

For Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense Against Racist Terror!

New York at the Flashpoint

SEPTEMBER 12—They stood for hours in the blistering sun outside Glover Memorial Baptist Church in East New York for the funeral of Yusuf Hawkins, the 16-year-old black youth shot pointblank by a lynch mob in Bensonhurst. The overflow crowd of 2,000 was overwhelmingly black, ranging from teenagers to elderly churchgoers. A contingent of unionists included 1199 hospital workers and several busloads of NYNEX phone strikers wearing black armbands in memory of union steward Gerry Hogan, killed on the picket line by a scab's car.

The cops had the mourners penned up, with police sharpshooters menacingly stationed on surrounding rooftops. When the Hawkins family emerged from the church, the crowd

formed up and marched behind the hearse; one woman called out to neighbors to come along because "It could be your son next." They buried Yusuf Hawkins in Evergreen cemetery on Bushwick Avenue, not far from the grave of another victim of a racist mob, Michael Griffith, chased into the path of a speeding car in Howard Beach in 1986.

Black activists had called for a "Day of Outrage" the next day, and 8,000 turned out at Grand Army Plaza, where they faced a crescent of NYPD motorcycle cops. They marched down Flatbush Avenue chanting "Yusuf! Yusuf!" But when they tried to march across the Brooklyn Bridge, cops swooped down at the entrance to the bridge, beating up protesters in the front lines of the march.

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Sheppard/Daily News

Cops brutally beat black marcher on Brooklyn Bridge as protest over racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins headed toward City Hall. White racists (right) taunt black demonstrators in Bensonhurst.



Franco/NY Times

No to the Democrats/Republicans! Build a Workers Party!

Bush's "Drug War" Targets Latin America U.S. Narcs of the World

President George "Poppy" Bush says he wants an escalated "war on drugs," and now the country is being pushed toward a dangerous military mobilization. Already aircraft and scores of U.S. military "advisers" have been sent to Colombia; a presidential directive allows them to take part in patrols. Soon we may be watching pictures on TV of U.S. soldiers torching peasant huts, as in Vietnam. "Drug czar" William Bennett is talking about sending in American combat troops and strike forces. Democrats in Congress say Bush's plan doesn't go far enough and talk about shooting planes out of the sky. At home, Bush's program, as he said in his first prime-time TV address to the nation, is "more prisons, more jails, more courts, more prosecutors." And also more black

and Hispanic youth gunned down and beaten to death by the cops as the racist rulers try to run America's ghettos and barrios like a police state.

As usual, Congress and the media snapped to attention for their commander in chief. TV, radio and the press daily blared out headline stories about the nation's "number one problem"; soon there came the inevitable polls showing Americans' "concern" in exact proportion to the size of the media barrage. Congress chimed in too: the house "opposition" Democrats' only complaint was that Bush's proposals aren't "tough" enough and expensive enough—they want to raise taxes to pay for it all. Sounding like a modern Scrooge, who suggested that the problems of the poor should be

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Helms/Compix

Customs service drug cops in Florida with Black Hawk attack helicopter. "Drug war" means more police terror.



WV Photo

Boris Yeltsin and the Vulgar Charm of the Bourgeoisie

Boris Yeltsin, the "radical" advocate of Soviet market "reforms," arrived here September 9 for an eight-day, eight-city speaking tour of the United States, at \$25,000 a shot. Speaking at Columbia University on September 11, Yeltsin positively glowed about his instant love affair with Bush's racist, capitalist America. He'd been taught that "capitalism is in the process of rotting away," Yeltsin sneered, but "the first thing I have seen is that capitalism is flourishing."

Yeltsin gave a hearty thumbs up as he viewed the Statue of Liberty from a helicopter. The "poor and huddled masses" don't get to fly over in a helicopter,

though—they are hunted down at the Mexican border by racist cops. Yeltsin marveled as he strolled through the "brass-and-glass atrium" of Trump Tower. Of course the homeless and people with AIDS who demonstrate for housing outside Trump's palace are driven off by police. Describing a chance meeting with a group of homeless people in midtown Manhattan, Yeltsin opined: "They were complaining the Government does not give them a place to live, but while they were protesting, they seemed quite good-natured" (*New York Times*, 11 September). Homeless but happy, huh, Boris? Try living in a devastated New York ghetto or a crime-

ridden "shelter" for a couple of nights.

Yeltsin found America a veritable bosses' paradise—not surprising, given that he's being fêted by the likes of David Rockefeller. He's also itching to meet with Bush, explaining to the Columbia audience: "Perestroika has got to be saved and I think the United States could participate actively in this process." Like Bush and Rockefeller, Yeltsin insists that the Soviet Union needs "pluralism"—as Moscow party chief in 1987, this pluralist even entertained a delegation from the Great

Russian fascists of Pamyat. But when he was challenged by one questioner at Columbia to meet striking American workers, Yeltsin gave a discreet thumbs down.

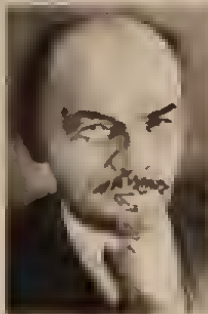
The Spartacist League had a literature table outside the Columbia meeting displaying a placard which read, in Russian and English, "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" alongside a picture of the two leaders of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule for the first time in history. Notwithstanding the subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin/Bukharin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—an accommodation to imperialist capitalism on a world scale, from which Gorhachev's market "reforms" flow—we defend the Soviet Union against counterrevolution from within or without. As communists in capitalist America, we'd like to see the homeless *take over* Trump Tower; we seek to mobilize labor and the oppressed to fight racist terror. We take inspiration from the Russian Revolution, as we struggle for the day when the socialist revolution will triumph in this country. ■



TROTSKY

For Workers Political Revolution in China!

In seeking the road to oust the venal and corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese workers can look back to their revolutionary past. Peng Shu-tse was a leader of the Chinese Communist Party in its revolutionary, Leninist period in the early 1920s; an opponent of the Stalin-mandated capitulation to the bourgeois Kuomintang of bloody Chiang Kai-shek; and a veteran leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement,



LENIN

which was subjected to vicious repression under both Chiang and Mao. The key to the Chinese proletarian political revolution, whose program comrade Peng laid out in 1960, is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

...at present in China, as in Russia, the Eastern European countries, North Korea, and North Vietnam, it is impossible to carry out democratic reforms. The right road, and the only possible one, is political revolution. The following program for political revolution should be proposed by us:

1. End the special privileges of the bureaucracy. Down with the new aristocracy (including the "labor hero" or "model worker") and its rankings. Greater equality in wages for all forms of labor. Strict observance of the eight-hour day. Greater efforts to raise the living standard of all laborers.
2. Fight for freedom of choice in union and factory committees, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press.
3. In line with the interests and the will of the peasants, thorough reorganization of the communes....
5. Replace the "People's Congress" with worker, peasant, and soldier soviets, excluding not only bourgeois elements but the bureaucratic aristocracy, limiting the delegates in the soviets to workers, peasants, and soldiers.
6. Ban all parties and factions of the bourgeoisie. All parties that accept socialism must be granted legal recognition and the right to conduct political activities.
7. Abrogate the foreign policy of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence"; substitute the strategy of pushing forward the world revolution.
8. Together with the worker-peasant masses in the Soviet bloc, overthrow the system of Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship and restore or establish socialist democracy.

In fighting for the above program of political revolution, we Trotskyists, standing with the masses, resolutely and unconditionally defend the existing socialist property and planned economy against imperialism, particularly any intervention or invasion of China engineered by American imperialism.

Long live socialist democracy!

Long live the world revolution!

—Peng Shu-tse, "On the Nature of the Chinese Communist Party" (April 1960)

Trotskyism continues the Bolshevik tradition. Spartacist table at Columbia University, September 11.



Knife-Wielding Scabs Attack Hispanic Strikers

HAYWARD, California—In a small, hard-fought strike, predominantly Hispanic women are battling to unionize a bakery in this East Bay town. After two months, and despite a brutal attack by knife-wielding scabs that sent three pickets to the hospital, the strike remains solid.

The strike began on July 11 when the owners of the New Life Bakery fired 14 workers and laid off 13 more in reprisal for their signing union cards authorizing Local 164 of the Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers to represent them. At that point 65 production workers, most of them female and Hispanic, went out on strike. Most workers at this sweatshop get the California minimum wage (\$4.25 per hour) and nothing else—no vacation, sick leave, pension or medical benefits.

On August 8, sixteen men, led by the owner's two sons, charged out of the bakery into the picket line. Twelve women were on the picket line along with two men, Ignacio de la Fuente, Local 164 International representative, and Enrique Reyes, a striker. The goons slashed de la Fuente above the left eye and Reyes was knifed in the head and stomach, injuries requiring 18 stitches. The women were punched and 68-year-old Margarita Vargas was knocked to the ground and kicked. She was admitted to the hospital bleeding and in shock. The cops arrived, confiscated the scabs' knives—which were still bloody—but have refused to make any arrests.

The hated *migra* (Immigration and Naturalization Service) has also

been used against the strikers. As soon as the picket line went up, a cop threatened to get strikers deported. The August issue of the Alameda County AFL-CIO's *East Bay Labor Journal* reported that a Guatemalan striker "vanished the first time he checked in for a regularly scheduled INS interview following the start of the strike."

On August 18, three hundred unionists turned out for a mass picket called by the Alameda Central Labor Council to protest the scab assault. The pickets were met by Hayward police with clubs and riot gear, as scores of other cops assembled nearby. But the Labor Council tops' only response was to plead that the cops were "overreacting," while telling strikers and their supporters to let the scabs enter. Now the bureaucrats' "strike support" consists of pleading with storeowners to take New Life organic cookies and pop tarts off their shelves!

Last April, the Hayward cops and their ex-cop mayor mobilized to give Klansman David Duke's "Populist Party" a platform at the city's library, a provocation which was called off at the last minute. Now, they think they can run roughshod over Hispanic women strikers. *But only because the powerful integrated labor movement of the Bay Area hasn't been brought out to show these racist labor-haters what workers power can do.* For mass picket lines to send the scabs and thugs packing! Teach these cockroach capitalists a lesson. Organize the unorganized! Win the New Life strike now!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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China and the Left

The mass outpouring of defiance in Beijing and cities throughout China last spring heralded proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy led by Deng Xiaoping. The imperialist press tried to paint the protests in Tiananmen Square as pro-Western, and equated the students' "goddess of democracy" with the Statue of Liberty. While the student protests surely contained confused and contradictory elements, their main thrust went in the *opposite* direction from that desired by imperialism. People who repeatedly sang the socialist anthem, the *Internationale*, even as they marched out of the square under the guns of Deng's tanks on June 4, were not seeking to restore capitalism. What terrified the bureaucracy was the dramatic mobilization of hundreds of thousands of *workers*, defending the students against martial law repression and showing their own outrage over the unemployment, inflation and gross inequality spawned by ten years of "building socialism with capitalist methods."

As the protesters sat in Tiananmen Square on the eve of the crackdown, many were acutely aware that their vague program of pressuring the bureaucracy for reforms, centering on greater political democracy and against corruption, was leading nowhere. The Beijing massacre starkly underlined the need for a clear *class* program for proletarian political revolution and *soviet* democracy. Yet much of the left internationally basically echoed the imperialist lies, either promoting illusions in bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Stalinist bureaucratic rule, or else denouncing the protests as pro-capitalist and whitewashing the Deng regime. As we wrote in the wake of the June 4 massacre (*WV* No. 480, 23 June): "The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard."

No Glasnost for Gus

In the case of Gus Hall's Communist Party USA, the Beijing Spring provoked some "two-line struggle" at home. In the 25 May *People's Daily World* Hall asserted that "the working class has not joined in the actions." But *PDW* Moscow correspondent and former longtime editor of the West Coast *People's World* Carl Bloice reported from Beijing that as early as May 16 "hundreds of thousands of local residents...began pouring into the streets," that "public transit, taxi and trucking workers had already begun to hit the pavement. By May 19, many more workers had gone on strike, and large rallies were under way almost constantly in neighborhoods where mostly workers live." Insisting that "it was hard to find a demonstrator arguing for a multi-party system or opposing socialism," Bloice denounced the brutality of Deng's crackdown as "simply incomprehensible. Nothing I saw in Beijing could justify it" (*PDW*, 6 June).

But two days later—still "omitting" any working-class involvement—Hall justified the massacre: "The attempt of some students to turn it into a challenge for political power was behind the demands for some government and Party leaders to resign. Refusal to observe the martial law imposed to restore order directly challenged the government. On this basis, the Chinese Party leaders called it a 'counterrevolutionary rebellion.'" Yet that same day, June 8, CP leader James Jackson spoke in New York, noting that the students were singing the *Internationale* and, accord-

ing to an account in the 13 June *PDW*, he saw "no justification for the excessive use of force by the military. Such a confrontation of 'guns against ideals' could only result in 'tragic phenomena,' Jackson said."

While many younger CPUSA cadres seem to groove on glasnost, Hall prefers the staid old Kremlin lockstep instead of

Hall in condemning the Chinese workers and students. Following the Tiananmen Square massacre, *Workers World* (15 June) cheered that the "socialist government" in China had "asserted its authority...and withstood a violent counter-revolutionary rebellion." The Marcyites retailed the lies emanating from the Forbidden City about a "pro-



the new beat of Gorbachev's "openness" and has linked up with conservative Ligachevite bureaucrats in the CPSU. At the CP's "ideological conference" in Chicago over the weekend of July 14, Hall made it clear there was to be no glasnost here. He reportedly opened the conference by decreeing all talk of factional differences to be false, declaring there was a party consensus on China and so there was no need for a discussion on the subject. Spartacist supporters distributing our articles on China were told: "There's people here who might want to talk to you, but it's like the brain police around here." No doubt, A lot of CPers must find it hard to stomach Hall's whitewash of the Beijing bureaucracy after its years of virulent anti-Sovietism.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party was, if anything, more Stalinist than

imperialist bourgeois movement" and violent "bandits" attacking "workers and peasants in uniform" before the government crackdown. The Marcyites even presented Bush as a character witness for Deng, taking "careful note" that Bush praised the Chinese army's "restraint." A curious response from Mr. Imperialism to the suppression of a "pro-imperialist movement," isn't it, Sam? The White House certainly sought to exploit the Beijing massacre for anti-Communist propaganda, but was leery of endangering its anti-Soviet *military alliance* with Deng's "socialist government."

The hallmark of Marcyism is its gung ho support for the suppression of workers' uprisings against Stalinist rule in the deformed/degenerated workers states—exemplified by Marcy's support to the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revo-

lution—under the cover of promoting "global class war" against imperialism. But the Stalinist program is *global class collaboration*. And the Marcyites are no slouches when it comes to class collaboration in their part of the globe, snuggling into the hip pocket of "progressive" capitalist politicians like Jesse Jackson every chance they get. If these cynical Stalinoids ever had a shot at any real influence in Democratic Party circles, you can bet their quirky apologies for the Beijing bureaucrats would go straight into the shredder.

For Workers Soviets in China!

Given the heterogeneity of the Chinese "Democracy Movement" and the vagueness of its demands, it is not surprising that pro-capitalist elements were to be found within it. But unlike the overseas students in the United States and West Europe, the Beijing protesters' demands were directed not toward "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution but at securing a Chinese version of glasnost: for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to demonstrate, and disclosing the private bank accounts of the top bureaucrats. Hours before the crackdown, student protesters took a vow to give up their lives in the cause of "pushing forward our nation's process of democratization" and "to protect the Republic" (*London Guardian*, 26 June). The autonomous workers unions which began springing up, notably in Beijing and Shanghai, called for advancing "the economic and political needs of the working class" and "guarantees that the worker will be the real master of industry."

A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard in China would have fought to dispel illusions in Western-style "democracy" and sought to *polarize* the politically confused movement, counterposing to Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism and "market socialism" a program for centralized economic planning under *proletarian* democracy. Our tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), proclaimed:

"What the Chinese working people urgently need is *genuine communism*, a genuinely Marxist and Leninist communist party to replace the bureaucratic regime with *workers and soldiers soviets* at the head of the poor peasantry. Instead of the nationalism of the Chinese Stalinists from Mao to Deng, which has led China into a counterrevolutionary military and diplomatic alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union and Vietnam, what's needed is *communist unity against imperialism*."
—*WV* No. 478 (26 May)

This article was published under the watchwords: "Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!"

After decades of Stalinist perversion of communism, it is understandable that the Chinese workers and students did not formulate their demands in clearly defined class terms. But some self-anointed Trotskyists deliberately blurred the line between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. At a forum on China in New York City on July 11 United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel raised the call for "pluralist democracy" and linked it to "total and complete support" for the "democratic

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WV Photo



Workers World



WV Photo

CPUSA chairman Gus Hall (left) and Workers World Party honcho Sam Marcy (center) condemned Beijing protests as "pro-capitalist" and whitewashed Deng's crackdown. Fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel (right) promoted illusions in "pluralist" bourgeois democracy.

Hypocrisy and Gloating After the Killing of Huey Newton

Why Racist Rulers Targeted The Black Panther Party



Black Panther Party's advocacy of black armed self-defense terrified ruling class. Huey Newton with Bobby Seale (far left) in 1970. Police and FBI unleashed vendetta killing dozens, jailing hundreds: 1970 police raid on New Orleans Panther office (right) wounded seven.

OAKLAND—The murder of Huey P. Newton, co-founder and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, produced an outburst of racist gloating by the bourgeois media here as they covered up the bloody destruction of the Panthers at the hands of the cops and FBI. "Huey Newton's Fall —'Prime Minister to Bum'," headlined the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The Oakland *Tribune's* "evenhanded" account labeled Newton alternatively "visionary" or "thug." The media played the theme that those who live by the gun die by the gun. Thus the *Tribune's* Andy Rooney gleefully proclaimed: "Huey Newton Was His Own Victim."

Three thousand miles from the Panthers' home base of Oakland, the *New York Times* adopted a more ambiguous posture, while peddling the same deadly lies. Dripping with ruling-class hypocrisy, a 23 August obituary kept referring to "Dr. Newton," as if his signal achievement was to get a Ph.D. An editorial the next day on "The Black Panthers' Two Paths" refers to Newton as "one of a gallery of young 'revolutionaries'." They haughtily dismiss the young black militants who dared to stand up to the daily racist violence of the trigger-happy cops. And the racist rulers of this country trained their sights on that "gallery," as the FBI's bloody COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) gunned down 38 Panthers and imprisoned hundreds on trumped-up charges. It was this *state terrorism* that the whitewash *Times* delicately said "put the Panthers out of business."

At one time Huey Newton personified militant advocacy of armed black self-defense. The *Times* editorial states he was "eventually" let go for the killing of an Oakland cop in 1968 after a defense campaign which attracted tens of thousands of black and white radicals to "Free Huey" rallies. Newton was acquitted for this murder rap after three trials and after spending two years in jail. The *Times* editors never mention how the cops put several bullets in his stomach, and had to be held at bay in an emergency room of a hospital to prevent them from killing him on the spot.

And naturally they say nothing about

how the feds fabricated evidence and perjured testimony in order to "exhaust and demoralize" the Panthers, as a memo of the FBI's San Diego field office put it, "even if actual prosecution is not successful as far as convictions are concerned." An instruction from Hoover's HQ advised FBI agents that since the "purpose...is to disrupt...it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge." 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]).

To his dying day the Oakland cops hounded the former Panther leader. "I rode with him, and police still followed him," recounted a friend of Newton's. "We were both almost 50 years old,

jackets, shotguns and rifles," the Panther militants "looked like white America's worst nightmare come to life." Perhaps it was a shock at the time for many whites and blacks that a black organization had sprung up that made Martin Luther King look like Mother Teresa. But which part of "white America" experienced the Panthers as its "worst nightmare" to the point of killing them in their beds while they slept, shooting up their headquarters and unleashing the FBI murder machine to exterminate them? It was the rich capitalists and their political representatives in the halls of Congress, in the Pentagon, the CIA and FBI, who mobilized their repressive state apparatus to kill Panthers.

But it's not only the racist rulers who fear and hate militant black struggle

riences of the black labor organizers of the '30s, black communists and the Southern community activists who laid the ground work for the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr." But while King and the social-democratic and CP labor organizers subordinated blacks' demands to the Democrats, the Panthers' militancy and efforts at independence from the racist bourgeois parties won the admiration of many who had fought during the civil rights movement to bury Jim Crow in the South.

Rise and Fall of the Panthers

The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops. They sought to strip away the deeply felt sense of powerlessness of the oppressed black masses, particularly in relation to the impunity of the cops in gunning down blacks on the streets of Oakland, and throughout America. Their original name was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

The Panthers were a direct response to the failure of the liberal, pro-Democratic civil rights movement embodied in M.L. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to make any serious dent into the bedrock of black oppression when that movement went north in the mid-'60s. As early as Birmingham in 1963, masses of blacks had begun to junk King's "turn the other cheek" philosophy in battles against Bull Connor's cops and police dogs. Beginning with the series of ghetto explosions in the North against police brutality, dilapidated housing, inferior segregated schools and medical care (Harlem '64, Watts '65, Newark and Detroit '67), the most militant blacks embraced the call for "black power," seeking to find a way out of the racist hell of American capitalism.

Many of these militants were inspired by Malcolm X. Although he was not a Marxist basing himself upon working-class struggle, Malcolm advocated armed black self-defense against racist attacks, and opposed the deceitful, treacherous and venal Democratic and Republican politicians. When Mal-



Armed Black Panthers demonstrated at California state capitol to protest gun control bill, 2 May 1967.

but everywhere we'd go, there would be police behind us" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 August). When Newton was murdered on August 22 by a 25-year-old drug dealer, you can bet that they were whooping it up at the Oakland station houses and elsewhere.

The *Times* claims that "with black berets atop wide afros, black leather

against racist attacks. Commenting in the 23 August Oakland *Tribune* on the demise of the Panthers, "progressive" black columnist Brenda Payton pontificates that "there was a tragic flaw at the heart of the organization. It sprung out of a fundamental arrogance that would prove fatal." The Panthers, according to Payton, should have learned "the expe-

colm X was assassinated in 1964, the bourgeoisie and their mercenary press like the *Times* gave a big hurrah.

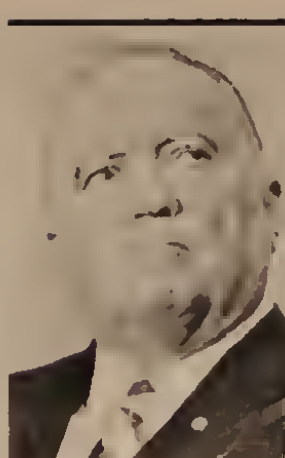
The Panthers—heirs of Malcolm X—first gained national attention in 1967 when they showed up armed at the California state capitol in Sacramento. They came to protest the Mulford bill, which was referred to in the local press at the time as the anti-Panther bill. Before that it was legal in California to carry a loaded weapon in public as long as it wasn't concealed. The Mulford bill (named after a politician who resided in Piedmont, a wealthy white enclave in the Oakland Hills) was drafted to disarm the Panthers who had begun carrying guns and also law books to stay the hand of the racist cops. For daring to assert their democratic right to hear arms, the racist state arrested, beat, jailed scores, underscoring that it is the bourgeoisie which holds state power and asserts its "right" to monopolize the means of violence.

The *Times* says that the Nixon crowd took the Panthers' "fighting words" as the reason to wipe them out, while in the next breath implying that the black radicals provoked armed "confrontations" with the police. The white ruling class and its murderous thugs in blue implemented a savage campaign to destroy what then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover called the "greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S." A predawn raid by the Chicago police and FBI killed Illinois Panther leader Fred

hostile to normal workaday society must become irresponsible, individualistic, and ultimately cynical and contemptuous of the mass of working people" ("End of the Black Power Era," *WV* No. 4, January 1972). In the end, the Panthers were destroyed not only by police terror from without but a murderous internal factionalism inflamed by COINTELPRO provocations.

A key role in the rightward degeneration and demise of the Black Panthers was played by the cynical operators of the Communist Party, especially its legal apparatus. Beginning in 1969, the Stalinists influenced the Panther leadership in launching a "united front against fascism," an attempt at political collaboration with the liberal establishment against the Republican right. A few years later Newton & Co. were talking about the relevance of the black church and black capitalism. In 1973 Bobby Seale ran for mayor as a Democrat, and in 1976 Newton joined the NAACP. Even today Oakland black Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson can praise the "good side" of the Panthers for the work they did in garnering crucial votes in his first election campaign.

In the late '60s-early '70s, the Panthers were so sacrosanct in radical circles that any criticism of them was met with shrill accusations of racism. In the face of the widespread hero worship of Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and other leaders, the Spartacist League polemicized against the Panthers' notion of



FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO targeted Panthers, other black leaders like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COINTELPRO PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

Nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. To unify these is strategic; a true coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Black Nation" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. There might have been such a "messiah" in the early days of the movement today. He is the party's greatest threat because of his ego. He is less of a threat because of his ego. He is a very real contender for this position should he succeed. His supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrine" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism, has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, also, a goal of our investigative activity; it should counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community.

Mumia Abu-Jamal who is on death row, have rotted in prison for years. It is no mere coincidence that those ex-radicals who have made their peace with racist capitalism have hardly uttered a word in defense of their former comrades, especially in regard to Geronimo Pratt, the foremost class-war prisoner in the U.S. today.

Pratt was in the Cleaver "urban guerrillaist" wing in the '71 split as opposed to Newton's pro-Democratic wing. At the time Newton bought the vicious COINTELPRO-engineered lie that Pratt was out to kill him and take over the Panther leadership. He refused to testify at Pratt's frame-up trial for murder and withheld the Panthers' substantial financial and legal resources from the defense effort. Finally, about a year ago Newton admitted that if he had supported Pratt in 1972, the former L.A. Panther leader "wouldn't be in prison today." Nonetheless, the liberal/reformist luminaries who attended Newton's funeral, making speeches and slapping hands, could shout "Free Huey" as he lay in his casket, saying nothing about the remaining Panthers tortured by long imprisonment in the various prison hellholes in the U.S.

Smash Racial Oppression!

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense represented the high-water mark of black radicalism in recent American history. Despite the Panthers' macho image, a large number of young, radicalized black women were active in the organization, although they played little role in the leadership due to the party's pervasive male chauvinism. Tragically, a whole generation representing thousands of young black militants was isolated in the ghettos, cut off from the only road to black liberation: the road of integrated working-class struggle led by a multi-racial Leninist-Trotskyist party.

Many blacks reacted to Newton's

death with a sense of sorrow and admiration for what the Panthers stood for. Millions yearn today for a nationwide radical black organization militantly championing black freedom. Black sociologist C. Eric Lincoln observed sadly: "It's hard to discover what you might call a movement today. The sense of movement is certainly not as pronounced as it was 20 years ago or even 10 years ago. The movement has become...moribund" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 27 August).

Ultimately, Newton and the Panthers failed because black liberation is impossible without smashing the racist capitalist system. Today more than ever, in the face of the genocidal policies of the ruling class, race- and class-conscious black workers and youth must reject the pro-capitalist illusions and schemes of misleaders who counsel support to the Democrats, suicidal race confrontation and the despairing politics of separatism. It is a sign of the absence of any credible black leadership that admitted FBI informers like Al Sharpton, demagogues like Farrakhan and Sonny Carson, or black overseers like Jesse Jackson are presented as "leaders" of black people—they are obstacles to liberation.

To wage and win the fight for black freedom, the key is leadership—a revolutionary party willing to mobilize black, Hispanic and white workers in defense of doubly oppressed minorities and for the common class interests of all workers. The potential for powerful anti-racist class struggle has been shown in exemplary actions initiated by our small socialist organization to stop KKK provocations, bringing out thousands including black unionists and youth in America's major cities. To carry these self-defense struggles forward to lasting victory, we need a multi-racial workers party, fighting to break the power of the racist system forever and achieve the integration of all races in an egalitarian, socialist society. ■



Doug Harris

SNCC-organized Lowndes County (Alabama) Black Panther Party in 1966 stood for independence from the Democrats and for self-defense against racist terror.

Hampton (who was asleep in his bed) and 17-year-old Mark Clark. A few days later a police SWAT team launched a three-hour, predawn barrage against the L.A. Panthers headquarters, aiming to kill Geronimo Pratt in his bed. The racist American bourgeoisie fears armed black self-defense because it challenges the state's monopoly on the means of violence, raising the spectre of a general unraveling of entrenched bourgeois power.

Despite the genuine radicalism and personal courage of many militants, the Panthers never found the only road leading to the destruction of the racist bourgeois order. As self-declared "revolutionary nationalists," the Panthers shared with the predominantly white, student-centered New Left a rejection of the centrality and strategic social power of the integrated labor movement in the struggle against brutal racial oppression and imperialist war as well as capitalist exploitation. Instead they proclaimed the lumpenproletariat, especially street-wise ghetto youth, as the vanguard of the American revolution. As we wrote shortly after the Panthers underwent a violent and fatal split in 1971:

"To avoid the Marxist contention that the organized working class is the key revolutionary element, the Panthers came up with the theory that black lumpens are the revolutionary vanguard, and that all employed workers, black and white, have been bought off by the ruling class."

We warned that "a political movement which isolates itself in a social milieu

lumpen vanguardism and argued that black nationalism, even in its most radical form, was a utopian dead end. We also denounced their physical gangsterism against other leftists and challenged their rightward plunge into the Democratic Party. At the same time, we staunchly defended Panther militants against state repression, then and now.

Free Geronimo Pratt and Other Former Panthers!

The 24 August *Times* editorial praises those former Panthers who have "metamorphosed into members of the black middle class and the establishment," such as Bobby Seale and Bobby Rush, who is a Chicago alderman. This is the correct path according to the Sulzbergers and today's misleaders of labor and blacks. They lament that "Huey Newton could never quite make the turn" from the "prison of the streets." Then he could have been added to the "gallery" of yesterday's black radicals who came in off the streets to join hands with the white ruling class and their apologists. In exchange for personal perks, they now line up blacks to "work within the system," by relying on the racist capitalist state and the Democratic Party of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of the internment of Japanese Americans, the party of Vietnam, of Bull Connor, Boss Daley and Ed Koch.

Meanwhile, their former comrades like Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba Moore, Ed Poindexter and David Rice, like

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New York...

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and attacking pallbearers carrying two symbolic coffins of Yusuf Hawkins and former Black Panther leader Huey Newton, gunned down on an Oakland street the week before. The cops wanted to keep the black marchers from surrounding City Hall, or even setting foot in Manhattan. Like the racist mobs in Bensonhurst, who screeched epithets and held up watermelons in front of black demonstrators, the police prohibition of black marchers crossing Brooklyn Bridge carried the same racist message—that their "turf" is "off limits" to blacks.

As the mayoral race heated up to the September 12 Democratic primary, the real election in NYC, racist attacks mounted daily. On September 7, there was a second assault on minorities in Bensonhurst: two Chilean workers who had recently moved into the neighborhood were set upon by racist punks who beat them, screaming, "Get out, Spanish!" And on September 9 in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx, the cops methodically beat and kicked to death a black "unarmed mugging suspect," Henry Hughes. Horrified witnesses were held away at gunpoint when they tried to respond to the man's screams for help. "He was lying on the ground and they kept hitting him," said Maria Jiménez, who saw the murder from her fifth floor window. "I felt I should call the police, but this was the police," she said. Now the lying Medical Examiner's office is claiming that Hughes didn't die from the killer cops' blows, even as the police admit using nightsticks, kicks and Mace.

As the lynch mobs and racist cops rampage, blacks are increasingly isolated and prey to nationalist demagogues. If this course is not reversed, events are pointing toward race war. *The situation cries out for the integrated workers movement to mobilize in defense of blacks and other minorities whose lives are daily in danger!* With over 1.2 million members, NYC unions have the power. And repeatedly over the last several months we have seen the potential for militant class struggle in mass demonstrations of tens of thousands of hospital and telephone strikers—black, Hispanic and white. The ghettos and barrios of New York are seething with outrage, crying out for leadership. But instead of bringing out integrated, working-class power to teach the racists a lesson and make the streets of New York safe for everyone, this anger is being channeled into the dead end of bourgeois electoral politics.

Mayoral Mayhem

As the Bensonhurst racist murder brought New York to the flashpoint, the charged mayoral election increasingly focused on the politics of race. The campaign was already plenty ugly, as only racist pig Ed Koch could make it. In the final weeks the Democratic race came



Massive cop presence tried to stop 8,000 black protesters in "Day of Outrage" from marching over Brooklyn Bridge to Manhattan, August 31. Paramedics (right) surround Yusuf Hawkins' body following lynch mob murder, August 23.



down to a dead heat between Koch and his liberal black opponent, Manhattan borough president David Dinkins. Koch played to white racist reaction, while Dinkins appealed as a "unifier" who could heal the escalating racial tensions in this city. On September 12, Dinkins won a majority, with 94 percent of the black vote, 56 percent of Hispanics and 30 percent of the white vote as well. Even most of those who voted for Koch had something positive to say about Dinkins.

So there probably won't be a big backlash heading toward the general election where Dinkins runs against the Republican candidate Rudolph Giuliani, the former federal prosecutor. Given New York's pre-eminent economic position, you're not going to see "white flight" or a flight of capital from the city. The unions were key to the victory of the liberal Democrat Dinkins—this organization and power could be marshaled instead for a real class alternative: a *workers party*. Nothing will fundamentally change with a black capitalist mayor, but for now the city may be a little more civil, and at least there won't be an abrasive insulting voice at the top. The cops won't like it, and they could try to whip up a racist reaction, with bona-

partist mobilizations of police power and "voting with their clubs" by brutally beating and victimizing blacks and Hispanics.

It says a lot about life in New York, a city battered by rudeness and hostile aggression, that Dinkins scores popularity points simply by acting polite. After Koch's pyrotechnics, for many people, boring is better. His calculated remark in the 1988 presidential primary that Jews "had to be crazy" to vote for Jesse Jackson backfired as Koch was condemned for whipping up a racist backlash. And Dinkins—a black machine pol, DSA social democrat and supporter of Israel—has significant support among liberal Jewish voters. All that, of course, was *before* the murder of Yusuf Hawkins. Koch played to the racist vote, lashing out *not* at the lynch mob, but against the black protesters who marched to Bensonhurst. At the Yusuf Hawkins funeral, the angry black crowd booed Koch, Cuomo and Rudolph Giuliani alike. The Zionists responded by complaining about the presence in the church of Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan. And the *Daily News* blared, "The Heat Is On—Black, Jewish Voters the Key."

The Dinkins Democrats mobilized to

pull out black voters heavily on September 12. And their election machine is based above all on the unions: his campaign is run out of the Local 1199 hospital workers' hall by Bill Lynch, an adviser to new 1199 president Dennis Rivera. Dinkins is as close as they have come to a popular-front candidate in years. Not only is he supported by the DSA labor bureaucrats, such as Stanley Hill in AFSCME DC 37 and Jan Pierce in the CWA, he's also got the backing of the Central Labor Council under Van Arsdale Jr. and even of the SDUSA Reaganite social democrats such as Sandra Feldman of the UFT. But a black Democrat in City Hall will not, and cannot, reverse the tide of racist terror and union-busting. The lynch mobs, scabherders and killer cops reflect the bipartisan war of the parties of American capitalism against minorities and labor.

Both the *New York Times*, in endorsing Koch instead of Dinkins, and *Newsday* in endorsing Dinkins said they were afraid he couldn't control labor. In a 3 September editorial, the *Times* was "astonished" that Dinkins, who had "already won substantial labor support," was now suggesting "rethinking the Taylor Law, a powerful deterrent to municipal strikes." Dinkins quickly backed off and responded that he wouldn't "give away the store to labor" (*El Diario*, 7 September). And you can bet that faced with the prospect of a transit strike that shuts down NYC or a citywide hospital strike, this "friend of labor" will use the machinery of the bourgeois state against it, just as liberal black Democrats Andrew Young in Atlanta and Coleman Young in Detroit have done. And the racist mobs and killer cops will not be stopped by a new mayor any more than they were by black police chief Benjamin Ward.

Only an independent mobilization of the working class uniting behind it the ghetto masses can stay the hand of the race-terrorists and labor-haters. We need a class-struggle workers party championing the cause of all the oppressed.

Bensonhurst Backlash

Beyond its utter wantonness, the murder of Yusuf Hawkins shocked New York by taking the lid off the seething cauldron of race-hate that Bensonhurst loudly displayed in the following days. Every racist stereotype was shouted out before TV cameras. Over and over, residents blamed 18-year-old Gina Feliciano for "provoking" the killers by dating black and Hispanic guys, while pointing to the despicable gang rape in Central Park to excuse racist murder. Collections were taken up to defend the lynch mob, the "cugeens" (New York Italian street vernacular for "corner boys"). Crowds of several hundred whites hurled abuse and spit on black marchers who dared to walk through the neighborhood. Reminiscent of anti-busing racist mobilizations in largely Irish South Boston during the '70s, they claimed they were defending the neighborhood against outsiders.

It's the mentality of racist backlash, a lashing out by poor white losers who feel threatened by any assertion of rights by minorities they consider "below" them. A feature article on Bensonhurst in the 5 September *Village Voice* profiled the racist punks hanging out on the corner of 81st Street and 18th Avenue. Here, most of the guys "spend their time puning after city jobs" while the "die-hards... strive for a position in 'La Cosa Nostra'." A Brooklyn legal aid attorney who grew up there, Bob Massi, said, "The Italians who are there now have moved from other parts of the city. It's white flight—the last Italian neighborhood." He went on:

"A generation ago we were working in construction and the skilled trades. We were printers, bricklayers, longshoremen. Those jobs are not so well-paid now. Those industries are gone. The kids are up against an economic brick wall. The world is a computer that has



Break with the Democrats, build a workers party! Democratic mayoral candidate David Dinkins with Governor Cuomo (left). Koch's cossacks of PBA endorse their chief (right).

no unions and all they have left is the neighborhood."

In the language of the Reagan/Bush White House, they complain that civil rights legislation has produced "reverse discrimination" in favor of blacks.

Yet a recent study shows that traditional patterns of racial discrimination in favor of whites in city jobs have returned with a vengeance. In 1986, 80 percent of those in municipal agencies earning below \$20,000 a year were blacks and Latinos, while 76 percent of those earning over \$43,000 were white men. White males held 90 percent of all craft jobs, and even Koch administration figures show that, in 1987, 71 percent of new-hires in skilled craft jobs were white, 12 points higher than in 1977 (CCS Institute for Community Empowerment, *Employment Segmentation in New York City Municipal Agencies* [1989]). In fact, the old job-trusting construction and skilled trades are much the white preserves that they were. But with the decline in New York City's industrial base, the number of blue-collar skilled jobs has shrunk drastically. And increasingly the "white-collar" clerical and professional jobs require some college.

So the "boys of Bensonhurst" take out their frustration by "going over to the Village to heat up some yuppies," by a murderous assault on Yusuf Hawkins and his friends, by howling against the black marchers who assert their right to walk in "our streets." Whoever is the mayor, the capitalist government isn't about to squelch the racist mobs. Its police are heavily recruited from the same milieu that produced the Bensonhurst killers, and its cutbacks of jobs and social services spawn racist reaction. A powerful show of force by an integrated labor movement, however, could stop the racist mobilization in its tracks. And a class-struggle fight for jobs for all, through a shorter work-week with no loss in pay; for quality low-rent public housing; for rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of New York with a program of massive public works under union control—would go a long way to deflate the racist frenzy and isolate the hard-core cases.

Black New York Under Siege

If white working-class neighborhoods like Bensonhurst feel squeezed, blacks in homed-out ghettos like East New York, where Yusuf Hawkins lived, are fighting for survival. With the scourge of drugs, AIDS and a resurgence of diseases of poverty like tuberculosis; with homicide the leading cause of death for young black men; with government plans to throw hundreds of thousands of ghetto mothers off welfare and throw their sons into prison camps—black people in America are facing a crisis approaching genocide. Government statistics show black income hack down to 60 percent that of whites, and chronic black unemployment remains steadily double that of whites, even during periods of relative economic recovery. But these figures do not include the millions of black people driven out of the labor market permanently or who have never worked and have no prospects of a job. In New York



New York Times



Washington/NY Times

Life in New York, 1989: hotel queen Leona Helmsley (left) flaunts her millions, while poor and homeless scratch for survival by collecting cans.

today only 12 percent of black youth hold jobs, and that's not because they're in school.

With a generation of black youth under siege and lacking any direct experience of integrated struggle in the civil rights movement, nationalist demagogues are increasingly getting a hearing. Following the Hawkins murder, self-admitted FBI informer Al Sharpton, who was wired by the cops to spy on black leaders, has sought to become the spokesman for the family. While liberal-nationalist lawyers Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason have been discredited by the miserable Iawana Brawley hoax, an older generation of cultural nationalists has stepped into the vac-

One figure who was cheered at the Hawkins funeral was black director Spike Lee, whose film *Do The Right Thing* sharply focused attention this summer on relations between the races in New York City. Lee has identified himself strongly with Farrakhan and came to the Hawkins funeral in the Muslim dress of dark suit and bow tie. Enthusiastic youth surrounded him chanting, "Do the right thing, do the right thing." Lee spelled out what that meant for him in a *Daily News* (1 September) column, "The Right Thing: Self-Defense, Vote." To underscore that point, on the Sunday before the primary he stood with Dinkins as grand marshals of the African-American Day

nationally, the average black household has less than one-fourth the overall net worth of white households. Trump's racist arrogance is one measure of the widening gulf between rich and poor, white and black, which has brought New York City to the edge.

While Trump lives lavishly in his pink marble Towers, between 70,000 and 90,000 New Yorkers are living on the streets. Why? The media wants to blame it all on mental illness and drugs. But a new report, *Worlds Apart: Housing, Race/Ethnicity and Income in New York City, 1978-1987*, points out the simple fact that the homeless can't afford to pay the escalating rents. Housing affordable for the bottom fifth of the population—approximately 1.4 million people, whose real income has fallen by 11 percent in the last decade—is rapidly disappearing. The number of vacant low-rent apartments (under \$300 per month) dropped by 72 percent while the number renting for \$750 and up more than doubled. Evictions increase, families double up, individuals move into SRO hotels and shelters as a "transitional move"...to the street. Meanwhile, between 1972 and 1982, more than 192,000 people were thrown off welfare even though the amount of poverty in the city drastically increased. Today in New York two out of five poor families do not receive welfare or any form of public assistance. They become the homeless.

And the most impoverished by virtually every standard—unemployment, income, education, housing—are the Hispanic population, particularly Puerto Ricans. While the overall poverty rate in New York City in 1982 was 24 percent, for blacks it was 35 percent and for Hispanics 45 percent. A 1984 study on *The Changing Face of Poverty* noted that the real incomes of Puerto Ricans nationally fell by 22 percent during the 1970s, and even more precipitously in New York. The Hispanic population of New York City is now one-quarter of the total, equal in number to blacks. But unable to afford New York City, new immigrants from Central America and the Caribbean are being forced into the aging industrial suburbs of New Jersey. This is behind the escalation of murderous police terror against blacks and Hispanics that has led to explosions in Morristown, Perth Amboy and most recently Vineland, New Jersey.

Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense to Smash Racist Terror!

As racial tensions boil in New York, the most integrated social force in the city is organized labor. Transit workers, hospital workers, city employees, hotel and restaurant workers are all heavily minority and many unions now have black and Hispanic leaderships. And this workforce is growing in consciousness and willingness to struggle. In July and August alone there were three demonstrations of 10,000-30,000

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WV Photo

Militant hospital strikers of Local 1199 rally August 14. Integrated labor movement is the social force that can defend minorities and defeat racist attacks.

uum. The August 31 "Day of Outrage" was led by Sonny Carson, who leads vigilante squads against Korean merchants; and by Jitu Weusi (Les Campbell), who played a major role in splitting the black community from the unions and whipping up anti-Semitism during the 1968 teachers strike.

Also prominent has been the sinister Louis Farrakhan, who brought a hundred of his Fruit of Islam marshals to the Yusuf Hawkins funeral. But as an article by black historian Playthell Benjamin in the *Village Voice* (15 August) notes, Farrakhan has been consciously shifting his appeal away from his ghetto base to the black middle class. Farrakhan understands, writes Benjamin, that "there's only so far he can go with a membership rooted in the lumpenproletariat and working poor." He has focused particularly on black college students at schools such as the University of Pennsylvania and UMass Amherst where they are under siege from New Right racists. Few are likely to actually join Farrakhan's repressive puritanical sect, Benjamin notes, but "The response of black students to this white reaction is a heightened sense of racial solidarity and a turn toward black nationalist politics."

parade in Harlem. So the flip side of Lee's nationalist "fight the power" posturing is channeling black support into the Democratic Party, which administers official racism and cop terror in every major city of the U.S.

New York, New York, It's a Hell of a Town

On August 30, Yusuf Hawkins' funeral was the second story on local TV news. Top spot went to Leona Helmsley, who was found guilty of tax evasion in funneling millions of dollars from the Helmsley real estate empire into her Greenwich, Connecticut mansion. With the downfall of this hateful queen of greed, the crown will pass to Ivana Trump, whose husband is one of the real estate megamoguls who have financed Koch over the years, and reaped the benefits. After the murder of Yusuf Hawkins, Donald Trump appeared on an NBC special on race relations saying that if he could be born again, he'd like to come back as a "well-educated black," grotesquely claiming blacks "have an actual advantage" in society. Yet in NYC, college-educated blacks have a higher unemployment rate than white high school graduates! And

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U.S. Narcs...

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solved by sending them to prisons and workhouses, Bush's answer is to lock up the victims. Gone are the days when politicians at least paid lip service to the social and economic roots of drug addiction—poverty, unemployment, racism. Today the ruling class has only one answer: the armed fist of the state.

Back in the '50s, the ideological excuse for domestic repression and foreign military adventures was the so-called "Communist threat." That ploy sank in the rice paddies of Vietnam. After Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" moral rearmament crusade, Ronald Reagan invented the "terrorist threat," which became the "Libyan threat" whenever he needed to bomb someone unpopular. Now Bush is pushing his "drug war." As James Ridgeway summed it up recently:

"In the Bush era, dope is replacing communism as both the rationale for American hegemony abroad and for a crackdown against minorities and dissidents here at home. Where 'national security' and 'terrorism' once were enough to get an FBI investigation going against U.S. citizens, now it's all in the name of epidemiology."

—The Straight Dope,

Village Voice, 12 September

Target: Black America

There are all sorts of code words—the "hard-core drug users," the "inner-city problem," etc.—to signal that the domestic targets of this campaign are black people and other minorities. On ABC-TV's *Nightline* (5 September) Ted Koppel—reporting from Lorton jail outside Washington, D.C. with a group of prisoners in a drug treatment program—noted that 75 percent of drug users are white, but "as I look around here, nothing but black faces.... Why so many blacks in prison on drug charges, relative to the number of whites who are using drugs on the outside?" He noted that "the casual user who lives in the white community, who has a \$30,000-, \$40,000-, \$50,000-a-year job... doesn't have to go hold up a liquor store in order to get the money to buy it." One black

prisoner, Lindberg Smith, fed up with the "Just say no" pontificating of the Reagan/Bush crowd, laid it on the line:

"It's almost a crime, the way the government incarcerates and confines with no opportunities involved.... Then we look back at the things like the reversal of affirmative action, and we look back at things like vetoing the minimum wage proposal, and we wonder why people go out and sell drugs and things. And then you look at all the countries where people are poor, as well as here and South America or the Andean nations. Some people are selling drugs because they're hungry. When morality is confronted with hunger, then, you know, hunger wins out, because you cannot be moral and be hungry."

For "inner-city" blacks, drugs are an escape from a reality too horrible to face, especially on an empty stomach:



"Drug war" targets black America. Left: eight-year-old looks on as mother and two brothers are arrested for "possession."



Right: SWAT team drug raid in Florida last year.

Starr/Picture Group

for some it is a way to make a living. As the *Wall Street Journal* (8 September) headlined: "Earnings at Fast-Food Chains Pale Next to Opportunity of \$1,200 a Day in Crack." For the middle and upper class, drugs are more often just a way to relax and have fun, whether it be the legal drug alcohol or illegal marijuana. For stock market high rollers the drug of choice is high-grade cocaine while ghetto users are strung out on crack, the drug of the desperate. Yet street crime could probably be cut in half overnight simply by decriminalizing drugs and handing them out free to addicts, as we advocate. But such a measure would fly in the face of bourgeois "morality"; more importantly, it would undermine the whole rationale for increased police repression.

Even the British *Economist* (2 September) has enough bourgeois rationalism to recognize that "Prohibition does not work": "It turns an issue of personal choice and health into a crisis of criminality." These haughty spokesmen for finance capital want to legalize drugs *and tax them* (solve the budget deficit crisis). But as Russell Baker wrote in a recent column advocating legalized drugs, this solution is distasteful to "the substantial classes who write the laws" (*New York Times*, 6 September). "Instead we get the usual dynamic nonsolutions": "more extensions of police power, more muscle, more crack-down." The political strategy: "talk bang-bang, get re-elected."

Bush's plan provides a pretext for targeting the ghettos. A typical Chicago police raid shows the jackboot coming down:

"In a scene of controlled pandemonium, 60 police officers surrounded a building in the Rockwell Gardens project by 8:30 am, arriving without notice.... Housing Authority employees... led a door-to-door investigation of all apartments and common areas in a search for drugs, weapons and illegal residents."

"Meanwhile, other workers erected a steel-mesh barrier around the ground floor to create a controlled entryway and a manned security checkpoint.... All legitimate residents were lined up to get photo identification cards. Those residents who were not listed officially on the lease—mostly men—were not allowed back into the building."

—Newsday, 5 September

Under Operation Cleansweep, hundreds of black residents have been unable to qualify for the Housing Authority's South Africa-style "passes," because their common-law marriages are not sanctified by the state. So they are thrown out among the homeless. Entire families have been evicted due to the alleged presence of drugs in their apartments. This is the kind of Gestapo-like tactics that Bush and drug czar Bennett want to implement around the country.

The Latin American Connection

The media claims that Bush's drug plan will "shift the focus" of the "war on drugs" from the foreign arena to the domestic scene. Actually this is a cover-up: part of the plan is classified, the part

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unionists, and on Labor Day more than 100,000 marched with large contingents of Eastern Airlines and NYNEX phone strikers. As NYC comptroller Jay Goldin noted, "This is the most grievance-related parade I've seen since the air traffic controllers were on strike in the early 1980s."

To talk about the possibilities of mobilizing labor in defense of minority

rights today is not abstract, but very real. We pointed in our last issue to the call by TWU militants, following the 1982 murder of black transit worker Willie Turks in Gravesend, for this strategic union to organize hundreds of flatbed trucks filled with thousands of black, white and Hispanic union members to patrol the streets of South Brooklyn. An idea of the power that such a force of workers defense guards would have riding through the streets could be seen at the Caribbean Day festival as the big tractor-trailer rigs

paraded down Eastern Parkway. Consider the impact of scores of these 18-wheelers rolling slowly up 81st Street and 18th Avenue in Bensonhurst, loaded this time not with steel bands but with hundreds of unionists from transit, hospital, city workers, all equipped to "have a baseball game," as the Bensonhurst street punks put it. The racist terror on the streets would stop short fast.

There is a history in New York to labor participation in protest over racist police brutality. In 1966, black and Hispanic outrage over cop riots in the ghettos forced liberal Republican mayor Lindsay to propose a civilian-controlled review board to hear complaints about the police. Police groups denounced even this sop and mobilized a white backlash that divided the city along racial lines. Nevertheless, even in that charged atmosphere more than 50 union leaders backed the review board, as a ballot proposal became a referendum on racism. A National Maritime Union official was busted by the cops while driving an NMU-sponsored sound truck urging support for the measure. The reformist review board proposal was defeated, but the campaign showed the potential for integrated, labor-centered action in the face of a racist offensive.

The recent history of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist terrorists shows that it can be done. In Philadelphia last November, the Partisan Defense Committee together with the Spartacist League initiated a union-based campaign that drew the support of over 300 labor and community groups and spiked a threatened march

by KKK and skinheads at Independence Mall. Every one of the successful mobilizations—Detroit in 1979, San Francisco in 1980, Chicago and Washington in 1982, Philadelphia in 1988 and Atlanta this year—altogether bringing out upwards of 15,000 participants, has been built over the opposition of the Democratic Party machines, often headed by black mayors, who tried to sabotage or even ban militant, integrated action against the racist lynchers.

Meanwhile, the labor tops undercut the struggle against racist attacks and even defense of trade-union rights, wages and working conditions in order to boost Democrats into office: sentiment for strike action among 1199 members has been channeled into Dinkins support rallies. Class-conscious and anti-racist militants in New York should begin now organizing committees within the unions for a workers party to galvanize labor in struggle to champion the cause of minorities and all working people. That means cutting across racial divisions and a fight down the line against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and all those who would give support, open or backhanded, to the parties of capitalism. Examples of militant workers organizing along such lines are provided by the Committee for a Fighting TWU in New York's powerful, integrated transit union and the Labor/Black Leagues for Social Defense being organized in cities around the country. Such committees will lay the basis for a new, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement and a powerful workers party to lead the fight for socialist revolution. ■

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

which deals with international affairs and intelligence, and it was approved by the White House National Security Council (NSC), the agency for the Iran/contraplot and other schemes. Americans were fed up with military adventures after the Vietnam War, but polls show that they might buy an intervention in Latin America if it was disguised as a "war on drugs." As noted by Mary Jo McConahay and Robin Kirk in the February/March issue of *Mother Jones*, the war on drugs "may be... the perfect counterinsurgency cover." They cite an article by Colonel John D. Waghelstein, former chief of U.S. advisers in El Salvador, writing in *Military Review*:

"The United States is faced with one aspect of insurgency in Latin America that offers the greatest threat but one which may yet provide us with a weapon with which to regain the moral high ground we have appeared to have lost. There is an alliance between some drug traffickers and some insurgents... a melding in the American public's mind and in Congress of this connection would lead to the necessary support to counter the guerrilla/narcotics terrorists in this hemisphere."

The so-called "narco-guerrilla alliance" between left-wing insurgents and drug traffickers is a U.S. invention. But as Waghelstein notes, emphasizing such a connection would make it difficult for Congress to "stand in the way"—the problem Colonel North tried to get around. But then North was up to his nose in the drugs-for-guns business.

Now Colombia has become a prime test case in this new strategy. In the space of 48 hours last month, drug cartel assassins killed the police chief of Medellin, an important judge and the leading Liberal party candidate for pres-

ident, Luis Carlos Galán. Colombian president Virgilio Barco decreed that drug kingpins will be arrested and extradited to the U.S. Police arrested over 11,000 people and seized hundreds of millions of dollars in drug cartel property, including a fleet of aircraft rivaling that of the national airline. But the heads of the Medellin and Cali drug cartels easily slipped through the alleged dragnet and only a lone accountant was arrested and extradited this week. Meanwhile, a communiqué from the "Extraditables" declared "total war" on the government, and a wave of bombings and shootings has engulfed Colombia.

Bush took advantage of the opportunity to rush in \$65 million worth of U.S. military equipment, including "Huey" helicopters. Some 100 U.S. military "advisers" are going too. Bennett hinted that "we have to consider" direct military intervention, adding that his office was studying the formation of an international strike force. Other administration officials coyly added that the Colombian government "might have to move toward military rule" (*New York Times*, 9 September). "Controlled escalation" from trainers to advisers to combat troops, a military junta in the offing—it's sounding more and more like early Vietnam. But the Bush gang could shoot themselves in the foot with this harebrained scheme.

Colombia, with three mountain ranges, has one of the longest-running guerrilla wars in all of Latin America. Whole regions have been under insurgent control for decades. The drug cartels are in alliance with the military and right-wing landlords to crush left-wing opposition in the countryside and

the city. Americas Watch director Juan E. Mendez noted:

"The drug dealers have apparently determined to wipe out the left to insure perpetuation of the regressive social order that they want. They hope to replace or join the oligarchy that has ruled Colombia since its independence from Spain. They forge alliances with the police and the armed forces."

—*New York Times*, 31 August

Mendez cites a typical massacre, in Segovia last November, where three carloads of armed men entered the town and blew away 43 people, including known political activists, then drove out "by the town's only road, which winds around a major Colombian military base; the troops looked the other way." In another incident, an army major "hired assassins to kill banana plantation workers in March 1988, housed the killers in the luxurious Medellin Intercontinental Hotel, and paid the bill with his Diners Club credit card, over \$1,000" (Robin Kirk, "Behind the Cocaine Curtain: Dirty War Escalates in Colombia," in *Extra!*, September 1989).

There are some 140 death squads and 15,000 murders a year in Colombia—the leftist Union Patriótica alone has lost more than 1,000 members to right-wing violence since 1985. The killers are trained by foreign agents, particularly British and Israelis. (The Israelis often do the dirty work for the U.S. in Latin America and elsewhere. Colonel Yair Klein was recently exposed as one of the Israeli army reserve officers who provide training for assassins, from the contras in Honduras to the Colombian drug cartels.) General Miguel Maza Márquez, head of Colombia's secret police, who almost got blown away

by a car bomb, was forced to admit that the landlord/drug cartels' assassins were "increasingly protected by high-ranking spheres of the armed forces" (*Cambio 16*, 19 June).

So what's going on is yet another White House/CIA/NSC scheme in league with drug-runners, gangsters, right-wing landlords and corrupt governments to crush left-wing insurgencies. For the moment, polls show a bare majority of Americans are buying it so long as it's camouflaged as a "war on drugs."

Noriega: CIA's Man

As part of the new escalation of U.S. military involvement in Latin America, the White House is waving a Big Stick in Panama in an attempt to oust strongman (and former \$90,000-a-year CIA "asset") Manuel Noriega. Bush no doubt fears Noriega "knows too much" about the inner workings of the Iran/contraplot, among other things, and there are signs that they plan to "terminate" him, in Company language, "with extreme prejudice." Last month:

"U.S. forces staged a spectacular joint land, air, and naval maneuver that appeared to be a rehearsal for kidnapping Noriega from his James Bond-style island hideout in Panama Bay. While troops waded ashore from landing craft along the lone causeway leading to Noriega's island, Blackhawk helicopters and tanks seized strategic control of the roadway as three A-37 Dragonfly combat jets buzzed the retreat. Over 1000 soldiers were involved in the exercise; the U.S. notified the Panamanian government half an hour before it began as a 'courtesy,' but insisted that under treaty obligations, no such notification was required."

—Scott Wallace, "Panama Red," *Village Voice*, 6 September

Add to this the fact that a new CIA unit was established in April, the Counter Narcotics Center, which an expert at the Congressional Research Service says will likely be involved in "targeted strikes" against drug cartel "leaders," i.e., assassinations (Oakland *Tribune*, 2 August). And last spring the U.S. Army's top lawyer reviewed the 1976 presidential order banning assassinations, concluding that it did not apply when such actions were directed against "a terrorist or terrorist organizations." Noriega could be the first victim of this new "finding."

As we wrote last year (*WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988), "America's rulers are out to reassert, literally, their supposed right to be 'cops of the world'." It's up to the working class to put an end to their murderous rampage, through world proletarian revolution. ■



AP Photos

Washington's Big Stick: Provocative U.S. military maneuvers confronted by backers of Panamanian strongman, former CIA "asset" Gen. Noriega (right).



Virginia Beach...

(continued from page 12)

black youth that *they have no rights*.

Virginia Beach mayor Meyera Oberndorf dismisses allegations of racism as "poppycock," but she prepared to make the area "off limits" to blacks weeks before the students arrived. She gave local police broad powers to disperse "illegal assemblies" and asked Governor Baliles (who has mobilized state troopers and the National Guard to arrest over 3,000 striking Pittston coal miners and their supporters) to put a special unit on standby to round up black youth.

Local police arrested blacks for jaywalking or not wearing a shirt. Students with beer, regardless of their age, were ordered to pour it out, while young women had their pocketbooks snatched by the cops searching for drugs. Hotels prohibited students, who were charged exorbitant rates, from entering their rooms at certain hours of the day, outrageously denied them the right to bring guests back to their rooms and even forced them to wear ID bracelets to enter their own lodgings!

On Saturday night, hundreds of

Guardsmen, state troopers and cops (who had removed their badges to hide their identities) charged the students along the beachfront, turning the entire area into a bloody battle zone. In the ensuing chaos, students met the police with chants of "Fight the Power!" Others who tried to escape in their cars were met with billy clubs smashing through their windshields. When there was no more room in the jails, scores of youth were rounded up and held in a fenced-in tennis court—whites on one side of the net, blacks on another.

Mary Cox, a Virginia attorney who came to the festival with her three young nieces, described the scene: "It was like Vietnam. They [the National Guard] were hiding behind mailboxes. One guy said to me, 'run' and I said, 'I'm running.' But he said, 'You're not running fast enough.'" She was clubbed over the head.

After the cop riot, and unhindered by the forces of "law and order," bands of white-supremacist skinhead fascists roamed the streets. "Former" Klansman Richard Barrett (a leader of the "white power" Nationalist Movement who marched through Atlanta last January with an enormous cop entourage) turned up to rally white racists to "Just say 'no' to black power like Nancy Reagan said 'no' to drugs." In Virginia

Beach, these fascist scum were the auxiliaries to the main source of violence directed against black people in this country—the blue-uniformed hired thugs of the *capitalist state*. Not coincidentally, the white flight from busing in Norfolk has ended up in Virginia Beach, and the whole Tidewater area has been plagued by Klan cross-burnings. The fight for school integration is inextricably linked to the fight against racist terror.

Now the government feigns concern. The FBI and the misnamed "Justice Department" have opened an inquiry into charges of "excessive" behavior by the police, inviting black students to stop in at FBI offices anywhere in the country to file complaints. To pretend that those who run the whole system of racist repression can investigate themselves is an insult to intelligence. The FBI runs half the Klan klaverns in the country! Their agents and informers are responsible for some of the most heinous racist crimes since slavery, like FBI/KKKer Gary Rowe, who was the triggerman in the 1965 assassination of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo.

At Howard University, angry students met to discuss what to do about the riot and proposed forming a new organization like the "Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee" of the

1960s to press for black equality. The lessons of the civil rights movement must be drawn. That movement, limited to minimal legal gains over entrenched Jim Crow segregation, was subordinated to the racist Democratic Party. And getting black Democrats elected to office has simply changed the complexion of those directing the cop terror. In Atlanta last January, Democratic mayor Andrew Young unleashed his cops to join forces with an army of state cops and National Guard to defend the Klan against an integrated protest.

The road forward for black students is an alliance with the labor movement—from Pittston miners to the large black working class in the Tidewater area. This is where we will find those with the social power and class interest to change this society. The Spartacus Youth Clubs have been in the forefront of fighting for this strategy in struggles against the racist attacks that have swept the nation's campuses. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership, an independent *workers party* to mobilize the power of those who produce the wealth in this society, to fight on behalf of all the oppressed and for a *workers government*. We're fighting for an egalitarian socialist society that will open the road to black freedom. ■

Chinese Counterrevolutionary Front in Exile

While denouncing the Chinese bureaucracy's lies that the Beijing spring protests were the work of pro-capitalist "counterrevolutionaries," we warned that "the cult of 'pure democracy' could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist subjugation." Now, in the wake of the Stalinist regime's bloody suppression of the protesting students and workers, these elements are coming out into the open.

On July 28, some 500 Chinese students living in the U.S. gathered in Chicago to form the All-America Chinese Students and Scholars Independent Union. The manifesto approved by the conference makes no mention of the anti-capitalist revolution

of 1949, but rather proclaims property to be a "basic human right." Illinois Democratic Senator Paul Simon was on hand to call—to the hurrahs of conference organizers—for imperialist economic sanctions against China "like those used against the Polish government."

The keynote speaker was Wuer Kaixi, one of the organizers of the Tiananmen Square student protests and now a leader of the newly formed pro-capitalist Democratic Front of China. Wuer announced that he had met with officials of Polish Solidarność; it was also revealed that an attempt had been made to set up a meeting with representatives of the reactionary Taiwan regime. Wuer's

declared aim is "to promote pluralism and democracy." The anti-working-class elitism of these aspiring capitalist exploiters was reflected in the fact that even the workers executed by the Deng regime in the wake of the crack-down got hardly a mention.

The brains and bucks behind the Democratic Front is the former head of the Stone Corporation (dubbed the IBM of China), Wan Runnan, whom the *San Francisco Chronicle* (10 August) described as "the button-down, precisely tailored corporate executive of China's largest privately managed company." According to Wan, "There is a role for everyone who supports our movement in this process, including Silicon Valley and

other California businesses." Wan reassured U.S. capitalists that they will not be dealing with a bunch of hotheaded students: "Students will continue to play an important role, but the principal leadership will come from people like ourselves who have shown a solid ability for getting things done" (*New York Times*, 4 August).

Such is the rotten fruit of Deng's "market reforms." It is to the Chinese proletariat that we must look to oust the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, through political revolution that defends and extends the anti-capitalist gains of the 1949 Revolution. That is the way to ensure that Wan and his ilk, who would turn China into a giant sweatshop, don't "get things done."

China...

(continued from page 3)

reform movements" in the Soviet Union. "Pluralism" is a Cold War II catch phrase for allowing capitalist-restorationist forces to vie for power. When these fake-Trotskyists say "political revolution," what it comes down to is social counterrevolution, fighting for bourgeois democracy in the deformed/degenerated workers states.

Thus the U.S.'s October Review group in Hong Kong joins with business and church groups in a popular-front formation called the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (24 August), the Alliance has donated over \$150,000 to the pro-capitalist Democratic Front of China, recently formed in Paris, whose leaders include businessman Wan Runnan and exiled student leader Wuer Kaixi. Mandel joins Wuer in seeking to "promote

pluralism." For the U.S. the prime example of this is clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność. The Mandeliste Fourth Internationalist Tendency in the U.S. insists that "an independent trade union along the lines of Poland's Solidarity" must be "an inevitable result of increased democratization in China" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, July-August 1989).

A second U.S. Mandeliste group, Socialist Action, is pushing a petition appealing to the Deng regime to "Stop the Repression!" The petition says nothing about defending collectivized property relations and equates the Chinese protests with Polish Solidarność (even as Lech Walesa openly calls for a return to capitalism), declaring:

"Chinese workers have sought to organize independent trade unions as their counterparts did in Poland... This vast movement expresses the desires and the will of the Chinese nation for political democracy, social justice and the self-organization of the people in their own interests."

—*Socialist Action*, July 1989

Chinese Trotskyists Chen Tu-hsiu (left) and Peng Shu-tse fought for proletarian leadership in face of Kuomintang, Japanese imperialist and Mao-Stalinist repression.



Today the Mandelites issue classless appeals for freedom for all Chinese political prisoners and highlight the role of pro-capitalist dissidents like Bush's pal Fang Lizhi. But in 1953, Mandel & Co. suppressed an appeal by the Chinese Trotskyists led by Peng Shu-tse—maligning them as "refugees from a revolution"—for an international campaign to defend these proletarian revolutionaries against Maoist repression (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

Northites on the "AFL-CIA" Road

The dubious political bandits of David North's Workers League (WL) seized on the Beijing massacre to demonstrate anew that they are inspired by Lane Kirkland rather than Leon Trotsky. As the "AFL-CIA" leader appealed to Bush to "toughen the American position" by imposing stiffer economic sanctions against China, the Northites piped in to demand that "the union movement in every country should organize a boycott of all shipping to China" (*Bulletin*, 23 June). In practice, such "workers' sanctions" organized by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy would be nothing more than back-handed support for imperialist economic blackmail, undermining the collectivist foundations of the Chinese deformed workers state and punishing the Chinese workers to boot.

From Polish Solidarność to Khomeini's Iran to the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan, North & Co. have hailed every anti-communist force on the borders of the Soviet Union. And now they trumpet that "Chinese Students Establish Independent Organization" in exile (*Bulletin*, 4 August), hardly discomfited by admitting that it is "dominated politically by proimperialist elements" (see "Chinese Counterrevolutionary Front in Exile" above).

Where Kirkland rails against the "terror" of the "communist ruling class," North rants that the "relentless drive to brutalize and humiliate the Chinese workers... resembles nothing so much as fascism" (*Bulletin*, 23 June). For years now, the WL has been itching for an opportunity to dispense with any fig

leaf of Trotskyism in pursuit of its strident anti-Sovietism. The *Bulletin* (9 June) declares the Beijing massacre to be "the political culmination of a decade during which the Beijing Stalinists have worked systematically to restore capitalism to China." The way North describes it, the Stalinist ruling caste might as well be a capitalist class.

Where North denounces Stalinism as "counterrevolutionary through and through," Trotsky insisted that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a brittle, *contradictory* caste sitting atop a workers state. Under the impact of the events of this past spring in China the army was politically split and the bureaucracy both paralyzed and at war within itself. Proletarian political revolution would shatter the Stalinist bureaucracy, with some elements going over to the insurgent workers and others siding with counterrevolution. Only a government based on workers, soldiers and poor peasants soviets—as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution—can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

It is a measure of the influence of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that Deng is hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood with the 1979 invasion of heroic Vietnam. The Chinese proletariat has a valiant history of revolutionary struggle dating back to the 1920s. Under the leadership of an internationalist vanguard, it can again become a beacon for the impoverished and dispossessed throughout Asia and an inspiration to the powerful Japanese proletariat.

It is to the workers of China—who Gus Hall does not see and Sam Marcy maligns as pro-capitalist, who Ernest Mandel offers "pluralism" to and David North threatens with "sanctions"—that we Trotskyists direct our appeals: For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers! For the unity of China under the workers' leadership! For Lenin's communism—Forge a Trotskyist party! ■

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Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

against the FBI counterintelligence program known as COINTELPRO, complains that his civil rights are violated by the false and baseless charges of criminal activity in his prison file, unlawful and punitive transfer from San Quentin Prison to Folsom Prison, and punitive classification as a maximum security prisoner.

2. Defendants have falsely branded plaintiff a "cop killer," "escapee," "heroin user" and "child kidnapper" because of his political views and political associations. Defendants have unlawfully and punitively classified plaintiff as a maximum security prisoner. In violation of statutory law and regulation, defendants precipitously and brutally transferred plaintiff, barefoot, in chains and at gunpoint, after eight years at San Quentin prison to Folsom Prison in retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights.

3. The false charges, unlawful classification and punitive transfer place plaintiff's body and life in danger, cause him to be placed in segregated, administrative custody without cause and are intended to punish plaintiff and prevent and chill his exercise of First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and association. Defendant's actions have violated plaintiff's right not to be subjected to cruel and unusual punishment protected by the Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Defendant's actions have also violated plaintiff's right not to be deprived of liberty without due process under the Fourteenth Amendment and infringe on his Sixth Amendment right to counsel...

FACTS

15. Pratt has been incarcerated in prisons of the State of California since 1972. Pratt is, and is well known as, a former leader of the Black Panther Party. Pratt is a victim of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) conducted against the Black Panther Party and Pratt in particular.

16. During his more than 18 years in prison, Pratt has aggressively pursued legal action to demonstrate his innocence of the murder for which he was convicted in 1972. Pratt has sued to expose and challenge the COINTELPRO campaign to "neutralize" the Black Panthers and overturn his conviction which was obtained with the testimony of an FBI agent and suppression of government surveillance records which would substantiate Pratt's alibi defense to the charge.

17. Pratt obtained portions of his FBI file after requests and litigation pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. Among other items, these files record the facts that the FBI targeted Pratt for "neutralization" prior to his arrest and conviction, infiltrated Pratt's defense committee during his criminal trial, suppressed surveillance records that would have substantiated Pratt's alibi defense, and employed the chief prosecution witness as an informer against Pratt.

18. For eight years Pratt was held in solitary confinement because of his political beliefs and associations. Pratt successfully challenged the unconstitutional basis for keeping him in solitary confinement, "the hole," in federal court and thereby gained entry into the general prison population (*Pratt v. Rees* C-76-1069).

19. During the course of *Pratt v. Rees*, Pratt successfully exposed numerous false claims and accusations in his file including the statements that he was a two-time escapee, had been involved in a scheme to kidnap the children of guards at Folsom, and had attempted to kill Folsom guards with poison darts. During the proceedings, Pratt also

learned that the FBI planned a "prison escape" for him using one of its agents. The allegations of criminal conduct were found to be groundless, but have not been removed from his file.

20. During the course of *Pratt v. Rees*, Pratt also exposed the fact that he had been falsely branded a "cop-killer" because of his political affiliations. These false allegations specifically naming Pratt had been included in training manuals for corrections officers.

21. In 1975 Pratt was again falsely branded as "assaultive" and "violent" and disciplined for allegedly assaulting a corrections guard. That guard, M.L. Imm, subsequently wrote a letter stating that Pratt had in fact prevented him from sustaining more serious injury. Imm did not say so at the time for fear of causing retaliation against Pratt. Despite the letter and exoneration in *Pratt v. Rees*, the allegations continue...

23. In 1981 and again in 1988 Amnesty International called for an investigation into Pratt's case based on a belief that he may have been denied a fair trial and because "the effect of COINTELPRO has been to destroy confidence in the *bona fides* of the FBI in all its dealings with Elmer Pratt."

24. Pratt's case has been a regular subject of media attention for many years. Pratt has given newspaper and television interviews, most notably in a 1987 edition of the CBS news program *60 Minutes*. Public demonstrations on his behalf have received regular media coverage.

25. In May of 1987 hundreds of individuals including California State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums wrote letters to the California Board of Prison Terms urging Pratt's release. Thousands petitioned that his conviction resulted from an FBI frame-up and demanded his freedom. The Parole Board, in a hearing taped by *60 Minutes*, denied Pratt parole, specifically citing the fact that he had supporters urging his release.

26. Pratt, a highly decorated veteran, is the co-founder and an active member of a Vietnam Vets organization at San Quentin described by Pratt's counselor as the "singular most positive self help program in [San Quentin]."

27. On August 17, 1989 defendants Brown, Y and Z, after a hearing in Pratt's absence, determined that he should not be granted parole despite the contrary recommendations of prison counselors and psychiatrists. Pratt's parole denial was reported in the local newspapers as well as a new false accusation made for the first time by the parole board and stated by Defendant Brown that Pratt is a heroin user.

28. False allegations have persisted in Pratt's prison file for years despite the fact that they have been demonstrated to be baseless. In 1988 Pratt was transported to New York to testify about COINTELPRO as a defense witness in a criminal trial. The documentation accompanying him falsely listed him as a "two-time escapee." To combat the danger of such a false charge, Pratt brought and settled suit in the Southern District of New York (88 Civ 2313(SWK) Southern District of New York) to have these false labels removed in order to protect himself from unwarranted suspicion and possible violence. Pratt's prison records document no escape history. In July 1989 Pratt travelled to San Juan, Puerto Rico, as a subpoenaed witness. On this occasion his file falsely branded him a "cop killer."

29. On August 22, 1989 former Chairman of the Black Panther Party Huey P. Newton was killed. For at least the next week, local and national news media carried daily articles and commentary about the Black Panther Party and its former members including those still in prison, including Pratt.

30. In or about August 1988, former Black Panther Party chairman Huey Newton was brought to San Quentin. On August 24, 1988, and for a short time thereafter, when his brief term was com-

pleted, Newton refused to leave unless Pratt was also released. This fact was reported in the local news media. Shortly thereafter, Defendant Vasquez thereafter informed Pratt that he was getting too big for San Quentin and that there were too many media coming to San Quentin. Defendant Vasquez said: "I think I'm going to transfer you, you get more publicity than I do and I am the Warden here."

31. On August 31, 1989 the *San Francisco Examiner* published a column by Warren Hinckle expressing the view that the refusal of the Parole Board to release Pratt was outrageous and irrational. On the same date as the Hinckle column, Pratt returned to San Quentin from the trip to San Juan, Puerto Rico.

32. The next day, September 1, 1989, Pratt was precipitously seized by five armed guards as he left the San Quentin visiting room, stripped of his shoes, chained to the seat of a van, and taken by the guards to Folsom. Three armed guards rode in the van and two more rode in an escort car. Pratt had received no notice of any kind whatsoever that he would be transferred.

33. At Folsom, Pratt was deposited in a totally barren cell and stripped of all clothing except underwear. Four hours later, a towel and a torn sheet were thrown in the cell. The next day Pratt

received a red jump suit but was denied access to legal materials and has been held in total isolation since his arrival.

34. Pratt has had a custody designation of "medium B" for the last 11 years; he has been allowed to work outside prison walls and has had family and conjugal visits. Additionally, Pratt took medication to control his high blood pressure and participated in counseling for post traumatic stress disorder as a result of his service in Vietnam.

35. From 1972 until 1978, defendants or their predecessors kept Pratt in solitary confinement on the basis of his political beliefs and false allegations made against him. False allegations have continued to be made about Pratt and have continued to appear in his prison file for years despite the fact that these allegations were without foundation, documentation or any sort of confirmation...

CLAIMS

39. Defendants have endangered Pratt's life and have subjected Pratt to punitive and illegal mistreatment with the goal and objective to intimidate Pratt and to prevent and chill and punish him for the exercise of his First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and association...

42. Plaintiff requests a trial by jury. ■

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Virginia Beach

Racist Police Riot Against Southern Black Students

Over the Labor Day weekend, 58 black South Africans were arrested for defying apartheid segregation by attempting to integrate a "whites only" beach in Durban, Back in the USA, the "free world" of formal racial equality, 1,235 people were charged with 1,346 offenses in a brutal police attack against a black fraternity and sorority "Greekfest" celebration marking the end of summer in the resort city of Virginia Beach. Here there were no signs reading "whites only," no legal barrier prohibiting black students from enjoying the beach. So the black students came, about 100,000, thinking they had rights—and they met the raw racism and unbridled police terror that clamp down on black life in this society like a steel trap.

The Labor Day cop riot comes at the end of a summer of racist violence against black people nationally. A 16-year-old black youth, Yusuf Hawkins, was shot dead by a mob of Italian punks who lay in wait for the first black man they could get their hands on in Bensonhurst, a white enclave in Brooklyn. That same week, a black youth was gunned down by a cop in Vineland, New Jersey. Virginia Beach showed starkly that ghettoized youth in the mean streets of big cities are not the only intended victims; even relatively privileged black

State police unleashed racist riot against black college students in Virginia Beach, September 3.



college students are marked.

The official line in the bourgeois media was a naked lie. While anchor-men read scripts about looters and unruly kids, the pictures showed hundreds of burly, riot-equipped cops stepping on the necks of black youth, gallop-

ing their horses into crowds of students, phalanxes of National Guardsmen sweeping the streets, with M-16s and ammo strapped across their chests. Reporters on the scene said that there was no looting until *after* the cops and troops rampaged against the students.

The media and the politicians have latched onto the destruction of white property in order to divert attention from the real criminals—the cops, the troops, and the political bosses who deployed them to send a message to *continued on page 9*

Geronimo Pratt in Danger

SAN FRANCISCO, September 12—Two weeks ago the government escalated its vicious war against former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt. On September 1, just two days after returning from San Juan, Puerto Rico, where he had gone to testify for the defense in the Hartford 15 trial about the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program, Pratt was transferred without notice to the highly dangerous Folsom Prison. Pratt was seized by five prison guards as he left the visiting area, immediately dragged from San Quentin like a slave to auction—barefoot and in chains—and driven to Folsom manacled to the seat of a van while four guards waved guns.

Early this morning Valerie West, counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, and Stuart Hanlon filed an emergency civil rights lawsuit in federal court in San Francisco against James Rowland, director of the California Department of Corrections, and the wardens of San Quentin and Folsom prisons, challenging the unlawful and punitive transfer in violation of Pratt's First, Sixth, Eighth and Fourteenth Amendment rights and California state law. For years the Corrections Department has carried knowing lies in Pratt's file, flagging him as a "cop-killer," "escape risk" and initiator of a make-believe plot to kidnap children of Folsom employees in 1974 when Pratt was held there in solitary. The most recent slander, emanating from last month's Parole Board hearing, describes Pratt as a heroin user.

These lies, which in Pratt's successful 1982 lawsuit

for release from years of solitary confinement were found to be groundless and COINTELPRO fabrications, are still the basis for Pratt's continued placement in maximum security prisons. They now place his life in immediate danger, possibly to set him up for murder like Black Panther spokesman George Jackson, gunned down in the yard at San Quentin in 1971. The lawsuit filed today also seeks to compel prison officials to remove these life-threatening slanders from Pratt's record and change his security classification.

Less than two weeks before his transfer Pratt was denied parole for the *ninth* time at a hearing at which neither Pratt nor his lawyer were present. In July his appeal was again thrown out of court on an insignificant legal technicality. For 18 years Geronimo Pratt has been in jail for a crime he did not commit, victim of a racist government conspiracy against the Black Panther Party. And for 18 years he has fought to expose COINTELPRO's bloody crimes.

We print below excerpts from the legal complaint.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

I. This is an action for declaratory and injunctive relief and damages on behalf of a well-known former Black Panther leader, ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT. Plaintiff, known to defendants as a target of and prominent spokesman and aggressive litigant *continued on page 11*



Geronimo Pratt, imprisoned over 18 years for a crime he did not commit, fights for his freedom.