

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Showdown:
19 Years
After
Roe
V.
Wade



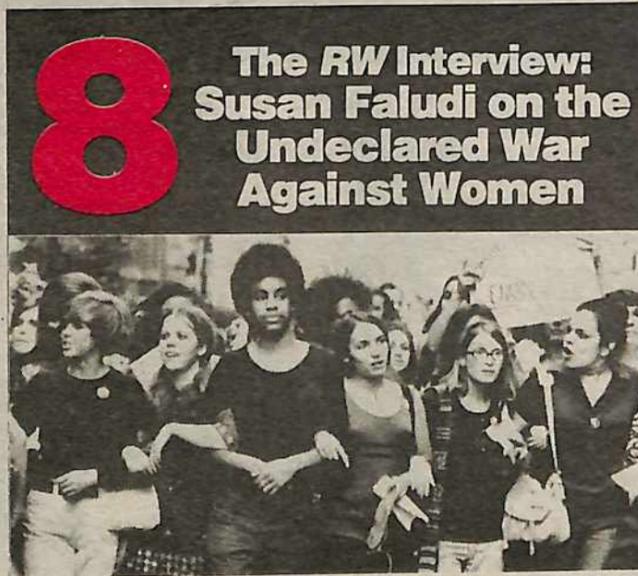
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Women Are Not Incubators! Abortion Without Apology!



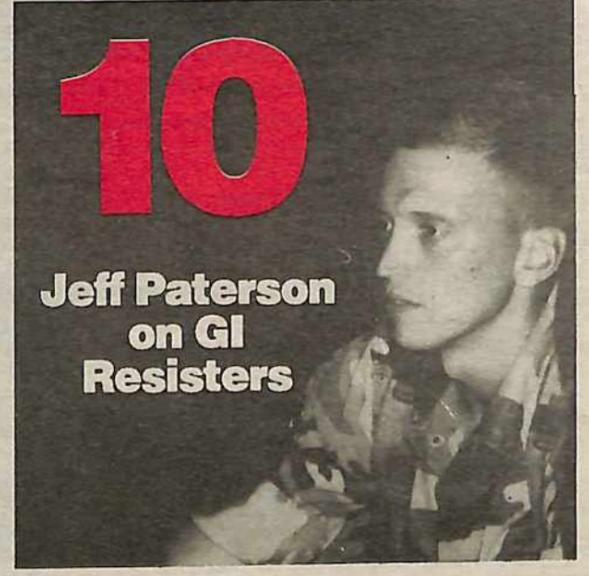
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Wordup for Ice Cube Review

Wordup to the RW for its insightful, revolutionary critique of Ice Cube's album and the response of his bourgeois critics. The RW was on the money when it correctly pointed out the hypocrisy of the bourgeois attack on Ice Cube. The real threat that these backward forces are concerned about is the threat to its game plan to have the so-called "gansta" element in the oppressed communities around the country destroying each other while the government gets fat off the labor and resources of the people. We do not buy the hype that suddenly these mouthpieces for the ruling class are concerned about women's rights as their sexist supreme court attacks women's fundamental right to control over their bodies, or that this country, which provided refuge for Nazis after WW2, is concerned about Ice Cube's anti-semitism, or that this country, which invaded Korea and murdered thousands of its inhabitants to increase its profits, cares about Korean merchants.

The real concern for these lackeys and running dogs is that a Black youth is getting some political consciousness. That

he would want to kill Uncle Sam at a time when the country is trying to force patriotism down the throats of the ever growing unemployed mass and by making criminals of flagburners and women who refuse to accept a backward tide to the days of male domination.

As the article pointed out, and as I pointed out in my review of Ice Cube's album in the *Black Arts Bulletin*, Ice Cube and others like him must understand the connection between sexism and racism, between class domination and racism, and between capitalism and racism. They must continue their political development until they can see clearly the imperialist oppressors as the real source of our oppression.

Ice Cube and his fans should hurriedly cop a subscription to the RW so that they can get some "science" to go with their developing political consciousness, so that killing Uncle Sam becomes a more possible goal.

Artist in the Struggle,
Kenneth Carroll,
Washington D.C.



Cover of Ice Cube's recent album.

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation— here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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SHOW-DOWN: 19 Years After Roe v. Wade



Pro-choice demonstrators in New York, July 1989.

A STRAIGHT UP WARNING TO THE PEOPLE: We are at an historic political crossroads over a most fundamental right of women. And the forces of resistance are far from ready to do what needs to be done. This must change—and quickly. A different political line and spirit must come to the fore.

The top powers of this society are determined to deny the right of women to control their own reproduction. And this must be a deep concern of everyone who believes in liberation. Nineteen years ago, on January 22, 1973, abortion was made legal nationwide. And ever since, powerful forces have attacked that legal right of women. Rules, restrictions, laws, court decisions, and funding policies have made it increasingly difficult for millions of women to get needed abortions. Things have now reached a critical point.

In the months ahead, new outrages are certain. The enemy has moved woman-hating hangmen onto the Supreme Court and other top spots. They will tighten the noose around women more. They may openly overturn the *Roe v. Wade* decision and give state governments the green light to completely abolish abortion. This cannot be allowed to go down.

At a moment when women and men all across the country are eager to resist, key centers within the abortion rights movement remain absorbed in depressing and useless strategies. There is a mood of confusion, defensiveness, passivity, localism, and defeat.

Six years ago, this newspaper carried the headline: "URGENTLY NEEDED: OUTPOURING OF RAGE." Since then the stakes have only gotten higher. This situation can and must be turned around.

Time's Up for the Old Road

Sad reformist politics have held sway in pro-choice ranks for far too long. This line says, "It is the existing political establishment that will decide whether women have the right to abortion or not—so pro-choice politics must cater to the powerful." This line says that pro-choice forces must remain respectful and respectable. This line argues that tactics and strategy must be ultimately geared to helping half-hearted "allies" in the Democratic party win elections.

There are literally millions who are itching to fight the attack on abortion rights! But what are they being offered? Some forces act as if the battle is already lost on the national plane and urge people to focus on the micro-politics of state legislatures! Some believe they can pressure the Democratic Party establishment into fighting for abortion rights—by threatening to form a third electoral party.

This line prevents people from making the defense of abortion an unmistakable, national, dividing-line issue. It opposes mobilizing millions to fiercely struggle for the interests of the people.

One recent example: Pro-choice women were actively discouraged from going to Wichita to drive out the reactionary bullies who had seized the national spotlight there. It was said that confronting these stormtroopers would "alienate" the mainstream.

Long years of political experience show that this line is not gonna do any good. And even some people who have been advocating this type of politics are now looking for another road.

It's time for serious new strategizing. There is much to learn from the militant mass resistance of women who have confronted the anti-abortion forces in the streets and defeated them. And a whole new generation of youth needs to get into the frontlines of the battle.

Here is our Maoist viewpoint: The need to oppress and dominate women, in every way, is woven deep into the very fabric of this system. The electoral system will never become a mechanism for ending that oppression. It took a civil war to end slavery. It will take earth-shaking conflict, upheaval and revolution to transform power relations in favor of the oppressed. This basic truth should illuminate everything we do.

A real showdown throughout the society is needed over abortion rights. And in reality, it is ONLY such mass resistance which can mobilize the millions, give heart to the demoralized, win over the confused and vacillating forces, and isolate the reactionaries.

Boldness, Clarity and Consciousness-Raising Need to Replace Defensiveness and Confusion

Years of anti-abortion propaganda has caused confusion among the people and defensiveness among pro-choice forces. These political moods need to be reversed. Some firm

verdicts need to be taken out to millions of people:

The opponents of abortion rights claim to have "high moral ground." But their movement springs from the same "moral ground" as the burning stake of the witch trials and the lynching tree of the KKK. The leadership of this movement claims to be "pro-family"—but the family it wants to impose is a prison cell where domineering men brutalize women and young people. This movement wants women subordinate to fathers, lovers, medical authorities, and priests. And they want the bourgeois state to enforce those power relations.

This movement does not "support life"—it is for strangling the lives of women. We call them "Christian fascists," and we think the label fits. They have mobilized people on the basis of superstition and lies. They fear confrontation where their followers are drawn into open mass debate. Their bubble of righteousness can be punctured.

To take these reactionaries on, people need a clear stand of "abortion without apology." There are many different reasons why women get abortions. They are all valid. No woman should feel guilty about terminating an unwanted pregnancy.

Reproductive freedom is basic to the liberation of women. As long as women have babies, the social regulation of reproduction can become an oppressive thing for women. That's why the overall physical and social well-being of women must take priority when it comes to decisions about having children or having abortions. This is a question of women's health. But even more it is a question of *women's right to function fully in society*.

All the sisters and brothers need to get some science on these points:

Women are not incubators: The birth of a child can be a source of great joy for a woman. But it can be a nightmare for a woman who for whatever reasons does not want to have a child under those particular circumstances. Forcing a woman to continue a pregnancy is extremely cruel and sadistic. Like rape, it is a forceful violation of a woman's control of her own body. It will affect her entire life. It means women are forced into "motherhood" and "shotgun weddings." It means back-alley butchers and self-induced abortions with coathangers and Drano. It means infection and death—or it means being chained into oppressive family situations by unwanted births. No woman's life should be twisted that way.

Fetuses are not children: A fetus becomes a human being at the time of its birth—when it starts an independent social existence and is no longer part of a woman's body. Before birth, a fetus is *not* a child. It is living tissue with only the potential of becoming a child in the future. Abortion is a medical procedure that ends a pregnancy. **Abortion is not murder.**

Group discussions need to be organized among the masses on these questions, using the weapon of the RW.

The Class Alignment of the Abortion Battle Needs To Change

The struggle for the liberation of women is too often seen as a "white middle class women's issue." If this continues, women cannot be liberated. And other major forms of oppression in this society can't be overthrown either.

The movement to defend abortion rights must speak to the questions that have kept women of the oppressed nationalities from adding their strength and experience to this struggle.

And voices must be raised from the most oppressed sections of society—from poor women and women of color, and especially from that new generation of rebel youth. The poor, exploited and oppressed—women and men—must bring their power and "nothing to lose" spirit into this crucial battle. As Maoists said during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the people need a BIG alliance—uniting all who can be united against the real enemy.

The banning of abortion directly affects the lives of millions of poor, proletarian women. Before the legalization of abortion, 80% of the women who died from illegal abortions in New York were Black and Latino. Cutting government funds for abortion in the late '70s, meant millions of oppressed women were forced into unwanted pregnancy and many were forced into surgical sterilization—which is still federally funded.

If the Supreme Court legalized slavery—millions among the oppressed would act in an extremely forceful and direct way. Let us prepare our people to respond with the same kind of outrage to this move toward slavery for women. When a woman is forced to remain pregnant by the state, husbands and fathers it is a brutal, life-threatening, intolerable outrage to all the oppressed people—just like the pig beating of Rodney King.

No one who opposes oppression and supports liberation can stand aside from the battle over abortion. "You are either part of the problem or part of the solution."

As Li Onesto wrote in RW #623: "Today we are at a critical juncture. The mass resistance we build must rely on and draw strength from the millions who hate what this system does to women. It must be linked with other struggles going on in the world. And most importantly, it must be part of the struggle to overthrow this system. The powers-that-be have declared a war on women—now it's time for the people to go on the offensive."

Statement by Mary Lou Greenberg On the Anniversary of Roe v. Wade

They've Gone Too Far Already! Not One Step Further!



Mary Lou Greenberg at protest outside New York Supreme Court after Webster Decision, July 1989.

January 22 is the 19th anniversary of the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion in the U.S. It is a day that the anti-abortionists and the whole male-dominator crew, from the White House on down, have tried to take away from us. But this year, January 22, *Roe v. Wade* Day, must be a day to declare a fresh determination for a powerful new offensive against all the attacks on abortion rights.

These attacks—from clinic blockades by the Christian fascists to abortion cases at the Supreme Court level, which could be heard as early as spring—must be answered with mass resistance and an uncompromising, unapologetic stand. Appealing to politicians or having faith in the system will only get us more grief and divert our energy and anger from what needs to be done. As I said in "Women Are Not Incubators":

"We have to create a situation where the enemy faces the highest political price and risks profound social crisis and chaos if they decide to carry through with their plans to take away women's right to abortion."

Refuse & Resist! has initiated a call and is uniting with others to go on the offensive in a major way around abortion. This should be enthusiastically supported. The year ahead is critical to the survival of legal abortion, and no one can stand aside from this struggle. Already the powers have made abortion inaccessible for poor women in much of the country, with a disproportionate number of these being

women of color. Parental consent laws have put the lives of young women in jeopardy, and there are no abortion providers for women living in vast areas of the country. By withholding financial aid, the U.S. government has imposed their reactionary values on women throughout the Third World. Our stand must be: they've gone too far already! Not one step further!

We need to strategize, organize, and politicize the masses of women and men on a whole new level. The experience of women who have done serious battle on this front needs to be summed up and shared, and a whole new generation needs to become leaders in this fight. Broad unity needs to be built around meeting these attacks with mass resistance. Schools, communities and workplaces must be part of building the battle, and many new forces must be activated.

As part of this offensive, we must strengthen women's resolve not to be apologetic or defensive about abortion. Women must not feel guilty about having abortions for whatever reason. Women are not incubators, fetuses are not children, and abortion is not murder. So long as women become pregnant and give birth, it is *their* lives which must take precedence over any potential life.

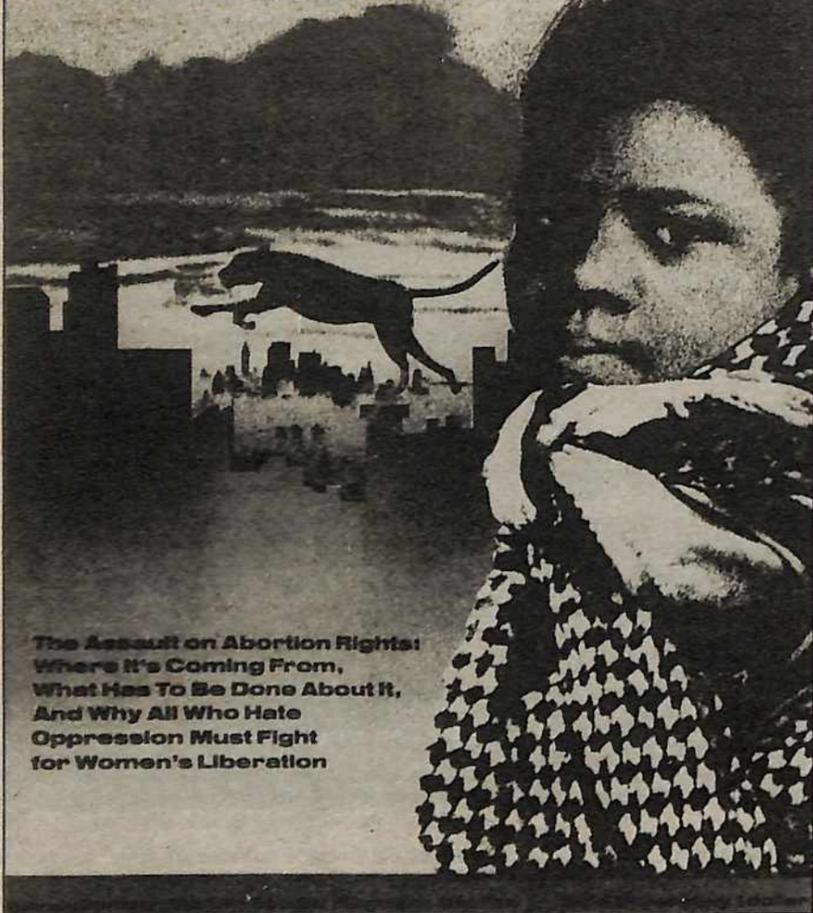
If women are not able to make such basic decisions about their own lives—such as whether or not to give birth—they are in essence *slaves*. And just as we fight for abortion rights for all women, we must

fight against the forced sterilization of poor women and women of color, and for a broader reproductive rights agenda that ensures the ability of women to have children if they wish.

People need to see that the attacks on abortion and on women's reproductive freedom generally are part of a broader reactionary agenda that seeks to clamp people down and shut them up. From vicious racist attacks, to enforced patriotism, to trying to ram reactionary traditional values down people's throats—it's all part of the powers' agenda to keep a lid on the people. Attacks on the right to abortion are a key part of this agenda because the question of who controls the reproductive functions of women is key to the *overall* status of women in society. And the powers—that be need this kind of social control—especially in times of economic and political crisis, where there is potential for social upheaval. Times like now.

Further. It is time—past time—to face the cold truth that the needs of this system and the needs of women are incompatible. The battle for abortion must be linked with the struggle for the liberation of women overall, with the revolutionary struggle to liberate *all* oppressed people. And it must be built in such a way to hasten the day when this system can be overthrown and a new one created, which will make possible the full liberation of women as part of the liberation of all humanity. □

Women Are Not Incubators!



The Assault on Abortion Rights: Where It's Coming From, What Has To Be Done About It, And Why All Who Hate Oppression Must Fight for Women's Liberation

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Refuse & Resist! Calls for Offensive on Abortion Rights

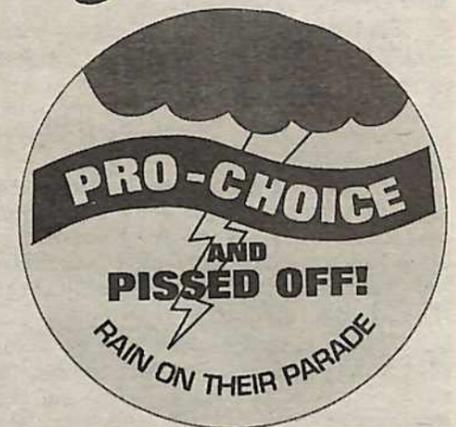
Anti-abortion forces planned to seize the January 22nd anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* for their cause again this year. They organized a national rally of their forces for Washington, D.C., complete with an official greeting from the White House. "Operation Rescue" announced that they would shut down abortion clinics in the capital from January 20th to the 22nd.

Things may not work out as planned for these anti-woman forces. An important call to "Rain on their Parade!" has been put out.

Refuse & Resist! put out a call for a "major counter-offensive against the born-again-bigots and their allies." The headline read: "This is our last chance to keep abortion rights! What are we going to do about it?" R&R! wrote: "After years of shutting down clinics, elevating misogynist politicians to national prominence (including the presidency) and appointing anti-women judges, the New Right is fast approaching its goal of outlawing abortion.... A feeling of OUTRAGE about the escalating social and political violence against women is sweeping across the country. A broad spectrum of forces must come together quickly to tap into this resentment, serving notice to the patriarchs that they can't trample over us without a fight. We can make a difference—by making reactionaries fear the worst repercussions if they mess with us anymore. We can turn back every attack on Women's clinics. We can shut down *their* offices for a change. We can spoil their victory parades. We can confront legislators and judges. We can change the whole political climate to one that demands the affirmation of women's rights. BUT WE MUST FIGHT BACK NOW!"

As a kickoff to this counter-offensive, R&R! called for the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* to become "a raucous, defiant celebration of women's power."

In response to this call, the Ad Hoc Committee to Rain on Their Parade was formed in Washington DC. Endorsers include D.C. NOW, DCLARE, OUT!, Queer Nation,



Refuse & Resist!, So. Prince Georges County NOW, Takoma Park NOW, WHAM-LA, WHAM-NY.

A recent leaflet by the Ad Hoc Committee says, "On Jan. 22, 1991 DC is being INVADED by anti-choice bigots trying to control women's lives by controlling our bodies. Come rain on their parade!" The leaflet announces the "pro-choice rally at the January 22 anti-women ('right to life') march" and calls for a rally at noon, January 22, at 6th and Constitution, N.W. Organizers have urged supporters to come to Washington, DC from throughout the country for this action.

In Hawaii, the Pro-Choice Coalition and Refuse & Resist! are also planning activities for the January 22nd anniversary. And a demonstration has been called in New York, for the evening of January 21st at Foley Square by Women's Health Action and Mobilization (WHAM).

For more information contact:

- Ad Hoc Committee to Rain on their Parade—(301) 306-1711
- Refuse & Resist! National Office—(212) 732-5237.
- New York's Refuse & Resist! chapter is mobilizing people to go to DC and can be reached at (212) 732-5657. □

A Chilling Countdown

In 1973, nineteen years ago, anti-abortion laws were struck down by the Supreme Court decision called *Roe versus Wade*. Abortion became legal. This was a concession made by the ruling class after the '60s upheavals and after women had shifted into the workplace in large numbers.

Since then, the battle over who controls reproduction and women's lives has only intensified. Powerful forces have fought singlemindedly to turn the clock back—to tighten male and government controls on women. There is an open danger that *Roe* will be overturned in the next couple of years—which would allow states to ban abortion.

Meanwhile, from the highest levels, the ruling powers have been chipping away at the right to choose—piece by piece. Millions of women are already prevented from ending unwanted pregnancy. The powers now allow states and parents special rights to regulate abortions. They have cut off government medical funding for abortion—sentencing countless poor women to forced childbirth, sterilization or both. They have approved red tape and legal harassment of abortion clinics. And they have step by step weakened the legal arguments that *Roe v. Wade* was based on. All major political centers of this system are involved: the Supreme Court, the Congress, the White House, and many state governments.

Here are the high-level legal moves of the last 19 years: first legalizing abortions and then making it harder and harder for women to get them.

1973 Supreme Court Decision: *Roe v. Wade*

The Supreme Court threw out anti-abortion laws in 23 states. A pregnant woman and her doctor got the legal right to decide to perform an abortion. The Supreme Court argued that this right to choose abortion is part of the constitutional "right to privacy" recognized in 1963.

Although *Roe* was a historic concession to the struggle of women, this decision did not say that each woman has a fundamental right to control her own reproduction. *Roe* allows the states to outlaw some abortions—specifically abortion in the last third of a pregnancy. According to *Roe* there were still situations where the government could enforce the so-called "rights" of unborn fetuses over the life decisions of women.

1973 Congressional Legislation: The Helms Amendment

Congress said that U.S. foreign aid could not be used to finance abortions or facilities performing abortions. Within months of the passage of *Roe*, Congress went on record against the right to abortion—imposing this reactionary position on U.S.-funded clinics throughout the Third World.

1973 Supreme Court Decision: *Doe v. Bolton*

The Supreme Court struck down state abortion laws that required state residency or the approval of hospital committees for women seeking abortions.

1976 Supreme Court Decision: *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*

The Supreme Court threw out state laws that required women to get their husbands' permission for abortions. This decision said young women [so-called "minors"] had a right to privacy. At the same time, the decision allowed states to set up red tape procedures that posed obstacles for women and the doctors performing abortions.

1977 Congressional Legislation: Hyde Amendment

Congress banned federal funding of abortion. This effectively banned abortions for millions of women who rely on federally financed medical care, including poor women who use Medicaid, women in federal prisons, women in rural areas and women on many military bases. Surgical sterilization could still be performed using federal funds—and so poor women often had sterilization forced on them.

1979 Supreme Court Decision: *Bellotti v. Baird*

The Supreme Court gave states permission to make special regulations on abortion for young women as long as the regulations also gave these women the option of a legal hearing to seek an abortion. This legalized parental consent laws, and made it harder for youth to get quick, secret abortions. It gave parents—and especially fathers—new powers to control the sexuality and reproduction of young



New York, 1989

women. And it made it impossible for many young women to get abortions—especially those who can't afford lawyers or use the legal system to defy their parents. States immediately started passing laws requiring parental consent for teenage abortions and restricting abortions for young women in other ways. Today 35 states have such laws.

1980 Supreme Court Decisions: *Harris v. McRae* and *Williams v. Zbaraz*

The Supreme Court upheld the federal Hyde Amendment. After this, many states banned abortion funding. Today only 13 states fund abortions.

1983 Supreme Court Decision: *Akron Center for Reproductive Health v. the City of Akron*

The Supreme Court knocked down some state-imposed restrictions on abortion, including waiting periods, mandatory lectures designed to intimidate women, a requirement that second trimester abortions be performed in hospitals, and special laws requiring special disposal of fetal tissue.

1986 Supreme Court Decision: *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Pennsylvania*

Reagan's attorney general openly demanded that the Supreme Court overturn *Roe v. Wade* and allow states to treat abortion as a crime. By a very narrow vote, the Supreme Court decided not to completely overturn *Roe* yet.

1986 Supreme Court Decision: *Bowers v. Hardwick*

The Supreme Court upheld that sex between two men could be treated as a serious felony—even if the so-called "sodomy" was performed in the privacy of their bedroom. Court opinions said that the "right to privacy" only existed under conditions of marriage and the creation of children. The essence of this argument was that the bourgeois legal concept of "privacy" is not a right for all individuals, but a patriarchal right of men to rule over women and children within nuclear families. This argument undercut the legal basis for *Roe v. Wade*.

1989 Supreme Court Decision: *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*

The Supreme Court upheld the right of states to enact sweeping restrictions of abortion: Under this ruling, a state-funded hospital can be forbidden to permit abortions. State-funded medical schools may be required to remove abortion from their curriculum. States may require tests to examine how long a woman has been pregnant. The decision also allowed Missouri to write a law that said "the life of each human being begins at conception."

1990 Supreme Court Decisions: *Hodgson v. Minnesota* and *Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*

The Supreme Court said states could forbid abortions to young women who had not notified both their parents—even parents who had never lived with the woman. The ruling also said states could force a special waiting period on young women—to give their parents time to pressure them not to have an abortion.

1991 Supreme Court Decision: *Rust v. Sullivan*

The Supreme Court upheld a White House decree forbidding doctors and counselors in federally funded clinics to even mention abortion to women. This ruling prevented women from getting honest and up-to-date medical advice about their own bodies and their legal options. The Supreme Court said this presidential gag rule was not a violation of freedom of speech. A few months later, the House of Representatives also refused to override the White House gag rule.

1991 Federal Appeals Court Decision Rejects *Roe v. Wade*

In October a federal Appeals Court upheld key provisions of Pennsylvania's anti-abortion law. The Appeals Court argued that *Roe* has already been so chipped away by Supreme Court decisions that it should no longer be considered the law of the land. This claim shows how far women's rights have already been cut down in the nineteen years since abortion was legalized. This lower court decision will now be reviewed—and perhaps upheld—by the Supreme Court in the coming year.



Left: Pro-choice demonstrators confront Operation Rescue outside Cincinnati clinic. Right: Chicago, September 1991.



Photo: Mars

LAPD Backs Down, May First Fighters Go Free

Another victory has been won in the trial of the Pico-Union 21. The attempted political railroad of eight Los Angeles activists arrested on May Day 1990 ended last week when the prosecution moved to dismiss all charges rather than obey a court order to turn over secret files and names of agents from the LAPD Anti-Terrorist Division (ATD). This is something for people to celebrate!

The state was forced to retreat because they are desperate to cover up activities of the secret police and their involvement in the clampdown against the people. Since the videotaped police beating of Rodney King last year, there have been almost daily press reports in L.A. of police abuse. However, the activities of the political police have not gotten much attention. Although they are only the tip of a large iceberg, the revelations about the ATD through the Pico-Union 21 case have begun to shed light on the scope of their operations. And this has brought about the basis for further investigation of their dirty work.

The May Day defendants faced 15 misdemeanors for defying LAPD barricades and shutting down an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) concentration camp in the Pico-Union barrio on International Workers Day. The barricades were put up under the guise of the "war on drugs" as the first phase of a plan to turn oppressed communities into Nazi-style ghettos. The protest kicked off a month and a half of struggle against the barricades and a nationwide network of INS concentration camps. Fifty-eight people were arrested during vicious police attacks on the demonstrations; the Pico-Union 21 are those who were later charged. The trial of the eight

May Day defendants was the second of the several cases involving the Pico-Union 21. Last June the first trial of one of the 21 ended in victory when a Latino immigrant was acquitted of felony assault on an officer.

The government changed the charges in the May Day defendants' trial seven times to try to find something that might stick. Four Deputy City Attorneys made court appearances. The prosecution had at least 20 pigs lined up to testify. After all this, they backed down rather than reveal information about political spying. The U.S. made a big deal out of the fact that the East German *Stasi* and other secret police in Eastern Europe were forced to open their files by the demands of the people. But when it comes to opening up the files of the U.S. political police, the vaults are locked.

LAPD's Arrogant Refusal

The stage was set for dismissal last month when the defense subpoenaed all ATD documents relating to May Day 1990, written before or after the demonstration, and the names of ATD agents who were present. The LAPD sent in Deputy City Attorney Linda Lefkowitz, the red squad's long-time lawyer with a history of covering up secret police operations. She argued that the files were protected from release by "government privilege." But after a closed session in the judge's chambers, the judge ordered the material turned over.

When the time finally came to turn over the information, Lefkowitz refused straight up to obey the court order. She even refused, either in open court or in the privacy of the judge's chambers, to make any argument about why the files should be con-

fidential. After the judge said she would tell the jury that the LAPD was hiding things that might prove that all the cops were lying (which would have exposed the coverup even more), the prosecution moved for a dismissal. One of the defense lawyers commented to the *RW*, "This is the first time in my life where I've just come face to face with the arrogance of the LAPD...where they've said, 'We're a power unto ourselves and we don't answer to anybody.'"

Putting the Heat on the ATD

The ATD is not the only LAPD unit involved in political repression, but the defense focused on it for a number of reasons. Organized in 1983 out of the old red squad, the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID), the ATD reports directly to Chief Pig Daryl Gates, bypassing the normal LAPD bureaucracy. It's headed by his brother, Steve Gates. During the trial the ATD was often mentioned by other pigs as a source and depository of information, and it was known that ATD personnel were present at at least one demonstration. There was other evidence of the involvement of higher levels of the LAPD. Certain activists like Sasha, a woman leader of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), were arrested, brutalized and threatened again and again. Decisions were made at top levels about who to prosecute and for what.

From the beginning of the proceedings over a year and a half ago, the police have tried to keep as much information as possible from the defense, even though, under the rules of the system, the defense had a right to all the information they asked for.

In the course of the legal battle over the police coverup, a watch commander at the LAPD's Rampart Division, whose area includes Pico-Union, testified that he is frequently notified by ATD about a broad range of demonstrations. A 1984 court order regulating police spying was interpreted by many people as forbidding the very kind of political surveillance that this cop admitted was routine.

Several cops, including the head of Rampart Division, testified that actions identified as "RCP demonstrations" were not "political demonstrations," since they had nothing to do with elections. (Although the Revolutionary Communist Party did not sponsor any of the demonstrations in Pico-Union, many of the participants supported the party's political stand.) The conditions of life of the people are getting more and more intolerable and their hatred of the system and the police as its visible representatives is growing. The powers are moving full speed ahead with a police-state clampdown, including terror and murder as well as permanent barricades used to create "artificial communities" where the police control every aspect of people's lives. And as part of this, the powers are making blatant moves to declare that revolutionaries who lead the masses in political struggle are "criminals." "They're trying to cut off the head," said someone who recently heard about the attempted railroad of the Pico-Union 21.

But the ruling class, as vicious as they are, has found once again that trying to railroad the RCP and its supporters is not so easy. The Pico-Union 21 have waged a determined political fight, gathering widespread support among different strata of people and taking on the government's case with a sharp counteroffensive to expose the secret police.

There is sharp debate within ruling circles over how best to get over with the clampdown in a situation where people are already angry about police terror. Much of the controversy in L.A. is focused on Daryl Gates, who promised to resign but now says he might change his mind. This has made it difficult for the U.S.'s "vanguard" police department to carry out the clampdown, since Gates is so exposed as a racist and a Nazi, and most people among the basic masses want him thrown out. In this situation, further exposures about the ATD threatened even bigger problems for the bourgeoisie.

Drop All the Charges!

A hearing will be held January 21 for four remaining groups of Pico-Union defendants facing misdemeanors. The judge has said she will also order the ATD to turn over secret files in these remaining cases. She also scheduled a hearing on possible contempt of court charges against Steve Gates if the LAPD continues to refuse to turn over the spy files. The defense may file further motions. There is work to be done by investigative reporters, civil libertarians and police abuse activists to probe more deeply into the information already gained.

The victory of the May Day defendants has created positive conditions in the struggle to drop all charges against the concentration camp fighters. It also opens up tremendous possibilities to step up the struggle against the LAPD barricades and the whole police-state program. But felony charges of assaulting police are still pending against Rojo, the Latino youth who stood atop the concentration camp on May Day shouting "Free my people" and defying the pigs for 45 minutes. The actions of this brother are a precious example for the youth, and he must be set free of all charges.

The La Resistencia Defense Committee has called on people to pack the courtroom for the hearings on January 21, at 9 a.m., Division 56, 9th Floor, Criminal Courts Building, Temple and Broadway.

**DROP ALL THE CHARGES!
FREE THE PICO-UNION 21!
TAKE DOWN THE BARRICADES AND THE
WHOLE POLICE-STATE PROGRAM!**



Special to the RWOR

Los Angeles, May 1, 1990.

Pigs Get Your Hands Off Our May First Fighters

This statement of support for the Los Angeles anti-concentration camp/anti-barricade fighters was written by readers of the RW in Mexico. It was signed by more than 100 people and circulated among basic masses in Mexico:

Pigs Get Your Hands Off Our May First Fighters

Greetings brothers and sisters from all the oppressed rebels and fighters waging the same struggle but on this side of the border. We support all your efforts to close down these fucking INS concentration camps.

We know they are part of the imperialists' plans to lock us up and kill us off with the complicity of the lackey governments in the oppressed countries—

like Salinas government—with whom they have a criminal alliance in order to increase the oppression and poverty that forces people to go to the U.S. in order to survive. We will NOT allow it, it's right to rebel and to say, Enough! Close the concentration camps! Down with the barricades!

They accuse our people who go there in search for work of being illegal, when it is the imperialists who make up the laws that oppress the people. What's really unjust is what they do in their own country, in Mexico and in the whole world.

They say we are criminals, drug traffickers, and the scum of the Earth. When in fact they are the real criminals, drug traffickers, etc. They have unleashed a "drug war" when in fact it's just a war

against the people and especially against the most oppressed. They use the same tactics against the youth and peasants in Mexico that they use against the people's war in Peru, and against Blacks and other oppressed in the U.S.

We demand that the courts and pigs get their hands off our sisters and brothers who face serious charges for their just protest against the INS concentration camps in May and June of 1990.

We support your struggle and are doing our best to advance the struggle and forge our unity. Your struggle is ours as well. Down with the border and all the border pigs and their spies! Death to imperialism!!

P.S. Intensify the struggle, comrades.

Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt Must Go Free!



Geronimo Ji
Jaga Pratt

On December 4, for the tenth time in 20 years, the parole board of California refused parole for Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt. Geronimo has been held hostage as a political prisoner in Amerikkka for more than 20 years. He spent the first eight years of his confinement in the hole. He is being penalized for being a revolutionary, for fighting the government behind his frameup, and for refusing to apologize for being a leading member of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

In 1971 he was framed for a murder in Santa Monica. This frame-up was part of the COINTELPRO program—a coordinated effort by federal, state, and local police, as well as the courts and news media, to disrupt, neutralize and destroy the Black Panther Party. Much of this political police work was aimed at portraying the BPP as “common criminals.”

During his entire captivity Geronimo has been harassed and tortured by the prison system. The parole board has helped COINTELPRO efforts by painting Geronimo as a heroin addict and denying he is a political prisoner. Over a year ago Geronimo was sent to Tehachapi Prison. Tehachapi is over 400 miles from the San Francisco Bay Area where Ashaki Ji Jaga Pratt, Geronimo's wife, lives with their two children. And Geronimo's lawyers have been working on a request for a new trial. People on his visitor list have been denied visitations. On April 1, 1991 Geronimo was

placed in the hole of Tehachapi Prison in California on the word of another inmate that he had a marijuana cigarette. He spent seven months in the hole and was denied medical treatment for his high blood pressure. All this was done to try and isolate him, keep him in jail and make the point that “we can do this to you if you refuse to submit.”

Geronimo was framed up through the work of federal and local authorities. During his trial FBI wiretaps that proved Geronimo was in Oakland, over 400 miles from the scene of the murder, were destroyed. An FBI informer was the main witness for the prosecution. Informants were placed on his defense team. Geronimo was kept in solitary confinement for two years before and during his trial. His first wife, who was seven months pregnant at the time, was kidnapped off the street, shot in the stomach and head—her body, covered with cigarette burns, dumped along a freeway ramp. The police tried to pin the act on the “Huey Newton faction” of the Panthers. In fact, internal political disagreements in the Panthers were being fueled by COINTELPRO lies and misinformation in an attempt to destroy the Panthers. This led to a situation where Geronimo was denounced by the Huey faction of the Panthers at a time when there should have been united outrage against the attacks on Geronimo and the attempts to destroy the Panthers.

Geronimo became a target of COINTELPRO when he was appointed Deputy Minister of Defense of the Southern California chapter of the BPP. This was after the COINTELPRO murders of BPP chapter leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins in January 1969 and the Panthers were being hit from all sides. In December 1969, police murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago. Four days later, 300 L.A. police, armed to the teeth, attacked the L.A. office of the Panthers. After a four-hour gun battle, the police arrested several Panthers, including Geronimo, who they charged with 72 counts. Geronimo was acquitted of all charges related to the attack except unlawful possession of weapons. But while facing these charges, he was charged and convicted on the trumped-up murder charge. He was given the death sentence (which was later commuted in California).

The government has time and time again refused Geronimo a new trial. A new trial for him would mean that much of the government's dirty deeds during the '60s and '70s would come to the light of day. In 1979, under the Freedom of Information Act, mountains of FBI documents were released that revealed the frame-up against Geronimo, and his attorneys have tried to get these documents into court. But the courts have used flimsy excuses like saying they would not consider the case because his petition for a new trial was a few days late.

Just recently, in June 1991, a judge in San Francisco ordered the state to show cause why Geronimo is being denied a new trial based on the new evidence and the fact that six former panthers, including Bobby Seale, have finally come forward *after 20 years of silence* to swear that Geronimo was with them at meetings in Oakland at the time of the murder. In addition, two S.F. private investigators said they saw FBI wiretap records before they were “lost” showing Pratt answered the phone at Bobby Seale's home in Oakland shortly before the time of the murder—which took place 400 miles away.

The state quickly found another judge and transferred the case to L.A., the scene of the original frame-up where the prosecutor is now a Superior Court Judge. In L.A., the S.F. Order to show cause was reversed, so Geronimo's attorneys must now go through lengthy legal maneuvers to try once again to get his case to court. Meanwhile Geronimo is still in prison.

There is growing support to free Geronimo. On the eve of his last parole hearing in December, demonstrations and vigils were held in Oakland demanding freedom for Geronimo. In November in Los Angeles a fundraiser was held featuring members of the casts of the TV show “A Different World” and the movies, “School Daze” and “House Party.” In July, when the request for a new trial was pending, 15 people

Continued on page 14

THE RW INTERVIEW: A special feature for readers with the views of significant and literature, science, sports and those we interview are, of course, responsible for the views published

The RW Interview:

Susan Faludi on the Undeclared War Against Women

This interview with Susan Faludi was done recently for the RW by Mary Lou Greenberg, spokesperson for the New York Branch of the RCP. Susan Faludi is the author of the best-selling book *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (Crown, 1991). She works with the San Francisco Bureau of the *Wall Street Journal*, has worked for the *San Jose Mercury News* and *Atlanta Constitution*, and her articles have also appeared in *Mother Jones* and *Ms.*

MLG: Your book is a sharp exposure of the attacks coming down on women today, socially, culturally, economically and politically. For those who haven't read your book, can you describe two or three things that you think most sharply characterize this war that you call the "undeclared war against women"?

SF: The core of the backlash message is the idea that feminism is a kind of Pandora's Box that has unleashed untold woes on American women, a message to women that you've all received true equality, and, as a result, you're truly miserable. This message is fraudulent on both parts. Clearly we're nowhere near actual equality—there's barely partial equality. And what's been making women truly miserable is not their autonomy but the tremendous resistance to the small gains that women have made. Some of it is very direct and very violent, like the rise in sexual violence. But I think almost more insidious and therefore more widespread in a more damaging way is this message that they've succeeded in recruiting women to attack their own cause by convincing women that the very movement that pushed further rights has brought about their demise.

MLG: It sounds to me like another example of blaming the victim.

SF: Right, it's a very effective tool when used on women who are taught to blame themselves from day one anyway, so it's a pretty receptive audience for that method.

MLG: We've been conditioned all our lives to think that we're the ones responsible for our situation, if something doesn't go right in a relationship or on the job, it's something to do with us.

SF: Right, it's a whole process by which the political pressure becomes reinterpreted as some sort of psychological pathology that's unique to each individual woman rather than a response to social pressures. It's a rather pervasive technique for keeping women in their place. Because women remain so isolated in this era, there's very little opportunity for women to see the patterns here, to see that these signals are not internal or idiosyncratic but these are forces that all women are facing.

MLG: In this century there have been profound changes in the situation of women and relations within the family. Chief among these has been the fact that women have been drawn into the workforce in increasing numbers—and this, in turn, undermines the traditions and old ideas that have confined women to the home and family. With these changes in women's actual situation have come major changes in attitudes and expectations. This is what characterized the '60s and early '70s in a major way, among women in particular. How do you see the backlash in relation to this?

SF: The backlash in a sense is a good sign. It indicates that women have made real change. The problem is it set in so early before the transformation can really filter down to all society, we find ourselves in the exhausting position of trying to defend those few strides we have made. The worst part about it to me is that it seems every time there's a struggle for women's equality it makes enough progress to help upper middle class or middle class women, but before it has a chance to filter down to working class women the women's movement is kind of cut off at the pass, so working class women sort of get hit twice. They don't really reap much of the benefits of the step forward, and in the ensuing counter-

attack they tend to suffer the harshest blows. And that's really true this time around when poor women were the first to essentially lose their right to abortion if they needed Medicaid to get one. That was one of the first ways reproductive rights were pushed backward. And then surely in the workplace, these are the women who face the most sexual harassment, the most discrimination and the worst jobs, who feel the most pain under the backlash.

MLG: In your book you write that while media stories announced the pay gap between the sexes was closing, it was really rising, and that occupational segregation, that is, women concentrated in certain jobs, has actually increased and is one of the biggest causes of the wage gap. You say, "A resegregating work force was one reason



New York, 1970

why women's wages fell in the '80s; by 1986, more working women would be taking home poverty-level wages than in 1973." This is a sharp exposure of the working conditions of great numbers of women. Could you give some examples of this and talk about why this has happened?

SF: I could talk a little bit about the Diane Joyce case as an example of the kind of such relentless and repetitive nature of the backlash for working women, that the battle isn't over after you've won in court. Diane Joyce was the first woman to receive a skilled crafts job in the Santa Clara County transportation department, and she had to wage a protracted war just to simply get her foot in the door. She was resisted at every turn by supervisors who said that this was not a job for a woman, that women should have the lower-paying "female" jobs in clerical work. She had to prove herself far more than any man on the job and had to struggle over every little last inch. She had to file a union grievance to get a pair of coveralls, and the men went to such lengths as locking the ladies' room door and told her that if you want to be in a man's world you'll have to go to the bathroom like a man. Every way they could to make her feel demeaned and humiliated—they left no stone unturned in that effort.

Ultimately when she did get the job she wanted, the battle wasn't over. Lo and behold, by the following week one of the men

had filed a reverse discrimination suit claiming that this less qualified woman had gotten the job even though she had far more experience of doing road work than he did. There was a long court battle culminating in the Supreme Court ruling that gave her job back. You'd think we could all breathe a sigh of relief and say that story's over, but no. Then follows years, leading up to the present—none of this has really changed—when she endured even heightened harassment by men who felt angry and threatened, and whose anger was exacerbated by economic changes that were at the same time cutting back the number of high-paying blue collar jobs available. These men felt very undermined because of some economic forces, and that only helped to heighten their hostility toward her. She be-

that these women don't really want to work that much anyway, they'd rather take these mommy-track jobs, and the ultimate result was the undermining of women's position in the workforce. To add to that, the way the economy was restructured—at the same time we had this vast increase in service sector jobs, the service economy has this vast appetite for cheap labor.

MLG: In addition, there were several Supreme Court decisions which came down later—you say in your book that only two years after Diane Joyce won in Washington, they rolled back two decades of civil rights decisions with four rulings in June 1989. This is part of the message the federal government is sending down about women's role in society, as well as Black people.

came sort of a symbol of all the economic pain they were feeling. And she was a success story! That's the depressing part, because she, at least, is still in her job. One of the reasons why women found themselves in worse shape than 15 years earlier was that while in the '70s women made a lot of progress breaking into the higher paying male jobs due to class-action litigations, much of it waged by the EEOC, by the '80s that Federal agency had been effectively put out of business. And the settlements that women had won in a lot of these class-action battles against such corporate behemoths as AT&T, GM and GE had run out, and as soon as the consent decrees had run out, corporations looked around at the Federal courts which were full of Reagan-appointed judges and looked at the EEOC which, as we know, was run by a man who didn't really care about women—

MLG: You're talking about Clarence Thomas.

SF: Yes. All of these indicators gave corporate America the high sign that it was okay to go back to business as usual in the treatment of women. So the tiny little gains that women had made in, for example, many craft jobs, electricians, heavy machine operators, etc., in many cases started to unravel again. The lack of pressure from the Federal government, a changing cultural attitude, the media message

SF: Right, and I think part of that message too is don't bother to file a lawsuit, and that was one of the most effective tools for women in the '70s for breaking into the workforce, so essentially they've disbanded one mechanism that had really proved useful for women. Just the message alone was discouraging enough.

You look at the fallout from the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings, there's been an increase in reverse harassment suits, you could call it that. A bunch of men have filed defamation of character suits against women who filed sexual harassment suits. One of the most effective ways women challenged discrimination in the workforce was through the statistical demonstration of discrimination, rather than having to prove intent, which is almost impossible to do. They relied on statistical disparities, and the Supreme Court in one of those rulings made it far more difficult to rely on statistics. That was a huge setback for women.

MLG: How do you see the question of abortion, both in terms of the overall backlash and its importance to women?

SF: The abortion battle, to my mind, has always been a struggle over control of women, and it's such a bedrock, it's the most fundamental right in that all others follow from it. Women can't really determine the course of their lives without it. If

ure of the RW to acquaint our
nt figures in art, theater, music
d politics. The views expressed by
their own; and they are not
d elsewhere in our paper.

men

you can't control when you're going to have children and how many children you'll have, how are you going to pursue your education, and other things? All your other rights fall by the wayside. Typically in periods of past backlashes it's always been the hottest button, tensions have always flared the most around this issue. What was revelatory to me in doing the research for the book was the discovery that an anti-abortion movement sprang up in response to the first wave of feminism. In the late 19th Century, an anti-abortion movement that was eerily similar to Operation Rescue, even led by an underemployed salesman from New York—I don't know if it's Randy Terry reincarnated [OR head Randall Terry used to be a used car salesman from New York - Ed.]—and its effect was to ban abortion in virtually every state. There was a lot of rage at women who ran the women's health clinics at the time. A very similar line was put out, how these women were these all-powerful witches, the same kind of rhetoric you hear from Randall Terry & Company about Planned Parenthood. They're always describing pro-choice activists as harridans, these furies, sort of these all-powerful frightening women. Much of that same language was used by the anti-abortion movement in the country earlier.

Another thing, in doing the reporting on the current anti-abortion movement, what came up time and again in talking to the men who participated in it, when you would press them on why they were so adamant, often a personal story would come up about my wife had an abortion without asking my permission. A lot of the fathers' rights lawsuits that were filed were filed by men whose wives had recently filed for divorce or who had refused to marry them, in some cases. It seemed that what they were really upset about was women exercising their independence and thinking autonomously, so that there seemed to be another agenda here that didn't have anything to do with "saving babies." It had to do with saving their own male authority.

MLG: At one Operation Rescue meeting in New York several years ago, which someone infiltrated, a man stood up and said, "Ask my son who's his boss, and he'll say Mommy. Ask him who's Mommy's boss, and he'll say Daddy. My wife submits to me as I submit to God."



Susan Faludi

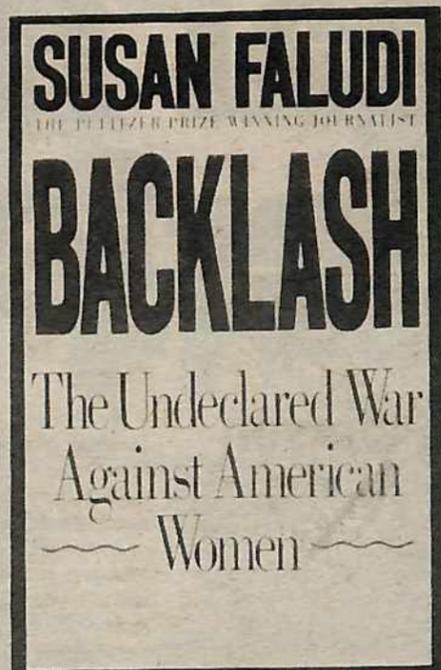


Photo: Robert Featherap ©1991

SF: I've heard that kind of thing before. They have these little pep rallies before they go out, and that seemed to be the point these ministers would harp on all the time, that this is the man's decision. Almost like it would be okay for abortion to be legal as long as the man could decide when his wife would have one.

MLG: You referred earlier to the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings. Do you have any further thoughts on that situation? It certainly engendered tremendous anger and outspokenness among women about sexual harassment. Of course, there was opposition to Thomas before the sexual harassment charges, but those charges seemed to have sparked a lot of outrage.

SF: I think there's been building frustration among women throughout the decade, and then it just burst forth into public view. If it hadn't been over the Anita Hill situation it would have been over something else. People were just reaching a boiling point. I think the whole hearings were a wonderful microcosm of how the backlash works. As we were talking about earlier, the backlash sets in so early that women are only allowed a brief period of progress, of change, before we get another period of the dark ages. And the hearings themselves were a speeded-up example of that. Where one woman speaks up for her rights and it has this electrifying effect on women across the country who suddenly are emboldened enough to talk about sexual harassment incidents that sometimes they were carrying around for years. And it was so invigorating

for so many women, and so exciting to simply speak out loud about these matters. And then in a minute after Anita Hill left the stage the gates came down again. The Senate Judiciary Committee and the White House just went on a rampage. And when they couldn't find anything to pin on her, they just made it up and sent her character through a paper shredder. And that, using this one woman as an object lesson, had a chilling effect on women everywhere. A few days later there were these "glass ceiling" hearings, congressional hearings about discrimination against women in the workplace, and three women pulled out, citing the Anita Hill effect—they didn't want to be ripped apart.

MLG: That brings me to one of the last things I want to raise. In the final chapter, you write: "American women have always fought the periodic efforts to force them back behind the curtain. The important question to ask about the current backlash, then, is not whether women are resisting, but how effectively." What do you think constitutes effective resistance?

SF: First of all, effective resistance has to be political resistance. It requires women working in concert, it's not something like that stupid slogan that one person can make a difference. You know, all you have to do is be one of the thousand points of light and do your little volunteer work or recycle your trash and somehow it turns out fine.

We have to band together to make change. If women are to make any progress, we need to do it together. I think a lot of the reason why we fell for the mythology of the ills of feminism was because we had very little knowledge to the contrary. There were not counter articles in the press laying out where these so-called studies documenting the evils of women's liberation fell apart. So there needs to be, first of all, more information and knowledge about women, what the realities are about their lives, not what their fantasies are. Finally there needs to be a quality of what I call in the book relentlessness, that is required of women....

I've done some book readings and there have been overflow crowds. What's been really gratifying is having women come up to me afterwards and say, "I thought I was crazy and now it's so good to know someone else feels the same way I do." That was really heartening and it made me feel good, too, because as I was working on this book I sort of felt crazy, to see so many other women who have felt that same sense of pressure that came from some unknown source, to be able to identify it. □

Photo: John Olson



Abortion rights demonstration, Washington, D.C., 1989.

Special to the RW

GI Resisters: Real Heroes in the “Perfect War”

by Jeff Paterson

By the time the U.S. started its massive bombing of Iraq a year ago on January 17, there was a powerful storm of resistance against this criminal war. Hundreds of thousands protested in major cities across the country—they marched, blocked bridges, took over government buildings walked out of schools, clashed with police and took other bold actions. And there was significant resistance within the military, which the government tried hard to suppress and cover up. Over 2,000 GIs and reservists filed for conscientious objector status, others deserted, and some publicly defied their marching orders.

Today many of the military resisters are still in jail, and Tahan Jones is about to face court martial in February. The following article on the situation with the Gulf War resisters was submitted to the RW by Jeff Paterson. On August 16, 1990, as an active-duty marine corporal, Jeff became the first public opponent within the military to the impending war. At a press conference while he was AWOL, he stated, “I will not be a pawn for America’s power plays for oil and profit in the Middle East.” Near midnight on August 29, he made good on his promise by sitting down on the runway of the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station in Hawaii and refusing to board a C-130 transport plane headed for Saudi Arabia. After spending the next month in the Pearl Harbor brig and an additional two months under restriction during a highly publicized court martial, Jeff was released “in lieu of court martial (for the good of the service) Other-Than-Honorably”

due to an uncompromising political campaign to win his freedom. Jeff is currently the editor of The ANTI-WARrior, a newsletter of military resistance and dissension.

While the U.S. has long since proclaimed its victory over Iraq in a massacre that officially began one year ago, the struggle of the GI resisters against that war continues. On December 30, 1991 Enrique Gonzalez, an El Salvadoran immigrant and law student, and James Summers walked away from the Camp Lejeune Marine Corps Brig in North Carolina. Both had served only a fraction of their sentences, 30 months and 14 months respectively. These are the hard won victories for which the supporters of the Persian Gulf resistance movement fight on.

Other Marine resisters who have been released from Camp Lejeune include: Dave Bobbit, Demetrio Perez, Eric Hayes, Darwin Airola, Greg Dawson, Sam Lwin, Lavelle McKinney, Patrick Lowrie, Kevin Sparrock, Marcus Blackwell, Colin Bootman and George Ward. Rest assured that these resisters, the “real heroes,” are not being released for the “good of the movement.” Only from persistent outside pressure has the military begun seeing the release of some of its prisoners as in its best interests—politically expedient moves which allow it to get back to doing its job—raping the world, its resources and people, for the good of the empire.

Resisters Still in Jail or Facing Trial

Even while many are being released, Tahan K. Jones, a Black youth from Oakland, continues to await court martial for desertion in North Carolina. The court martial is tentatively scheduled for early February. In a recent statement to the press entitled “Can a Black Person Be a Conscientious Objector?” Tahan states, “When people apply for a CO discharge, they are confronted with a review process influenced by society in which violence is institutionalized and, in the case of black applicants, has a racist attitude. One discovers that the military has a narrow idea of what constitutes a CO.... I was assigned Captain Swanson, a white man, as my investigating officer. He asked typical questions, customized for an African American, like: ‘Would you fight in the Civil War to free the slaves? What kinds of conflicts would you fight in, if it occurred in Africa?’... Confronted with racism, sexism and cultural ignorance, the obstacles before an African American applicant for CO is a jagged ravine with hungry sharks waiting at the bottom.” In refuting Tahan’s claim for discharge, Swanson described him as “of marginal intelligence.”

The sexism Tahan speaks of is a day-to-day reality for women within the military. Two women resisters currently imprisoned are Faith Grasso, a Black army specialist, and Yolanda Huet-Vaughn. Yolanda is a 40-year-old Mexican American. She is also the mother of three children, ages 2, 5 and 8. On August 9, 1991—Nagasaki Day—she was sentenced to 30 months at Fort Leavenworth. She had spent January of 1991 trav-

eling the U.S., speaking out as a medical doctor and army captain against the war on the people of Iraq. In surrendering to the military at a rally on February 2, Yolanda stated, “My oath as a physician to preserve life and prevent disease, and my responsibility as a human being to the preservation of this planet, would be violated if I cooperated with Operation Desert Storm....” In an unprecedented move, the military has been able to revoke her medical credentials. She had spent most of her time working at two clinics treating low-income people. Women’s liberation cannot be achieved within the context of the U.S. military-industrial complex, despite what a few PR-minded generals may espouse.

Meanwhile, Erik Larsen (who was in the same unit as Tahan) continues to serve a six-month sentence handed down on November 19 for missing movement and being AWOL. “I have no regrets about what I did,” stated Erik after his sentencing. “I still think it’s a GI’s right to say no.” While Erik’s sentence is far less than the earlier threat of the death penalty, Dave Raymond of Erik’s defense committee correctly stated, “It’s outrageous that he should have to spend even one day in jail.”

Desert Storm Nightmares

In Hawaii last August, I interviewed a Desert Storm trooper from the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station (which was where I was stationed a year ago) who had served “on the front.” In relating his experiences, he mentioned watching “friends” mow down Iraqis with 50 cal machine gun fire (illegal by the Geneva Convention) which resulted in a “red mist with legs,” watching Kuwaiti soldiers randomly execute Iraqi POWs with hand grenades for “shits and grins,” and watching troops of the French Foreign Legion massacre entire Iraqi companies attempting to surrender—“they don’t take prisoners.” During the “mop-up” phase of the war, he was ordered to fire his TOW rocket at an encampment of Iraqis awaiting their turn to surrender. He refused, and a sergeant put a pistol to his head. Again he refused. He is currently awaiting discharge for “suicidal and homicidal tendencies.” He had slashed his wrists twice since his personal stand-off in the desert. This article from *The Detroit News*, October 10, 1991, points out that he is not alone:

“Lance Corporal Christopher Green had dreamt of fighting for his country since he was a little kid.... In Kuwait, he got his wish, serving in some of the ugliest combat of the brief Gulf War. But once the fighting stopped and Christopher came home, something inside the 20-year-old cracked. He went AWOL. His parents got him to a psychiatrist, who diagnosed the young man as depressed and potentially suicidal, and immediately placed him in the locked ward of a mental hospital.

“That’s where Christopher was...when the Marines arrived with handcuffs and chains to bind and transport the combat veteran to the brig at Camp Pendleton, CA.... Experts on military health say that Christopher’s sort of trauma can be expected in five to ten percent of combat vet-



Jeff Paterson refusing to board plane to Saudi Arabia, August 1990.



Photo: Anti-WARrior

Gulf war GI resisters.

erans. Christopher's parents say he has screaming nightmares, writes morbid poetry and passages in his journal, and is obsessed with war memories he cannot shake. He cannot forget the eyes of a young Iraqi soldier he thought was going to surrender to him during the carnage in Kuwait City. Before he could reach the Iraqi, a Kuwaiti soldier lopped the Iraqi's head off with a saber...

"The Marines intend to court martial Christopher. Marine Corps spokespeople respond that everything has been procedural and by the book."

Laying the Basis of Resistance to the Next Imperialist War

We 150+ public GI refusniks were doing our part to burn that hated book. (Overall about 2,500 people attempted to get CO discharges, and the military says that 4,000 went AWOL during the Gulf War period.) And while we were not able to challenge the pillars of military authority as the Vietnam-era GI movement did, it was an impressive showing taking into account the U.S. was able to pull off the "perfect" war. It is much more than a ray of hope for the next imperialist war that might not go down so smoothly.

Today's challenges of laying the foundation of resistance are not simple, yet some lessons should not be repeatedly overlooked. Undoubtedly the established pacifist organizations fulfill a vital role ("objective" counseling, draft training, etc.). However, leading a defiant and unrepentant political struggle has never been their strong point. If they are unwilling to see their role within the larger goal of actually stopping the war machine, they could very well hold back the development of a future GI resistance movement.

Going Beyond "Conscientious Objection"

Even in a "90-day war," resistance took on many shapes and went far beyond the military's definition of conscientious objection.

Shane Fisher and Robert Beard dropped by their commander's office and left a three-page letter outlining their political objections to Operation Desert Slaughter. The letter was addressed to "King George Bush." They continued out the gate for a

few months of absence instead of shipping out. Shane was sentenced to 12 months upon his surrender. Robert was captured and "awarded" a two year sentence.

Jody Anderson was convicted of numerous counts of assault resulting from his defense of Daniel Gillis as Daniel physically resisted being forced onto a transport for Fort Saudi Arabia. As Daniel stated, "An officer put my hands in plastic ties and ordered four Marines to force me onto the bus.... Since all of the Marines attacking me were white, several African American Marines came to my defense. There followed a brawl...." Jody originally faced "life plus 20 years" for "creating violence and disturbance by disobeying (a First Lieutenant) and attacking (a Staff Sergeant) with a wooden axe handle...and his closed fist and exhorting others to join him in defiance." He was deployed that night and was not court martialed until his unit returned from the Middle East. He is serving a 24-month sentence.

It is actions such as these that make the U.S. war pigs cringe. Women and men who have joined the military for reasons that range from wanting to "serve one's country" to "getting the fuck out of town" decide at critical junctures just what side they are on. Standing in solidarity with my Arab brothers and sisters has guided me through the last year without fail. It has allowed me to avoid many of the pitfalls of political pragmatism which dominate a large section of the American Left. This includes the tendency to engulf oneself in mutated nationalism—saying "peace is patriotic" or being confused by the argument about "supporting the troops." The only troops who need our support are those who refuse to fight for Amerikkka!

Stand With the Gulf War Resisters!

We cannot rest until every resister is free. The National Campaign for Amnesty for War Resisters (see RW #636) has united over a hundred national and international organizations around the call for unconditional amnesty for all resisters to the Gulf War. Hands Off! and the War Resisters League have collected 20,000 petitions to "grant an immediate Amnesty to all U.S. Gulf War military CO's and deserters." Families of resisters have traveled to Washington, D.C. to speak out against the treatment of resisters. Even the international

human rights organization Amnesty International has declared 25 U.S. resisters to be "Prisoners of Conscience."

While the military is under attack on many fronts for its treatment of dissidents, we should remember why we stand with these resisters. The clearest answer comes from within the war machine itself by the prosecution's closing arguments in the court martial of Enrique Gonzalez: "Your honor, there will be another war some day. There's going to be note taken of what happened in the last war. We must send a message to all Marines who will be calculating the risks of not following orders."

Some short-sighted "progressives," among others, argue that military resisters deserve what they get because "they should have known better before they signed the contract." Why aren't they asking themselves what happens when the movement for real social change becomes a real threat to the U.S. government? Those who believe that this government will

never turn its guns on the people "should know better." The powers love to set the terms of debate on the "contractual obligations" of their troops. Of course, it's easier to point to a contract forged in inequality than to defend complicity in the thousands buried alive in trenches, burned alive attempting to flee, and hundreds bombed in dark shelters with babes cradled.

While stationed (forcibly) four miles from the Kuwait border, Paul Cook's commanding officer told him he should take up a rifle because he had been "paid for three and a half years to do a job." Paul answered, "I am not a mercenary, Sir." He was convicted of "Misbehavior in the Presence of the Enemy" and sentenced to 15 months.

The road to a revolutionary society based on real justice and peace must be paved with military resistance for it to be traversable. And if it is not this we are in struggle for—why bother?

Marine Resisters Currently Imprisoned at Camp Lejeune as of January 5, 1992

Resister	Sentence
Daniel Gillis	12 mo
aka Raghieb ehoize Shaka Mussadia	
Kenneth McGhee	12 mo
aka Bibal Lateef Bomani Olushola	
Andrew Polanski	6 mo
Ken Sharpe	18 mo
Jean-Claude Rainey	9 mo
Erik Larsen	15 mo
Paul Cook	15 mo
Glen Mulholland	18 mo
Jody Anderson	24 mo
Robert Beard	24 mo
Shane Fisher	12 mo

To write to the resisters at Camp Lejeune:

Resisters Name
 Marine Corps Brig, Bldg. 1041
 Camp Lejeune, NC 25842-5021
 Tahan K. Jones
 HQ, 2nd MEB, Subunit 1
 Bldg. 435, Rm 311
 MCB, Camp Lejeune, NC 25842-5090
Jack up the generals! Write:
 Commanding General C.L. Vermilyea
 4th MAW, FMF US MCR
 4400 Dauphine St.
 New Orleans, LA 70146
 Call: 504-948-1210
 General Carl E. Mundy, Jr.
 USMC
 HQ Marine Corps
 Washington, DC 20380
 703-614-2500

Tell them to: "Drop all charges and release all resisters immediately."

Demand "clemency" for Yolanda Huet-Vaughn from:

General Daniel Christman, Commanding General
 US Army Engineer Center, Fort Leonard Wood, MO 65473

Others resisters are being held in different jails across the country. For more information on the resisters contact *The ANTI-WARrior*, Issue 3, January 1992 of *The ANTI-WARrior* is currently available for \$1 from 48 Shattuck Sq., Box 129, Berkeley, CA 94704. Phone: 415-272-2427. *The ANTI-WARrior* is free to all prisoners.

Just When They Said "Communism

Here Come the

Unless we despise the old system and the old reactionary productive relationships, what do we think we are doing? If we do not have faith in socialism and communism, what do we think we are doing?

Mao Tsetung from Talks at the Chengtu Conference

What is needed is really "Mao More Than Ever." What is called for is really turning up our ideological counteroffensive, going on the offensive with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in opposition to all these reactionary monsters and all this bourgeois muck . . .

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, from *Radical Ruptures, or Yes, Mao More Than Ever*

With the official end of the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists have been waging a big campaign to affect how people think—an ideological offensive. The theme of their campaign is that capitalism, and U.S. capitalism in particular, is now victorious across the world. For example, a special issue of *Newsweek* magazine featured headlines like: "The Last Breath of Com-

munist," "Dictators on the Skids," and "The Greatest Expansion of Freedom in Human History." One purpose of this campaign is to make the poor and oppressed feel that any opposition is hopeless—that there is no way to fight back and win.

Responding to Chairman Avakian's call for an ideological counteroffensive, revolutionary speakers, writers and spokespersons have jumped into this battle. Carl Dix, the national spokesperson for the RCP, has appeared on radio talk shows, Maoist writer C. Clark Kissinger has appeared at 10 programs and forums from Dartmouth University to UCLA, "op-ed" articles pointing out that revolutionary communism is alive and well have appeared in major papers, and revolutionary political economist Raymond Lotta has spoken at campuses and conferences. A new video of Kissinger's talk at Revolution Books in New York is now available.

The experience has been exciting. Just

as the capitalists gather around what they hope will be the grave of revolution, here come the Maoists with a powerful refutation of the bourgeoisie's sick system and a vision of a world without oppression.

Carl Dix on the Airwaves

"The basic problem with communism is that it doesn't offer people a reward," suggested one talk show host in Florida. "Dog does a trick, you throw it a bone. Porpoise does a trick, you throw it a fish."

"First off, people ain't dogs or porpoises," shot back Carl Dix. "And communism does take into account the need for reward for effort—but it takes it into account in order to transcend it." He went on to describe the system of distribution in the socialist transition period where people are rewarded "each according to his labor" for the first time in history—not like under capitalism where fat cats make millions for doing nothing. Then he described a future communist society where the whole organization of society and people's political consciousness enables them to share material wealth according to actual need, rather than as a personal reward.

"That makes people into lobotomized clones," sneered the talk show host.

"No, it's about being conscious," Carl replied. "I was in the Black liberation movement of the '60s. We did not do that to



Is Dead...

Maoists!

stick something in our pockets. People were struggling consciously, because other people who were oppressed like them needed to go forward. You'd even hear people saying, "Well, I probably won't get anything out of this, but hopefully those who come behind will get something.... Yours is a theory of innate human selfishness. But selfishness is not innate—it's ingrained."

This set off a tirade by the talk show host, ending with: "I want you to admit that communism is dead as an idea."

"I'm not going to lie for anybody," Carl said. "Communism is alive and well."

The Impact of the Revolution in Peru

The collapse of the Soviet Union has had a big effect on political movements in the oppressed countries that had been influenced politically and supported materially by Soviet imperialism. And events in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Palestine, and South Africa have impacted heavily on the anti-imperialist forces in the U.S. In this context a major workshop entitled "Shining Path and the Contemporary Relevance of Maoism" was held at the second annual Midwest Radical Activists and Scholars Conference in early November. The speakers were Raymond Lotta, author of *America in Decline*; Heriberto Ocasio, national spokesperson for the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru; and Bill Martin, a member of the philosophy faculty at DePaul University.

The progress of a real revolution in Peru stands in marked contrast to the obvious capitulation of so many other "revolutionary" movements in Latin America. The developing situation raises sharply the basic truth of Mao Tsetung that "ideological and political line decide everything," and the importance of lines of demarcation between real communism and phony communism.

As if to drive home the importance of the Peruvian revolution, shortly after the Midwest conference, a major front-page article appeared in the *New York Times* explicitly warning the U.S. ruling class as a whole that if something were not done, the revolution in Peru—led by the Maoist communists of Peru—was likely to win. This was followed the next month by another article in the *Times* warning of the growing support worldwide for the revolution in Peru and singling out Heriberto Ocasio, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and Revolution Books as the main supporters of the Peruvian revolution in the United States.

Contending Views Debate

The whole atmosphere of discussion and re-examination of historic questions resulted in a serious debate at the Yale Law School between Clark Kissinger and Michael Albert, the editor of *Zeta* magazine. Kissinger spoke for Maoist revolution, and Albert proposed a vision of society based on what he calls "participatory economics." His basic idea is that the economy of society should be organized and run by autonomous, democratic collectives of producers and consumers. He both denounced the crimes of the capitalist market and questioned the need for hierarchy or leadership, even in the movement to eliminate the rule of imperialism.

On the campus of the University of California-Berkeley, yet another debate was held which brought out a crowd of 220 Berkeley social activists. Billed as a forum on "The Myth of Capitalism Triumphant," the panel consisted of six different viewpoints introduced by Dennis Bernstein of KPFA radio. Clark Kissinger presented the

Maoist summation on three points: What is socialism? What is democracy? And are we back where we started as the result of the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Tom Athanasiou of the Left Greens raised another point of view. He admitted that the big problems are the result of capitalism and that what is required is revolution, yet he believed the ecological crisis was so threatening that we would not have the "fifty years" it might take to bring about a revolution. He saw nothing in the present world situation that would bring about a revolutionary crisis.

Other speakers included representatives of the Democratic Socialists of America, Communist Party USA (the revisionists), Socialist Action (a Trotskyist group) and a professor who recently visited the former Soviet Union. The debate was so unusual and so interesting that many in the audience made their own audio and video recordings of it.

Our Ideological Counteroffensive Raises Big Questions

One obvious lesson from the last few months is that the collapse of the Soviet Union, the disarray of various movements dependent on the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie's ideological offensive to declare communism dead, and, in contrast, the forward march of the Peruvian revolution have opened up whole new opportunities. There is both a new openness to learning about real communism as well as people raising big and important questions.

The offensive by the capitalists has had its effect. For example, there are still many people who believe there has to be a radical change in the way things are being run. But at the same time they now question whether Marxism provides a real answer. They have little faith in the capitalists' solution of the "free market," but they view communism as too "coercive," "centralized," and "authoritarian." People who know very little about the experience of revolutionary China in Mao's time have an incorrect impression that communism cannot really address other important concerns about race, the oppression of women, and ecology.

Another issue is what appears to many to be an "all-powerful" Amerikkka in the wake of the Persian Gulf war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. They wonder: if the Soviet Union did play a role in restraining U.S. power to abuse the peoples of the world, is the collapse of the Soviet Union a good thing or a bad thing?

And there are big questions about the role and necessity for leadership: Is there still a meaningful role for a vanguard party and a leading class. Don't leaders always turn out bad? Is class analysis still a meaningful way to analyze things?

These are big questions for which revolutionary Maoists have good answers. A major tool for taking out our counter-offensive is issue Number 60 of *Revolution* magazine with two talks by Chairman Bob Avakian of the Revolutionary Communist Party that speak directly and comprehensively to the questions now being raised in the ideological battle.

As Clark Kissinger says in his new video: "We have to have some revolutionary confidence in the sort of alternative that we're talking about, that has proved itself repeatedly in the world and is proving itself on the stage of history today, as people are rising up gun in hand in order to take on and overthrow this system. And I tell people, hey brothers and sisters, take out the good news! What is the good news: the good news is that revolution is the hope of the hopeless." □



Red Guards in Tiananmen Square during the 1960s.



NEW VIDEO NOW AVAILABLE!

C. Clark Kissinger Speaks on

MAO MORE THAN EVER! The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Phony Communism... And REAL Communist Revolution!

On October 12, 1991 a capacity crowd gathered at Revolution Books in New York City for an important talk by long-time revolutionary writer and activist C. Clark Kissinger. In this talk Kissinger examines how capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and China and looks at the tremendous accomplishments of these two countries when they were genuinely socialist. He focuses especially on the "revolution within the revolution" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China—events which Kissinger witnessed firsthand.

Based on this analysis, he delves into the fundamental principles of *genuine* as opposed to phony communism and concludes that it is capitalism itself that is in grave crisis and has no future. From an historical viewpoint, the battle for genuine communism and a truly liberated planet has just begun.

This speech is characterized by historical sweep, deep political insights, revolutionary optimism, and also by Kissinger's trademark wit and humor. It is a must see for all who desire and are fighting for the birth of a new world.

Running time: 90 minutes

AVAILABLE AT REVOLUTION BOOKS OR USE ORDER FORM BELOW:

Please send me _____ videotape(s) at \$17 each plus \$1 for shipping.
Total amount enclosed _____ (include shipping cost).
Name _____
Address _____

Make checks payable to "RCP Publications" and send to Revolution magazine, P.O. Box 1317, New York, NY 10185

The Railroad of a Revolutionary

The following excerpts are taken from a paper prepared by two of the lawyers for Geronimo Pratt, Robert Bloom and Stuart Hanlon:

In 1969, Geronimo Pratt was the head of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Los Angeles. The FBI's infamous director, J. Edgar Hoover, publicly asserting that the BPP was the most dangerous organization in the country, embarked on a program expressly designed to destroy and discredit the BPP, as well as its members and its supporters. That program, known as COINTELPRO, was exposed by the United States Senate in 1975 after lengthy hearings in what was known as the [Senator Frank] Church Committee Report. The Report documented the unconstitutional, dishonest and often criminal activities of the FBI's campaign against the BPP and its sympathizers, such as actresses Jane Fonda and Jean Seberg. The Report also documented how the FBI worked in close co-operation with local police departments, including the Los Angeles PD, in its efforts to destroy the BPP.

In the Spring of 1969, Geronimo was named by the FBI as one of their specific targets. In August of 1969, the FBI and the LAPD, using an FBI and LAPD informant who had infiltrated the BPP, framed Geronimo for a robbery-murder that had been committed 9 months earlier on a tennis court in Santa Monica. Newly discovered evidence reveals that the informant/infiltrator, Julius Butler, was able to provide details of the crime because the crime was actually committed by two of Butler's associates. This information, along with other critical evidence, was known to the prosecution and was intentionally concealed from the defense and from the court. Geronimo's attorneys have uncovered a virtual mountain of evidence which conclusively proves that Geronimo is completely innocent and that the evidence presented at the trial by the prosecution was perjurious and fraudulent. Some of the

critical information (all of which is explained in detail in Geronimo's petition seeking a new trial) that was deliberately suppressed is:

- The police interviewed a BPP member who told the police that he had overheard the two actual assailants confess to the crime. The witness, Tyrone Hutchinson, gave the police the names of the men and details of what they had said. The police not only buried this information and falsified the police documents that would have revealed it, they also threatened the life of the witness if he disclosed the information to anyone. This witness has now come forward and has signed a sworn statement. The men he named were close associates of the chief prosecution witness, Julius Butler.
- In 1968, the FBI had installed an [illegal] wiretap on the residence of BPP leader Bobby Seale in Oakland. This wiretap was active on the day the crime was committed, December 18, 1968. It is now known that FBI wiretap logs reveal that Geronimo spoke on this telephone while he was physically present at this residence in Oakland shortly before the crime took place 400 miles away in Santa Monica. The wiretap log was seen by two highly respected private investigators who have provided sworn declarations describing the FBI document they saw. At the time of their observation, the investigators were examining wiretap documents at FBI offices in San Francisco in 1975 pursuant to a court order in connection with an unrelated BPP case.
- Six former BPP members have now come forward to swear that Geronimo was an active participant at a meeting with them in Oakland at the very moment the crime was taking place in Santa Monica. These witnesses had previously been antagonistic to Geronimo because of a deeply hostile split in the BPP that was caused directly by the FBI's dirty tricks....The

split also caused the expulsion of Geronimo from the BPP a year prior to his trial and this expulsion led to the refusal of the witnesses to testify for Geronimo at his 1972 trial. Each of the witnesses specifically places Geronimo in Oakland at the exact time of the crime. Their recollections are based on documentary proof of a particular memorable event that took place in Oakland on the day the crime was committed.

- There is newly discovered documentary evidence that relates to the informant, Julius Butler, who was the key witness at the trial. Butler, who had been an LA County deputy sheriff in the early 1960's, emphatically denied at the trial that he was ever an informant for anyone at any time. There is now irrefutable proof that Butler blatantly lied about this and other critical matters at the trial:
- Two former LA police officers have told Geronimo's attorneys that Butler was an LAPD informant regarding the BPP and other matters beginning in 1966, three years before Butler claimed that Geronimo had confessed the crime to him.
- FBI documents conclusively prove that Butler was an active FBI informant specifically focused on Geronimo months prior to the time he fabricated the claim that Geronimo had confessed the crime to him.
- Geronimo now has documentary proof that the DA who handled the trial, Richard Kalustian, knowingly misled the court, the defense, and the jury regarding (at least) one very critical issue. Kalustian suppressed his notes of an interview with an important witness because those notes would have revealed the deep involvement of the FBI in the case and would have provided the key to the true motivation for the accusation against Geronimo. Disclosure of this material would also have led the defense to key witnesses whose testimony would have completely

exposed the lies of prosecution witnesses.

- A trial juror has come forward to explain that during the 10 days the jury was sequestered at a hotel during the lengthy deliberations, the foreman of the jury committed gross misconduct. He spoke individually to other jurors at the hotel in the evening hours trying to convince them to vote guilty. This conduct was highly improper and in itself requires that the conviction be set aside.

In 1979-1980, as a result of the U.S. Senate's Church Committee disclosures, Freedom of Information lawsuits and other investigation, attorneys for Geronimo uncovered powerful evidence that had been suppressed by the prosecution. For example:

- The prosecution had concealed the fact that the surviving victim of the robbery had viewed a lineup and had identified someone other than Geronimo as the assailant;
- The FBI had placed at least one informant directly in the offices of the trial attorney. That informant spied on the defense and related defense strategy to the FBI;
- There had been an illegal FBI wiretap of BPP headquarters in LA that was operating on the day of the crime. As explained above, Geronimo was in Oakland attending a week-long series of BPP meetings and he called BPP headquarters in LA at least once a day. FBI tapes and logs of Geronimo's calls would have revealed that Geronimo was in Oakland at the time of the crime, but the FBI claimed that all these materials were missing from FBI files when the issue was raised in 1979.

Despite clear proof of these matters and other gross irregularities, the state and federal courts refused to set aside the conviction. □



Black Panther Party members march in formation, 1968.

Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt Must Go Free!

Continued from page 7

were arrested in a civil disobedience action at the S.F. State Building. Diverse groups and individuals have come forward to demand a new trial including Amnesty International, the *Oakland Tribune* newspaper, and the President of the California Teachers Association.

On January 2, 1992, five former BPP members held a press conference in Oakland in support of Geronimo. Bobby Seale was not present at the press conference but

sent a statement. "We were duped, Geronimo Pratt is innocent," said David Hilliard, in reference to the COINTELPRO operation. Due to severe political splits within the Panthers and COINTELPRO lies that Geronimo was a traitor, the BPP denounced Geronimo in their newspaper and kept silent during his trial; only former Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver testified at the trial.

Geronimo must be freed. This demand

must be raised further and wider to free this brother now. Letters of support and solidarity should be sent to Geronimo himself so he can feel the strength of the people, as well as to the International Committee to Free Geronimo Ji Jaga. □

Letters can be sent to:

Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt
B40319(19028)
Tehachapi State Prison
Tehachapi, CA 93581

The International Committee to
Free Geronimo Ji Jaga
P.O. Box 3583
Oakland, CA 94609

or

P.O. Box 781328
Los Angeles, CA 90016

Racists Assault Black Youth in Bronx

On Monday, January 6, two Black youths, a brother and sister 12 and 14 years old, were attacked by a gang of white racists in the Williamsbridge section of the Bronx. The two youths were on their way to school at IS135 when four white teenagers demanded they give up their money. When the youths refused the racists told the girl, "You're not getting out of here you Black bitch, until you give me some money." Then they punched and kicked the two youths. A Latino youth who witnessed the attack said the white racists yelled "nigger, nigger, nigger" over and over again. Two of the whites held the girl down while a third cut off her hair with a box cutter. Saying "you'll turn white today," they sprayed white shoe polish on the two youths. A man passing by in a van stopped to end the attack and the white thugs ran away.

As we go to press, police claim they have no suspects, despite the fact that one of the youths who was attacked told them that the racists said they were "from the Albanian Boys"—referring to a gang called the Albanian Bad Boys who live in the neighborhood. According to *Newsday* a Puerto Rican youth also said that members of the gang attacked him and called him "a Puerto

Rican piece of shit" in December. When the man in the van who helped to stop the youths went to talk to police, several TV stations aired pictures of his van outside the precinct. Not surprisingly, news reports indicate that some people are now afraid to come forward and talk about what happened.

The mainstream media's treatment of the incident is a reflection of this system's racism. *Newsday* said that the two youths had been attacked "allegedly by a gang of white teens," as if the word of Black youths isn't good enough. The *Daily News* referred to the racist attackers as "white teenagers" while a headline in the same paper on the same day about a string of robberies called Black youth who are accused a "wolf pack."

City authorities claim to be "shocked" and "concerned" by the attack, but this is just lies and hypocrisy. This whole system and those who run it are responsible for turning out young racist mobs like the attackers in the Bronx or those who killed Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst. Cops and racists who kill are set free time and time again, and this further whips these monsters up and gives them a green light to attack

oppressed people. An editorial in the *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly, noted: "Perhaps the white shoe polish tells us more than anything else about the sickness of this society, ostensibly driven by race, but really driven by the kind of voodoo economics that allows poverty amidst plenty, that allows homelessness on the same street where a childless couple can live in eight rent-controlled rooms and where White children are led to believe, especially if they are poor, that their condition is somehow the fault of their Black neighbor."

The incident is also being used in a cynical way to promote the police. (This is right after the New York police murdered *again*—Hector Rivera was shot in cold blood in front of his family on New Year's Day in Bushwick, Brooklyn.) There are glowing news accounts of how quick the police were to respond. The mother of the victims has been quoted praising the police for their help. Since Monday's attack, there have been reported instances of Black youth attacking an Indian woman and Latino youth in retaliation. The media ran quotes from the woman and the father of the Latino youth calling for more police in

the neighborhoods.

But the actions by the authorities after the Bronx attack show they are very worried that Black and Latino people have had enough of this racist shit. The powers are trying hard to keep a lid on people's anger. Fernando Ferrer, Bronx Borough President, told the press, "We want to bring a sense of calm to this community." Mayor Dinkins and other authorities have held emergency meetings. Human Rights Commissioner Dennis deLeon said, "We're going to launch a very hands-on effort in the school tomorrow and make sure that the good people come forward and that those who would spread hate don't have an opportunity to take advantage of this." The junior high school that the two youths who were attacked attend has been surrounded by police since the attack went down. The vision of youth rising up and rebelling against the system and its police enforcers in Crown Heights last year still haunts the powers in New York. □

Dhoruba Threatened with Prison, AGAIN

On December 10 Dhoruba bin Wahad (formerly Richard Moore) found out that the New York State Court of Appeals had issued a ruling that meant he might have to go back to prison. Dhoruba was released from prison in April 1990 after serving 19 years for a crime he did not commit! His murder conviction was reversed after he and his attorneys uncovered evidence suppressed by the District Attorney at the time of the trial that would have proven Dhoruba was innocent.

In the 1960s Dhoruba was a leader of the Black Panther Party in New York City and one of the defendants in the Panther 21 case. The case involved outrageous claims by the government that the Panthers had conspired to blow up the Board of Education building, the New Haven Railroad line, the Bronx Botanical Garden, three police precincts and several department stores. The government's case was so lame that the trial ended with the jury acquitting all the accused after deliberating only four hours.

But Dhoruba was eventually framed up and jailed for an incident that happened six days after the acquittal. Two cops guarding the house of the Manhattan District Attorney were critically wounded by shots from a passing car. Though there were no eyewitnesses and even the cops involved in the shooting did not identify Dhoruba, he was eventually convicted for attempted murder. The key testimony used against Dhoruba was a woman who had shared housing with some Panthers. She at first told police that Dhoruba had nothing to do with the shooting but then changed her story. The frame-up of Dhoruba was part of the government's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) under which many Panthers were harassed, jailed and murdered.

While Dhoruba was in jail, he and his attorneys obtained over 300,000 pages of documents from the New York Police Department and the FBI. They proved through these documents that the govern-

ment had withheld key evidence from Dhoruba's defense. Based on this newly uncovered evidence a judge was forced to throw out Dhoruba's conviction.

The District Attorney immediately appealed the ruling that set Dhoruba free. On December 10 the Court of Appeals used the cases of Dhoruba and Eric Jackson to change the law regarding reversals of convictions. (According to Dhoruba's lawyer William Kunstler, Jackson was convicted of arson of a supermarket and murder of six firemen who died in the fire. Jackson was released from jail after it came out later that the fire marshal, a key witness in the trial, had initially said he did not think the fire was caused by arson.)

According to Kunstler: "Before this case it was automatic reversal of a conviction [according to the Rosario rule] if you showed that they withheld evidence. The Court of Appeals changed the rule now and said it's only automatic if you discover it before you've had your regular appeal from your criminal conviction. And if you discover that they withheld evidence after the end of that period—which is only a couple of years, usually—then you now must prove prejudice resulted to you.... Persons who discover it after—and it almost always comes afterwards, through a Freedom of Information Act or whatever—must go one step further and prove they probably would have won had they had it, which is almost impossible to prove. You've got to convince some judge that you probably would have won, but it's very difficult to prove that.... It means that if the prosecution is successful in hiding evidence beyond the period of your direct appeal, then for all practical purposes this whole Rosario rule, which is 31 years old by the way, is ineffective for people who discover it later."

The Court of Appeals ruling clearly has direct bearing on Dhoruba. Since the evidence used to overturn his conviction came many years after his appeal, he must



Dhoruba al-Mujahid bin Wahad (center) at Manhattan courthouse, April 1990.

now go back to a judge and prove that this evidence would have resulted in an innocent verdict at the time of the original trial! The ruling (which came from a court that Kunstler described as having been "the most liberal court in the land") also has wider implication. It gives more power to

the government to frame people up by simply hiding evidence until after the appeals process is over. This can be used very broadly against revolutionaries, activists and people generally. This ruling must be exposed and opposed. And Dhoruba must remain free. □

Hands Off William Kunstler!

The *RW* has learned that the Court of Appeals in New York recently upheld a contempt of court decision against attorney William Kunstler. The contempt charge came during the trial last year of Yusuf Salaam, one of the youths charged in connection with the rape of a jogger in Central Park a few years ago. Readers of the *RW* will remember that the powers used this trial to step up their war on Black youth and their war on women. Kunstler represented Salaam when he appealed his conviction on rape, assault and robbery charges. He had been convicted largely on the basis of a claim by a cop that he had made a confession. But Salaam never signed such a statement and never gave a videotaped confession. But the pig's claim and an unsigned "confession" were admitted as evidence in the trial.

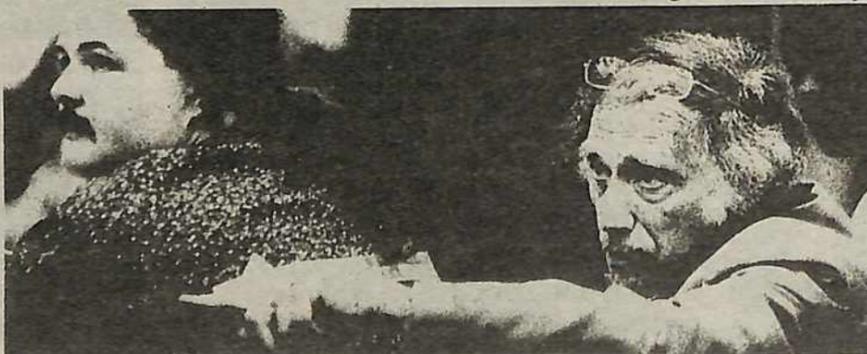
After Salaam's conviction, Kunstler made a motion for a new trial or a hearing based on the fact that one of the jurors had admitted that the jury had read and discussed news accounts about the case in the

jury room. The judge simply denied the motion and denied Kunstler's request to argue the decision. At this point Kunstler told the judge that he was "a disgrace to the bench," and this brought on the contempt

charge.

Kunstler appealed to the Appellate Division which overturned the contempt charge by a narrow margin. But the Court of Appeals recently ruled that the original contempt charge stands. Kunstler is supposed to either pay a fine or do one month in jail. Ron Kuby, Kunstler's attorney, says that Kunstler is "not paying a dime—he'll go to jail first." So far the authorities have not attempted to arrest Kunstler.

Kunstler is a well-known and respected people's attorney. The contempt charge is an attempt to threaten and attack progressive attorneys and others who step forward and side with the oppressed. The people must not allow the powers to jail Bill Kunstler. □



William Kunstler



The Revolutionary Communist Party Fund Drive 1991

We Dare to Dream! We Dare to Struggle! We Dare to Win!

This letter was received by the RW in support of the 1991 RCP Fund Drive.

Dear RW:

In the two and a half years I have been deeply involved in womyn's issues, primarily abortion rights, I must admit that the majority of what I've learned has come from alternative news sources. ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN just don't cut it, nor do they ever dig deep enough into a subject to get at the core. Thankfully, though, there are publications to turn to like the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Not only does the RW provide detailed

background information on issues, which takes considerable research, its continuous coverage of oppressive attacks such as lock-ins and clinic shutdowns is an ever present reminder of the daily struggles we all must fight. The mainstream media will report on these events as long as they have front page appeal, but they are soon forgotten in the race for ratings or as soon as another "event" merits all the attention.

Of course, such a paper would not be possible without the dedicated work of the people in the RCP. While there may be those who, unfortunately, will avoid

working with the RCP because of the word "communist," I enjoy working with these people because I see they are committed to what they do. They have been some of the most organized, and intelligent people I've known in the many activist circles I've worked in. They challenge me, encourage me, and together we have confronted those who seek to keep the people in their place and boldly told them **WE WILL NOT BE A PART OF YOUR NEW WORLD ORDER!**

Oppression is not a one time event like a Supreme Court decision as the media would have you believe. It is an ongoing

battle being fought on a daily basis all over the world. The outreach and education provided by the RW and RCP is needed and needs support to continue. I encourage readers to support the RCP fund drive which in turn will work to keep the heat on the oppressors and will strive to gain the freedom rightfully ours.

In Struggle and Solidarity,
Miz D., Atlanta, GA



Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog, people-killing, spirit-crushing system. Something much better is possible. There is a **REVOLUTIONARY** way! Where the people work in common for the common good. We saw this in the high tide of the Cultural Revolution in Mao's China. And we can see it today in the mountains of Peru.

It's a fact: when the common people get connected with revolutionary politics, the New World Order can

be brought down. The Revolutionary Communist Party is out to make it happen here.

We are striving to make some very big leaps in the revolutionary movement, to strengthen the people's side in the battles being waged now and get in position for **THE TIME**.

We need your financial support to make this happen. Many more party organizers and agitators need to be trained and sent out to wherever people are fighting back—organizing,

mobilizing, strategizing and getting ready to lead people in revolutionizing. Networks of readers of the *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* newspaper need to spread everywhere—in the ghettos and barrios, schools, factories, on campuses and among all those fighting the outrages and abuses of this system.

Get behind the RCP's 1991 Fund Drive. Contribute. Raise funds from your friends.