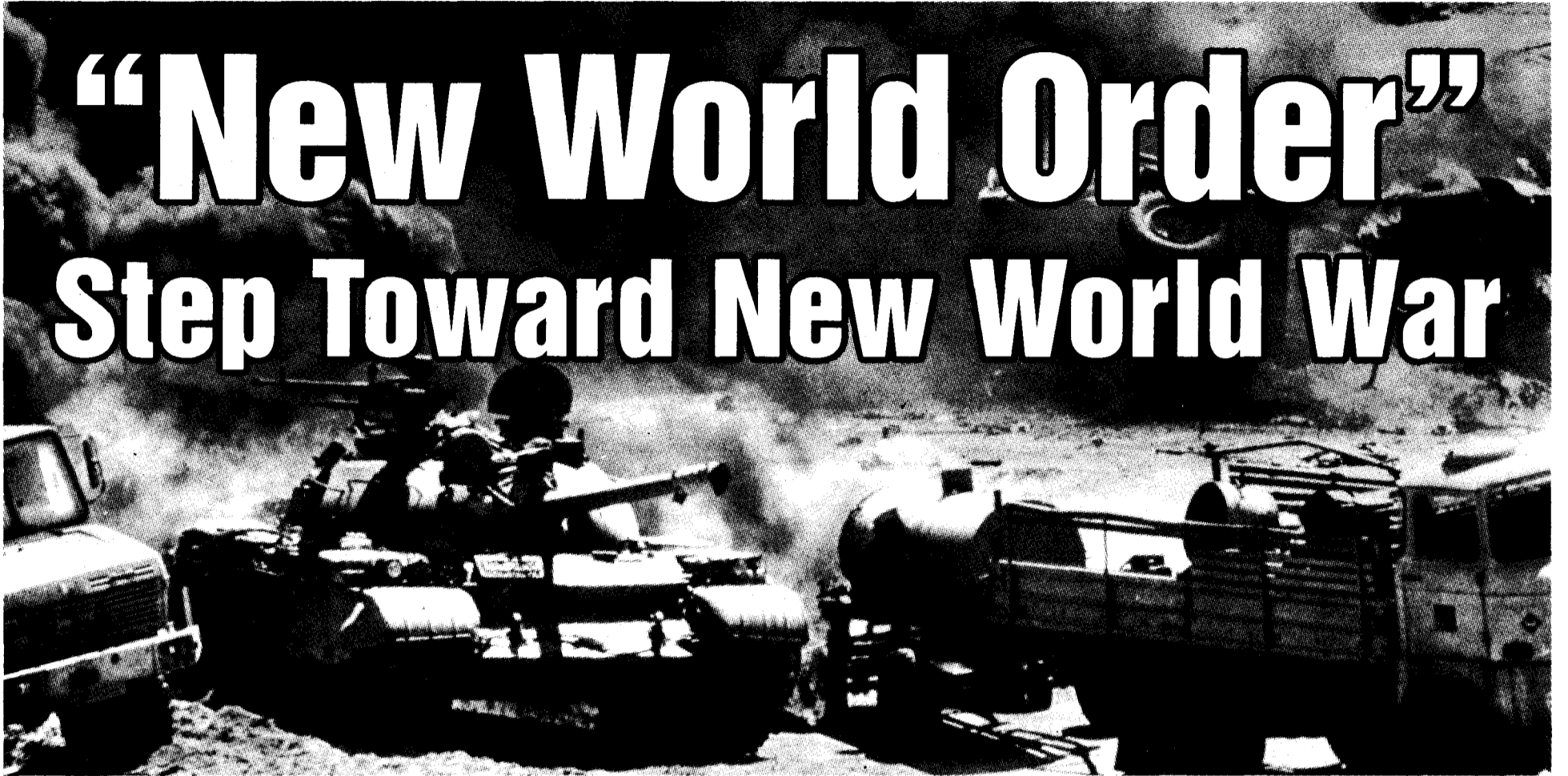


## From Gulf War to Global Trade War

# “New World Order” Step Toward New World War



U.S. imperialism combat-tested its high-tech death machine and used its plans for blitzkrieg war on the Soviet Union against vastly outmatched Iraq. Sigma

For approximately nine months, world events were dominated by the so-called Gulf War, its preparations and immediate consequences. It was not a contest over control of the Persian (or Arab) Gulf—that was clear from the outset. Rather it was an imperialist war of annihilation, launched by the United States, which now boasts that it is the only “superpower” on a world scale, against the former colonial country of Iraq. The “*casus belli*” which served as a pretext for the war was the Iraqi seizure of the oil principality of Kuwait, but the real war aims

of the United States were to reassert its imperialist hegemony over the entire planet.

In his January 16 speech announcing that the bombing of Baghdad had begun, George Bush spoke of a “New World Order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations,” and where “a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the UN’s founders.” The American president’s pious talk naturally didn’t mean that Washington would henceforth pay

the least attention to World Court verdicts condemning U.S. aggression against Nicaragua or heed OAS votes unanimously opposing Washington’s 1989 invasion of Panama, or enforce the innumerable UN resolutions demanding that its Israeli ally get out of the Occupied Territories it has held for 24 years. No, Bush’s meaning was clear: uppity Third World dictators would have to toe the line or face the consequences.

Many petty-bourgeois leftists saw a contradiction in the UN, this reincarnation of the “League of Nations,” which

is supposedly dedicated to world peace, serving as an instrument of war for the United States. But that was precisely the mission of the United Nations when it was founded in 1945 as an umbrella organization for a *Pax Americana*. At least, that was the way the Americans saw it. That Stalin saw in this an extension of the wartime alliance between the U.S. and the USSR was his mistake, as he soon discovered in the Korean War (1950-53), where the UN flag waved over an American expeditionary corps.

*continued on page 6*

## Operation Yahoo on Parade

### Vile Celebration of Imperialist Slaughter

Ever since the Yankee military behemoth went down to defeat in the rice paddies of Vietnam, the rulers of this country have desperately sought to overcome the “Vietnam syndrome” and mobilize popular sentiment for another imperialist adventure. The U.S. rape of tiny black Grenada and its bloodthirsty walk-over in Panama just didn’t make it. But with their high-tech, one-sided slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children, sanitized for TV, the American rulers think they have a hit that will play on the home front. And they’ve played it for all it’s worth with vile red-white-and-blue celebrations of imperialist mass murder.

On June 8, tanks rolled down Washington’s Constitution Avenue while fighter jets screamed a thousand feet overhead. For all the military firepower on display, Bush’s victory bash turned out

to be a bust, as only 200,000 turned out instead of the expected 1.4 million. Now D.C. streets are torn to shreds from tank treads, and the city doesn’t know who’s going to foot the bill. New York City’s rival ticker tape parade two days later was more successful, if no less grotesque. Hucksters peddled racist T-shirts with cross hairs over an Arab riding a camel and the caption, “I’d Fly 10,000 Miles To Smoke A Camel,” while a fireworks display featured a mock Patriot missile destroying an Iraqi Scud. Still it was hardly the “mother of all parades” that “democratic socialist” mayor David Dinkins claimed it to be (the “tickertonnage” turned out to be 87 tons of tape instead of 6,000, and the absurd 4.7 million crowd count would have had people standing 10 or 20 high on each other’s shoulders).

*continued on page 9*



New York, June 10: confetti and flag-waving over mass murder in Persian Gulf. DeLucia/NY Times

# "Tax the Rich"?

New York  
May 12

Dear WV—

A point of disagreement with your otherwise on-target analysis of the California fiscal crisis [WV No. 526, 10 May]. Though the Prop 13 tax revolt was deeply *petit bourgeois* (as befits a suburban "movement"), the middle classes do have some material basis for their resentments. The stingy welfare state in the US has largely been financed by working- and middle-class taxpayers. The rich contribute nothing. See, for example, the piece by Anwar Shaikh in the URPE volume, *The Imperiled Economy*, Vol. 1. This leaves the middle orders ripe for race-baiting, poor-hating rhetoric from the right. "Tax struggle is the first form of class struggle," Marx said. Though "tax the rich" may strike you as fatally reformist, it's enormously popular, and it has the potential of uniting the races, and of healing the gap between poor and middle.

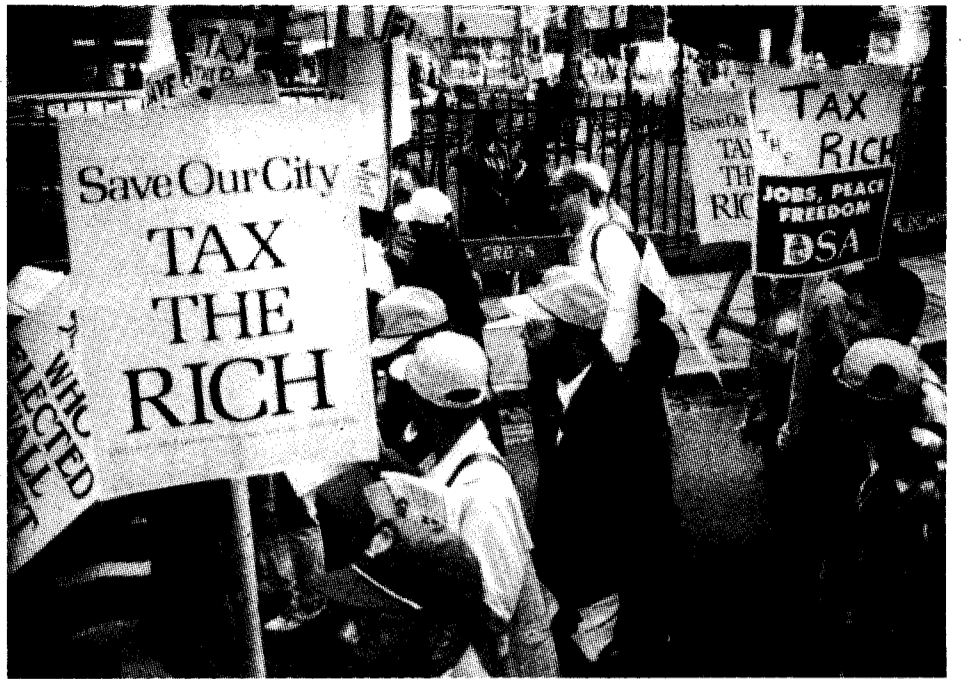
Doug Henwood  
editor/publisher  
*Left Business Observer*

*WV replies:* Before considering the substance of the "tax the rich" question, it is important to clarify both Marx's position and ours.

Henwood quotes Marx without specifying the historical context. Marx made this statement about taxes during a short-lived episode in the abortive German bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848, when the King of Prussia disbanded the National Assembly in Berlin at bayonet point. In response, the bourgeois liberal opposition called for a refusal to pay taxes to the royalist government. This, of course, had nothing to do with taxing the rich. Marx supported the tax-boycott campaign and wrote:

"The monarchy defies not only the people, but the bourgeoisie as well.  
"Defeat it therefore in a bourgeois manner....  
"By refusing to pay taxes."  
—"Counter-Revolution in Berlin" (November 1848),  
Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*,  
Volume 8

As it turned out, the tax-boycott campaign was a total failure and the counter-revolution was soon triumphant. By 1849



WV Photo  
Union bureaucrats and social democrats preach "Tax the Rich" schemes at April 30 NYC labor rally to city workers who want to fight layoffs.

Marx recognized that the German bourgeoisie was too cowardly and too fearful of the proletariat to carry through a revolutionary struggle against the monarchy.

We have never denied that there was a material basis for the resentment of petty-bourgeois and also white working-class homeowners which contributed to California's Prop 13 "tax revolt." Quite the contrary. Half a year before Reagan was first elected president in November 1980, we pointed to the growing popularity of right-wing economic nostrums as rampant inflation slashed living standards in the last years of the Carter administration:

"With the liberal [Carter] program of wage-price guidelines/controls exposed as a cruel joke, many workers believed the only thing the government could do to help them stand the killing inflation was to cut their taxes—the more, the better....  
"In a sense the 'tax revolt' is the white backlash at two or three removes."  
—"Behind Friedmania,"  
WV No. 260, 11 July 1980

In this same article we stated:

"The white backlash is not however the result of Reagan the Republican, but of decades of betrayal of *class struggle* by the labor bureaucrats and liberal black leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. And it is only through united class struggle that racist demagoguery and attacks can be fought and reversed."

Lobbying for a "fairer tax system" is one of the standard ways that the labor bureaucracy *diverts* union members from militant class struggle against the capitalists and their state. Even reactionary AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland called on Congress "to develop and enact an alternative budget that increases tax rates on the wealthy Americans and corporations" (*AFL-CIO News*, 15 October 1990). Writing in New York's *Village Voice* (7 May), Doug Henwood urges the very NYC labor fakers who just agreed to the Dinkins/Cuomo savage budget cuts to more aggressively push a "tax the rich" line.

Henwood singles out for special commendation, as a tax-the-richer, hospital workers leader Dennis Rivera. Yet this same Rivera, the darling of rad-libs and social dems, braintrustered the defeat of the heavily black and Hispanic City University students striking against the cutbacks ordered by Rivera's pal, Democratic governor Cuomo.

The program of "taxing the rich," which is also bandied about by various left outfits, notably the CPUSA, promotes the illusion that the American government, as it is presently constituted, can be an agency serving the interests of the workers and poor at the expense of the wealthy owners of the means of production. In a modern capitalist country such as the U.S., the division of the social product between wages and profits (in Marxist terminology, between vari-

able capital and surplus value) is fundamentally determined by the struggle of labor and capital at the point of production, not in parliament or the state treasury.

Let us assume that the rich are subjected to higher taxes on dividends, interest, capital gains and other income from property. The wealthy bondholders and stockholders would then try to recoup by pressuring corporate management to increase total profits at the expense of wages. The real tax burden would be decided by the struggle of labor and capital at the point of production.

Over the past two decades, the living standard of the American working class has fallen sharply while the rich have gotten richer. This is not, however, due to tax rates. Rather the *rate of exploitation has increased*, reflected in giveback union contracts, two-tier wage systems and similar devices. The main battles waged by organized labor against the capitalist offensive—the 1981 PATCO air controllers strike, the 1983-84 Greyhound strike, the 1985-86 Hormel strike, the 1989 Eastern Airlines strike—were isolated and defeated with the complicity of the wretched AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Each of these strikes enjoyed enormous popular support and sympathy, not only from other unionized workers but also the black and Hispanic poor. The police scabbering which helped break the Greyhound and Hormel strikes could have been stopped with mass picketing and union defense guards. The PATCO and Eastern strikes could have been won by shutting down the airports. That would have "taxed the rich" with a vengeance. The stoppage of commercial air traffic in this country for even a few days would cost corporations and banks tens of millions through the disruption of management operations and financial deals.

Significantly, the head of the Machinists when they struck Eastern was social-democratic luminary William Winpisinger, who is quite happy to call for taxing the rich on any suitable occasion. Much safer than shutting down the airports. The labor bureaucrats oppose and sabotage the class-struggle methods *that can win* because they do not want to challenge bourgeois law, order and property rights.

Looking at the major strike defeats of the past decade, some reformists conclude that labor struggles are unwinnable because they are too "narrow" and therefore isolated. Instead they advocate building a "broader movement" around the populist slogan of "taxing the rich." This program is not only illusory in itself but is a diversion from militant class struggle which alone can unite the working class with the black and Hispanic poor. ■



TROTSKY

## Imperialist "New World Order" Road to New World War

*In carrying out its brutal massacre in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. aimed to reassert its imperialist hegemony as top cop of the world, not least against its principal imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. With the groveling acquiescence of Gorbachev's Kremlin, the way is being prepared for a new inter-imperialist world war. In the late 1930s, the bloody defeat of the Spanish Republican forces by Franco and his German and Ital-*

*ian fascist allies, abetted by Stalin's counterrevolutionary treachery and the imperialist "democracies," foreshadowed the coming of World War II. Leon Trotsky emphasized the urgency of building the Fourth International to lead socialist revolution worldwide which alone could prevent ever more imperialist slaughters.*

In the veins of the Spanish people, there still remains unshed blood. Who will dispose of it, Hitler and Mussolini or Chamberlain with his French accomplices, is a question that will be decided by the relations of the imperialist forces in the near future. The struggle for peace, for democracy, for race, for authority, for order, for balance, and for dozens of other high and imponderable things means the struggle for a new division of the world. The Spanish tragedy will go down in history as an episode on the path of preparation of a new world war. The ruling classes of all shades are afraid of it and at the same time are preparing for it with all their might. The charlatanism of Popular Fronts serves one part of the imperialists to conceal their plans from the popular masses, as the other gang uses phrases about blood, honor, and race for the same purpose. The petty-bourgeois windbags and phrasemongers only make it easier for the imperialists to prepare war, by preventing the workers from seeing the naked truth.

Thus, from various ends and by various methods, a new carnage of the people is being prepared. Humanity can be saved from ruin and destruction only by tearing the vanguard of the proletariat away from imperialism and its lackeys; by complete independence of proletarian policy; by complete mistrust of the rituals of imperialism, fascist and democratic; by merciless struggle against the Second and Third Internationals; by stubborn, systematic, untiring preparation for the international proletarian revolution!

—Leon Trotsky, "Mysteries of Imperialism" (March 1939)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 529

21 June 1991

# Tompkins Square the Opening Shot

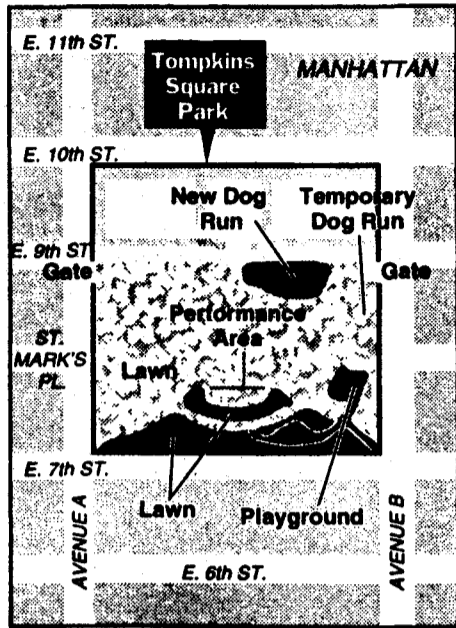
## Cop Army, Dinkins Trash Homeless

"First, they push you out of your house, then out of the subways, then out of the parks until you have nowhere else to go. They might as well just kill us all at the rate they're going."

—*Newsday*, 15 June

This was how one homeless person reacted to news of the planned cop sweep on the homeless colony at New York's Columbus Circle. City fathers have deemed the squatters' encampment under the Coliseum marquee an eyesore, occupying prime real estate across from Central Park South, down the block from the Trump-owned Plaza Hotel, currently being condoed for the super-rich. So the homeless will have to go. Another "Operation Removal" is planned. Like the police sweep early this month in Tompkins Square, this one will also be at 5 a.m., "to avoid confrontation and to minimize the presence of the media" (according to a confidential letter from the mayor's aide for the homeless).

During the Persian Gulf War, social-democratic Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, playing to the chauvinist fury of "Operation Desert Storm," called for an "Urban Storm" to sweep America's cities. Supposedly this would address poverty, drugs, you name it. Now it's here—total war on New York's homeless population, from Tompkins Square to Columbus Circle, carried out by Messinger's comrade-in-arms of the



NY Times Map

It became synonymous with police brutality after the cops staged a bloody riot in August 1988 that was extensively videotaped (but no cops were prosecuted). After the June 3 attack hundreds came out to protest as the NYPD deployed hundreds of riot cops around the clock. Dinkins' "clean sweep" against the squatters continued through the obscene multimillion-dollar celebration of the Gulf War massacre on Broadway a week later. The blue-uniformed phalanx is still there, to fend off what *Downtown* called



Sotomayor/NY Times

"They keep the dog track open, and we're treated as less than dogs," said one man evicted from Tompkins Square Park by phalanx of police.

the homeless, whined *Newsday's* Sheryl McCarthy. The weekend before the cops moved in, Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch was down at the park pretending to "negotiate," as phalanxes of cops prepared to move in. Lynch is the former farm workers organizer who is Dinkins' "labor man"—working with Dennis Rivera and other union leaders in a popular-front coalition to corral working-class and minority votes for the Democratic Party.

So at 5:20 on the morning of June 3 the police radios announced "Operation

gently balancing their riot gear atop the sawhorses in easy reach. "You could see spaces between the trees, the sightlines of the park's old design," dixit Hamill. Louis the Fourteenth's park at Versailles had some pretty nice sightlines, too. And he and the next couple of Louis's kept the homeless from spoiling it all, until the Paris "rabble" arrived in the French Revolution. Why, we can just see Marie ("Let them eat cake") Antoinette staring out the window muttering, "There goes the neighborhood."

In *fin de siècle* New York, in the era of "new frankness" (read: flagrant racism), the tabloid clones of Upper East Side scribe Thomas Wolfe openly rejoice at "reclaiming" "their" streets and "their" parks from the wretched refuse of capitalist misery which cause them such "discomfort." This is not just a New York phenomenon. Atlanta black mayor Maynard Jackson urged the City Council to pass a bill that would impose criminal penalties for "aggressive street begging, sleeping in vacant buildings and hanging out in parking lots" (*New York Times*, 13 June). In the stench of capitalist decline, long gone is the self-satisfied hypocrisy of the *nouvelle bourgeoisie*, parodied by Anatole France in 1894: "The law in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

We need a socialist revolution to "take back" the wealth of this country created by the sweat and blood of working people. When the factories are expropriated, when billions are no longer poured into a murderous war machine, when millions aren't squandered on Donald's yacht or Ivana's stones, then there will be no more jobless and homeless and desperately poor. The parks will belong to the people, and the dogs can run in the grass. ■



WV Photo

June 6: 1,500 parks workers pour out of Central Park onto Fifth Avenue to protest massive layoffs. Right: Parks Department boss Betsy Gotbaum evicting the homeless from Tompkins Square.



Greenberg

Democratic Socialists of America, black mayor David Dinkins. When Dinkins scheduled the 72nd Street ramp on the West Side Highway for clearance, Ms. Messinger offered to send a moving van to help the homeless transport their belongings. To where?

"People are out, yuppie dog shit is in." That's the rule in Tompkins Square Park today, after Mayor Dinkins sent in waves of cops to kick out 200 homeless people and seal off the Lower East Side's main park on June 3. According to a *New York Times* map, the new homeless-free park will host a state-of-the-art dog run. We kid you not. With this stroke, David Dinkins and his tennis-playing pals have shown their Wall Street masters that they are totally loyal. After all, they've just proved that for them an animal that belongs to a rich person has more rights than a human being without money.

Tompkins Square Park has been a longtime battleground, between the colorful and diverse ethnic communities that make up *Loisaida*, and yuppies looking to kick them out and "gentrify" the area.

"the element once dubbed 'teenage mutant ninja anarchists'."

The NYPD and the Dinkins administration carefully calculated their latest assault. The cops brought a lawsuit against the city, asking the park be closed because patrolling there was "hazardous to their health." On Memorial Day the cops provoked a melee, claiming later that their discovery of "burlap sacks filled with hundreds of empty bottles" showed park people were "prepared" to riot (*New York Times*, 30 May)! What they "discovered," as any New Yorker knows, were stashes of one of homeless people's main sources of income: returnable empties (5 cents each).

As soon as the mayor approved a secret plan on May 30 to mount the "takeback operation" (as the *Times* haughtily demanded he make a "clean sweep" of the park), a concerted chorus of tabloid hack columnists screeched for Dinkins to unleash on the homeless some of the thousands of cops he is hiring. "Reclaim the park" brayed Mike McClary at the *Post*. "I feel annoyed" by

Recover has commenced." Over 350 cops hunted down the homeless in the summer dawn, throwing their possessions into garbage trucks. Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum (whose husband Victor rammed through the last round of city worker givebacks as AFSCME DC 37 chief a decade and a half ago) took a few hours off from slashing the union workforce at Parks and came down to oversee the vicious fun. The city began to erect a heavy chain-link fence to seal off the park for a year. The homeless fled to vacant lots or abandoned buildings—even if they could make it in the dangerous barracks shelters, the city is wiping out thousands of beds.

After the blitz, *New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill, grooving like Schwarzkopf after the bombing of the Baghdad shelter, gloated that it was "one small victory over the derelict army." Of course he admits there was no place for the homeless to go. But hey, let's get our priorities straight: "Suddenly it looked like a park again." You know, with scores of police strolling at every corner,

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# Pope Rants As Anti-Abortion Crusade Stalls

This June, Pope John Paul Wojtyla made his first visit to Poland since counterrevolutionary Solidarność came to power in 1989. But he found a very different Poland from that of his last visit in 1987. In town after town, the turnout was decidedly lukewarm, the vast meeting halls and stadiums only half-full to greet the Polish Pope. The attempt by pro-clerical forces to ram through a total ban on abortion before the pontiff's visit fell flat in the face of widespread opposition. The Vatican chief made a distinct anti-Soviet appeal, holding provocative open-air "masses" (rallies) in towns along the border with the USSR.

Despite the Pope's call for "social peace," strikes have broken out recently in schools, hospitals, several state enterprises and by air traffic controllers. A recent poll showed 43 percent of the population reporting they were better off two years ago, before the capitalist onslaught. As labor protest escalates, President Lech Walesa has threatened the use of "all means and force" to stop "anarchy." He declared, "Strikes interfere with Poland," and added that strike organizers are "breaking the law." Walesa simultaneously demanded powers to issue economic decrees for one year, and threatened to dissolve parliament if it overrode his veto on a new electoral law. "My dilemma is whether to rule by decree above the law or within the limits of the law," he said (*Financial Times*, 14 June). Polish workers must resist "the man with an ax" who would be a new Pilsudski, the fascist dictator of interwar Poland.

Two weeks before the papal visit, the lower house of parliament, the Sejm, postponed action on a bill that would have banned all abortion. As the enraged Pope thundered against this sacrilege, the heavens opened up and lightning punctuated his anathema on the godless legislators. The scene at the open-air mass in Kielce, as he raved against abortion and demanded retribution from his fellow Poles for their sins, was reported in the *New York Times* (4 June):

"His normally sonorous, pacific voice shaking with rage, the Pope departed from his prepared text and assailed Poland's moral state as if it were a personal affront.



Pope and his president, Lech Walesa, call for a new Inquisition. Polish counterrevolution wants women terrorized, doctors jailed for abortion.

"All of you who lightheartedly approach these matters, you must understand that I cannot but be concerned with these matters, that I cannot but be hurt.... You should also be hurt."

"As thunderclouds darkened the sky above an airfield where the Pope spoke, flashes of lightning first lit the white-block buildings in the surrounding hills, and later brightened the altar where John Paul stood....

"Land of my brothers and sisters!" the Pope cried, shaking his fists. "How can we continue to destroy the Polish family? We cannot speak here of liberty. This is the kind of liberty which makes man a slave!"

For a decade, the Vatican, Wall Street and the labor lieutenants of capital in the "AFL-CIA" braintrused and bankrolled Solidarność and counterrevolution in Poland, to the applause of an unholy alliance stretching from outright fascists to fake-leftists. With the collapse of the Stalinist regime in the summer of 1989, the way was opened for carrying out the full-blown restoration of capitalism in Poland. But in practice it's not been so easy, as foreign capitalists failed to invest, and workers' resistance has flared against the brutal austerity program. Now the attempt to outlaw abortion, the spear-

head of a crusade to assert church dominance over society, has sparked a furor against enforced religious obscurantism and clerical power.

On June 4, the Pope and his "moral crusade" waded deeper into the morass of bigotry. In Radom (where in late 1981 Solidarność plotted a grab for power, provoking General Jaruzelski's counter-coup) the Pope grotesquely compared abortion to the Nazi Holocaust! Speaking of the extermination of millions of concentration camp victims in World War II as "a time when vast areas of our continent became graves of innocent people," he said that today there is "yet another vast cemetery, that of the unborn child"! Yet the Vatican refused repeated pleas to denounce the Holocaust as it was happening—its silence was deafening. This horrendous equation of the genocide of the Jewish people with interruption of pregnancy attests anew to the deeply ingrained anti-Semitism of the Vatican. It comes in the context of a sharp escalation of anti-Semitism fueled by Walesa's election campaign.

## Fight Clerical Reaction

It is no accident that the growing anti-clerical backlash in Poland is being fought out over the question of abortion rights. Abortion was legal and free on demand from 1956 on. It has long been the most popular method of birth control in Poland, especially with a chronic shortage of contraceptives, with an estimated one million abortions yearly. Elsewhere in East Europe, there has been a sharp rise of abortions, as the right to a job, free medical care and childcare are wiped out. With an uncertain present and even bleaker future, many decide that they do not want to bring a child into this world. Economic conditions in Poland are as bad or worse than anywhere else in the former Soviet bloc. Working women facing mass layoffs are among the most harshly affected. Poignant scenes abound of people in the flea markets selling their meager possessions to survive. But in Poland, the number of reported legal abortions has actually dropped dramatically.

For the last year, abortion has become much more difficult to obtain: now per-

mission of two gynecologists, a psychologist and an internist is necessary in state hospitals, while the cost in private clinics is prohibitive. And the Catholic church has launched a campaign of intimidation and sheer terror. This includes public denunciation at Sunday mass of women who have abortions and picketing of pharmacies that carry contraceptives. The *Washington Post* (2 June) reported, "Many saw the long arm of the church behind a recent government decision to end government subsidies for birth control pills. The move will triple the price of the pills, putting them beyond the reach of many women." But meanwhile doctors and public health officials report a rise in self-induced miscarriages (frequently using crochet needles) and "a small but noticeable rise in infanticide (virtually unknown here during four decades of abortion on demand)" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

With all the church pressure, resistance to changing the liberal law has grown. Clerical reactionaries in the Senate pushed through a bill banning all abortion, even in cases of rape, which they hoped to present to the Pope on his visit. But the Sejm didn't go along, and buried the bill in committee, sending it back for a rewrite (being too cowardly to vote against it directly). As a result of the June 1989 "round table agreement" which brought Solidarność to power, the

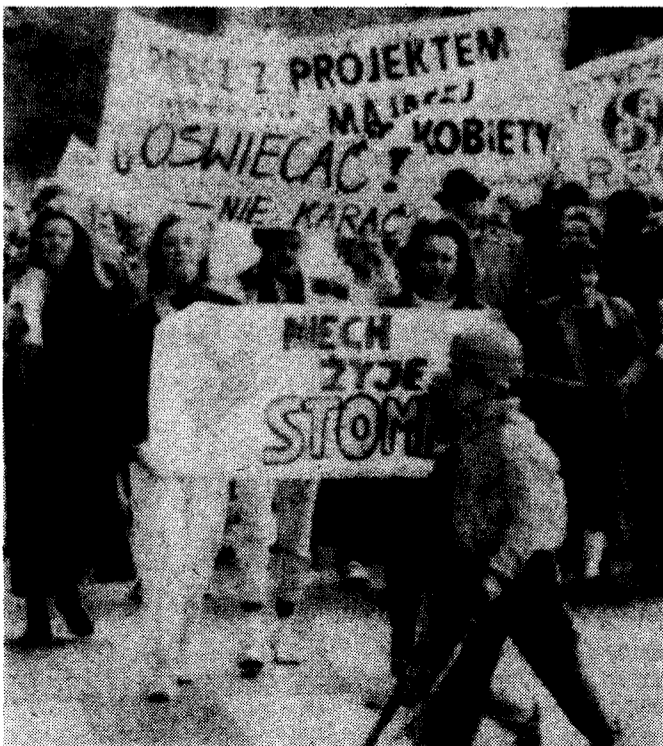


"Market economy" means impoverishment. Polish women sell their meager possessions to survive.

lower house of parliament has a substantial majority of seats reserved for the former Stalinist ruling party, now presenting themselves as social democrats, and its allies. The refusal to ban abortion has now prompted renewed demands to wipe out the round table agreement in upcoming October elections.

Popular opposition has also intensified. Recent polls showed over 60 percent of the Polish population opposed to making any change in the abortion laws, and in a survey of railway workers 89 percent were against the blanket ban in the church-proposed law. In another poll, 67 percent agreed with the statement that the

continued on page 11



Defenders of abortion rights march in Poland last year. Sign overhead reads "No to a law that makes an object of women!"

# Cradle of Revolution Targeted

## Leningrad Da, St. Petersburg Nyet!

A sinister gang of pro-Western "democrats," hoary Russian nationalists and open monarchists have succeeded in striking a significant, albeit symbolic, blow for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. A June 12 referendum in Leningrad which garnered a 55 percent majority for bringing back the city's prerevolutionary name of St. Petersburg drew the battle lines sharply and passionately. As the country lurches toward civil war, this more than any other recent event drove home that what's being posed is the wiping out of every gain and every vestige of the 1917 October Revolution. Moreover, it comes in conjunction with an overwhelming victory in the first direct elections for president of the Russian Federation by the incumbent, openly pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin.

The campaign to replace the name of Lenin with that of the patron saint of Tsar Peter the Great was seen by all sides as a plebiscite on the future of the Soviet Union itself. Leningrad mayor Anatoli Sobchak, a Yeltsin supporter, argued that the name change was necessary "in order to break with the Soviet era of development in the city," while a leader of the extreme nationalist *Rus-skoye Znamya* (Russian Banner) group, which spearheaded the campaign, railed: "We want to change the name because we are against all that Lenin stands for. He is the symbol of everything we hate—the Communist system, its ideology and all that Communists have done to our country."

The reactionary campaign led to an outpouring of opposition. At a rally of 5,000 in Leningrad on June 10 protesting the name change, World War II veterans carried signs reading, "We fought for Leningrad." Praskovia Yegorova, a 66-year-old veteran of the siege, said: "We defended this city and don't want it to be anything else. The country lost 27 million in the war. Why not keep it Leningrad for them?"

The military, increasingly impatient with the disintegrative forces unleashed by Gorbachev's perestroika, openly opposed the referendum. Under the headline "We Are With You, Leningrad!" the Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (6 June) carried a front-page appeal from the Military Council of the Leningrad Military District denouncing the referendum as an "illegal" and "bellicose politi-

cal act." The paper reprinted some of what it called a "multitude of telegrams from all ends of the country" demanding a halt to "the unworthy campaign." Veterans of the "Red Banner Formation, who participated in the defense of Leningrad in the years of the Great Patriotic War," denounced this "provocative political game."

Leningrad is the cradle of the 1917 Russian Revolution. It was here, speaking upon his arrival at the Finland Station, that Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin launched his call for "complete victory of the proletariat." This was codified in his famous "April Theses," which insisted that the struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the imperialist war had to be carried through in a revolutionary struggle for power by the workers. It was the proletarian Vyborg district of Petrograd (as it was known from 1914 to 1924) and the nearby naval garrison of Kronstadt which provided the shock troops for the Bolshevik seizure of power six months later.

It was here, 25 years later, that the resistance of the city's workers made Leningrad the most heroic among the

Soviet Union's "hero-cities" in World War II. For 900 days, a desperate and starving population withstood the Nazi siege—the longest siege of a major city in history—and triumphed. The city's Piskarevskoye cemetery, the site of mass graves of half of the one million victims of combat, disease and famine, stands as a haunting testament to the valor and determination of the people of Leningrad against the Nazi scourge. Using the city's tsarist name, Hitler concentrated more than 700,000 troops against it with the order "to wipe the city of Petersburg off the face of the earth," as part of his fanatical attempt to root out every embodiment of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Now Russian counterrevolutionaries are intent on succeeding where Hitler failed. Yeltsin's electoral victory represents a big step forward for the forces of capitalist restoration. Yeltsin's supporters see the vote as a mandate for implementing his "500-day plan," aimed at a full-scale imposition of a capitalist market in the Russian republic. He promises to ban Communist Party fractions from all factories and government offices in Russia and to begin selling off state-owned

factories and land to private investors. The White House lost no time in hailing the election results and inviting Yeltsin to Washington for discussions with Bush. But meanwhile, Gorbachev appeals to Washington and its imperialist allies to come up with over \$100 billion to finance a program of capitalist restoration cooked up at Harvard University. The *New York Times* sells this "grand bargain" to U.S. capitalists as "How to Crush Communism."

Yeltsin's chief opponent, official CP candidate and former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, barely managed to scrape together 15 percent of the vote total. Ryzhkov was the favorite of the "conservative" Stalinist Soyuz parliamentary grouping. With the threat of unemployment climbing to 20 million in the next year or two in the transition to a market economy, Ryzhkov sought to appeal to those who want to resist the introduction of capitalism. But Ryzhkov makes no bones about his own support to the market under the guise of "market socialism" and laments the demise of "perestroika in the originally conceived form."

A "hardline" Stalinist candidate was Col. Gen. Albert Makashov, who claimed to stand for "patriotism, socialism and internationalism." Representative of much of the so-called patriotic opposition to the pro-Western "democrats," Makashov is an avowed anti-Semite who rails against "cosmopolitans, parasites, speculators" and sees himself as the "intellectual heir of the Cossacks." The Soviet Army appeal on the Leningrad referendum echoed some of this "patriotic" verbiage, hailing the "progressive role of Peter I."

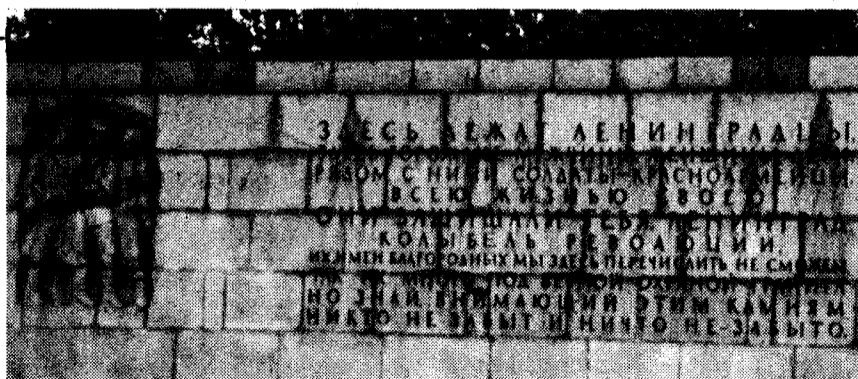
In his time, Peter the Great was relatively progressive, as he sought to turn backward Russia to the Europe of the Enlightenment. But that was the time of a benighted autocracy, which was finally rooted out by the Bolshevik-led workers revolution of 1917. Through its role in the Russian Revolution, Leningrad became not only a "window on the West" but the vanguard of social progress and proletarian internationalism. In his *The 900 Days—The Siege of Leningrad* (1969), Harrison Salisbury observed: "Leningrad had a peculiar fascination for

continued on page 8

Leningrad, June 10: thousands of World War II veterans turn out to protest threatened change to tsarist name of St. Petersburg. Sign at far right reads "we fought for Leningrad."



"Here lie Leningraders,  
Here citizens, men, women, children,  
Alongside them soldiers of the Red Army.  
With the whole of their lives  
They defended you, Leningrad,  
Cradle of the Revolution.  
Their noble names we cannot list here,  
So many of them are in the eternal shield  
of granite.  
But know, you who gaze upon these stones,  
None is forgotten, and nothing forgotten!"  
—Olga Berggolts



Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery where a half million Leningraders lie in collective graves, victims of the 900-day Nazi siege.

Young Spartacus Photos

# "New World Order"...

(continued from page 1)

Decades of U.S. military adventures around the globe have exposed the fraud of "international law" so long as competing capitalist-imperialist powers seek to divide and redivide the world.

But in his victory speech to Congress on March 7, Bush at least told the truth when he said, "The victory over Iraq was not waged as 'a war to end all wars.' Even the New World Order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace." No indeed, for in assuming the role of global

## PART ONE OF TWO

policeman, Washington is promising a dramatic *escalation* of its military interventions. Barely two weeks after the cease-fire in southern Iraq, U.S. soldiers were dispatched on a "humanitarian" mission to occupy the northern fringe of Iraq—no request from Baghdad, no UN resolution authorizing it. Then came "Cohen's coup" in Ethiopia, where a U.S. Assistant Secretary of State (that's Cohen) ordered guerrillas into the capital of Addis Ababa to replace the tottering Mengistu regime. It's the "New World Order" says Washington—or NWO, as it's called in the Capitol corridors—and the "rule of law" is whatever Washington says.

The Gulf War wasn't so much the mother of all battles, one wag remarked, as the runt. From the opening to the closing shots, it lasted 44 days, and the ground war was limited to 100 hours. Although the Pentagon constantly re-



Panjar/India Today  
**Highway of Death out of Kuwait: American GIs take souvenir snapshots of Iraqi corpses. Pentagon-censored and self-censored American press kept the carnage from public view.**

during the "official" war and over 50,000 killed in the civil war that followed (*On Impact: Modern Warfare and the Environment* [May 1991]). There was much talk of "surgical operations," but the only thing that could be described as "antiseptic" was the selection of war images for TV and the print media. There were repeated shots of jet fighters taking off into the morning sun, but only *two* dead Iraqi soldiers were shown during the war.

well as to try out and show off their new weapons.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, from the beginning denounced the imperialist invasion and sought to mobilize popular opposition against it. (Between Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, the notorious murderer of Kurds and Communists, and the autocratic ruling clan of the oil fiefdom of Kuwait, who lord it over foreign workers denied all rights, however, we took no sides.) While many bourgeois liberals, social democrats and erstwhile radicals supported UN "sanctions," we said straight-out that this was only the first stage of war, and demanded "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" As the U.S. attack approached, we raised the slogan "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" We called for labor strikes against the war, and where there were openings, for example among harbor workers in Hamburg, Germany, the sections of the ICL sought to implement this.

We were guided by the teachings of Lenin on the First World War, to answer imperialist war with class war. Most leftists, however, followed a "social-pacifist" policy, refusing to openly oppose their "own" bourgeoisie and to take the side of Iraq against the imperialist mass murderers. Instead they ran around with populist slogans, like "No blood for oil!" In the United States, the SL noted that this slogan really meant "No American blood for oil!" And in fact, as soon as it was clear that few American soldiers would die, the so-called "peace movement" simply *disappeared*, in the middle of the shooting. The Spartacist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, made the same point about the domestic reformists, and then one Winifried Wolf, a leader of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," actually said: "No German blood for oil."

### The Road to War

Lenin defined the imperialist epoch, the era of capitalism's decline, as an age of wars and revolutions. His thesis is utterly confirmed by the history of the 20th century. Various spokesmen for U.S. imperialism seek to disguise this basic fact. While "globalists" such as State Department ideologist Francis Fukuyama (who a couple of years ago proclaimed the "end of history") claim the "victory" of capitalist "democracy" makes war less likely, so-called "realists" like Henry Kissinger (devotees of *Realpolitik*) argue that since World War II a balance of power has produced relative world peace: "50 million Europeans were killed in wars between 1900 and 1945,

and 15,000 between 1945 and 1990," paraphrases the social-democratic *In These Times* (20 March). Hogwash. This only underscores the racist character of the "debate": there have been "at least 80 wars since 1945, resulting in the deaths of between 15 million and 30 million people" overwhelmingly in the so-called "Third World" of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Patrick Brogan, *The Fighting Never Stopped* [1990]).

One of the bloodiest was the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq war, in which a million people were killed. And the policy of the leading imperialist power, the United States, was to protect its "vital interests" in the Gulf by cynically playing one country off against another, arming Iran, providing intelligence data to Iraq, tilting first this way, then that. This continued to be the policy of the U.S. in the lead-up to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, as Washington *systematically lured Saddam Hussein into a trap*. This much was made abundantly clear in the recently published book by Pierre Salinger and Eric Laurent, *Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War* (1991). The authors write of Hussein that "the various about-turns of the Americans finally convinced him that an international campaign was being mounted against his country."

• In early April Hussein responded to Israeli threats, declaring: "If the Israelis try anything against us, we'll see it that half their country is destroyed by fire. Whoever threatens us with atom bombs, will be rooted out with chemical weapons." The State Department first proposed an embargo against Iraq, but a few days later a delegation of Republican Senators arrived in Baghdad. Senator Robert Dole assured Hussein there would be no sanctions, and this was confirmed by the ambassador April Glaspie.

• Hussein was repeatedly turned down by Kuwait in his demands that it stop draining oil from the Rumaila field (located on the disputed border) and stop producing oil in excess of its OPEC quota. When Ambassador Glaspie was called in to Hussein's office on July 25 to hear his threats of undertaking military action against Kuwait, she repeated, according to the transcript published by Iraq, that "many Americans" would like to see oil rise to \$25 a barrel, reaffirmed that the administration opposed sanctions against Iraq and said explicitly "we have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."

• The same stand was repeated on July

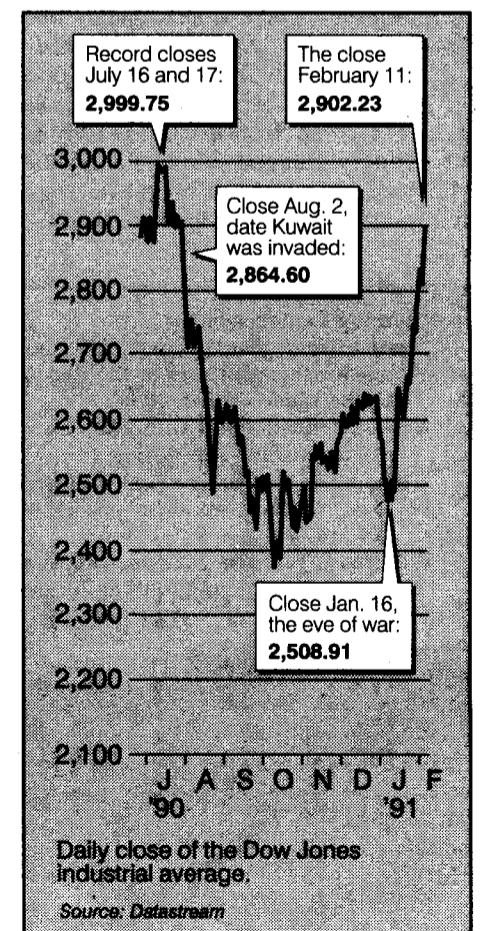


ferred to the Iraqi army as the fourth largest in the world, it was technologically at least ten years behind the Americans. Iraqi tank and anti-aircraft crews were operating blind, unable to even locate their opponents. U.S. pilots called it a "turkey shoot," and it was often described as a "Nintendo war," a giant video game. And it was presented as a TV movie, in which home viewers could experience the "precision bombing" as "smart" weapons homed in on their targets with 100 percent accuracy. Of course, the reality was quite different. If they had only been aiming at military objectives and were anywhere near as precise as claimed, it wouldn't have taken even one-tenth of the 100,000 "Allied" sorties to wipe out every unit or installation on their target lists.

More precisely, it was hardly a war at all but a cold-blooded massacre. Since August 1990, there was a grand total of 188 dead among the forces attacking Iraq, many of them mistakenly hit by "friendly fire" from their own side. That is fewer than die in auto accidents on a normal weekend in the U.S. But on the Iraqi side, according to a study by Greenpeace, there were an estimated 100,000 to 120,000 soldiers killed, half of them during the four-day ground war, along with 5,000 to 15,000 civilian deaths

It was a horrifying display of fire-power for the purpose of indiscriminate slaughter. To take just one example: as the A-6 jets took off from the decks of the aircraft carrier *Ranger* in the Gulf on the last day of the war, to fly over the "death mile" of the "highway to hell" north of Kuwait City, the ship's loudspeakers kept playing over and over the "Wilhelm Tell Overture," the theme song for the Lone Ranger. The pilots kept pounding this one stretch for more than 18 hours, killing anything that moved with rockets, cluster bombs and machine guns. It was no mistake, no excess, but intentional mass murder. Militarily it was all needless, because Hussein had already ordered an unconditional retreat from Kuwait.

The same was true of the bombing of the famous infant formula factory and of the Al Amiriya air raid shelter in Baghdad. The Pentagon knew in advance that there were women and children there—these were the families of top military leaders, and it was intended as a terror measure to break their will to fight. Together with the *Blitzkrieg* or "lightning war," the Pentagon took over the doctrine of *Schrecklichkeit* (or terrorization) from Nazi Germany. The purpose was to show to other potential enemies that the United States would pitilessly slaughter them, as



NY Times Graph adapted by WV  
**"War is good for business." During World War I, Rosa Luxemburg wrote "profits rising, proletarians falling." In Gulf crisis, stocks fell until war started, then soared as killing began.**

31 by Assistant Secretary of State John Kelley in testimony before a House committee, where he confirmed that the U.S. had no treaty obligation to aid Kuwait if Iraq invaded.

The Bush administration claims to have been caught by surprise by Baghdad's move, yet the very day of the U.S. ambassador's interview with Hussein, July 25, *General Norman Schwarzkopf*, head of the Central Command, was instructed to bring up to date war plans to respond to an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Moreover, Schwarzkopf had been ordered to draw up the initial contingency plan in April, at the time of the earlier threat of trade sanctions. In addition, the Iraqis have published a document (whose authenticity has not been denied) from the head of Kuwaiti state security to the emir reporting on a conversation in Washington with William Webster, head of the CIA. The document (from October 1989) includes the following paragraph:

"We agreed with the American side that it was important to take advantage of the deteriorating economic situation in Iraq in order to put pressure on that country's government to delineate our common border. The Central Intelligence Agency gave us its view of appropriate means of pressure, saying that broad cooperation should be initiated between us...."

The evidence is overwhelming that this was not mere inconsistencies or misunderstandings, but a deliberate policy. And once Iraq attacked, the U.S. response was outlined in a national security policy review which was ordered by Bush shortly after becoming president. The *New York Times* (23 February) quoted from the secret document on the question of "third-world threats": "In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly." The Persian Gulf War went precisely according to the script. And having "prevailed" over a country with the gross national product of Kentucky by throwing 75 percent of the U.S. tactical aircraft and 40 percent of U.S. tanks against it, now Washington wants to reap the fruits of its "brilliant victory."

### Whose Orders?

The arch-conservative London *Economist* (23 February) headlined: "New world order: What's new? Which world? Whose orders?" Since it was the lead article of the "American Survey" the readers could presume the answer. In his January 29 "State of the Union" address to Congress President Bush proclaimed that the U.S. had shouldered "the burden of leadership," and indeed, "Among the nations of the world only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up"—i.e., to make its word law. Bush's cheerleaders like columnist Charles Krauthammer talk of a new "unipolar" world based on "American strength and will, unashamedly laying down the rules of world order and being prepared to enforce them." Yet only a year ago, the White House spoke instead of a "tripolar world" and "partnership" together with Japan and West Europe "led (pretty explicitly) by a united Germany" (*Economist*).

At the Houston economic summit of imperialist powers, the so-called G-7, less than a month before Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, Bush "had to grin and bear it" as German chancellor Kohl insisted on going ahead with plans to invest billions of D-marks in the Soviet Union despite American objections, and Japanese prime minister Kaifu similarly asserted Tokyo's right to resume aid and finance programs to China. The London *Guardian's* Washington correspondent noted that "it looked uncannily like Germany and Japan were reestablishing their pre-World War II spheres of interest in European Russia and East Asia respectively." He quoted a "bitter European diplomat" muttering at Bush's Texas rodeo that "it has the look of an alternative universe in which World War Two ended with a draw in 1943" (Martin Walker, "The U.S. and the Persian Gulf

**Spartacists at February 21 Wall Street demonstration call for defeat of U.S. imperialism. Yellow-ribbon reformists said "Support the troops, stop the war."**



Crisis," *World Policy Journal*, Fall 1990).

But the "NWO" is to be led (quite explicitly) by the United States. What changed? Above all, through the Gulf War U.S. rulers believe that they have been able to rid themselves of their own shackles. Following the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and its mounting crisis in the USSR, the Soviet Union is placing no obstacles in the way of an untrammled exercise of "American strength and will." And the White House believes it has exorcised the paralyzing memory of the humiliating U.S. defeat in Vietnam. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all," Bush triumphantly exclaimed right after

the victor from World War II, sank forever in the rice fields of Vietnam after barely 25 years. For it's not merely a question of "American will" and military strength, but fundamentally of economics. And the economic base of American power was already unraveling some 20 years ago, after the failure of Lyndon Johnson's attempt to have both "guns and butter," to finance the Vietnam War without raising taxes. But this proved impossible, and in August 1971 his successor Richard Nixon had to give up the gold standard, that is, the backing of American paper currency with real value.

Since then, the greenback has been based on the "credibility" of the U.S.

the Latin words "*novus ordo seclorum*," which is usually translated "new order for the ages" but can also be read "new world order." So that in addition to the obvious reference to Hitler, with his talk of a "New Order" and a "Thousand-Year Reich," Bush may have been inspired by the once mighty dollar.

Bush says he wants to return the United Nations to its original purpose. When it was founded in San Francisco in May 1945, at the time of the victory over Hitler, there was much talk of turning weapons into plowshares. (A few months later, the Americans dropped two atom bombs on Japan as another demonstration of *Schrecklichkeit*.) But George Kennan, the architect of the Cold War, was more frank when he wrote in 1948:

"We have about 50 percent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 percent of its population.... Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position.... To do so, we will have to dispense with sentimentality and day-dreaming.... We should cease to talk about vague and...unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts."

—quoted in *Left Business Observer*, 17 April

At the time, the U.S. had roughly half of the entire production of the capitalist world. The situation today is quite different: over the past decade, the U.S. has produced approximately 26 percent of the gross product of the members of the International Monetary Fund.

### Who Pays the Piper...

But a lot has changed over the last ten years: notably the continuing decline of the U.S. economy has extended from the aging industry of the Rust Belt to the previously strong leading technology sector symbolized by Silicon Valley. Thus in 1980, the U.S. controlled 73 percent of the world market in fiber optics; eight years later, this share had fallen to only 42 percent. For semiconductors, the decline over the same period was from 60 to 36 percent, and by 1988 the U.S. had a mere 7 percent of machine tools (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 January). It has reached the point that the most powerful country of the capitalist

*continued on page 8*



**In February, over 250,000 demonstrate in Moscow on Soviet Army Day. Poster demands that Bush stop bombing and killing Iraqis.**

the shooting stopped. The *Navy Times* (11 March) headlined, "Resounding victory! Ghost of Vietnam fades as United States demonstrates unrivaled military might." By pummeling Iraq, the USA was "No. 1" again, Top Gun in the Gulf and Top Dog of the imperialist pack.

The bourgeois politicians were certainly cowed by all the firepower: it will be a while before any number of Democrats will dare to put up even a minimal opposition to a military adventure ordered by the White House and Pentagon. But that does not mean that among the American population the fear has been buried of a Vietnam-style "quagmire"—a long, dirty, losing war. Despite the high poll figures of support for Bush and "pride" over the U.S. war against Iraq, despite the red-white-and-blue flags and military parades and the yellow ribbons (which were even displayed by alleged leftists) supposed to show support for "our boys" (i.e., the imperialist war machine), the wave of patriotic "unity" is extremely shallow. In fact, within weeks of the end of the war, the U.S. was in an uproar over the brutal cop beating of a black motorist in Los Angeles which was videotaped and repeatedly broadcast over national TV.

Bush repeatedly spoke in his January and March speeches to Congress of "another American century." But as we have said repeatedly, the "American century," proclaimed as the U.S. was emerging as

government, just the same as, for example, the Nicaraguan córdoba. Granted, Washington enjoys considerably more credibility among its creditors, first because of its military might, and then because if the U.S. goes under the entire world capitalist order will collapse. The dollar bill bears the motto, "In God We Trust," but it would be more accurate to say "In the Dollar We Trust." Also on the dollar, underneath the curious pyramid and the all-seeing eye, one can read

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# LO Security Squad Jumps Black Youths

## Ugly Attack at Paris Left Fête

*Lutte Ouvrière is a pseudo-Trotskyist organization in France (associated with the "Spark" group in the U.S.) whose reformism and populism have led it to tail after backward sectors of the working class in the context of mounting racist hostility to immigrant youth. This came to a head late last month at LO's annual fête in the town of Presles near Paris, where its goon squad assaulted some black youths. We print below a statement by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France denouncing this vile attack.*

To Organizations that Participated in the Lutte Ouvrière Fête:

Paris, 26 May 1991

On Monday May 20 toward the end of the afternoon about 6:15, 100 yards or so from the exit of the LO Fête on the road to the buses, about 30 persons wearing the armbands of LO "marshals" descended on three young blacks walking toward the buses, surrounded them and verbally threatened and physically manhandled them. Three or four "marshals" surrounded each of the youths, separating them from each other and pinning their arms behind their backs after brutally ripping the bags out of their hands. The three young blacks shouted "Let us go!" and demanded to know what they were accused of. Someone told them a bag had been reported stolen at the Fête. Every year during three crowded days about 10,000 people come to the Fête, which is held in a rural setting.

After the bags had been snatched away and lay, unopened, at the side of the road, the "marshals" continued to detain and manhandle the youths, who resisted. They were indignant: "Why us?", "You're

hurting me!", "You're breaking my wrist!" Suddenly, one of them was thrown to the ground and held there, face against the asphalt, by at least four "marshals." Two other "marshals" threatened to break the camera of one of our comrades as he was loading it with film. Besides our comrades, a dozen people leaving the Fête stopped to ask for explanations and to protest.

The youths later told us that, like many others, they had camped out at the Fête over the weekend. They said they had good relations with LO members in

charge during the Fête, had shared jokes with them and even given them a hand with the camp grounds. They probably won't come back next year. It is a very bad thing when the second generation of this country's "immigrant" working class does not feel welcome even in a gathering of the "far left."

After about ten more "marshals" arrived as reinforcements, the order was eventually given for the "marshals" to withdraw. Which they did, in military formation and moving backwards toward the entrance to the Fête, while two of



Integrated and militant French students protest against school conditions last November. Libération

the youths followed them still protesting their innocence and asserting that they had been treated this way because they were black.

None of our comrades witnessed any serious attempt to determine who the bags belonged to or whether the young blacks had committed the supposed theft. The youths' conclusions are incontestable. They were "guilty" of being black, and they felt physically threatened when they found themselves the target of some 30 whites arrayed in military formation. The deployment of force was so overwhelming, and so disproportionate in relation to the alleged accusation, that the operation clearly demonstrated LO's acceptance of the government's racist equation that "suburban black and North African youth = dangerous delinquents."

LO's notorious blindness to racist oppression has frequently led us to point out that in its search for support among the backward strata of the French working class, this organization could head down dangerous paths. The tone and content of a boxed announcement in the program distributed at the entrance to the Fête led one to believe that the LO leadership had prepared its "marshals" to behave like the "Presles contingent" of Operation Vigipirate [a nationwide police "vigilance" campaign targeting immigrant youth during the Gulf War mobilization]. Not only did LO put a ban on alcoholic beverages for the first time to our knowledge, as well as on drugs, but they justify their ban on drugs by citing the bourgeois state's criminalization of them.

We will not allow this vile attack to pass unnoticed by working-class organizations either in France or internationally, although no doubt LO will be much less concerned by the opinion of workers organizations around the world than by the fact that such an attack could strengthen its reputation in the "heart of France" (*la France profonde*) of which it is so enamored.

Suzanne Girard,  
For the Central Committee  
Ligue Trotskyste de France

## "New World Order"...

(continued from page 7)

world no longer produces TVs and radios, not to mention VCRs and microwave ovens—all of which come from the Far East or, more recently, Mexico. And in addition to imports of cars from Japan, Japanese manufacturers now produce over one-fifth of U.S. domestic auto output.

Meanwhile, the savings and loan associations have gone belly up—the estimated tab for the taxpayers is \$500 billion to make up for the losses on bad loans, looting by directors and the like. And the bank industry is in deep crisis: for the first time since the 1930s there is talk of a complete collapse of the system and fears of a run on the banks. The federal deficit was supposed to be reduced to \$79 billion this year under the Gramm-Rudman act, but instead it has ballooned to an expected \$318 billion, excluding the cost of the Gulf War. And of course in the space of this decade the U.S. has gone from being the biggest creditor nation to being the world's biggest debtor.

Decades of heavy military expenditures and the whole arms race certainly did much to push the Soviet Union into economic crisis, and thus to accelerate the decay of the Stalinist regime. But it also constituted a tremendous drain on the U.S. economy. There are also the effects of downright looting of American industry by the owners, who have responded to falling profits with the lowest investment rate among the imperialist countries (less than 5 percent of the net national product) and heavy international borrowing. In addition, Japanese and

West European industry has the advantage of being able to rebuild after the destruction of the last world war on the basis of the latest technology, whereas American plant and equipment are typically decades older.

There are various causes, but the effect is that the United States is threatened by competition from its imperialist (heretofore) allies. And the U.S. wants to alter these economic power relations with military means. American imperialism sought through the Gulf War to put its hand on the oil spigot, in order to be able to turn it off as needs be. As a result, the West Europeans, with the expanded German Reich in the lead, were not exactly ecstatic about this war, even though they as well as the Japanese import far more oil from the Near East than the U.S. does. These tensions point to worldwide trade war, and more.

In the short run, the American economy, and therefore the world capitalist economy, is threatened by a continuing recession. Fired up by war fever, the stock market began skyrocketing on the day the bombing of Iraq began, reaching the 3,000-point threshold on the Dow-Jones average, where it has hovered since. The *New York Times* claimed the recession was due to "a case of nerves," and would soon disappear as the country regained a sense of national purpose, confidence in U.S. technology, etc. The *Left Business Observer* (17 April) commented ironically: "Carpet-bombing has made Americans feel good about themselves, which will soon manifest itself in aggressive purchases of consumer durables."

Curiously, the magazine remarks on page 2 that "you don't have to believe in Marxian theories of a declining rate of profit" to understand the economic morass the U.S. is in, only to print on page 4 a graph showing the steady fall

of net (after-tax) profits of U.S. non-financial corporations from approximately 8.5 percent in the 1950s to barely 4 percent in the 1980s, and the inverse rise in the corporate debt (which tripled over the same period).

The banking/S&L crisis in the U.S. is not unique. In the 1980s, Japanese investors financed the huge deficits in the American federal budget, while West Germany regularly had a very large trade surplus with the U.S. But no longer. German capital is overwhelmingly taken up with the annexation of the former DDR (East Germany), which could cost an estimated 1.5 trillion dollars. The Japanese fear a financial collapse at home, where the Nikkei index last year lost almost 50 percent of its total (paper) value, and where real estate prices have been so inflated by speculation that their total (paper) value is four times that of the U.S. This bubble, too, could burst.

Under these circumstances, Washington was able to twist the arms of its "allies" and its puppet states in the Arabian peninsula to ante up \$54 billion for the Gulf War. In the end, the Pentagon may even be able to book a profit, due to the short duration of the war and because most of the weaponry and munitions were out-of-inventory and won't be replaced. But this exceptional case will not be repeated. The *Economist* (9 March) opined: "Some are attracted, others frightened, by a caricature of the new world order this might lead to. America thumps any country that gets out of line, shakes down its rich friends to pay for the mugging, gets a meek go-ahead from the cops in the UN and tells the Soviet Union to butt out." "Some such hubris is predictable," adds this mouthpiece for British capital, but warns that "America must reject unilateralism...."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## Leningrad...

(continued from page 5)

Hitler. In part this arose out of his view that the city was the mainspring and incubator of the ideology against which he was leading the holy Nazi crusade."

Following Lenin's death in 1924, the Thermidorian triumvirate under Stalin renamed Petersburg Leningrad and put the embalmed body of Lenin on display in the Kremlin mausoleum. They sought to bury the living program of Leninism while turning the dead Lenin into an icon. In *My Life*, Leon Trotsky recalled: "Against my protests, a mausoleum was built on the Red Square, a monument unbecoming and offensive to the revolutionary consciousness. The official books about Lenin evolved into similar mauso-

leums.... His embalmed corpse was used as a weapon against the living Lenin—and against Trotsky."

Today the campaign to reverse the name of Lenin's city is part and parcel of reversing the remaining gains of the revolution Lenin and Trotsky led. And no wing of the crumbling Stalinist bureaucracy offers a perspective capable of fighting the restoration of capitalism. The multinational Soviet proletariat defeated Hitler's legions; it can defeat the imperialist-inspired counterrevolutionary onslaught facing it today. But for that it requires the leadership of a genuinely Bolshevik party armed with the internationalist program which enabled the workers of Leningrad to make their mark on history. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! ■



# Long Island Black Youth Victim of Lynch Mob Assault

Once again a young black man was the target of a bat-wielding racist mob. On June 2, 17-year-old Alfred Jermaine Ewell attended a graduation party in suburban Atlantic Beach, L.I. where he talked with a white girl, a classmate at Lawrence High School. The racist punks asked her "Are you with that nigger?" and left to lie in wait for Jermaine.

They followed him when he left the party and walked to the boardwalk on nearby Atlantic Beach. When Jermaine was alone and his back was turned, they set upon him, delivering blow after blow with a baseball bat, until he was unconscious on the ground. For days he lay in a coma and his mother despaired of his recovery. "His life is gone," she said, "because of the color of his skin."

Because Jermaine Ewell is young and strong, he has a chance for recovery. Doctors have removed blood clots from his brain, and the high school football linebacker and track star nicknamed "The Streak" is now able to speak and move his right leg. A spokesman for Peninsula Hospital told *WV* on June 14 that he has been taken off the critical list. But the extent of his injuries is still unknown.

The attack recalled with chilling horror

the murder of Yusuf Hawkins, the black youth shot to death by a white mob in Bensonhurst two years ago. The racists mistook Yusuf for a black friend of a white Bensonhurst girl. Only eight of the more than 30 thugs were ever arrested, and only one was convicted of murder, the dimwitted Joey Fama, while ringleader Keith Mondello got a slap on the wrist and the rest walked. Jermaine Ewell's attackers were doubtless emboldened by these verdicts—a green light from the capitalist state for racist murder.

There are, however, significant differences between the attack on Jermaine and the Bensonhurst murder. In this case, appalled white students from Lawrence High first tried to stop the incident, when the racists threatened Ewell and the girl at the party. Later they ran to his aid when they saw him being beaten, a fact which probably saved his life. The community of Lawrence has rallied to meet the hospital bills, as Ewell's mother is a widow with no medical insurance.

Meanwhile, the town fathers rush to dismiss the incident as a fluke, denying any history of racial tension in the tony Long Island area of "Five Towns," just across the line from Queens. The cops

reported they were "investigating the relationship between some members in the group [which attacked Ewell] and TMR"—a Queens-based gang whose full name is "The Master Race" (*Newsday*, 5 June). Residents were annoyed by a protest march on June 8 led by the self-aggrandizing Al Sharpton.

"This isn't another Bensonhurst," sniffed one woman, "everyone's always gotten along fine." But in spite of all the "it can't happen here," it did. "There is a lot of fear," stated Jonathan Davis, the black director of Inwood Community Center. And Nassau County cops were all too eager to try to blame the black victim, claiming that Ewell may have had too much to drink at the "keg party."

The attack comes as the New York State Judicial Commission on Minorities recently released a 2,000-page report documenting that the New York state court system is "infested with racism." James C. Goodale, chairman of the commission, said: "There are two basic justice systems at work in the courts of New York State, one for whites and a very different one for minorities and the poor."

The same week Jermaine Ewell nearly died from a lynch mob attack, Spike



Alfred Jermaine Ewell

New York Times

Lee's new movie *Jungle Fever* opened in New York. *Jungle Fever* was filmed partly in Bensonhurst and dedicated to the memory of Yusuf Hawkins. It isn't a question of life imitating art, but the pounding reality of racist terror in America that gave rise to this non-coincidence.

Jermaine has been fighting for his life, but he will leave the hospital knowing he will never be called "The Streak" again. It is for all the Jermaine Ewells, the Yusuf Hawkins, Michael Griffiths, Federico Pereiras and David Cottos, for all those who have been victims of the racist mobs and racist cops, that we rededicate our efforts to sweep away the whole system of racist capitalist oppression. ■

## Parade...

(continued from page 1)

Though the NYC crowd was predictably largely white and suburban, the turnout of blacks—who had been conspicuous in their refusal to buy Bush's war—was notable. Given the large proportion of black troops, the insignificant number of U.S. combat casualties and the way JCS chairman General Powell is being touted as a black man who "made it" in this racist society, many blacks have bought the "pride" in the war line (70 percent as compared to 82 percent among whites, according to a recent

CBS/*New York Times* poll, though only 50 percent of blacks interviewed agreed the war was worth the cost). An editorial in the black weekly *City Sun* (12 June) commented with disgust on "the way people of color were used to score public-relations points for the power elite of this country which always has marginalized them."

Bringing up the rear of the NYC parade was a contingent of homeless veterans of the Vietnam War. One commented, "For me, it's like the parade we never got when we came home from Vietnam." These vets never got a victory parade because it was *the Vietnamese workers and peasants who were victorious*

against America's dirty colonial war in Indochina. And after seeing the Vietnamese stand up to the imperialist savagery inflicted on them, many GIs—especially blacks—became bitterly opposed to the war and committed to fighting for social justice here. Bush & Co. peddle the self-serving lie that returning Vietnam vets were "spat on" by antiwar leftists, as part of the "New Right" stab-in-the-back myth that the war was lost on the home front. In fact, as emerges powerfully from a book of letters from Vietnam vets compiled by Bob Greene (*Homecoming* [1989]), it was the American ruling class which spat on the Vietnam vets.

While some Viet vets claimed they had

been spat on by "hippies," many others wrote to say that neither they nor any of their GI friends had ever heard of such incidents. More to the point was the seething bitterness evident in most of the letters. One wrote: "Think about us veterans who are now dying of various conditions from the dioxin poisoning due to exposure to Agent Orange spraying by our government. Our own government is actually spitting on us because it will not do anything about helping to find a cure for us or care for us who have this service-related condition." Another added: "I was spit on by a society so numbed into complacency that were Vietnam just starting right now, no one would murmur a whisper. Except those 2 million vets who would be the 'hippies' this time by their disapproval of our involvement in such a war." Far from spitting on vets, leftists actively and successfully sought to win them and active-duty GIs to the antiwar struggle.

Today's victory celebrations have exposed the lies about who spat on returning vets from that earlier, *losing* war. Those maimed, ailing and desperate reminders of a war U.S. imperialism had lost were ill suited to serve as an ideological symbol of the might of U.S. imperialism. So they were contemptuously thrown on the slag heap to live out their wretched days in subway tunnels and homeless shelters. This time U.S. rulers want to use their "win" to smother the "Vietnam syndrome" in a sea of racist war fervor, so the returning troops are celebrated as war heroes. In reality, the "combat" amounted to little more than massive bombing attacks which wiped out electrical, water and sewage systems in Iraq, now threatening the lives of thousands of children with diseases such as cholera and typhoid.

The current chauvinist fervor may be broad, but it is also very shallow. Today, Washington and Wall Street throw the bone of patriotism to a population that has been ground down by union-busting and givebacks, mass unemployment, poverty and racist terror. And that's all that's waiting for black and working-class kids after they do their service as cannon fodder and the parades are over. For them and all working people, the war to be fought is a *class war* against the deadliest ruling class in history. ■

## GE Workers: Strike Against Health Care Takebacks!

Over 60,000 General Electric workers in 14 unions face the expiration of their contracts on June 30. Negotiations are currently under way in New York City between GE and the unions' bargaining team, including the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the United Electrical Workers (UE). The viciously anti-union GE offers paltry lump-sum "bonuses" while slashing real wages and attacking union organizing efforts (28 percent of GE hourly workers are not unionized). And pleading skyrocketing costs, the company is trying to sock workers with a much larger bite of their medical plan (already costing workers \$600 a year).

But GE is rolling in dough. Last year, they had over \$58 billion in revenues and over \$4 billion in earnings! Already in the first quarter of 1991 GE has raked in a billion in profits. *But where are the preparations for a national strike?* The last national contract meant givebacks in wages and benefits to the GE bosses. This time around, union locals have staged walkouts over the huge backlogs of grievances. IUE Local 707 workers at the Tungsten plant in Cleveland, Ohio carried out a two-day

walkout June 6-7 to protest work and pay grievances.

GE has been trying to intimidate Local 707 with threats to send 120 jobs out of Tungsten-Cleveland to its recently acquired Hungarian light-bulb company, Tungram-Budapest. GE's TV ads brag "we bring good things to life," showing glittering balls in Europe. But what GE has brought to Hungarian workers is the "market magic" of unemployment, speedups and "Boulwarism"—GE's own special version of Big Brother "employee relations" practices which try to brainwash workers to docilely accept and even like GE's exploitation. Their Budapest boss talked about putting the company "in fast-forward," and promptly slashed 5,000 out of 19,000 jobs.

GE is a big military contractor, and UE tops like to strut about professing to be "progressives," but when American imperialism was slaughtering over 100,000 Iraqis in the Persian Gulf, the *UE News* was plastered with yellow ribbons and calls to "support our troops." UE Local 332 leaders in Hudson Falls, NY wrapped "job protection" in red-white-and-blue patriotism and anti-

Mexican chauvinism, declaring "it doesn't show too much patriotism" to move "jobs out of the United States while the nation was at war."

Flag-waving and anti-Communism have always been the staples in GE's war on the unions. As the postwar McCarthyite witchhunt was getting under way, and after the 1946 GE strike, in which the UE shut down every single GE and Westinghouse plant in North America, GE chief C.E. Wilson declared: "The problems of the United States can be capiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, Labor at home." After Ronald Reagan ran a red purge in the actors union, General Electric picked him up to give Cold War anti-union pitches as host of its GE Theater.

The last major strike at GE took place during the Vietnam War. That hard-fought 101-day strike in 1969 was the first in a wave of labor struggles: auto, post office and Teamsters. "Strikebreaker, war maker—Smash GE!" was a popular chant picked up by union militants linking the struggle of American workers and the struggle against Washington's war on the peasants and workers of Vietnam.

A class-struggle fight against GE could ignite a fight by American labor—and build real solidarity *in action* with workers from Mexico to Hungary. We need a union leadership that's not afraid of the "S" word. Strike GE! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

# Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

assassinations of people just because they're black or they happen to be charismatic leaders in an organization that you don't like. The FBI didn't end up being any better than the Gestapo, the only thing they had on us were numbers."

Failing to assassinate him, the FBI then framed Pratt for the unsolved "tennis court murder" of Caroline Olsen, which had occurred in Santa Monica in 1968. His 1972 trial and conviction were engineered by the FBI and the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section, employing as their main instrument for the prosecution the testimony of paid FBI informant Julius Butler. Other Panthers who could have testified that Pratt was in Oakland with them on that date did not do so then because of what they now point to as COINTELPRO-exacerbated antagonism between opposing wings of the Black Panther Party.

## New Evidence Proves Pratt Was Framed

The petition for a new trial, filed by a legal team headed by attorney Robert Bloom and including Stuart Hanlon, Valerie West and Dennis Cunningham, clearly sets forth both new evidence proving Pratt's innocence, as well as evidence heretofore successfully suppressed by the government. Kenneth Olsen, the surviving victim of the 1968 murder, had made a positive identification of another man a year before the cops even showed him Pratt. But the results of the previous lineup "disappeared" from the case file, and the ID was suppressed by the prosecution. In a November 1987 exposé on CBS TV's "60 Minutes," four of five jurors from the 1972 trial interviewed were adamant that they would have voted to acquit had they known of this and Butler's police connections.


The petition for a new trial lays bare the workings of this vicious frame-up.

- Two former LAPD officers, Captain Ed Henry, and Sgt. DuWayne Rice, who was intimately involved in the frame-up, have stated that Julius Butler was an LAPD informant as early as 1966 and into 1969. Also, recent scrutiny of FBI documents shows Butler was also an FBI informant as early as May 1969, well into the time during which the FBI had targeted Pratt. Butler testified at the trial that he was never an informant. While working for the LAPD and FBI, Butler pistol-whipped a young Panther (which was stopped by Pratt) and machine-gunned the apartment of a leader of Ron Karenga's "US" organization.

- Other new evidence shows that the L.A. district attorney at the trial, Richard Kalustian, was an active participant in the operation against Pratt, deliberately concealing from the court the FBI's involvement in the case. This is a piece of the evidence that explodes the lie employed by the government for two decades that the LAPD and prosecution did not know about the FBI's operation against Pratt. It was on this claim that previous attempts to bring in testimony about COINTELPRO were excluded.



LAPD siege of Panther headquarters, 8 December 1969. Failing to kill Pratt, FBI/cops sought to bury him in jail.



## Warehouse Union Local 6


INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN & WAREHOUSEMEN UNION  
255 NINTH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 (415) 421-7326

November 6, 1989

**R E S O L U T I O N**

ILWU Local 6 again goes on record demanding the release of Geronimo Pratt. He is an innocent man, framed for fighting for his beliefs, fighting against racism, and attempting to empower people in their search for social and economic justice.

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social services union

american federation of nurses

SEIU local 535

WAREHOUSE December 5, 1989

William J. Bunnell, Warden  
Tehachapi Prison  
Tehachapi, California 93581

Mr. Bunnell:

On behalf of the executive board of SEIU Local 535, I write to you regarding the continued imprisonment of Elmer Geronimo Pratt, a man who has spent 19 years in prison for a crime he apparently did not commit. We are seriously concerned about the ongoing violations of his civil and human rights. Further, we join Congressman Ron Dellums and support House Resolution 109 calling for Pratt's "immediate release from prison."

Local 535 requests that Geronimo Pratt be provided the opportunity to speak before our executive board at its next meeting, February 3-4, 1990. Thank you for your consideration. We look forward to your reply.

JWR:jl  
opeu:29

James W. Ry  
President

## Union support for Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.

Kalustian is now an L.A. County Superior Court judge.

- A key piece of new evidence is the statement of former Panther Tyrone Hutchinson, who in 1970 told Los Angeles police that he had heard two associates of Julius Butler admit they had committed the Santa Monica murder. The cops carefully took down the information from Hutchinson at the time, and then threatened him that he'd better keep his mouth shut. He did, until now. This information was also completely—and illegally—kept from the defense and the court during the trial.

- Central to the prosecution case was a letter by Butler telling the police that Pratt had "bragged" about the murder. The prosecution maintained that the letter's contents were not revealed until October 1970, leading to Pratt's indictment two months later. But new evidence reveals that the LAPD and FBI knew of its contents since August 1969. So for 16 months the cops had this letter, a period in which Pratt was repeatedly arrested and acquitted on one trumped-up charge after another, *without the police ever charging Pratt for the murder.*

- Two private investigators who, pursuing a separate case, examined logs for FBI wiretaps of Oakland Panther headquarters have declared those records show a call received by Pratt at 5:30 p.m. in Oakland on 18 December 1968; the murder was committed at 8:00 p.m., some 400 miles to the south. These investigators had until recently incorrectly assumed that Pratt's lawyers knew of these FBI logs.

- Six former Panthers including David Hilliard and former national BPP chairman Bobby Seale have come forward to

testify that Pratt was with them at Panther headquarters in Oakland for meetings on 18 and 19 December 1968.

- Earlier litigation in Pratt's case had established, as does the new petition, that the FBI infiltrated Pratt's defense team during his trial. Now a juror has come forward describing how the jury foreman, during long, close deliberations, illegally pressured her, out of the presence of other jurors, to vote guilty.

## Vendetta Against Pratt Continues

In addition to the petition for a new trial in the California state court, an amended complaint was filed by Valerie West on June 3 in federal court challenging the continued persecution and harassment of Pratt by prison officials as a violation of his civil rights. To thwart Pratt's renewed court fight and an upcoming August parole board hearing, officials at Tehachapi prison have outrageously charged Pratt with "drug trafficking" on the word of unnamed "confidential" prison informant(s), and thrown him into "the hole" where he has languished since April 1.

This tactic is not new; as the civil rights complaint asserts, through 20 years of imprisonment, in order to justify holding him in solitary confinement and maximum security, transporting him cross-country in handcuffs and denying him parole status, Pratt was "falsely branded a 'cop killer,' 'escapee,' 'heroin user,' 'child kidnapper,' 'prison gang leader' and 'drug trafficker.' These baseless labels and repeated references to plaintiff's Black Panther Party affiliation are designed to harass and discredit him because of his political views and political associations, his efforts to expose his frame-up conviction and to chill his exercise of First Amendment rights."

Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel West explained that "the prominent, frequent use of the words 'Black Panther' in Pratt's prison file is prison system code to tell prison personnel any smear can be made to stick. It sets Pratt up for violence at the hands of prison guards. It is designed to break him, to keep him locked away for life."

The amended complaint is part of a lawsuit filed in September 1989 by West and longtime Pratt attorney Stuart Hanlon which successfully stopped Pratt's transfer to Folsom Prison where his life was especially endangered by the false charges in his file. Federal judge Stanley Weigel ruled that prison officials had transferred Pratt to Folsom in retaliation for his exercise of First Amend-

ment rights, and noted that Pratt was transferred one day after returning from Puerto Rico where he had gone under subpoena to testify about COINTELPRO in the defense of Puerto Rican *independentistas*. The judge also cited "the recent media attention focused on the alleged injustice of plaintiff's incarceration, triggered by the denial of plaintiff's parole on August 17, 1989 and the murder of former Black Panther leader Huey Newton."

In retaliation against Pratt for suing the prison authorities, and for his victory in the first round of the suit, prison officials moved Pratt to remote Tehachapi where he remains isolated from legal counsel, family and supporters. The federal court action seeks Pratt's release from "punitive segregation" within the prison, the removal of the lies from his file, and a halt to his punitive classification as a maximum security prisoner.

Over the past 20 years the courts have repeatedly refused to overturn Pratt's frame-up and conviction. During 1980 California Court of Appeal proceedings, two judges who had issued an Order to Show Cause to the government were suddenly removed from the panel. In a 1985 appeal, a full decade after the U.S. Congressional hearings publicly exposed COINTELPRO, the courts in Los Angeles refused to allow Pratt's attorneys to mention the FBI's program to destroy Pratt and the Black Panther Party. His last appeal, before a federal court panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees, was thrown out of court on a trifling legal technicality. Pratt has been denied parole *nine* times, for no reason other than his political convictions. At one parole hearing, in May 1987, an L.A. assistant district attorney railed about Pratt's "network" of supporters, and called him "a walking time bomb," raging that he "is still a revolutionary."

What is it about the Black Panther Party that renders the bourgeoisie apoplectic, that makes them, decades later, determined to keep Pratt and other surviving former Panthers locked away? The Panthers advocated black armed self-defense against the white ruling class' murderous cops who were then, as now, gunning down black youth in the streets daily with impunity. They knew that Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism meant passive acceptance of brutal oppression and they wanted to destroy that racist order. The thought of impoverished black masses with guns in hand—"black Viet Cong" to the bourgeoisie—sent waves of fear into corporate boardrooms. But tragically, the Panthers' perspective of black nationalism and lumpen vanguardism doomed them to isolation in the ghetto, cut off from the only road out of the nightmare of racist American capitalism: integrated working-class struggle led by a Leninist vanguard party.

In the end, the Panthers were destroyed by ceaseless police terror and poisonous internal factionalism inflamed by COINTELPRO. The Newton wing coming out of the 1971 split in the organization ultimately wholly embraced Democratic Party liberalism, "working within the system." Many within the guerrillaist Cleaver wing were picked off by the government. Like Pratt, other former Panther victims of ruthless state repression still rot in jail, including Ed Poindexter, W.M.E. we Langa (David Rice), and death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Dhoruba Moore was finally released last year, his conviction overturned, after a COINTELPRO frame-up stole over 18 years of his life.

## Codified Racist Terror, Legal Lynching

Geronimo Pratt will not be freed by legal defense alone. For more than a decade the courts, taking their lead from the Reaganite Supreme Court, have rubber-stamped every effort by the Democratic-controlled Congress and the Reagan/Bush governments to strengthen the apparatus of state repression. In the past four months alone a wide array of

# Poland...

(continued from page 4)

church has "too much influence." Meanwhile, the government of President Lech Walesa is becoming increasingly unpopular as it tries to push through its capitalist austerity program orchestrated by the International Monetary Fund and "Harvard Boy" Jeffrey Sachs. With average incomes of under \$150/month, where two black coffees and two mineral waters in Warsaw cost more than a day's pay, working people are resentful of priests riding around town in their Mercedes-Benz limos.

One woman political activist, Izabella Sierakowska, a member of the successor to the Polish Communist party, said a ban on abortion rights would immediately lead to a "new kind of gynecological underground." "The choice here is whether the road to Europe leads through Iran," she said (*New York Times*, 18 May). The analogy to Khomeini's Iran is not far-fetched. Since the fall of 1989, the church has succeeded in turning back four decades of secular law in Poland. The clerical hierarchy has persuaded the government to reimpose religious education in public schools, instituted broadcasts of Catholic church services on state television, taken back more than 1,200 church buildings and lands seized after World War II, and replaced political commissars in the armed forces with Catholic chaplains. As far as Cardinal Glemp and his bishops are concerned, the separation of church and state is a com-

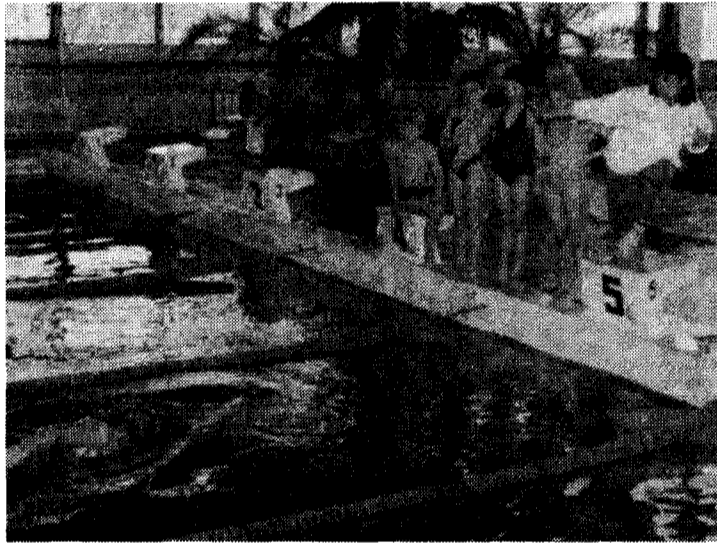
munist plot, and they mean to undo it.

While they were all brothers in anti-Communism, social democrats like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik and bourgeois liberals like Bronislaw Geremek have fallen out with a Catholic hierarchy that looks back to the Middle Ages as the heyday of religious fervor. (Kuron proposed a national referendum on the anti-abortion law; the bishops retorted that "good and evil" were not subject to a vote.) And capitalist free-marketeers are none too happy when the Pope rants against a "consumer society" in his evangelical crusade to "re-Christianize" East Europe and the Soviet Union. In its attempt to impose the most advanced ideas of the 14th century, Wojtyla's church seeks to whip up the social backwardness of a peasant society, artificially preserved by the former Stalinist rulers who feared to challenge the power of the clergy. But this smallholding peasantry is about to be wiped out under the hammer blows of the capitalist market.

## Workers' Resistance to Capitalist Starvation Plan

Walesa and his cabinet have gone all out to implement the IMF "shock treatment" in Poland. But the pervasive resistance to rolling back social gains was captured in an article in the *New York Times* (3 June), titled, "Factories With Amenities Hinder Poland's Stark Turn to Capitalism." This was focused on the sprawling Azoty chemical works in Silesia. Prime Minister Jan Bielecki recently visited the area, and the *Times* reported,

**Capitalist government complains that Polish factories still provide amenities for workers and their families. Swimming pool at Azoty chemical plant in Silesia.**



SZULECKI/NY Times

police-state measures have won the courts' approval. As Geronimo steps into the California halls of "justice" he is fighting on the racist state authorities' home court.

Early this spring the racists in black robes reasserted the state's prerogative to kill and jail for their own interests, by gutting the right of death row defendants to challenge the legality of their state convictions and sentences through *habeas corpus* proceedings in the federal courts. In the weeks that followed the savage beating of black motorist Rodney King by a gang of L.A. cops, seen by millions on videotape, Rehnquist & Co. did their utmost to enhance the bonapartism of these racist thugs—discarding a long-standing constitutional rule, the Court held that confessions given under police coercion do not invalidate a conviction; permitted the use of evidence tossed by

a fleeing "suspect" even though the cops had no basis to stop him in the first place; and gave approval for police to hold a person in jail for 48 hours without a determination whether there was even cause for the arrest.

Longing for the era of the Warren Court, when a series of decisions put some teeth into the protections of the First, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendments, and when abortion was made legal, liberals have long viewed the courts as a favored instrument of social reform. It wasn't persuasive legal argument that won those rights, but social struggle—millions on the streets in civil rights battles and protests against the U.S.' dirty war in Vietnam. And as the Reagan/Bush years have demonstrated, no social gains under capitalist class rule are irreversible.

Thousands of anti-racist individuals and organizations have taken a stand for Geronimo's freedom. United-front rallies initiated by the PDC have brought together trade unionists and civil rights activists demanding Pratt's freedom. Amnesty International has repeatedly recognized Pratt as a political prisoner. Congressman Ron Dellums has sponsored a Congressional bill calling for his release. The Oakland-based International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has publicized the case. Support for Pratt has consistently broadened in the ranks of labor over the last several years, particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area where the ILWU longshore/warehouse union has helped to enlist support. Resolutions passed in 1990 by the Alameda and San Mateo County

**Walesa's visit to Paris in April sparked protest. Our French comrades' signs called for right to abortion (in Polish) and declared "Walesa, Anti-Abortion, Anti-Semite, Anti-Worker, Running Dog of Imperialism."**



"What he saw chilled him to his free-market bones."

"It still conducts functions so typical for a socialist enterprise," Mr. Bielecki lamented in an interview. "They have an indoor skating rink, a very nice swimming pool, culture center, soft drink bottling plant and a very nice laundry. They maintain 1,000 free factory apartments, heat 80 percent of the town and still make a profit."

In contrast to the former East Germany, where wages have been raised somewhat while millions have been thrown out of work (and onto the dole or the disguised unemployment of the "short workweek," for fear of a social explosion), in Poland the capitalist government has opted to keep the wheels of state-owned plants turning, while driving real wages to starvation levels through inflation. But if they also eliminate the remaining factory-centered social benefits, they risk a social explosion.

Working-class resistance is growing. A general transport strike paralyzed Warsaw in May. Garbagemen in the capital stopped work for a week, leading to a trash emergency. Copper miners in Lubin struck demanding a doubling of their wages. Then on May 22, Solidarność held an unprecedented protest against the government it brought to power. The protest ranged from eight-hour strikes in Warsaw factories to work stoppages by workers in mines, factories and steelworks across the industrial south. But

this was essentially a maneuver to avoid being outflanked by the much larger ex-Stalinist-led unions of the OPZZ, which are gaining influence. The OPZZ, in turn, has been staging monthly protests as a pressure tactic on the capitalist regime.

With the collapse of bankrupt Stalinism and now the consequences of Solidarność' counterrevolutionary program thrown into sharp relief, the time is more than ripe for forging the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski was formed last fall by militants who through the experience of the last decade were won to the International Communist League, which back when Walesa & Co. were darlings of the left (and of Ronald Reagan) dared to tell the truth and said: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" In its paper *Platforma Spartakusowców* and at workers' demonstrations, the SGP has emphasized the defense of women's rights as central to the fight against capitalist restoration, insisting: "Workers Must Mobilize to Defend Women's Abortion Rights!"

Today, as Polish society reels in the throes of counterrevolution, it is urgent to bring this program of revolutionary internationalism to the class-conscious workers, to the women struggling for their most basic rights, and to the youth who are the future of Polish communism. ■

Central Labor Councils, representing tens of thousands of workers, call for Pratt's freedom.

To workers striking to defend their jobs and their unions, those who fight to defend the right to abortion, those who opposed the U.S.' bloody massacre of Iraq, anti-racists everywhere, we say:

hard class struggle is needed to defeat the barrage of reaction now hitting minorities, workers, women and youth. And the time is now to fight for Geronimo Pratt who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system from behind bars for too long. Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! ■

## Pack the Courtroom!

Geronimo has a hearing on the emergency motion to file an amended complaint in his ongoing federal lawsuit. Thursday, June 27, 2:15 p.m., Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco. Judge Stanley Weigel's courtroom. Be there! For more information contact the PDC at (415) 839-0852. Lawsuits are extremely costly—we're up against the resources of the state. Send contributions, earmarked Geronimo Pratt Defense, to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## New Trial Demanded for Former Black Panther

# Geronimo Pratt Freedom Now!



WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt has spent over 20 years in jail, victim of racist frame-up conspiracy by cops and FBI against Black Panthers.

For 20 bitter years, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt has been held in the pure living hell of California's prisons for a murder that everyone, especially the state, knows he did not commit. What the FBI and LAPD wanted was Pratt dead; if not dead, then shattered by prison "life" including eight years so far of solitary confinement, two decades of torment. But Pratt is a man still fighting to prove his innocence and expose the government frame-up, and still fighting for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

Now, with dramatic new evidence exposing his frame-up, Geronimo Pratt has taken his fight back to court with the June 3 filing of a *habeas corpus* petition for a new trial in California state court. He has also filed an amended complaint in federal court in San Francisco demanding a halt to prison officials' stepped-up attacks on him because of his political views and now because of his public efforts for a new trial.

Among the new revelations are statements by two criminal defense investigators who saw FBI wiretap records showing that Pratt answered the phone at a Panther's home in Oakland less than three hours before the murder took place in Los Angeles. Statements by former L.A. police officers say that the main witness against him, Julius Butler, was an LAPD informant since 1966, and documents from FBI files prove that Butler was also a federal informant much earlier than was previously acknowledged. In addition, six former Panthers including Bobby Seale have submitted affidavits that Pratt was at party meetings in Oakland at the time of the murder.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have called Geronimo Pratt "America's foremost class-war prisoner." To his many supporters, like the trade unionists, former Black Panthers and Vietnam veterans who attended a June 3 press conference in San Francisco to announce the new legal actions, he is a symbol of the struggle against the virulent racism that is the bedrock of American capitalist society. And because he is also regarded as that symbol by the state that wants him destroyed, it is ur-

## COINTELPRO Revelations Confirm Frame-Up

gently necessary to mobilize now, to demand "Freedom for Geronimo Pratt!" As PDC counsel Valerie West said at the press conference, "all people who are oppressed, particularly black people in this country, win when he wins, when he is vindicated."

### COINTELPRO: Campaign of Racist State Terrorism

The FBI's COINTELPRO ("Counterintelligence Program") provocation operation in the 1960s aimed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of black power groups and other militant organizations such as the American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican independence fighters and antiwar groups. In part modeled on programs

to disrupt and repress the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party in the 1940s and '50s, COINTELPRO directed 293 operations against black groups. Of those, 233 targeted the Black Panther Party, which the maniacal FBI director J. Edgar Hoover called the "greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S."

Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered outright by COINTELPRO. Those Panthers the government failed to simply gun down in cold blood, they framed in the courts, jailed and threw away the keys. From May 1967 to December 1969, the Panthers were hit with 768 arrests and almost \$5 million in bail bonds (see Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]). Not a few bourgeois figures built their careers over the bullet-riddled corpses

of the Black Panthers: Contragate co-conspirator Edwin Meese presided over the war on the Panthers as Governor Ronald Reagan's top cop in California; Richard Held, a COINTELPRO specialist who played a major role in targeting Pratt in L.A., went on to lead the FBI task force that seized 16 Puerto Rican militants in August 1985, and now heads the FBI in San Francisco.

In early 1969, just after Geronimo Pratt became a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, he was designated a "Key Black Extremist" by the FBI and targeted for "neutralization." Immediately Pratt was elevated to "Priority I" status on the National Security Index of those deemed by the government to pose a "threat" to the government. An FBI circular in May 1969 called for charging Pratt under the anti-Communist Smith Act with seditious conspiracy and insurrection. And behind these designations was naked state terror.

Two days before he was gunned down in his bed by Chicago police, Panther leader Fred Hampton had been in L.A. meeting with Pratt. Four days later, in an identical early morning raid, they came for Pratt. On 8 December 1969, Los Angeles Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Pratt was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed. At a New York PDC forum in April 1989, then *Amsterdam News* reporter and former Panther Harold Jamison recalled, "The only reason Panthers weren't shot was because of Geronimo Pratt. He had been a fortification expert in Vietnam, and he taught the party how to stay alive."

Wesley Swearingen, the former FBI agent who several years ago revealed that the Los Angeles FBI wiretap logs which could have proved Pratt's alibi (and innocence) in his 1972 trial were "missing," was recently asked by a CBS News team to explain the FBI's actions against Pratt. He replied:

"I can't. How do you explain an organization like the FBI putting an innocent man in jail for 20 years or plotting

continued on page 10

### FBI/COINTELPRO Memorandum, 28 January 1970

Operation Number One is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by ELMER GENARD PRATT, BPP Deputy Minister of Defense for Southern California, and JOHN WILLIAM WASHINGTON, an active member of the BPP in Los Angeles.

### L.A. FBI Report on Geronimo, 26 June 1970

It is noted, however, that constant consideration is given to the possibility of the utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing PRATT as an effective BPP functionary.

### L.A. FBI Memorandum, 7 November 1969

For the information of the Bureau, BUTLER was extensively interviewed on 11/4/69, by SA [redacted] and [redacted], at which time he stated he was willing to provide information to the FBI on a confidential basis. Results of the interview will not be disseminated at this time, as additional contact will be made with BUTLER to determine his potential as a PRI.