

## Clinton Wades into Balkan Quagmire

# U.S./NATO Hands Off Serbia!

FEBRUARY 14—On February 9, a NATO meeting threatened to launch air strikes against Serbian forces around Sarajevo if they did not hand in their heavy weapons to United Nations "peacekeepers" and withdraw at least 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the city center within ten days. Applauding the NATO decision in a televised speech, Clinton intoned: "We have an interest in showing that NATO...remains a credible force."

The Serb leaders immediately acquiesced to NATO's ultimatum, even turning over a few weapons a day or two later. But given the powder keg which is Balkan politics today, some excuse or another will doubtless present itself for Clinton to show that America continues to "stand tall" by raining death down on the Serbian people.

Over the weekend, the French aircraft carrier *Foch* and Britain's *Ark Royal* entered the Adriatic Sea off the coast of the former Yugoslavia to join the USS *Saratoga*. Additional American F-15 fighter-bombers and helicopter gunships are being flown from Britain to Italy to join the already formidable arsenal of terror ready to strike against Serbia. UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has authorized his local representative in Bosnia to order air strikes at will, while the United States and Britain have ordered all dependents of diplomatic personnel in the rump Yugoslav capital of Belgrade to leave the country.

Clinton and other NATO leaders wept crocodile tears over last Saturday's shelling of a Sarajevo marketplace, where over 60 people were killed. They are using this as a pretext to teach the Bosnian Serb forces and the Yugoslav/Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic a bloody lesson in obedience to imperialist diktats. Even UN observers admit to not knowing who shelled the market, and Milosevic denounced the perpetrators as "war criminals."

Atrocities abound in the two-year-old, three-cornered nationalist civil war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, as all three forces seek to carve out nation-states through "ethnic cleansing" and genocidal terror. But in the face of direct imperialist military intervention, it is the duty of the international working class to stand militarily with the Serbs. Down with

the starvation embargo against Serbia! U.S./NATO out of the Balkans now!

With its "Vietnam syndrome" anxiety over a domestic backlash if even one American pilot goes down, the Pentagon intends to launch its laser-guided "smart bombs" against Serbian artillery installations from a height of more than 15,000 feet, out of the range of anti-aircraft defenses. This virtually ensures civilian deaths in the numerous Serb-populated villages in the area.

Even the pro-Bosnia London *Independent* (7 February) admits that NATO air strikes will "deliver destruction on a scale as yet unseen in this war." The new commander of UN "peacekeeping" forces in Bosnia, British general Sir Michael Rose, is a veteran of the killer elite Special Air Services (SAS), who formerly commanded forces in both Northern Ireland and the Falklands/Malvinas war with Argentina.

Despite the current veneer of imperialist consensus, war-torn ex-Yugoslavia is a cauldron for imperialist intrigue and conflict. Washington has long promoted Alija Izetbegovic's Sarajevo regime—instigating its "declaration of independence" two years ago and, according to European sources, covertly supplying it with arms in violation of the UN embargo—in order to punish Serbia for its recalcitrance. France, and more openly Russia, tilt toward the Serbs, while Germany is the main patron of the Croatian regime of fascistic ultranation-



U.S. fighter-bombers over the Persian Gulf on eve of Desert Slaughter. Now Washington threatens terror bombing against Serbia.

alist Franjo Tudjman. But the European powers have grown increasingly concerned over a widening of the Balkan war, which would unleash a flood of refugees and destabilize the continent, and increasingly fed up with American finger wagging—from the safety of the Potomac—over their lack of resolve.

Last month France finally called Washington's bluff. An editorial in *Le Monde* (30-31 January) was snidely headlined, "World Politics Too Hot for

U.S.?" Then came the Sarajevo market attack and a renewed outcry that America's "credibility" was being tarnished. Acquiescing to its European allies, the U.S. agreed to push the Bosnians to accept a long-standing deal partitioning the country into "ethnic cantons" once Washington shows its "toughness" by bloodying the Serbs. Clinton immediately got on the horn to strong-arm his junior partners in London and Ottawa, who have been openly reluctant to raise the military ante for fear that their troops in Bosnia will get shot up.

Pro-Bosnia hawks ranging from liberal *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis to conservative William Safire would like Clinton to push all the way to Belgrade. Reaganites Richard Burt and Richard Perle enthused, "Air strikes, especially televised ones, would be dramatic, even exhilarating" (*New York Times*, 11 February). But there are deep divisions within American ruling circles over wading into the Balkan quagmire. On the eve of the NATO meeting, U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry warned: "If air strikes are act one of a new melodrama, what is act two? What is act three?"

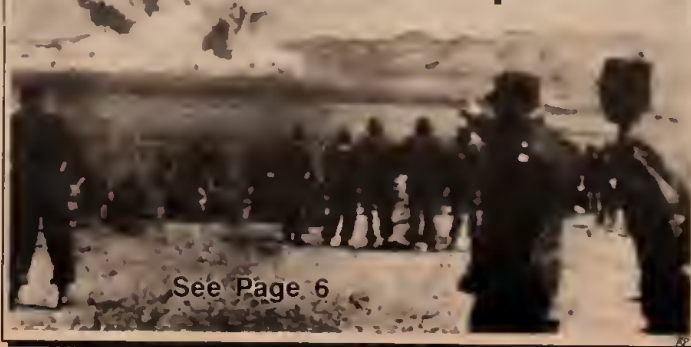
### "Poor Little Bosnia"

Clinton, with bipartisan hacking, insists that U.S. ground forces will not go in except to police a "peace." But U.S. troops are already stationed in the

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### Nazi-Like "Medical" Tests in Service of Cold War

## U.S. Irradiated Thousands In Atomic Experiments



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# Clinton/Reno Are Guilty of Mass Murder

## Waco Survivors on Trial

FEBRUARY 13—Last April 19, Bill Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno ordered an army of federal police to unleash a fiery inferno, incinerating some 86 people, including women and many young children, in the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas. Now eleven survivors have been put on trial by this vindictive government, which seeks to silence for life those who were not burned to death. But five weeks into the trial, statements even by government agents who perpetrated the massacre are demolishing the layer upon layer of lies that is the feds' self-serving story. And now sensational testimony has shown that the government was determined that every man, woman and child who remained in the commune would die.

The trial itself is a travesty of justice. Three of the defendants weren't even

### BATF's Continuing Vendetta

there when the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) staged its first crazed, deadly raid in February 1993, which left six Branch Davidians dead. Yet all eleven are charged with conspiracy to commit murder in the deaths of four BATF agents who were part of a heavily armed 100-strong invasion force that day, setting off a 51-day siege that ended in government mass murder. At the trial BATF agents testified there "never was a plan for peacefully serving the warrants on Koresh" (*Washington Post*, 23 January).

In order to exonerate mass murderers Clinton and Reno, the government and media have put out a Big Lie

campaign that the Branch Davidians were a gang of lawless fanatics who deserved to die. They claim that the small Christian commune willfully decided to incinerate itself. We wrote last May: "We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government" ("Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies," WV No. 575, 7 May 1993).

The day after the fire, FBI tactical commander Jeff Jamar noted that there was an underground escape route leading from the Mount Carmel compound to a buried bus where "the air was cool." Jamar claimed, "Had Koresh wished those children to survive, that was the one place they could have hidden safely when he had the fires started." But at the trial, on February 10, veteran FBI agent R.J. Craig told the jury that his first assignment on April 19 was "to gas the hallways to prevent people from going down the hallways into the bus." So the FBI knew members of the group might survive in the bus—and that's why they made sure that access was blocked before the murderous attack began.

The BATF and FBI were determined that no one would get out alive when they launched their firestorm. Craig was in charge of "combat engineering vehicles" used to punch holes deep into the compound's walls and pump in tear gas. In response to the feds' story that Koresh and his followers deliberately started the fire themselves, we earlier noted "the smoke first came out of a second-floor window above and right next to where the M-60 had been smashing the building." Now a government videotape which has been introduced at the trial shows that the fire started "90 seconds after the video shows an F.B.I. tank smashing into the area" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

Other testimony at the trial rips holes in the government's cover-up, including the bogus weapons charges. BATF undercover agent Robert Rodriguez testified that his bosses were unhappy with his surveillance team because he was never able to report any illegal weapons. In fact, Rodriguez admitted during cross-examination that he never once saw a resident of the commune even carrying a weapon. Again, WV reported at the time that "every weapon



Members of Branch Davidian religious commune who survived fiery government inferno last April 19 are now on trial as government seeks to silence them for life.

they owned, including a Barrett .50 cal. semi-automatic rifle, had been examined and returned by the local cops as perfectly legal."

In an opening statement, one of the defense attorneys declared, "Evidence will show you the ATF declared war on its citizenry" (*Washington Post*, 13 January). Even Treasury Department and Justice Department reports on the massacre show that from the top down the official account has been filled with lies. The public is increasingly unwilling to swallow the government's cover-ups. Last summer a jury acquitted right-wing "survivalist" Randy Weaver of murder charges in the death of an FBI agent when the feds put him on trial after they murdered his wife and child. But they kept going after Weaver with trumped-up gun charges, seeking to enforce a state monopoly on arms. It is the BATF and FBI and their bosses in Washington who should be on trial for murder.

After the BATF's first attack on the Branch Davidians, the Spartacist League immediately came to the defense of this small religious group. Their only "crime," we pointed out, was to exercise their rights to practice their religion and to bear arms—both supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Only hours after the April 19 massacre, Spartacist supporters picketed outside the Federal Building in New York with signs saying, "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." We said then, and we say now: All the survivors of Clinton's holocaust must be freed immediately! ■



TROTSKY

### Balkan Wars and World Imperialism

With U.S. imperialism preparing to homh Serbian forces in Bosnia, today's Balkan wars symbolize the "New World Disorder" unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13—territorial conflicts between the petty dynasties of the region encouraged and manipulated by the major European powers—were a prelude to the first imperialist world slaughter of 1914-18. As Leon

Trotsky wrote at the time, the predatory and destructive forces of capitalism now threatened the future of civilization if not overthrown by the revolutionary proletariat

The War of 1914 is the most colossal breakdown in history of an economic system destroyed by its own inherent contradictions.

All the historical forces whose task it has been to guide the bourgeois society, to speak in its name and to exploit it, have declared their historical bankruptcy by the War. They defended capitalism as a system of human civilization, and the catastrophe born out of that system is primarily their catastrophe. The first wave of events raised the national governments and armies to unprecedented heights never attained before. For the moment the nations rallied around them. But the more terrible will be the crash of the governments when the people, deafened by the thunder of the cannon, realize the meaning of the events now taking place in all their truth and frightfulness....

Capitalism has created the material conditions of a new Socialist economic system. Imperialism has led the capitalist nations into historic chaos. The War of 1914 shows the way out of this chaos by violently urging the proletariat on to the path of Revolution.

For the economically backward countries of Europe the War brings to the fore problems of a far earlier historic origin—problems of democracy and national unity. This is in a large measure the case with the peoples of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan Peninsula. But these historically belated questions, which were bequeathed to the present epoch as a heritage from the past, do not alter the fundamental character of the events. It is not the national aspirations of the Serbs, Poles, Rumanians or Finns that has mobilized twenty-five million soldiers and placed them in the battlefields, but the imperialistic interests of the bourgeoisie of the Great Powers. It is imperialism that has upset completely the European *status quo*, maintained for forty five years, and raised again the old questions which the bourgeois revolution proved itself powerless to solve....

The Balkan question and the question of the overthrow of Czarism, propounded to us by the Europe of yesterday, can be solved only in a revolutionary way, in connection with the problem of the United Europe of tomorrow.

—Leon Trotsky, *The War and the International* (1915)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Keran Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jana Kerrigan, Ian Mayers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencar, Marjorie Stenberg

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# D.A. to "Review" Black Panther Leader's Case

## Free Geronimo Now!

For 23 years Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been locked in prison hells for a crime he did not commit. Eleven times he's been denied parole because he refuses to grovel before the jailers who demand he renounce his commitment to black freedom and confess to a murder committed by others. Court after court has refused to even hear the overwhelming proof of his innocence.

Now, after meeting with James McCloskey, a lay minister and investigator who has dedicated himself to the cases of innocent people sentenced to life or on



WW Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in San Quentin in 1985.

death row, Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti announced on January 3 that his office will review Geronimo's case. McCloskey, who has won freedom for a dozen people across the country, created a stir in L.A. in 1992 when he helped win the release of Clarence Chance and Benny Powell, black men who spent 17 years in jail, framed by the very same LAPD as Geronimo.

Geronimo rightly fears this is just "another big disappointment we're being set up for." While Chance and Powell were able to walk free after McCloskey exposed how the racist L.A. police manufactured evidence to pin an unsolved murder on them, Geronimo and his attorneys have already demolished the state's tissue of lies that has stolen 23 years of his life. He remains in prison today because, as the D.A.'s representative said at Geronimo's 1987 parole hearing, he's "still a revolutionary." We must not let Geronimo spend another day in jail. Mobilize now to free Geronimo!

### Who Killed Caroline Olsen?

How Geronimo was framed for the 18 December 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen on a Santa Monica tennis court is well known: the surviving victim's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo was suppressed at the trial; wiretap logs of an Oakland Panther house, 400 miles from the shooting, which show that Geronimo had made a call from there to L.A. Panther headquarters two hours before the murder, "disappeared." Retired FBI agent Wesley Swearingen, who had seen the logs, noted this was the first time in his 25 years at the Bureau that wiretap logs were missing.

Julius Butler, an informant for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969, repeatedly lied on the witness stand, denying he worked for either agency. Three jurors interviewed by McCloskey in the course of his investigation said that, had they known Butler was a government fink, they would have voted to acquit. Juror Jeanne Hamilton stated, "If we had known about Mr. Butler being an informant, it would have said to us that this is a conspiracy here. They're trying to nail him."

In early January, Fox TV ran a three-part series which aired in Los Angeles. As Geronimo told Fox News,

"Blind Lemon Jefferson can see that based on this evidence I didn't do this murder." Juror Hamilton told Fox, "I feel betrayed, by the government, the FBI, the Los Angeles Police Department, the District Attorney's office."

To the already overwhelming evidence of Geronimo's innocence, the McCloskey investigation adds specific details linking the murder to two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party—both of them associates of the fink Butler—who long ago died violent deaths, one shot while gambling, the other impaled by a steel rod when he fell during a burglary attempt.

The information came to light in a declaration of Tyrone Hutchinson, a former Panther who had been picked up by the cops in 1970 for questioning in connection to the Olsen murder. Hutchinson described how the two men, Larry Hatter and Herbert Swilly, "hotho" said they had been present at the tennis court and they described details of the incident. Specifically, as I told the police, they described a man and a woman on the tennis court shaking in fear and crying just before they were shot.... When Larry Hatter and Herbert Swilly were describing what happened, they were laughing about it."

This too was completely—and illegally—kept from the defense and the court during the trial. In explaining his 20-year silence, Hutchinson related: "After I told the police about this conversation, they told me not to discuss this with anyone 'if I knew what was good for me.' I took this to be a threat on my life at the time and I still do."

The Fox TV series showed that photos of Swilly and Hatter uncovered by McCloskey bear a close resemblance to composite sketches of the killers prepared one day after the shooting.

### COINTELPRO: Campaign of Racist State Terrorism

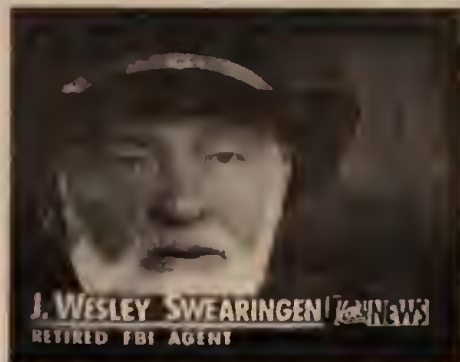
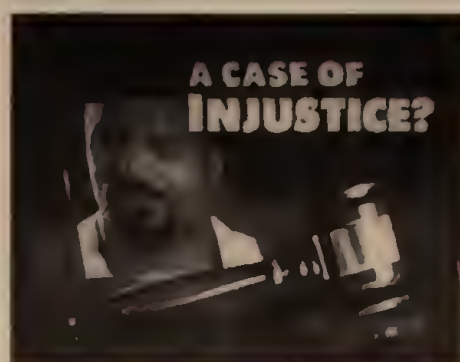
The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black youth who wanted to smash capitalism and make a revolution. For that reason the Panthers were targeted for destruction by the racist ruling class and its deadly political police. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover labeled the Panthers "the greatest threat to internal security."

To kill black activists, the FBI revived COINTELPRO—the counterintelligence program originally set up in 1956 against the Communist Party—and unleashed the most savage and systematic campaign of racist murder in modern American history. Some 233 out of 295 FBI COINTELPRO actions against black organizations were against the Panthers. At least 38 Panthers were murdered by agents of this racist capitalist state, and many of the survivors thrown behind prison walls.

Geronimo was at the top of their list. In early 1969, just after he became leader of the Los Angeles BPP, Geronimo was designated a "Key Black Extremist" by the FBI, targeted for "neutralization" and immediately elevated to "Priority I" status on the National Security Index of those deemed by the feds to pose a "threat" to the government. Behind these designations stands naked state terror.

Four days after Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the cops came for Geronimo in L.A. On 8 December 1969, L.A. Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops; thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired at it for five hours. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Geronimo was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed.

Failing to kill Geronimo, the feds set out to frame him for murder. An FBI document of June 1970 called for "utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing Pratt as an effective BPP functionary." FBI infiltrator Melvin Smith recalled FBI agent George Aiken giving him a list of possible murders to be pinned on Pratt. Smith also recalled Aiken offering \$3,000-\$5,000 for testimony to convict Geronimo of murder (see Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression* [South End Press, 1988]).



Fox TV photos

Los Angeles Fox TV series on Geronimo's trial end frame-up: Retired FBI agent Swearingen said it was first time in 25 years wiretap logs were "missing." Juror Hamilton said jury didn't know Geronimo's accuser Butler was a government informant.

A lineup of state and federal officials built their careers on the war against Geronimo and the Panthers in California. Among them is Richard Kalustian, the assistant D.A. who orchestrated the frame-up. For years Kalustian upheld Butler's lying testimony that he wasn't an informant. He acknowledged the fact to Fox News, but dismissed its significance by saying Butler was supplying "lightweight information." Kalustian is now a Los Angeles Superior Court judge.

And of course there's Julius Butler. As a reward for his dirty work for the racist capitalist state, Butler had his own criminal record cleaned up to allow him to be admitted to the California Bar in 1989. Now, as attorney for the First AME Church in South-Central L.A., Butler is hailed by the capitalist press as a spokesman for the black community reeling under the hammer blows of grinding poverty and brutal terror at the hands of Butler's paymasters in the LAPD.

The D.A.'s announcement of a review has given needed publicity to Geronimo's fight for freedom. In addition to the Fox News coverage, L.A. and Bay Area papers have carried articles on the frame-up. And a spotlight is finally being thrown on the notorious Julius

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# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## UPS Teamsters Struck, Defying Feds' Injunction

In defiance of a federal court order, some 90,000 Teamsters members at United Parcel Service carried out a one-day strike on February 7. UPS, long notorious for brutal working conditions and intense harassment, more than doubled its package weight limit to 150 pounds. In Atlanta, where picket lines were heavily integrated and there are many women workers, one striker told WV that the 150-pound limit would mean mass firings, as UPS routinely terminates injured workers.

After extracting an empty promise that Big Brown would negotiate in "good faith," Teamsters International president Ron Carey ordered workers back the next day. But the backlog of packages hadn't even been cleared before UPS filed a \$50 million damages claim against the union on February 9 for violating the injunction.

The one-day action against UPS was concentrated in the East. Elsewhere, bureaucratic opponents of Carey scabbled on the strike. R.V. Durham, the head of Local 391 in Greensboro, North Carolina who opposed Carey for the presidency two years ago, groveled before the injunction, proclaiming "we're living in the land of laws" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 9 February) and ordering the 2,500 UPS workers in his local to go to work. The bosses' laws have subjected America's most powerful union to government control. Nationally, only 60 percent of the union struck.

Carey encouraged the company offensive when he kept the 165,000 Teamsters at UPS working without a contract for weeks last summer, despite a massive strike authorization vote. UPS, with revenues of over \$17.5 billion in 1993, is the largest package delivery company in the world. It is also despised by anyone who has ever worked there—UPS would be a hugely popular target for a militant national strike. But it won't be led by Carey and those, like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, who have brought the capitalist government into the union.

Carey was installed as union head in December 1991 in a government-controlled election coming out of the "consent decree" between the feds and the venal bureaucrats running the IBT. The UPS shutdown took place just before a vote on a national dues increase this month. It also intersects a bitter fight inside the 1.4-million-member union, as Carey and his pro-government "reformers" confront the venal "old guard" who still head many locals and councils around the country.

Playing on the correct understanding of thousands of Teamsters that the bosses' government, their courts and cops are the *enemy* of the working class, this "old guard" issued flyers after the UPS strike: "When the smoke around the I.B.T.'s new 'activist' approach clears, it will be apparent to all that the Government and the employers got exactly what they wanted when Ron Carey was elected...a weaker Teamsters union" (*New York Times*, 10 February). But these same labor traitors, in order to save their own skins, signed the "consent decree" allowing the feds to run roughshod over the union.

The injunction and suit for \$50 million in "damages" come on the eve of the expiration of the National Master Freight Agreement covering 110,000 over-the-road drivers. And the government just handed down regulations imposing "random" alcohol testing of over



Teamsters in Atlanta join one-day national strike against imposition of brutal working conditions by UPS.

seven million transportation workers, mostly commercial drivers. As it has for half a century, the capitalist government is pursuing its vendetta against the union because it wants to cripple the enormous power of the Teamsters union.

David Edelstein, the judge who is the government's overseer of the union, railed that "the IBT exercises vast power" which "must be reserved for legitimate use to achieve legitimate ends." For the capitalist government, "legitimate" doesn't include a national strike against UPS or the trucking bosses. At the time of the 1990 UPS contract, WV warned: "From drug testing witchhunts to government-supervised union elections to police scabberding—the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians are on the *other side of the class line*. Government hands off the unions!"

## Canadian ILWU Tops Bow to Government Strikebreaking

VANCOUVER—For 13 days, 3,500 longshoremen demonstrated labor's power with a province-wide strike that shut down ports all along the British Columbia coast and on Vancouver Island. Grain, lumber, pulp, potash, sulphur and petrochemicals piled up as International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) members faced off against the B.C. Maritime Employers Association's (BCMEA) demands for concessions. But on February 8, the bosses' government weighed in. A strikebreaking back-to-work law was unanimously rushed through federal Parliament—including with the support of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)—threatening the union with \$100,000-a-day fines and ordering compulsory arbitration.

The strike began on January 27 when Local 508 members in the Vancouver Island port of Chemainus learned the BCMEA was refusing to hudge in negotiations, which had dragged on since before the last contract expired over a year ago. Some guys lost their temper and refused to work, one unionist told WV. That

night the strike spread to other Vancouver Island ports and to Prince Rupert in the north. When the BCMEA announced a lockout, the key ILWU Local 500 shut down Vancouver, Canada's biggest port and the largest bulk port in North America, trapping ships at the berths, in the harbor and anchored close by.

Behind the strike was the BCMEA's drive to attack working conditions, including cutting the day shift lunch hour in half (the only break most get) while adding a half-hour to the afternoon shift. The BCMEA's demand for shift extensions and other concessions is part of a concerted campaign they have been waging against the ILWU for years.

Despite a vote against the lunch hour cut at a November Local 500 meeting, the ILWU leadership *agreed* to the givebacks, seeking to trade them for a few more cents an hour. Canadian-area ILWU president Gordie Westrand told the press that "longshoremen are prepared to make changes in work hours and other working conditions that represent the most significant opening of the contract since he joined the union 22 years ago," according to the *Vancouver Sun* (1 February).

From the start, the bureaucrats tried to scuttle the strike. Westrand told the BCMEA that "I was prepared to continue working on all other port areas and we'd try to get Chemainus back on line." Then Westrand begged to be allowed to have the ILWU load grain. Finally when the strikebreaking orders came down, the union tops pulled the pickets and sent ILWUers back to work.

Any struggle by the longshoremen, like all major battles between workers and bosses, immediately poses a *political* fight. On one side are the capitalists and their state, on the other the organized strength of the working class. These struggles can't be won with a "leadership" that is bound hand and foot to the bosses and their agents. And that is exactly the role of the NDP, which helped speed the Liberals' strikebreaking law through Parliament. The union bureaucrats and pseudo-socialists tout the NDP as "labor's political arm"—but what kind of arm is this that salutes the bosses and punches the workers in the face? From jailing postal strike leaders in Ontario to breaking teachers strikes in B.C., NDP provincial governments rule on behalf of the capitalists.

Longshoremen have the power to forge a powerful coalition of B.C. waterfront and transportation unions in a fight to smash the attacks of grain elevator operators and railroad bosses. From Los Angeles to Vancouver, ILWU members have fought sharp battles to defend their historic gains. Yet each time the union leadership has refused to launch powerful *coastwise strike action* that could quickly bring the bosses to their knees. On both sides of the border there is a sordid history of nationalist backstabbing, including in 1971-72 when Canadian ILWU members were ordered to unload cargo diverted from struck U.S. ports. This time over 8,000 containers were diverted to U.S. ports, but ILWU International president Dave Arian refused to "hot-cargo" the scab containers.

The ILWU needs a fighting *internationalist* leadership to unite transportation and waterfront workers on both sides of the border and to join in militant common struggle with Mexican workers. This must be the response to the capitalists' "free trade" rape of Mexico and their anti-labor offensive in Canada and the U.S. No to strikebreaking NDP social democrats and the labor traitors' support to the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S.! We need to build class-struggle workers parties fighting for workers rule. ■

## PDC Notes...

(continued from page 3)

Butler. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* (6 January) reported that "many worshippers" at the First AME Church "have questioned why a key figure in the Pratt conviction is now serving as legal counsel for the church." On January 23, the Partisan Defense Committee joined in a picket of 75 people outside the church, initiated by the African United Front to inform church members of the dangerous cop flunkie who is a leader in their church.

Thousands of individuals and organizations and trade unions representing over two million members have taken a stand in support of Geronimo. United-front rallies initiated by the PDC have brought together trade unionists and civil rights activists demanding Geronimo's freedom. In an ongoing lawsuit filed in 1989, the PDC is challenging prison officials' persistent perse-

cution and harsh and vindictive treatment of Geronimo. Amnesty International has recognized Geronimo as a political prisoner. Congressman Ron Dellums has sponsored a bill calling for his release. The Oakland-based International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has publicized the case.

Geronimo's fate must not be left in the hands of L.A.'s top prosecutor, whose job is to keep blacks, Hispanics and unionists in line while making sure the main perpetrators of racist violence—the trigger-happy LAPD—carry out their terror and frame-ups with impunity. It will take an intensified campaign of publicity and protest to smash this frame-up once and for all.

As we go to press, legal action is being prepared to challenge the latest round of provocation and harassment of Geronimo by prison authorities. In early January, just days after Fox News' three-part series on Geronimo, he was transferred on one day's notice from

San Diego to Mule Creek State Prison in Inone, 40 miles northeast of Stockton, California and a good distance from Geronimo's family and supporters.

Among the instances of harassment, Mule Creek officials have refused to grant the recommendation of a prison psychiatrist that Geronimo have his own cell, a necessity due to medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war wounds. In an outrageous move, officials recently opened Geronimo's cell door in the middle of the night, placing a prisoner in the cell with Geronimo without notice.

Fight the persecution of Geronimo! Free him now!

\* \* \* \* \*

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# Pentagon Continues Vendetta Against Black Sailors

## Port Chicago, 1944: U.S. Navy's Racist Frame-Up



Percy Robinson



U.S. Navy

During WW II, Jim Crow Navy used black sailors for particularly dangerous jobs like unloading ammunition. Aftermath of 17 July 1944 explosion at Port Chicago (right), which killed 320 sailors.

17 July 1944: Two ships and a loading dock full of ammunition went up at the Navy's Port Chicago munitions base on San Francisco Bay. The blast, equivalent to about 5,000 tons of TNT, leveled much of the base, wrecked buildings in the nearby town of Port Chicago and killed 320 sailors—202 of them black ammunition loaders. Three weeks later, 258 black sailors refused to load ammunition in a protest against the hellish conditions which bred the disaster and the Navy's racist Jim Crow segregation policies. In the largest mass mutiny trial in U.S. naval history, a travesty built on manufactured evidence and open racism, 50 of the black strikers were later convicted and sentenced initially to 15 years in prison.

6 January 1994: 50 years later, the original verdict was upheld. According to a review undertaken at the request of four Bay Area Congressmen, "the Secretary of the Navy concluded that neither racial prejudice nor other improper factors tainted the original investigations or trials" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 January). This brazen lie and outrageous injustice is more than another slap in the face for black people from the racist Democratic Party administration of Bill Clinton. It is also a crude threat to the heavily minority ranks of today's U.S. military, as Clinton prepares to throw them into battle around the globe in pursuit of U.S. imperialist domination. Jim Crow laws may be off the books, but the bedrock racist foundation of American capitalism remains.

In his well-researched book *The Port Chicago Mutiny* (Amistad Press, 1993), black historian Robert L. Allen tells the gripping story of how the Navy's racism condemned black sailors to death in the greatest homefront disaster of World War II, and then railroaded those survivors who protested. The Port Chicago work stoppage was one of a series of rebellions by blacks in the U.S. military. The Spartacist pamphlet *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 4 devoted to "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" notes that "although many blacks deeply resented their exclusion from combat, a policy that lasted late into the war, there was little black enthusiasm for this 'war

## Black History and the Class Struggle

for democracy' abroad when they were brutally deprived of basic democratic rights at home." Unlike in World War I, blacks were no longer willing to "take it" for the duration. Buoyed by the class struggles of the 1930s which created the CIO, blacks for the first time had been incorporated into a powerful, integrated working-class movement.

Port Chicago, just where the Sacramento River goes into the northern arm of San Francisco Bay, was a main ammo supply depot for the Pacific fleet. More than 1,400 black enlisted men were driven by their white officers to work faster and faster in the backbreaking work of loading everything from machine-gun rounds to incendiary bombs to 5,000-pound "blockbusters" onto cargo ships. "We were a mule team," said one veteran interviewed by Allen. Another called it a "slave outfit," adding, "we were considered a cheap labor force from the beginning." This was Jim Crow with

a vengeance: all of the men doing the dangerous work of physically handling ammunition and bombs were black, while all of the Navy officers and Marine guards supervising them were white.

"We were pushed," said Joe Small, a winch operator and ad hoc leader of the protest, singled out as a "ringleader" by the Navy brass in the mutiny trial. "The officers used to pit one division against the other, and the officers themselves used to bet on their division putting on more tonnage than the other division."

Captain Nelson Goss, who ran the Mare Island naval base of which Port Chicago was a sub-command, declared that black and Filipino workers "do not compare favorably with those of the white race." Captain Merrill Kinne, appointed to command Port Chicago in April 1944, spoke sneeringly of "the type of enlisted personnel assigned to Port Chicago." To the Navy brass, from top to bottom, the black sailors were expend-

able. And these racist bigots, with the full protection of Democratic president Roosevelt, set up the disaster by consciously undermining safety.

The West Coast longshore union, the ILWU, warned the Navy weeks before the explosion "that there would be a disaster if the Navy continued to use untrained seamen to load ammunition," writes Allen. "The union offered to send experienced longshoremen to train the Navy recruits in safe handling of ammunition, but this offer was apparently ignored by the Navy," which feared contact between the sailors and the militant, integrated union. Yet the Stalinist leadership of the ILWU went all-out for the imperialist "war effort," including signing the CIO no-strike pledge two days after Pearl Harbor. Union leader Harry Bridges stated: "unions today must become instruments of speed-up of the working people of America" (quoted in Howard Kimeldorf, *Reds or Rackets: The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront* [University of California Press, 1988]).

Allen writes that "Safety regulations were posted on the pier but not in the enlisted men's barracks, because Captain Kinne did not believe the black seamen were capable of comprehending the regulations." Joe Small told Allen: "I had told everybody in authority that I could get it to that we were working dangerously, and one day that place would blow up." Small's lieutenant told him the bombs were "totally harmless" without the detonator installed. In fact, as Small and many of his coworkers realized, concussion—from being dropped or slammed against the side of a ship's hold—can blow the things up.

Not only were the real criminals let completely off the hook by the Navy's commission of inquiry, but those held responsible were the black seamen who were the chief victims! Although the specific cause of the explosion was never established, the judge advocate's report grotesquely declared that "the colored enlisted personnel are neither temperamentally or intellectually capable of handling high explosives"! Yet the surviving black loaders were to be put back on the

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Amistad Press

Black sailors in wake of Port Chicago explosion refused deadly assignment of unloading ammo in unsafe conditions. White officers convicted 50 black enlisted men of "mutiny" after 80-minute "deliberation."



# Nazi-Like "Medical" Tests in Service of Cold War

During the anti-Soviet Cold War, the United States government carried out a vast program of Nazi-like radiation experiments on poor and working-class people. Hundreds of unsuspecting victims were given massive doses of x-rays, injected with radioactive substances, made to eat carcinogenic fallout as scientists observed the deadly effects. Yet these grisly tests, some of which have recently been publicized, are only a small part of the U.S. rulers' deliberate subjection of humans to massive doses of radiation in order to study the impact of the bomb's radiation on the human body.

These "studies" came in the aftermath of the U.S.' monstrous incineration of over 200,000 defenseless Japanese civilians by dropping A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The bloody American bourgeoisie cynically poses as defenders of democracy and human rights, yet the U.S. is the only country to ever use atomic weapons in wartime. And that heinous crime was seen by the U.S. rulers as a prologue to what they had in store for the Soviet Union in their drive to "roll back" the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

As part of the massive effort to develop and test nuclear weapons intended to be used against the Soviet Union, literally hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops were sent into irradiated blast sites within minutes after atomic bombs were set off. In addition, many tens of thousands of atomic weapons industry workers were callously and routinely exposed to deadly radioactive materials as the U.S. sought to build up its nuclear arsenal. Despite all the talk of nuclear weapons simply acting as a "deterrent," Washington was actively pursuing plans for a thermonuclear "first strike" against the USSR. They intended to follow this up by sending in troops to subdue the survivors. That is why they urgently needed to know how much radiation their troops could stand.

Recently, U.S. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary flamboyantly proclaimed an "Openness Initiative," promising to declassify the files on human radiation experiments. After O'Leary gave the go-ahead, suddenly the papers are full of revelations. Many go back to a mid-1980s Congressional study which was ignored at the time, and once the lid was lifted on this horrific subject, more reports began to come in. Universities "discovered" radioactive skeletons in their closets. Thousands have called up government "hot lines" to report secret tests in which they were victims. Suddenly the glare of publicity is thrown onto footnotes in articles for prestigious technical journals detailing how scientists used human beings as guinea pigs for their macabre research.

The inhuman torments practiced on the poor, the infirm, racial minorities, hospital patients, prisoners, and particularly the U.S.' colonial subjects, recall the Nazi "experiments" on the Jews, Gypsies and other inmates of the concentration camps. One of the U.S. researchers, commenting on his own plan to irradiate a group of "adult males past the age of 50," guiltily noted: "admittedly, this would have a little of the Buchenwald touch" (referring to the German concentration camp where hundreds were killed by being infected with typhoid fever). And then there were the effects of nuclear weapons tests. John Gofman, founder of the Biomedical Research Division at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, recalled how in the 1950s he was among those who declared that there was no danger from fallout:

"I feel that at least several hundred scientists trained in the biomedical aspect of atomic energy—myself definitely included—are candidates for Nuremberg-

type trials for crimes against humanity through our gross negligence and irresponsibility."

—cited in Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, *Killing Our Own* (1982)

Yet today a major campaign is underway in the bourgeois press arguing that this hideous record must be "understood" as an unfortunate "excess." After all, proclaims the "free but responsible" press, only a few hundred people were supposedly involved, medical "ethicists" say that standards at the time were not worked out, the long-term consequences of radiation exposure were "not fully understood," etc. *Newsweek* contributing editor Gregg Easterbrook, writing in the *Los Angeles Times* (9 January), declared that "the instant-doomsday aspects of the scandal appear largely hyperbole" because supposedly "hardly any actual harm was done," and besides, "a significant number of Americans exhibit an almost clinical paranoia in believing themselves victims of secret government tests." The *Washington Post* (9 January) counseled its readers "to temper our judgments; to consider the nature and purpose of the experiments (e.g., understanding the effects of nuclear war) as

well as the times in which they were conducted."

They were conducted in the times of the Cold War, and the scope of the experimentation exposing humans to radioactive substances is far, far greater than the few cases initially reported. The government and its kept media want to sweep under the rug how the U.S. Army kept people penned up unprotected in the vicinity of blast sites to "study" the deadly effects of the heat and radiation. They don't want you to know that their mapping showed fallout from nuclear tests spreading over most of the country. They try to hide the fact that the gruesome experiments preferentially used racial minorities as their subjects, and even deliberately targeted black people. Press reports don't say how U.S. scientists repeated some of the very same tests performed by Nazi scientists at Auschwitz, nor that Washington protected these fascist experimenters in order to get their data. And they want to bury the fact that all these experiments were necessary for their plans to launch nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

All that we report below is from published sources. But when you put it

together you have the evidence of crimes against humanity that rival those for which Nazi war criminals were tried at Nuremberg. These experiments were approved at the highest levels of the U.S. government, and the officials who ordered them, the scientists who carried them out and the bureaucrats who covered them up were perfectly conscious of what they were doing. Now, as the result of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, Washington would like to turn the page on this chilling legacy of the Cold War. But the racist cruelty, class hatred and utter contempt for the weak and the vulnerable which motivated these "experiments" provide a sinister view of the behind-the-scenes horrors as the bourgeoisie arms itself to defend its class interests.

## Exposé and Cover-Up

U.S. Cold War radiation "experiments" became a full-blown scandal late last year when the *Albuquerque Tribune* (15-17 November 1993) published a superb 45-page investigative report by Eileen Welsome on 18 hospital patients who, between 1945 and 1947, were injected with radioactive plutonium, one of the most carcinogenic substances known. The victims were given doses ranging from 1.6 to 98 times the level considered at the time as the occupational limit. Referring to a victim who survived a "whopping dose" of plutonium, a former government radiation specialist commented: "They were surprised a Black man who had been scheduled to die had walked out of the hospital."

One of the experimenters' subjects was Elmer Allen, a 36-year-old black railroad porter, who had been hospitalized with a broken leg (it had to be amputated three days after it was injected with plutonium). When Allen informed his family doctor that he had been the subject of a government experiment, he was diagnosed as a "paranoid schizophrenic." As with all the other victims, researchers never explained what they had done to him. "He knew he had been a guinea pig, but he wasn't sure exactly how," his daughter later declared. "And for 40 years, he sat around waiting to die."

U.S. Army officials, perfectly aware of the consequences of their actions, tried to engineer a massive cover-up of their grisly experimentation on humans. The *Albuquerque Tribune* quoted from a letter the Army wrote to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1947: "It is desired that no document be released which refers to experiments with humans and might have adverse effect on public opinion or result in legal suits. Documents covering such work should be classified 'secret.'"

President Clinton cynically seized on the radiation "experiments" as "a political boon" and "a sure-fire way to expose the wrongs of past administrations," as the *Los Angeles Times* (10 January) put it. In early January, Clinton set up a "task force" including the departments of Energy, Health and Human Services, Justice, Defense and Veterans' Affairs, as well as NASA, the National Security Council, and the Office of Management and Budget. The panel is supposedly going to bring to light all radiation "experiments" and assess the injuries suffered by the victims. But despite all the talk of "openness," today, more than two months after O'Leary's initial announcement, practically no files have been released while Energy Department personnel reportedly comb them to delete any clues to the victims' identities. The reason is obvious: legal suits for damages would run into the billions.

These atrocities were the product of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. O'Leary herself drove the point home

# U.S. Irradiated Thousands in Atomic Experiments



From 1946 to 1962, Pentagon forced hundreds of thousands of soldiers to participate in nuclear tests as human guinea pigs.



at a San Francisco meeting with researchers from the University of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. O'Leary hailed "the science and the technology that built the bomb, that tested the bomb, that kept the bomb available to us" and declared, "I stand in support of that work and know that it was a good thing" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 January).

Meanwhile, O'Leary has carefully steered away from the question of the massive radiation exposure in the nuclear weapons industry. Workers in these government-owned plants handle highly radioactive metals like uranium and plutonium, often with no more protection against radiation than if they worked in a steel plant. Plutonium wastes, which are both highly radioactive and extremely poisonous, are buried around these plants in unlined pits—often simply packed in cardboard boxes—and hundreds of tons of radioactive uranium dust has been released into the surrounding air and water. As one radiation specialist said of these installations: "The clinical study of the personnel is one vast experiment. Never before has so large a collection of individuals been exposed to so much irradiation" (quoted in Barton Hacker, *The Dragon's Tail* [1987]).

O'Leary initially promised "compensation" to the victims of radiation experiments, which she grossly underestimated to be 800 people, but the White House quickly stepped in, saying that this was "premature." The U.S. government actually pays all the legal fees (\$47 million over a three-year period) for government contractors running nuclear weapons plants as they fight law suits by workers and neighboring residents. A federal program to compensate uranium miners and people living downwind from nuclear test sites has paid meager sums—often not even enough to cover medical bills—to only about 600 victims. And fewer than 500 soldiers who were exposed to atomic bomb tests have been able to get disability benefits for radiation-induced illness.

The victims of these Cold War horrors must receive proper medical care and finally be compensated for their injuries; they ought to be awarded punitive damages from the criminal government which caused their suffering, which no amount of money can undo. The government's massive files on the nuclear weapons program must be opened immediately—including giving workers in nuclear installations access to their now-classified medical records—before they are all censored or destroyed!

### How They Got Their "Unique Data"

In justifying the unjustifiable, government "radiation specialists" tout the "critical, sometimes unique, data" the tests provided (*New York Times*, 1 January). In reality, these "medical experiments" were "critical" in order to scientifically plan mass murder. After unsuccessful attempts in the 1950s to simulate human radiation burns by placing animals near atomic bomb blasts (they dressed platoons of pigs in army uniforms, but their skin was too resistant; dogs were ruled out because of con-



While GIs were ordered to carry out maneuvers under the deadly mushroom cloud, U.S. brought observers to within seven miles of ground zero.

cern for the ASPCA), an Army doctor declared: "We decided it would be much better to start simulating these nuclear combat questions in laboratories, or to use human subjects when possible" (quoted in Roger Rapoport, *The Great American Bomb Machine* [1971]).

The macabre uses to which this "unique" data was to be put are reflected in the U.S. Army's *Handbook for Medical Service Personnel*, which provides a guide for field commanders ordering troops into the blast area of an atomic bomb. It assures commanders that they will have "ample time to evaluate unit effectiveness as individuals become sick." The handbook counsels that, for

Decades of Radiation Experiments on U.S. Citizens," detailed 31 tests involving almost 700 people. But the report, coming in the middle of Reagan's Star Wars military buildup against the Soviet Union, was given short shrift in the bourgeois press. The following are among the radiation experiments which have become public:

- In the late 1940s, doctors fed radioactive iron—at doses 30 times higher than normal environmental radiation—to more than 800 pregnant women who sought free health care at the Vanderbilt University Medical Center. Their children were later found to suffer a high rate of cancer.



Josef Mengele (above), chief doctor at Auschwitz death camp. Right: Luftwaffe doctors perform barbaric "hypothermia" experiments on Dachau prisoners.



Der Spiegel photos

example, at 200 rads of radiation, half the troops will experience nausea and vomiting, but "combat effectiveness" will remain 100 percent. At 600 rads (well over the lethal dose), troops will experience hemorrhage, and combat effectiveness will be cut to 50 percent. And at 1,000 rads, troops will experience convulsions and "progressive incapacitation" despite an "early capability for intermittent heroic response."

Most of the revelations now appearing in the press have been known for years. For example, a 1986 report by Representative Edward Markey's (Democrat, Massachusetts) House Subcommittee on Energy, Conservation and Power, titled "American Nuclear Guinea Pigs: Three

- In December 1949, a huge cloud of radiation was deliberately released from the Hanford reactor in Washington, blanketing the Pacific Northwest with perhaps thousands of times more radiation than the 1979 Three Mile Island accident. The purpose was to test instruments designed to monitor the fallout from Soviet atomic bomb tests.

- From 1946 to 1956, Harvard and MIT scientists fed breakfast cereal laced with radioactive calcium or iron—some doses were equivalent to 50 chest x-rays—to more than 120 adolescents at a school for the mentally retarded. Children were told they were joining a "science club" and got a free watch, while parents were assured the children would receive an improved "special diet."

- In 1957, U.S. Army doctors injected Eskimos and Athabascans of northern Alaska with radioactive iodine. A few years later, scientists spread radioactive debris, brought from the Nevada atomic bomb test site, on the tundra where the Native Americans hunted, causing many of them to die of cancer.

- From 1961 to 1963, over 100 people at the University of Chicago and Argonne National Laboratory were fed fallout from the Nevada test site or "simulated" fallout containing radioactive strontium, barium and cesium.

- Over a period of five years starting in 1961, researchers at MIT injected 20 people with radioactive radium and thorium. The victims were retired MIT employees and other "apparently healthy men and women" drawn from the Age

Center of New England, a group of Boston elderly who agreed to participate in a variety of "research projects on aging."

### Human "Experiments" at Ground Zero

In addition to its Nazi-like medical "experiments," the U.S. government exposed hundreds of thousands of soldiers to atomic bomb blasts to test whether they could—or would—follow orders to carry out "mopping up" operations after a nuclear blast. Entire infantry units, armored convoys and even paratroop battalions were used in these "war games" between 1946 and 1962. As they inhaled the toxic radioactive dust, the soldiers would quickly show symptoms of radiation sickness—nausea, vomiting, dizziness—while Army medical personnel jotted down their reactions. Today, these veterans suffer epidemic rates of cancer, musculoskeletal deterioration, nervous disorders and other consequences of their massive exposure to radiation. And as was noted by Oscar Rosen, commander of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, "Most of the atomic test survivors are working class people, poor people, who have nothing. They were used!" (*People's Weekly World*, 22 January).

Last fall, the media raised a hue and cry that in 1954 the Soviet Union carried out an atomic bomb test "near 45,000 Red Army troops" (*New York Times*, 7 November 1993). But the number of U.S. servicemen exposed to radiation from nuclear explosions was more than ten times that number. Even the U.S. government's Defense Nuclear Agency was forced to acknowledge in the mid-1980s that some 200,000 U.S. servicemen were used in nuclear bomb tests. Veterans' groups have estimated that the number of troops exposed to the blasts was probably closer to 250,000. In addition, another 240,000 U.S. troops were sent in to occupy Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortly after those cities were reduced to irradiated rubble by the savage U.S. atomic bombing. And these figures do not include the untold numbers of Japanese who were killed by nuclear blasts or later died from exposure to the radiation.

The Defense Department's claim that only a tiny percentage were exposed to high dosages of radiation is patently absurd when compared to the stories related by the troops involved. Former Marine Fred Warehime (who later lost a lung to cancer) described a bomb test in 1953:

"The fireball was right straight up above our heads, I mean right over our heads. We had to be in the stem of it. 'We were only 300 yards from ground zero. I told my men to get out of the trench and move out.... Then we got a sunburn, and the guys all started throwing up in the truck going back. The guys in that bunker in front of us were sick as dogs, all of them.'"

—quoted in Carole Gallagher, *American Ground Zero* (1993)

There is also convincing evidence that during nuclear bomb tests U.S. officials deliberately incinerated human beings by forcibly exposing them to the bomb's searing blast. Marine sergeant Israel

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Center for Disease Control, Atlanta



In the racist Tuskegee experiment, 400 black men diagnosed with syphilis were not told they had it and were deliberately denied treatment for over 30 years while doctors studied the ravages of the disease.



# Experiments...

(continued from page 7)

Torres recalled his participation in the 1957 explosion of an H-bomb:

"We'd only gone a short way when one of my men said, 'Jesus Christ, look at that!' I looked at where he was pointing, and what I saw horrified me. There were people in a stockade—a chain-link fence with barbed wire on top of it... Their hair was falling out and their skin seemed to be peeling off. They were wearing blue denim trousers but no shirts. When we passed those people—there were ten or twelve—they tried to cover their faces with their hands.... Good God, it was scary."

—Thomas Saffer and Orville Kelly, *Countdown Zero* (1982)

When Torres told this to nurses at the hospital where he was treated for radiation sickness, he was turned over to military psychiatrists and intimidated into keeping silent. Torres' testimony was extensively quoted in a legal brief by attorney William Fletcher published in the *Washington Law Review* (April 1990). And Carole Gallagher, in *American Ground Zero*, reports that in her interviews with victims of the nuclear tests she "came across the same story again and again" from men who participated in that test. They reported seeing animals burned to a crisp, humans handcuffed to fences. "When soldiers spoke of seeing the burned and shackled remains of humans on the nuclear battleground, they were submitted to the same psychiatric 'deprogramming'."

Another group of human guinea pigs who were deliberately exposed to radiation were the "downwinders," residents of the towns downwind from the Nevada test site. Reassured by the government that they faced no danger, families had backyard picnics to watch the explosions, and children playfully shook the deadly fallout from the trees like snow. Entire families in these regions have been almost wiped out by leukemia and other cancers. It has been estimated that the fallout from nuclear testing will ultimately kill almost one million people worldwide from lung cancer alone.

Worst hit by the radiation from nuclear testing were the U.S.' colonial subjects of the Marshall Islands, who were blasted with 66 nuclear test explosions—including all the most powerful hydrogen bomb tests. As a result, the Marshall Islanders have been ravaged by cancer and much of their islands rendered virtually uninhabitable. After a 1954 explosion, the deadly fallout was so thick that inhabitants of Rongelap Atoll, some 250 miles downwind from the blast, were severely burned by the radiation, and almost all the children later got thyroid tumors.

## Racism and Nazi-Style Experiments

In their blatant racism and cruelty, the radiation experiments recall—on a wider



Workers in nuclear weapons plants are routinely exposed to enormous levels of radiation. Woman with almost no protective gear drills test sample out of radioactive uranium metal.

scale—the infamous Tuskegee experiment in which 400 Southern black men with syphilis were left untreated. The men, who were not even told they had the disease, were "watched" for over 30 years to see what effect the untreated disease had on their mortality rate—and on their children. The hideous "medical experiment" was only stopped in 1972 when exposed by the press.

Many of the radiation experiments on human beings took place at the very moment that the U.S. and its allies were condemning Nazi doctors at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal for killing hundreds of concentration camp prisoners with chemical and germ warfare "experiments." Yet the American bourgeoisie which coldly incinerated over a million defenseless German and Japanese civilians in the World War II firebombings of Dresden, Tokyo and other cities, in addition to dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was certainly in no position to pass judgment on the Nazi butchers (see "The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing," *WV* No. 521, 1 March 1991).

In one case, U.S. doctors actually repeated an "experiment" which SS doctors had performed in the Auschwitz death camp, namely, irradiating prisoners' genitals with massive doses of x-rays to determine the level that causes sterility. American researchers performed this test on 131 inmates at Oregon state and Washington state prisons from 1963 to 1971. According to the researchers' report, the victims had to agree in advance to undergo vasectomies after the "experiment" in order "to avoid any possibility of contaminating the general population with irradiation-induced mutants."

U.S. leaders viewed the results of German experiments in chemical, biological and atomic warfare as prized war booty. A specialized strike force, the Alsos

commandos, was formed to hunt down German laboratories, scientists and their data. Only 23 Nazi doctors and scientists were brought to trial for war crimes, and seven were acquitted of all charges—including one who had experimented on internees at Dachau. The fiendish "Angel of Death" Josef Mengele, the head doctor of Auschwitz, lived tranquilly—and openly—in the U.S. occupied zone of Germany until 1950, when public indignation forced him to move to Latin America.

Similarly, all the members of the Japanese 731st Regiment—which killed thousands (mainly Chinese and Koreans) in ghastly biological warfare experiments using bubonic plague, anthrax and other diseases—were granted immunity from prosecution for war crimes by the U.S. occupation authorities in exchange for turning over their data. A spokesman for Fort Detrick, Maryland, the center of the U.S. biological warfare program, recently explained: "We wanted to keep this information out of the hands of the Russians. Any war crimes trials would have exposed our own program" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 January).

In capitalist society, racial minorities, colonial and semicolonial slaves and the helpless—hospital patients, the mentally ill and retarded, the elderly—have always been the prime, often unwitting, subjects for medical experiments. In the early 20th century, treatments for beriberi and the plague were tested on poor peasants in the Philippines (this was cited by the Nazi doctors at Nuremberg).

As in the Nazi death camp experiments, the U.S. government radiation research was carried out on those the racist ruling class considers "inferior" or "expedient." At the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, at least 90 terminal cancer patients—mostly poor, mostly black—were given lethal and near-lethal doses of full-body radiation in the 1960s and 1970s. As they collapsed in vomiting and dizziness from the radiation sickness, the tormented victims were made to take psychological tests. The stated purpose of this horrifying torture was "to provide knowledge of combat effectiveness of troops" in a nuclear war.

U.S. capitalism is so profoundly racist that the military has even sought to develop chemical and germ warfare agents which selectively target black people. A lead article entitled "Ethnic Weapons" in the U.S. Army Command's monthly *Military Review* (November 1970), citing the greater susceptibility of Central African people and their descendants to sickle-cell anemia, revealed that research was underway to uncover "innate differences in vulnerability to chemical agents between different populations."

The U.S. government is known to have carried out tests of germ warfare agents against black people. In 1955 the CIA released whooping cough virus in Palmetto, Florida, killing a dozen people,

to test its effectiveness as an "ethnic weapon" against blacks. In 1960, the Army released infection-bearing mosquitoes in Carver Village, an exclusively black town, causing outbreaks of typhoid, encephalitis, stillbirths and mysterious deaths. And in 1951 the U.S. Navy released a biological warfare agent at its Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania supply depot, which was chosen because "there are employed large numbers of laborers, including many Negroes." The organism used to infect the workers (*Aspergillus fumigatus*) was intended to simulate the fungus which causes valley fever, a disease which is ten times more fatal for blacks than whites.

Meanwhile, the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico has been a testing ground for countless experimental products, such as the cancer-causing Agent Orange "defoliant" which the U.S. used in Vietnam. In a vast "population control" experiment, over one-third of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age, practically denied other means of contraception, were driven to accept "voluntary" sterilization! When Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos declared that he had been subjected to radiation while locked up in San Juan's La Princesa prison in 1950, a government psychiatrist declared him "insane" despite photographic evidence of horrible burns on his back and feet. Today the U.S. government still keeps its files on Albizu Campos under lock and key.

## Nuclear First Strike Against the USSR

From the moment they acquired the atomic bomb, U.S. rulers were straining at the bit to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. This is stated in virtually all of the secret U.S. military plans of the late 1940s and 1950s. For example, an April 1950 document by the National Security Council reiterates that U.S. strategy was to "strike with our



Puerto Rican nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos shows burns caused in 1950 when U.S. colonial authorities subjected him to radiation in prison.

full weight...before the Soviet blow is actually delivered" (cited by David Rosenberg, "The Origins of Overkill," *International Security*, Spring 1983). An Air Force history states the main targets for nuclear attack were "urban industrial concentrations" which were "selected with the primary objective of the annihilation of population."

U.S. rulers even formulated an elaborate plan for guerrilla warfare following a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. The core of the special forces, which were to knock out any remaining centers of government and seize control of the country, was composed of the remnants of the army of the turncoat Russian general Andrei Vlasov, who had gone over

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

### Atlanta

Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302  
(404) 521-9338

### Boston

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(617) 492-3928

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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

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to the Nazis during World War II, along with kill-crazed fascists of the former SS *Einsatzgruppen* (death squads). The idea of building an anti-Soviet invasion force around the former Vlasov army was the brainchild of the liberal George Kennan. In the early 1950s, these killers were integrated into the U.S. Army as the nucleus of the present-day Green Berets.

What stayed the hand of the imperialists was not a commitment to "peace" as the liberals would have it, but rather, as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Omar Bradley declared in November 1950: "We might be in danger of losing" (Marc Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* [1991]). An NSC document in the same year noted that U.S. forces were "not now capable of conducting immediately a general military offensive against the USSR." U.S. military officials had estimated the previous year that even if their entire arsenal of 133 atomic bombs was dropped on target it would leave 70 percent of the Soviet Union's industrial base intact, and the Red Army in Europe could retaliate by marching all the way to the Pyrenees.

Consequently, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that the U.S. "delay a general war with Russia until we have achieved the necessary degree of military and industrial mobilization." The National Security Council placed "A-Day" (the date when the U.S. would be ready to launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union) in 1954. And in that year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff presented President Eisenhower with a secret document



World Publishing

**Russian turncoat general Andrei Vlasov went over to Nazis during World War II. Washington recruited Vlasov army to carry out mopping up operations in the Soviet Union after a projected nuclear first strike by U.S.**

which reportedly called for "deliberately precipitating war with the U.S.S.R. in the near future." A summary of the plan stated that with some 700 nuclear bombs, "virtually all of Russia would be nothing but a smoking, radiating ruin at the end of two hours" (Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod, *To Win a Nuclear War* [1987]). However, in the meanwhile the Soviet Union had, in 1949, developed its own atomic bomb. And in 1954 the Soviet Union perfected intercontinental bombers which could reach the American mainland.

The mad war drive of the U.S. ruling class is explained by the fact that the Soviet Union remained, until the deci-

sive victory of Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution, a workers state—albeit a degenerated one since the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1920s. The imperialist rulers in Washington were determined to destroy the basic gains of the Russian Revolution—the expropriation of the capitalists and the planned economy. Yet the conservative-minded Stalinist bureaucrats looked not to the power of the international proletariat to defend the workers' gains but rather fantasized about "peaceful co-existence" with the capitalists. We Trotskyists stood unconditionally against the imperialist Cold War mobilization against the Soviet Union, from Afghan-

istan to Poland, while calling for Soviet workers to throw out the Stalinist usurpers through a proletarian political revolution.

Historically, the rise of capitalism was accompanied by the development of modern science and led to a tremendous development of the productive forces. But in the epoch of imperialism, the capitalist system in decline produces economic depression, world wars and famine on the scale of continents. Today science, technology and even medicine have been transformed from tools of production and healing into instruments of destruction, torment and slaughter on a vast scale. The nuclear-armed madmen who rule over the decaying capitalist system are a clear and present danger to life on the entire planet.

U.S. imperialism has repeatedly demonstrated its savagery: three million Koreans and Chinese slain in the Korean War; two million Vietnamese massacred in the unsuccessful attempt to crush the Vietnamese Revolution; tens of thousands of Iraqis murdered in the ruthless slaughter of the Persian Gulf War, and over 100,000 dead as a consequence of the starvation blockade and destruction of infrastructure. It's up to the working class—above all in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—to put an end to this barbaric system of racism, oppression and mass murder by carrying out a victorious workers revolution. This is the task of a Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution, forged in the traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks. ■

## Port Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

job within three weeks, under the same racist officers and unsafe conditions as before.

Furthermore, a Congressional bill to pay \$5,000 to families of victims was cut to \$3,000 when Mississippi Dixiecrat John Rankin objected that most of the beneficiaries would be black. And unlike white servicemen, the surviving black seamen were not offered the customary 30-day "survivors' leave." This was too much. On August 9, as Joe Small's division was marched out to load ammunition at Mare Island, "everybody stopped dead, boom, just like that." Two more divisions also balked. This work stoppage over a manifestly deadly threat was treated by the Navy as a mutiny, and 258 of the 328 men were imprisoned on a barge.

Two days later, after the men were threatened with a firing squad by Admiral Wright, 44 heroically stood fast, the core of the 50 who went on trial for mutiny on September 14. (The remaining 208 who went back to work under duress were given summary courts-martial for "disobeying orders" and dishonorably discharged.) Chief prosecutor was one James F. Coakley, who had been assistant Alameda County district attorney under Earl Warren. Later, as Alameda County D.A. in the 1960s, Coakley was notorious as the headline racist prosecutor of Black Panthers and antiwar activists, including Huey Newton and the Oakland Seven.

The mutiny trial was a blatant frame-up and a farce from beginning to end. Prosecution witnesses couldn't even prove that the men charged had been given a direct order to work. The defense established that the men had insisted that they were ready to follow all other orders, but were afraid to handle ammunition. One of the defendants had never been allowed to do the job, since he weighed only 104 pounds; now he was on trial for mutiny.

Written statements were "taken" from the 258 men—sometimes in the presence of armed guards—by interviewing officers who admitted they rewrote them and left out what they considered "irrelevant." One of the defendants revealed that prosecutor Coakley threatened to

have him shot during an interrogation. The seven white officers acting as judge and jury allowed these "statements" to be used as evidence. And on the basis of this and other hearsay "evidence," on October 24 the officers took a total of 80 minutes—including their lunch break—to find the 50 sailors guilty of a mutinous conspiracy.

Thurgood Marshall, then chief counsel of the NAACP, charged that the defendants were on trial "solely because of their race and color," and called it "one of the worst 'frame-ups' we have come across in a long time. It was deliberately planned and staged by certain officers to discredit Negro seamen." Marshall tried unsuccessfully to get the Roosevelt administration to overturn the verdict, while an outcry was raised in the black press and the NAACP published a pamphlet on the case. In January 1946, most were released from prison and given general discharges.

U.S. Trotskyists, then organized in the Socialist Workers Party, fought to mobilize militant struggle against Jim Crow racism throughout World War II. This was an essential part of our revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war, a war of plunder between different gangs of robbers who mobilized the proletariat to do the fighting and dying: the main enemy was at home. In the heroic struggle of the Soviet Red Army against Hitler's Nazi invasion, the workers had a side: to defend the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, which had eliminated capitalist exploitation, despite subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration. But defense of the USSR meant a determined fight against U.S. capitalism, mortal enemies of workers everywhere.

Following the Port Chicago frame-up trial verdict, the SWP wrote:

"Many young Negroes, believing this a 'war for democracy,' hoped that by joining the armed forces they could win some for themselves. Their experience has proved otherwise. All the conflicts in society are reproduced in the army and navy with intensified force. 'This trial... bids fair to become the Negro cause célèbre of the war. Resentment is piling up. The imposition of sentences will touch off movements of protest by colored workers all over the country. Their demand will be 'Free the fifty sailors.'"

—*Militant*, 11 November 1944, reproduced in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (Monad Press, 1980)

The SWP's revolutionary program contrasted sharply with the despicable role of the Stalinist Communist Party, which embraced the imperialist war and the Roosevelt government, and that meant openly taking the side of racists and capitalists against workers and blacks. CP leader Benjamin Davis Jr. declared in 1945: "The U.S. general staff has on many occasions... proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out" (quoted in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party*).

The men who were framed up at Port

Chicago do not want a pardon, as Joe Small told the *Chronicle* after the Pentagon "review." A pardon, he said, "means you're guilty but we forgive you. We want the decisions set aside and reimbursement of all lost pay." That is the least they deserve. It is both fitting and revealing that today the Clinton administration declares its continuity with the Jim Crow imperialist army of the Port Chicago travesty. Workers and blacks: break from the racist, capitalist Democratic Party! Only an integrated, revolutionary workers party can finish the job of black liberation the Civil War started and lead to victory the socialist revolution in the U.S. ■

### Spartacist League Forums

*Eyewitness Reports from Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois*

### Stop the KKK! For a Workers America!

**Guest Speaker:** Bernard Branche, member of ATU Local 308  
**Chair:** Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League

**Saturday, February 19, 7:30 p.m.**  
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel  
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)  
For more information: (312) 663-0715

**CHICAGO**

**Speaker:** Thomas Downing, Spartacist League

**Saturday, February 26, 2 p.m.**  
Room 201, Student Center  
Roxbury Community College  
(Columbus Ave., near Roxbury Crossing stop on the Orange Line)  
For more information: (617) 492-3928

**BOSTON**

### Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

**Speakers:** Carla Wilson, Spartacist League  
Frank Hicks, Partisan Defense Committee

**Tuesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m.**  
Room 702, Hamilton Hall  
Columbia University  
(IRT 1/9 trains to 116th & E'way)

**NEW YORK CITY**

For more information: (212) 267-1025

### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

**Black History Month Video/Discussion Series**

**Next class: Mon., Feb. 28, 12 noon**  
*The Black Panther Party*  
Room 3517, Ackerman Union, UCLA  
For more information: (213) 380-8239

**LOS ANGELES**

**First class: Thurs., Feb. 24, 7 p.m.**  
*For Revolutionary Integrationism: Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*

West Madrone Room, ASUC Building  
University of California  
For more information: (510) 839-0851

**BERKELEY**



# Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, and the imperialists have been carrying out an act of war against the rump Yugoslavia for over a year, with an embargo aimed at starving Belgrade into submission.

Liberals and reformists push sanctions as a supposedly "humanitarian" alternative to terror bombing. But in Iraq, economic warfare has killed far more people, especially young children and the elderly, than did the U.S.-led "Desert Slaughter," and the already impoverished population of Haiti teeters on the brink of death. While Serbia has thus far managed to avert widespread starvation and disease, the imperialist embargo has wreaked untold suffering on the population, driving millions into destitution and depriving hospitals of everything from gauze and cotton to x-ray film, antibiotics and other life-saving drugs.

The West's feigned concern for the besieged Muslim population of Sarajevo conspicuously fails to extend to the Muslim Azeris, who have been driven from their homes in the hundreds of thousands in an "ethnic cleansing" crusade by Christian Armenians—with the West's tacit approval. And how about the Muslim Palestinians subjugated by the "iron fist" of Israeli terror?

The Western press recently played up a visit to Sarajevo by Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto and Turkey's Tansu Ciller, who waxed rhetorical that, "Rarely in the annals of human history has a nation been subjected to such merciless savagery." The Baluchis and other national minorities in Pakistan's prison house of peoples might have cause to differ, not to mention the millions of Kurds being subjected to a genocidal war of terror by Ciller's regime.

The outgunned Bosnian Muslims have long seen direct imperialist military intervention as their only hope. In the past year, "poor little Bosnia" has built up an army of 200,000, launching a military offensive which has driven the Croats out of much of the area of central Bosnia formerly under their control and forcing Tudjman to send in Croatian regulars. While the Western press focuses almost exclusively on Serbian atrocities, the Muslim forces are no less adept at "ethnic cleansing" when they have the upper hand militarily. As the *Washington Post* (12 September 1993) reported, "the Bosnian army has systematically pushed the Croat population out of many ethnically mixed towns such as Fojnica all across the industrial heartland of

Bosnia." Bosnian Serbs fear that a partial withdrawal from around Sarajevo will encourage the Muslims to sweep into the breach, cutting off Serb headquarters in the town of Pale.

Nor is Bosnia the only flash point for uncontrollable nationalist fratricide in the Balkans. Kosovo is a potential cockpit for war between Serbia and Albania, while Albania, Greece and Bulgaria all have designs on Macedonia. Meanwhile, a conference of Islamic states meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia on

The American media denounce the Serbs as "aggressors" who have seized nearly two-thirds of the country's territory while comprising only one-third of its population. But the current territorial division is largely a reflection of the country's demographics; while the Muslims primarily lived in the cities, the Serb population is concentrated in rural areas, which have now been compacted under Serbian control.

What is ravaging the Yugoslav peoples today is capitalist nation-building in the

seeable future. But the bloodletting in the former Yugoslavia is a harbinger of what is to come in the "New World Disorder" which reigns since the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The newly formed German Fourth Reich first flexed its muscles by pushing hard in early 1991 for the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, traditional German client states in the Balkans. Germany has traditionally lusted for control of Yugoslavia as a source of vital industrial minerals, including bauxite and copper.

U.S. imperialism originally favored preserving Yugoslavia as a loose federation, then decided to champion the Bosnian Muslims as a battering ram against Milosevic. Britain and France—the traditional Western allies of Serbia—occasionally clashed with Bonn and Washington by advocating a softer line toward Belgrade.

The new Balkan wars have also disrupted Western imperialism, especially U.S., plans to transform post-Soviet Russia into a phant client state. Russia is the historic protector of its "Slavic little brothers," the Serbs, and Western moves against Serbia have fueled the nationalist opposition to the pro-American Yeltsin regime. Last month, the Russian parliament voted 280 to 2 to demand an end to the imperialist embargo of Serbia. NATO's threat to bomb the Serbs has been denounced not only by the fascist Zhirinovskiy, but even by such slavish lackeys of the U.S. as "shock treatment" architect Yegor Gaidar, while the Yeltsin regime initially demanded an emergency session of the Security Council to debate the issue. Yeltsin quickly capitulated to his masters in Washington, however, and acquiesced to the current NATO *diktat*.

While the Russians see Clinton's decision in favor of air strikes as a slap in the face, the masters of the German Fourth Reich are jubilant. One German official commented, "the Americans are doing exactly what we asked for." The German secretary general of NATO, Manfred Wörner, crowed: "This is a historic moment, a decisive moment in the life of our alliance." In reality, the current agreement among the NATO powers represents an ephemeral coincidence of interests in the context of widely divergent and conflicting imperialist appetites in the region.

The situation in the Balkans today underscores the urgency of forging an authentic internationalist communist vanguard which can lead the world's workers in ripping power out of the hands of the imperialists before they blow us all up. The democratic and national rights of all peoples in that blood-drenched region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. But the bloody machinations of Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic pale in comparison to the horrors which imperialism unleashes against the peoples of this planet. *Down with the starvation embargo! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack! From Sarajevo to Somalia, U.S. hands off the world!* ■

Bosnian militia today (right). During WW II, Bosnian SS forces (below) were puppets of the Third Reich.



Der Spiegel



February 10 offered to send 10,000 troops to Bosnia, raising the spectre of an Islamic "holy war." Mujahedin volunteers are already serving with the Bosnian forces, which are heavily supported by Saudi Arabia, among other countries.

For all the hue and cry over the Sarajevo regime's "self-determination," Bosnia was never more than simply an administrative subdivision of Yugoslavia. When Izetbegovic declared independence out of fear of being swallowed up by Milosevic's ambitious drive for a "Greater Serbia" and similar designs by Croatia's Tudjman, that in turn impelled Bosnia's Serbs and Croats to rebel against the prospect of being subordinated to Muslim domination.

manner it has been practiced for centuries—through war and forced population transfer (see "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars," *WV* Nos. 580 and 581, 16 and 30 July 1993). The fratricidal wars which have ripped apart Yugoslavia were part and parcel of capitalist counterrevolution. It is bitterly ironic that one of the "confrontation points" in Sarajevo is the Brotherhood and Unity Bridge, named by Tito to commemorate the multinational character of the country. Although bureaucratically deformed, the workers state erected by Tito's Communist Partisans in the wake of the Nazi defeat offered a future for all of Yugoslavia's deeply interpenetrated peoples. This was particularly symbolized by the relatively harmonious coexistence of Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia.

## The Balkan Wars, Then and Now

Once before, the Balkan peninsula served as a trip wire for interimperialist world war. Commenting on the impact of the first Balkan War, Leon Trotsky wrote in March 1913:

"But the Balkan War has not only destroyed the old frontiers in the Balkans, and not only fanned to white heat the mutual hatred and envy between the Balkan states, it has also lastingly disturbed the equilibrium between the capitalist states of Europe....

"Such are the results of the work being carried out by the capitalist governments, bourgeois parties, and professional diplomats: growth of the already unbearable burden of militarism, holding back of cultural development, increase in chauvinist bitterness, and—to crown everything—constant danger of a bloody free-for-all breaking out among the peoples of Europe in the near future!"

—*The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky: The Balkan Wars 1912-13* (1980)

Little more than a year later, all of Europe was ablaze in war, triggered by the assassination of an Austrian archduke in Sarajevo.

The NATO "allies" are hardly about to go to war with each other in the fore-

light for racist cop terror. So was the February 7 L.A. county decision not to prosecute two of the cops who last April ambushed and killed a young black man, Durrell Harts, who was scheduled to testify against them in a police brutality case.

Then last week, two drunken cops who had just come off the night shift a few hours before were emboldened to shoot up the Harbor Freeway, emptying their weapons out the windows of a pickup truck in a spree of random terror.

A further provocation was made against black people last week when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco declared that carrying out the death penalty by hanging in the state of Washington does not violate "contemporary standards of decency." Tell that to the relatives of the countless victims of the KKK lynch rope! Neither does capitalist justice, it seems, consider police shootings of defenseless black women to be a violation of "decency." But we declare that the cop killings of Eulha Love and Sonji Taylor will be avenged by workers revolution that will put the kill-crazy LAPD out of business for good! ■

## LAPD

(continued from page 12)

her over the issue of a \$22 gas bill. While the Police Department is "investigating" to see if the Taylor shooting meets its infamous license-to-kill "guidelines" (all LAPD shootings seem to), the killers are receiving full pay while being transferred to desk duty to relieve "stress."

The arrogant, bonapartist LAPD has refused to hand over internal documents to the district attorney for his own "routine" investigation, forcing him to convene a grand jury to try to get them. The cops are also going after the Valley Newspapers' coverage as "reckless and reprehensible," although editor Hope Frazier says she is standing by every word they wrote.

The LAPD has been attempting to use the government- and media-created furor over "crime" to heef up its army of racist terror. They went on full tactical alert after last month's earthquake. Governor Wilson's "crime summit," a fist-pounding circus at a Hollywood church on February 7-8, served as another green

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New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025



# Giuliani to Homeless: Freeze, Starve, Die!

Amid ear-splitting metallic squeals and the hostile rumble of the NYC subway system, a few words occasionally penetrate through the incomprehensible squawks over the loudspeakers: "smoke condition...delay in service due to...lawbreakers...illegal...charity." Say what? MTA (Metropolitan Transportation Authority) leaflets and posters underground translate the message: in the coldest, cruelest winter in at least 20 years, NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani has decreed that homeless people asking for money on the subways will be thrown out into the cold and arrested if they persist.

Giuliani's police commissioner William J. Bratton, who's also vowed to go after the "squeegee people" above ground, kicked off his new regime by personally kicking a panhandler out of a subway car. The MTA's handout "printed on recycled paper" (how p.c.) says: "Giving money to panhandlers is no way to help the homeless and the needy." Straphangers are ominously warned over loudspeakers: "Panhandling on board trains is against the law. Don't give to lawbreakers on the subway." Is Big Brother watching? Meanwhile, a ubiquitous MTA poster of a cartoon "thought balloon" (see illustration) whines:

"Uh, oh. Come on, not me, NOT ME. Oh Pleeeeeee don't come stand in FRONT of me ASKING for money.... Look, I feel bad, I really do. But HEY, it's MY MONEY."

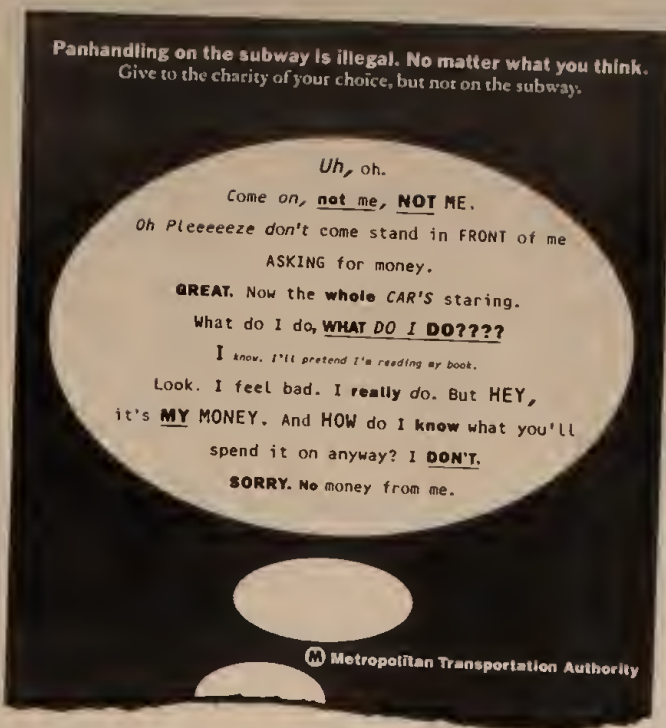
This creepy hysteria against the poor drew angry responses. The militant AIDS activist group ACT UP produced

balloons (designed to fit over the MTA ones) talking of the need for apartments, jobs and health care. Another subway rider sent a reply balloon to *Newsday* (3 February):

"Uh, oh.... Pleeeeeee look me in the EYE. I'm a HUMAN being, too, you know. GREAT. A cop. Freezing COLD outside and he's gonna TELL me to get my ass OUT on the STREET.... I really feel BAD. You would, too, if you'd lost your home.... You know who gives? Mostly it's poor people."

That's because poor people and working people understand how thin and slippery the line is between having a home or job and disaster, which is all too often just one layoff, or one accident, away. But Giuliani's "target audience," as evidenced by the MTA's stream-of-consciousness rant, is clearly the arrogant, racist yuppie denizens of Wall Street arbitrage houses.

In *Ghoulani's* 1994 "Newspeak," the thugs in charge of evicting the poor from the subways are officially known as the "Transit Police Quality of Life Task Force." This is a grotesque euphemism for driving homeless people out to starve and freeze to death. There are certainly many "quality of life" issues which deserve our attention. The Staten Island Ferry, used overwhelmingly by working people, really has been heavily infested by cockroaches. And the NYC subway system continues to breed large rats, who are a health hazard to those who work on the tracks and the many homeless surviving in the tunnels under Grand Central and Penn Station.



MTA's grotesque poster attacks poor and homeless.

Meanwhile, Rudolph the Ripper's city budget continues to slash mass transit, including cutting 50 upgrades in lighting and halting "rehabilitation" of at least 28 stations. It's clear enough that our biggest "quality of life" prob-

lem lies upstairs. We urgently need to get rid of the rats and blood-sucking parasites in City Hall and Wall Street, so a rational society can start providing homes and jobs and health care to everyone who needs them.

## Frazier...

(continued from page 12)

was dead on arrival. What happened after this near-fatal attack showed more of the deep racism that permeates the forces of capitalist "law and order."

Later that week, as Frazier was recovering from surgery, his mother received a phone call from a hospital worker at Kings County asking that a family member hurry to the hospital because "the policeman who is guarding him up here is beating him up." Other patients in Frazier's room told Mrs. Frazier that the cops declared, "From now on your name will be Jimboy—we'll fix it so your family never sees you again." This attempted lynching was stopped only by the intervention of courageous hospital staff who sat by James day-in and day-out to prevent further assaults.

Four times in the last two months, union militants and other opponents of racist oppression have gathered at the courthouse, standing in solidarity with Frazier when he was called to the bench. At the first hearing on January 5, more than 30 supporters turned out in solidarity. Among them were Local 100 TWU members wearing their union jackets and buttons, including members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU—which is fighting to mobilize the union in Frazier's defense—as well as other unionists, students from City College and Columbia University, and the Partisan Defense Committee. Similar numbers turned out for the subsequent hearings.

This support has not gone unnoticed. "I see you've brought your jury again," said the judge on February 2. Last week, Frazier appeared on WBAI's labor program "Building Bridges" to appeal for support. United Farm Workers president Arturo S. Rodriguez wrote Brooklyn D.A. Charles Hynes demanding that charges be dropped. The real crime, he wrote, was "the terrorizing and attempted murder of Mr. Frazier by two New York City police officers."

The staff rep and vice chairman of the TWU track division, where Frazier works, posted flyers calling on workers to turn out for court. But shamefully, the Local 100 tops have refused to come to Frazier's aid, cringing before the state's racist persecution of this union brother. They repeatedly declared they would do nothing to fight for his job until the racist injustice system was done with Frazier. This was despite motions passed at track and motormen's division meetings in December calling for the union to use its full resources to demand that all charges be dropped and Frazier be reinstated immediately.

The Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (15 January) covered the case, but like the TWU misleaders, it didn't even demand that the D.A. drop the charges!

In a leaflet distributed at transit barns and college campuses, the New York Labor Black League called for workers and youth to rally at the court on February 14:

"Minorities in New York City today are seething over wanton cop violence against blacks, Hispanics and immigrants. David Dinkins, who ran New York for Wall Street, put thousands more cops on the payroll while slashing city jobs and social services. Now the cops' candidate Giuliani has signaled 'open season' on the ghettos and barrios with his raid on the Nation of Islam mosque in Harlem and the police murder in Brooklyn of unarmed 17-year-old Shuaib Latif, the son of the head of New York's Islamic Leadership Council. It's also open season on labor, the poor and the homeless as Giuliani threatens to ax 18,000 city jobs by cutting schools, hospitals and all social services, and he says he will rip up the unions to do it!"

"Mass layoffs, rampant cop terror, imperialist war: this is what the capitalists and their two parties, Republicans and Democrats, have in store for workers and the poor. The only way working people can achieve any measure of justice is through mobilizing the strength of the integrated labor movement in defense of all the oppressed, up to and including shutting down this city to protest racist cop terror!"

## Racist Rulers Stick It to New York

Last week, Rudolph Giuliani's deputy mayor, John S. Dyson, got caught writing down the kind of racist remark the ruling class usually utters only in the privacy of their exclusive clubs and dinner parties. Dyson proclaimed the divine right of a privileged minority to lord it over the non-white majority of New York City's population.

In December, the *Daily News* ran a flattering profile of Giuliani and his lifetime pal Peter Powers, also a deputy mayor, describing them as "two white men with no City Hall experience who must hold an increasingly diverse immigrant city together." Dyson fired off a memo to Rudy, saying: "Do not worry. Two white guys have been running this city of immigrants for over 200 years."

Confronted by questions over Dyson's remarks, Giuliani stomped out of a City Hall press conference. Spokesmen for immigrant groups are incensed. *El Diariol/La Prensa* is up in arms. Most black people understand that they, too, are considered "immigrants"—that is to say, without rights—by the racist rulers.

Dyson's memo aimed at throwing everyone receiving welfare payments into forced labor. He said that Democratic Senator Moynihan secretly supported Giuliani's election, though he formally endorsed black Democrat Dinkins. Not surprising, since Moynihan has had the same racist line on welfare since he was a Nixon bureau-

crat, blaming the "black family" for the social problems produced by mass poverty.

That's also Bill Clinton's line on welfare. When Reagan was in the White House, black Democratic mayors carried out his racist, anti-working-class cutbacks in the nation's big cities. Now the Democrats control Washington, and white Republican backlash mayors carry out Clinton's racist, anti-working-class "reforms." Either way, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, the poor and working people lose.

John Dyson was certainly expressing Giuliani's line. Back in 1989, an Auschwitz death camp survivor complained that when Giuliani was Reagan's U.S. attorney in New York he had a blackboard in his office with the German words "*Arbeit macht frei*" (Work shall set you free) scrawled on it. This was the Nazi slogan over the gates of the Auschwitz concentration camp.

But the deputy mayor didn't get it quite right—not surprising since his boss Giuliani was elected as the racist revenge of the white ethnic enclaves and Upper East Side yuppies. Actually, in this center of international finance capital the shots are called by something like 200 white men down on Wall Street. The couple of white guys in City Hall do their bidding; so did black Democrat Dinkins.

It will be that way until we get rid of the capitalist system that they all serve.



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## NYC Transit Worker Was Victim of Racist Cop Attack Stop the Persecution of James Frazier!

**TWU Members Demand:  
D.A. Hands Off Frazier!  
T.A. Reinstate Him Now!**

FEBRUARY 15—Forty supporters of transit worker James Frazier came out to defend him at the Brooklyn courthouse yesterday. Frazier was framed up after surviving a deadly racist attack by New York City cops last October. Among those present at the court were members of his union, Transit Workers (TWU) Local 100, city workers, students and others.

In the courtroom, the district attorney requested that the charge of gun possession against Frazier be dismissed "without prejudice," which the judge granted. This means that Frazier can be dragged back into court on the same trumped-up charges. Today, Brooklyn D.A. Charles Hynes' office stated to *Workers Vanguard* that Frazier's case has been brought before a grand jury and an indictment can still be filed.

After the court hearing, Frazier's supporters marched with him to the Transit Authority (TA) labor relations office several blocks away to demand he get his job back now. Despite his perfect attendance record and glowing job evaluation, the TA, in racist solidarity with the cops, fired Frazier while he was recovering in the hospital. As Frazier told *WV* in a recent interview: "What am I guilty of—being shot? A cop shot me and took my left eye. That's the reason I lost my job in transit."

This union brother was nearly killed

Transit worker James Frazier (standing, third from left) with supporters outside Brooklyn courthouse, February 14.



WV Photo

by the trigger-happy NYPD, lost his eye, had his job taken away, and now this monstrous torture is continuing in the capitalist injustice system. We must redouble our efforts to stop the racist persecution of James Frazier!

At a gathering at a nearby restaurant, Frazier thanked all who have come out in his defense, especially his coworkers. Pointing out that the court and the D.A. noticed it was workers who turned out,

he said, "New York City is based on its workers, without the workers the city wouldn't operate."

A transit worker supporter of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which has played a key role in building support for Frazier, stressed that the mobilization of workers is key. He pointed to Springfield, Illinois where hundreds of blacks, unionists, students and socialists came out against the KKK;

"We know where the power is."

Frazier's defense is particularly important coming against a backdrop of escalating cop terror in New York City. On October 24, as Frazier was driving to Kings County Hospital to visit a friend, a cop shot him in the head from behind, blowing out his left eye. When the ambulance carrying Frazier arrived at the hospital, the cops claimed that he

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## Sonji Taylor, Another Victim of the LAPD

LOS ANGELES—As her three-year-old son Jeremy watched in confused horror, Sonji Taylor, a 27-year-old black woman, was cut down in a hail of bullets by the LAPD on the rooftop of St. Vincent's Medical Center on December 16. After dousing her with pepper gas spray, allegedly to force her to release her child, killer cops Michael Long and Craig Liedahl viciously pumped at least nine rounds into her body. Then they handcuffed her as she lay bleeding to death on the ground.

Now a coroner's report released on January 31 has revealed that out of ten bullet wounds, seven shots hit Sonji Taylor in the back! Furthermore, the San Gabriel Valley Newspapers, which publishes the *Pasadena Star News* and *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, reports forensic experts' analysis that the presence of flattened, or "mushroomed" bullets suggests that Sonji might have been shot as many as four times while lying face down. A Valley Newspapers report said that four slugs were found underneath her body, which the cops



L.A. Times

Sonji Taylor with her son Jeremy. Racist LAPD killers shot mother to death in front of her son on December 16.

are vehemently trying to deny.

Sonji's mother, Geri Dixon, angrily contested the cops' "fishy" claim that her daughter, a Fresno State graduate,

could have been a threat to either her son or to her killers: "She loved Jeremy like nobody else. They can't make me believe that she was threatening." Dixon said the police "told me she had a knife and charged. They said that Jeremy was in her arms and that they got him out of her arms.... If they could get [her son] out of her arms, why didn't they just shoot her in the leg or something?... Why did they have to kill her?"

Hospital security guards at the downtown hospital complex had called the police, who claim Ms. Taylor exhibited bizarre behavior and was threatening her child with a butcher knife. The cops claim that she lunged at them with a knife in her left hand—but Sonji Taylor was right-handed. "It is unclear why Taylor was at St. Vincent Medical Center," wrote the *Los Angeles Times* (2 February), "but she apparently had been Christmas shopping that day. Shoppers sometimes park at the center while in nearby stores." Sonji was carrying a shopping bag with two knives and a sharpener which could have been

a present. The family was preparing for a Christmas celebration at the Bay Area home of Sonji's uncle, Tim McDonald, a safety for the San Francisco 49ers.

Sonji Taylor's family say that nothing foreshadowed her horrible death. The young woman had recently passed the entrance exam to become a state prison employee. She had taken acting classes and had some bit parts in movies. She was a former homecoming queen and cheerleader, and a devout Pentecostal Christian. The white cops say they thought Ms. Taylor was on drugs or having a mental breakdown because she was yelling, "For the Blood of Jesus!" as they approached with guns drawn. But her mother says Sonji had been taught since childhood to recite this for protection when she was afraid.

Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., attorney for the Taylor family, has compared the shooting to the notorious 1979 LAPD execution of Eulia Love, a young black mother of three. As she stood on her lawn, cops fired eight bullets into

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