other black and racist
guerrillas is just topirit the truth. Op-pression. Even more basic, the prol-etus-
arian program is the guide in the fight to
finally end all forms of oppression and
colonialism. As we remember the contrib-
tions of Malcolm X, it is

TIME TO TAKE THE STAGE,
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SERVE THE ONE AND ONLY
REAL SOLUTION
ALL-THE-WAY-LIBERATING
REVOLUTION

By thinking we're a minority, we struggle
like a minority...as beggars, with our hat
out in the street. We're not so bad, after all;
we're not very innocent."
Continued from page 9

does a child have to be your “own flesh and blood” to be your child? If the appeal of having children has to do with any combination of affection, biological relatedness, and hopefulness, what difference does it make (or should make) whether those children are white or black, fat or thin, rich or poor, and so on.

But the fact is that deep-down, and despite all the evidence to the contrary, many people still hold to the belief that the biological parent (and especially the mother) is the one with a sort of innate magical powers that the child inherits from “them.” And they think that these powers are somehow linked to their genetic makeup. They think the presence of...
Women's Lives Come First—Shut Down the Court!

In response to the infamous Webster decision which gravely restricted women's access to abortion, two women and two men stood up in the chambers of the Supreme Court. They denounced the Court as the enforcers of patriarchal values and were arrested. This was the first time in U.S. history that anyone had ever disrupted this judicial "holy of holies" with a political protest.

Now, with the appointment of David Souter to the Supreme Court, a wholesale reversal of Roe v. Wade appears very real. Whether all at once or chipped away piece by piece, we will not accept the taking away of women's right to control their bodies and their reproduction.

For more information and to join the action phone tree, contact:

Refuse & Resist!
National Office
302 Madison Avenue #1166
New York, NY 10165
(212) 713-5657

Refuse & Resist!
Washington Chapter
PO Box 5309
Washington, D.C. 20009
(301) 231-3386

Refuse and Resist! contingent in pro-choice march.
Washington, D.C., April 1989

We call on progressive women and men everywhere to pledge now to participate in a massive shutdown of the U.S. Supreme Court, through verbal protest from the spectators' gallery and outside demonstrations, on the first practical date following the announcement of any court decision reversing the right of abortion or significantly restricting its application.

While women's lives and medical facilities are disrupted and destroyed, the institutions of the patriarchs shall know no peace.

Adapted by the Refuse & Resist!
Special Subscription Offer

Support the Revolutionary Journalists Tour

The Revolutionary Worker newspaper has brought together a powerful panel of journalists for a bold speaking tour. This Fall and Winter the tour will travel to college campuses on the East Coast, the Midwest and the West Coast.

People see big changes in the world, but they want to know how to bring into being a world that is radically different. These are urgent times, and burning questions demand to be answered. What can people doing here do to expose the international role of the U.S.? How can Third World countries achieve real liberation from big-power domination and hold onto power? What is the revolutionary strategy and path to power in a country like South Africa? How do you build a new society where women are liberated?

Our panelists will discuss the realities of U.S. power and new prospects for revolution from first-hand experience.

DARE TO BE THERE! ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TIP!

Who are these journalists? They are writers who don't believe the hype. They are connected with the basic people here in this country and around the world. And their journalism gives voice to those on the bottom—the people waging fierce battles against imperialism in places like Soweto, Palestine, Miami and the barrios of Los Angeles. These journalists have stories to tell that you won't hear anywhere else—stories that crackle with dangerous truths.

The tour will bring the message from barrios and bantustans across this planet that revolution is not dead—on the contrary, it is demanded by the very conditions of life throughout the planet. And youth of today, here in "the belly of the beast," must play their part.

This is a chance to bust through these walls and get down with those who are making history. Here is a chance to find out what's really going down—serve the people—and choose a life that matters!

Every campus needs a distribution network for the Revolutionary Worker. We need "journalists for the revolution"—writers and photographers who dare to expose the crimes of the powers-that-be!

This is a tour about journalism that matters in a world where revolution matters. The 1990-91 Revolutionary Journalists Tour is coming to a campus near you—so DARE TO BE THERE.

"MAO MORE THAN EVER!"


In this poem, Mao tells of two birds, a panic-stricken sparrow and a powerful wind-stirring roc drawn from Chinese mythology. The sparrow is terrified by the waste humans have made of their society and wants "to flit and fly away"—he wants to tune out the world and focus on himself. The sparrow mentions that a summit agreement was signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union and he fantasizes that this may produce lots of material things to make his little life easier.

The roc replies: "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

Twenty-five years ago, Mao was not impressed with fantasies of escape and easy material progress. He dared say that the "phony communism" of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had nothing to do with real socialism. And he insisted that big-power proclamations about "peace" should not lead oppressed people to give up their revolutionary struggle.

Now, when the powers-that-be in the West have launched an offensive against any dreams of a better world, the RW says: "Mao More Than Ever."

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