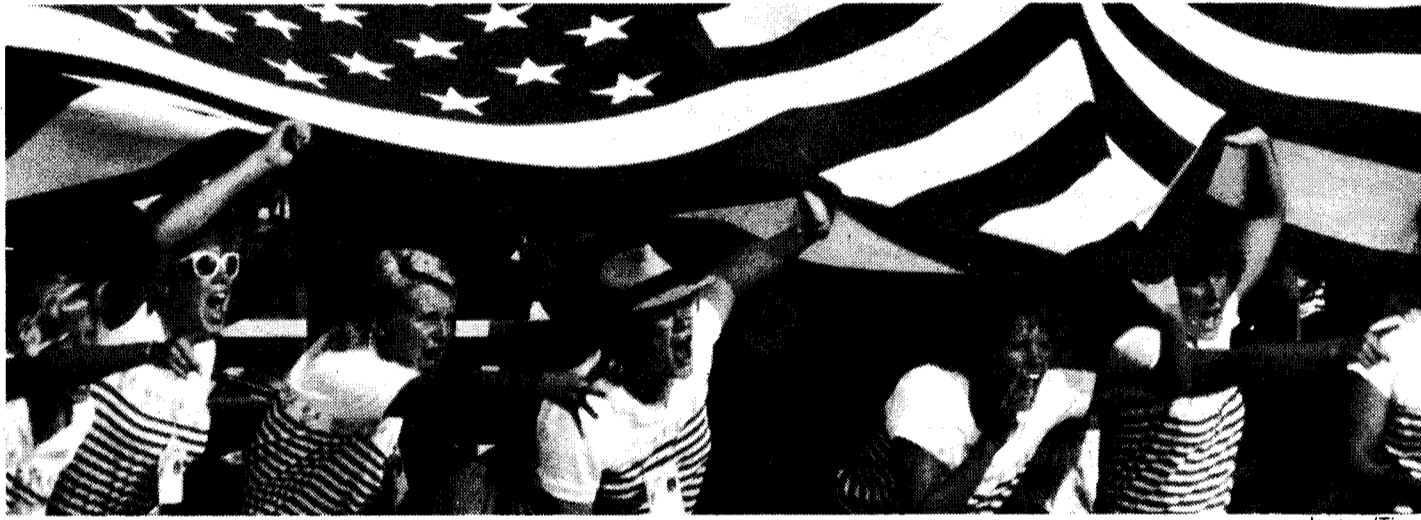


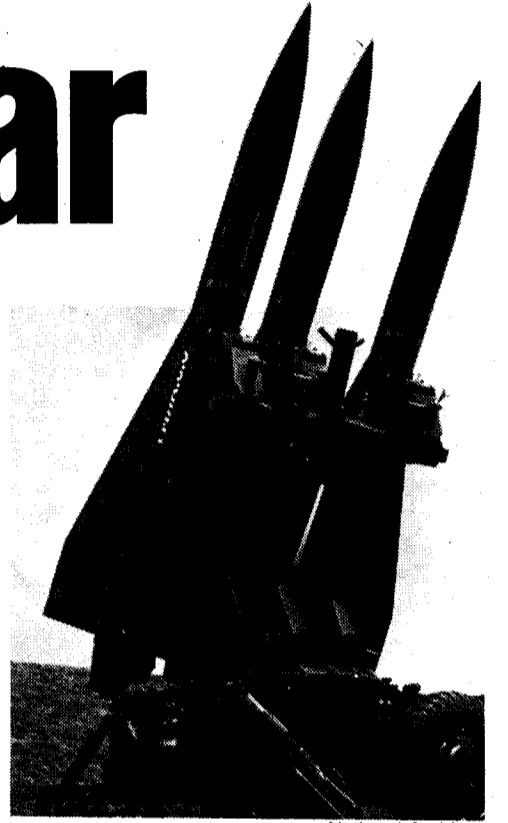
Racist Scab Inauguration

Reagan's America: Going for War



Chauvinist fever at L.A. Olympics war games helps prepare for real war against Soviet Union.

lacono/Time



National Archives

For Class Struggle— Down with Both Capitalist Parties!

They planned a giant extravaganza of patriotic glitz: four solid days of stars-and-stripes waving, fife-and-drum bands marching to celebrate Ronald Reagan's supposed "mandate" for all-sided social viciousness. "Standing tall" for the "new patriotism," they had their out-of-town tryout last summer at the Los Angeles Olympics war games (dubbed "America Uber Alles" by some disgusted sportscasters). Now blond and blue-eyed "All American," non-union youth would be high-kicking and practically straight-arm saluting under

the glittering eagle stage at the Washington Ellipse, frantically singing "You're Livin' in America, the Home of the Dream!" It almost seemed like Reagan's media advisers were trying to stage a *Triumph of the Will* pageant—something like Bonzo and the Beach Boys bring you the Nuremberg rally on the Potomac. Luckily the elements intervened to spare us this horror show. As has been noted, Reagan would have had a larger TV-viewing audience if they'd sworn him in on the 50-yard line at half time during the Super Bowl.

Inaugural '85 was supposed to be different; 1981's celebration of the "new luxury" was considered too exclusive, too "upscale" to really bring in the youth who voted for Reagan in record numbers. But the specifically youth events last weekend mostly were snowed out, or fizzled out. And the New Right rulers, dripping in diamonds, sipped California champagne and danced the nights away under the silver chandeliers as Frank Sinatra and the "rat pack" crooned for conservatism. Meanwhile it was 1984 in 1985: war is peace, rearmament is disarmament, poverty is prosperity. In his inaugural address, the Great Prevaricator talked of nuclear arms reduction while vowing to carry out a militarization of space that promises first-strike "Star Wars" in our time. With a straight face, the man who

has run up unheard-of \$200 billion budget deficits talked of making it unconstitutional for the government to spend more than it takes in. Mr. Cutbacks spoke of an "economy of opportunity" as unemployment for minority youth is higher than even the depths of the Great Depression.

It wasn't all pomp and pomposity, though. There was a deliberate attempt to pump up a "security" frenzy over the inauguration. The parade was described as the ultimate "terror opportunity," as U.S. officials played *Day of the Jackal* for real. Ten thousand troops mobilized, 140,000 invited guests to be scrutinized by metal detectors, concrete anti-vehicle barriers put up around national monuments, manholes welded shut and mailboxes removed along

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Anti-Abortion Fanatics Hail Their Chief, Ronald Reagan

Defend Abortion Clinics!

JANUARY 22—In Brockton, Massachusetts, one of the largest private clinics in the country providing abortions has announced that abortions will no longer be performed there. "We do not make this decision of our own free will," said the January 18 statement by Goddard Medical Associates; "acts of terrorism around the country and the constant harassment of our patients and ourselves have forced us

to make this decision." The following day, a bomb threat forced dozens of patients at the Manhattan Eastern Women's Center out into the freezing street. The women, angry and frightened, some groggy from anesthetic, pulled their coats on over the blue paper hospital gowns, helpless victims of a concerted campaign of terror by anti-woman bigots and religious nuts who intend, whatever it takes,

to overturn women's right to legal abortions.

Across the nation, abortion clinics are under a state of siege. In the scores of firebombings and hundreds of other attacks, it is pure chance that no one has yet been killed. But death is written all over the "right to life" campaign of terror, as vicious reactionaries seek to drive working-class and poor women back to the rusty coat hangers in the

back alleys. The anti-abortion terror-bombers have felt the wind in their sails and the nod of approval from the White House.

Today, the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions, 70,000 anti-abortion fanatics massed at the Ellipse in Washington. They cheered for Ronald Reagan, who addressed them through a special

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NYC "Subway Vigilante": On Contradiction

Jan Norden, Editor
Workers Vanguard

16 January 1985

Dear Comrade Editor:

On 23 December 1984, German-born engineer Bernhard Hugo Goetz, a known racist, arsonist, and former "contract employee of a U.S. intelligence agency" (KTVU-TV, Oakland, 9 Jan.) gunned down four young blacks in a New York subway after they asked him for five bucks. At least three of the youths were shot in the back or the side as they ran for their lives. None of the twenty or so eyewitnesses, or the cops, or even Goetz himself claim that any of the four blacks drew a weapon, or made a physically threatening move. Given these facts, it was quite a shock to us to see that *Workers Vanguard* #370 did not have a headline strongly condemning the "subway racist," or at least something like "Murdoch's Story Stinks!"

Despite the implication in the *WV* article that Goetz was probably an average Joe who was pushed over the edge by criminals, the facts tell a different story. As the article states, Goetz had been kicked off the board of governors of his luxury co-op for making bigoted remarks. Given the pervasiveness of racism among whites in New York, he must have been pretty rabid for his neighbors to react in this

way. And burning down a newsstand (which in New York is usually a small wooden building!) because it is an "eyesore" (perhaps it sold porno magazines?) is not the act of a decent, law-abiding citizen.

The *WV* article goes to great lengths to paint an unrelentingly lurid and violent picture of life on the New York subways, apparently in order to establish that Goetz's reaction was obvious and understandable under the circumstances. As Bronx natives who rode the subway frequently (one of us commuted daily on the Seventh Ave. Express IRT #2 from 180th St. in the Bronx down to 96th St. throughout most of the 1970s), we have to wonder whether the author of the article has ever been on the subway himself. Of course there is an unacceptable amount of violence down there, and it does seem that the four youths were up to some sort of mischief, but subway violence is not as common as Koch and Murdoch want the white public to believe. And Goetz simply does not fit the image created by the bourgeois press: a regular guy who was pushed too far. Besides his known history as a racist nut, Goetz had a huge chip on his shoulder which supposedly stemmed from a 1981 "mugging" by another group of young blacks. (That case was thrown out of court because it was not clear which side had provoked

the incident [*NY Times*, 14 Jan.]) Goetz has already made admissions to the cops indicating that his recent Christmas shooting spree was of a "premeditated nature." In other words, it seems that he was looking for the slightest excuse to kill a few young blacks. And if Goetz gets away with his attempted murder (which is likely), the next racist sicko won't wait for his "assailant" to reach second base in the "classic New York shakedown"; he'll shoot the first black who asks for a smoke! There are plenty of white racists who can't wait for the day when it's legal to hunt down blacks, and the Goetz shooting brings that day a little closer.

The article makes a big deal about support for Goetz cutting across racial lines. Insofar as the story was widely reported that an innocent little man defended himself against a pack of young toughs wielding sharpened screwdrivers, of course almost everyone initially supported Goetz. However, this scenario is a lie! Goetz was a psychopathic racist on the prowl, who calmly tried to kill four blacks; he stopped shooting only when he ran out of bullets. Even if black public reaction does not substantially change in light of the recent revelations about the case, black support for Goetz does not refute the *primarily* racist nature of public reaction to the incident, just as feminist support for the Moral Majority's anti-porn crusade does not disprove the anti-woman and anti-gay nature of *that* movement. Both of us were in a white working-class section of the Bronx during the period between the attack and Goetz's surrender, and can testify to the strong racist component in the white reaction to the shooting.

The "Subway Vigilante" article stops just short of saying that Goetz did a good thing. But the most important point to be made here is tacked on to the article almost as a *non sequitur*: that vigilantism (and Goetz was really much worse than a vigilante) can lead to full-blown fascism. Guardian Angels *Führer* Curtis Sliwa got his start by having a pal of his feign sleeping on a subway seat with a wallet hanging out of his pocket in order to sucker someone into making a move for it. The two of them would then beat the crap out of the "attacker." And wasn't Sliwa's first group called the Magnificent Seven? Goetz was a member of a "neighborhood improvement group" called the Fabulous 14!

The salient feature of this episode seems to us to be that it fuels (with lots of help from the likes of the *Post*) anti-minority racism, and paves the way for further fascist vigilantism. In this deeply divided, racist, capitalist society, there is always a danger of the working class being sucked into and ripped apart by race war. The *WV* article should have focused much more on this threat instead of seeing gun control as the main question posed. Working people need guns to protect themselves from the KKK, from scabs, from abortion-clinic bombers and from common criminals. Willie Turks would be alive today if he

had had a gun. But the Goetz case is not the case to use to attack the bourgeoisie's anti-working class gun control laws. We sincerely hope that *WV* in future articles will rectify the misdirected slant of the "Subway Vigilante" article.

Communist greetings,
Bob Z. and Rick B.
Berkeley/Oakland

WV replies: For openers, Bernhard Goetz wasn't born in Germany. He was born in Kew Gardens Hospital in Queens, New York, of parents (a Jewish mother and a German father) who came to this country to escape the holocaust. There's a point here. Bob Z. and Rick B. have the Communist Party line, you see: Goetz has to be made into a racist vigilante pure and simple, so suddenly he's a German CIA agent. Like the famous Dreyfus affair, of the patriotic French officer who was jailed as a spy because he was a Jew, there is conflict over the case of the New York "subway vigilante" because it is contradictory. But the two letter writers want to make it just black and white, literally and figuratively. They want to declare this racist vigilantism, period. So they suppress one whole side of the contradiction.

In the rest of the letter they give a partial account, therefore partially false. That's disingenuous. You have to look at the concrete circumstances. What the cops did to the overweight black grandmother in the Bronx, Eleanor Bumpurs, was clear racist murder. The same when those white punks beat black transit worker Willie Turks to death in Brooklyn. But the Goetz case is not so simple. So the authors of the letter simply deny reality. In their version there could be no crime in process, no shakedown going on—the youths were only "up to some mischief," "just asking for five dollars" (maybe they wanted to buy a *WV* subscription?). But not even the kids involved claim they were just fooling around! They were looking for trouble, and they got more than they asked for.

Some years ago, in the midst of a subway crime wave, our article on "Fear and Violence in NYC" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977) reported on a 300-pound, kill-crazy Nazi, Frederick Cowan, who killed three blacks and a dark-skinned Indian while looking for his Jewish supervisor. Cowan had swastika tattoos, a massive arsenal and pictures of Hitler in his house. The letter writers want to equate Cowan, who *was* a racist killer pure and simple, with Goetz. They want to claim that Goetz is the same as the lynch mob that murdered Willie Turks. New York blacks seethed over the murder of Turks, yet they were sympathetic to a white subway rider who plugged black youths who were trying to rip him off. Maybe they understand something you don't.

Our critics want us to say Goetz is a racist nut; our article said it. They want us to mention that he reportedly burned

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Black Fighter For Abortion Rights



TROTSKY

Edgar B. Keemer (1913-1980), a black gynecologist practicing for 40 years in Detroit and member from 1943 to 1947 of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, courageously dedicated his life to the fight for black equality and for abortion rights. Under the party name of Charles Jackson, he was a frequent contributor to the SWP's *Militant* and wrote a number of pamphlets on the fight



LENIN

for black liberation, including "How to Kill Jim Crow." In 1959 he was convicted and served a 14-month sentence for performing abortions. In his autobiography Keemer concludes:

The advocates of forced pregnancy, through their emotional spoutings, have ominously instigated the vandalization and fire-bombings of dozens of abortion clinics across the country....

If I may proffer a suggestion, it would be for us to recognize that abortion is ages old: Chinese herbalists were recording their procedures 5,000 years ago. It is a worldwide phenomenon: Fifty million procedures, both legal and illegal, are estimated to have been performed last year.

Viewing it, then, from the wide angle of a pro-life abortionist, this procedure is seldom the *choice*—of either woman or doctor. But it is often, for various reasons, the *only alternative*. Therefore, it is an option which *must* remain open to *all* women—poor or otherwise.

Meanwhile, it behooves us to develop safe, sure pregnancy preventatives—for men, as well as women—and to make them freely available to all. For only when that is accomplished will abortion, that bitter fruit of our deep-rooted instincts, finally wither on the vine.

—Edgar B. Keemer, *Confessions of a Pro-Life Abortionist* (1980)

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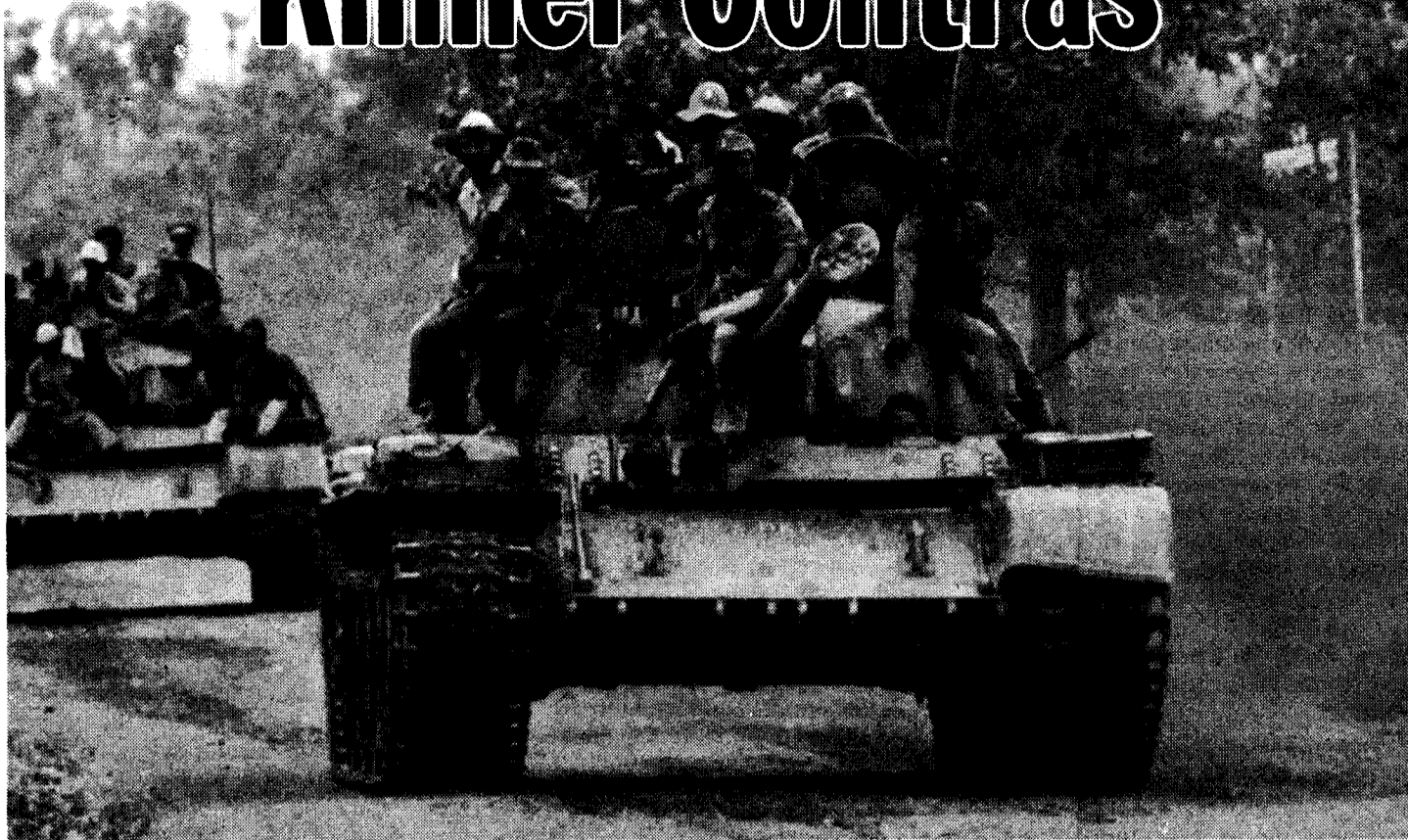
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Vietnam Creams CIA's Khmer Contras



Kraipit Phanvut

Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean troops atop Soviet-built T-54 tanks roll over counterrevolutionaries.

JANUARY 19—Marking the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) from the genocidal death grip of Pol Pot, Vietnamese and Kampuchean troops have won a series of stunning victories in their most concerted offensive against the counterrevolutionary bases on the Thai-Kampuchean border. The CIA-backed, Chinese-armed troops of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and Son Sann's Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF) have scurried like roaches into Thailand as Vietnam's Soviet-built T-54 tanks flattened their camps. In an ominous move, China has stepped up its attacks along Vietnam's northern border in an effort to divert military forces needed in Kampuchea.

The current offensive was launched in late November when Vietnamese and Kampuchean government forces took the Nong Chan camp, where a thousand KPNLF troops were holed up. On December 25 some 1,500 troops backed by tanks and heavy artillery moved against the largest base camp of the KPNLF, at Nong Samet, scattering the 4,000 anti-Communist rebels based there; the 62,000 civilians had already fled into nearby Thailand before the fighting started. A decisive blow fell January 7 when the Vietnamese force of some 3,000 overran the KPNLF headquarters at Ampil. The Thai army, discarding all pretense of "neutrality," tried to provide artillery cover for the Ampil rebels, but the combat-steered Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies took the camp in one day, using "an intense artillery barrage followed quickly by a lightning tank-led breach of the camp's defensive perimeter and the explosion of Ampil's main munitions depot" (*Washington Post*, 9 January). "I think it was a debacle," one Western official lamented to the *Post*. KPNLF officials were whining that their civilians "just want to run and run." The *New York Times* (9 January) noted that the "spirit of the insurgency" seems to be "flagging" because of the "demoralizing blow." And Thai Lt. General Picht Kullavanich, ever looking for Vietnamese "atrocities," was compelled to admit that there were almost no civilian casualties.

The loss of their headquarters was a staggering blow to the KPNLF, which

has now lost seven of its eight "refugee" camps. Their leader Son Sann cried, "We are not so strong," and called for a retreat into dispersed guerrilla tactics. Son Sann, the CIA's most loyal client in the region, was once the prime minister of Cambodia under the monarchy of Prince Sihanouk. KPNLF vice president, General Dien Del, served the U.S. puppet regime of Lon Nol, who came to power in a right-wing coup in 1970 which unseated Sihanouk. The Lon Nol regime joined the U.S. imperialist war against social revolution in Indochina, and approved the massive carpetbombing by U.S. B-52s which devastated the Cambodian countryside.

Before the Vietnamese offensive, Son Sann's forces controlled eight of the 20 border camps. They were the imperialists' preferred anti-Communist opponents of Hanoi and Phnom Penh; only the Chinese have the stomach to embrace the Pol Pot butchers wholeheartedly. The third force of their fictitious "government in exile," led by the ousted Prince Sihanouk, is too negligible and eccentric for Western imperialist purposes. Sihanouk, who switches bloc partners like he changes his silk shirts, makes occasional threats to quit the anti-Communist coalition... but nobody much cares. The few thousand troops he commands count for little; their base camp at Tatum represents no serious challenge for the Vietnamese.

With the fall of Ampil, a thousand troops backed up by tanks moved south to the mountainous Phnom Malai region, where the main Khmer Rouge base is situated. Since January 13 fighting has been underway, as the Vietnamese drive forward in what appears to be the most serious effort so far to finally crush the counterrevolution. Other forces have been moved into position for a major attack on Khmer Rouge bases opposite the Thai village of Nong Sao-eh (UPI, 17 January).

The Khmer Rouge, the largest of the three disparate forces in the tenuous "coalition," is too discredited by the bloody legacy of Pol Pot to present a viable challenge to the Heng Samrin regime. The Kampuchean people will not soon forget the hideous rule of Pol Pot, who took power in 1975, amid the chaos and social devastation of the

Americans' not-so-secret war on Cambodia, and carried out a policy of genocide in the name of a monstrous leveling campaign that emptied the cities and dismantled the economy, schools, hospitals. Two to three million—about a third of the Cambodian population—perished in the holocaust, tortured in Pol Pot's death camps, starved, executed. The massacre of the population was halted only by the Vietnamese invasion in December 1978.

Ironically, the Pol Pot forces are now the military allies of their former opponents. But there is little love lost among these "allies": Sihanouk detests Son Sann, his former tutor who plotted coups against him; he hates Pol Pot, whose regime murdered several of his children; the fascist Son Sann despises the "communism" (long since renounced) of the Khmer Rouge. Troops of rival factions have engaged in gun battles with one another in the border region. They continue to exist only as the kept creatures of the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. Global Anti-Soviet Design

As soon as the recent Vietnamese victory became apparent, the U.S. State Department started making hypocritical complaints about "violations of the accepted norms of decent international behavior" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 January)—this from the government that dropped thousands of tons of bombs and napalm on Indochina, that now is

backing the genocidal Pol Pot! They certainly have gall: if it weren't for U.S. machinations, there would be no wretched border camps to begin with. At the behest of the U.S., the United Nations continues to seat the Pol Pot gang as the Kampuchean representative. None of the so-called "international aid" goes to Phnom Penh, but to the border camps, where it sustains the counterrevolutionaries or is sold by the black marketeers. China supplies the weaponry to keep it all going, under the protection of Thailand's anti-Communist, pro-U.S. regime.

From the beginning the simmering border war has been sponsored by the U.S. as part of its global anti-Soviet war drive, a component of which is to *bleed Vietnam*. The policy was laid out explicitly near the start of the Reagan administration, when then-secretary of state Alexander Haig paid a visit to Asia:

"... diplomatic sources told the *Review* that Haig had urged China to increase arms deliveries to anti-Vietnamese resistance forces in Kampuchea because supplying US arms directly to the Khmer guerrillas posed some problems.... Sources said that in his discussions in Peking, Haig fully agreed with the Chinese analysis that Vietnam should be militarily bled and economically starved until it is forced to change foreign and domestic policies and give up its alliance with Moscow.

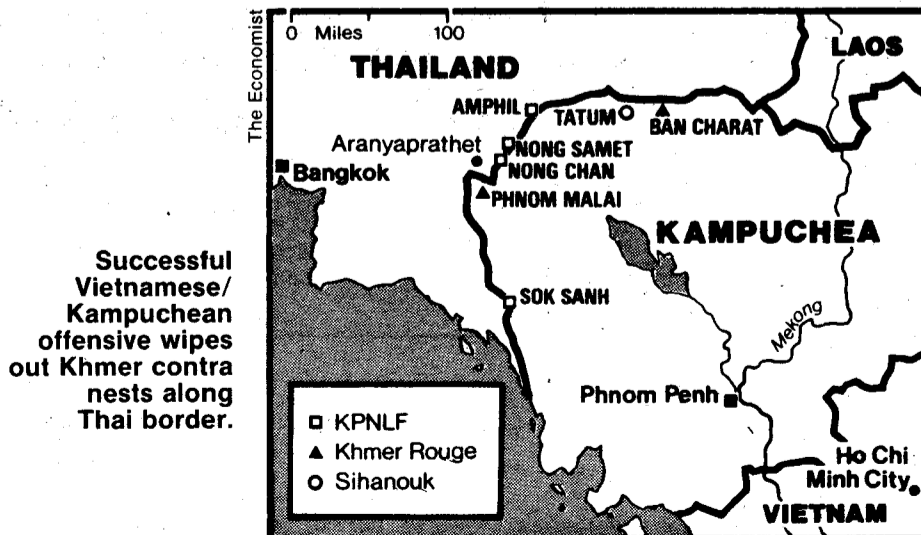
"Washington had already underlined the seriousness of its intentions by blocking the shipment of a small quantity of grain by a US charity organisation to Vietnam.... While Asean is concerned only about a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, Washington and Peking... see it in the global context."

—Nayan Chanda, "Haig Turns the Screw," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 June 1981

From Afghanistan to Nicaragua to Kampuchea, Washington is sponsoring "contra" guerrillas against any government considered to be pro-Soviet. Vietnam, which whipped U.S. imperialism on the battlefield and now aligns itself militarily with the Soviet Union, is targeted for strangulation by the U.S. Since Nixon's rapprochement with Maoist China, the Chinese Stalinist rulers have joined U.S. imperialism in its anti-Soviet campaign, and China supplies the Khmer reactionaries with grenade and rocket launchers, mortars, rifles, machine guns. As a reward, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, just visited China to swig corn liquor with Chinese leaders and offer them U.S. military hardware—including "modern anti-submarine warfare equipment" to be used against the Soviets. China already provides the CIA/NSA with an electronic spy post near the Soviet border. Down with China's collusion in the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive!

Both the U.S. and China reserve a special vengeance toward Vietnam, whose courageous people sent both to a humiliating defeat. China has offered its services to imperialism in assisting the Khmer reactionaries: as often before, Vietnamese progress in Kampuchea is answered with Chinese aggression. On January 18, the Vietnamese announced the outbreak three days earlier of

continued on page 4



"Subway Vigilante" ...

(continued from page 2)

down a newsstand; we wrote it. They want us to note he was kicked off his housing co-op board for bigotry; they read it in *WV*. Point to the danger of the Guardian Angels? We did. We also said he was a "loner-turned-vigilante," that the case was being used by racist forces to whip up an ominous atmosphere of vigilantism, as Senator D'Amato is trying to do, which could only be anti-black. So what's their beef? It's what our article *doesn't* say that gets them. They want to say it has nothing to do with self-defense, with the right to carry guns. But it wasn't the Spartacist League which decided that the issue of gun control was involved, it was life. As Marxists we believe that *everyone* has the democratic right to bear arms, even people who have top secret clearance to calibrate electronic equipment on nuclear weapons.

Goetz had "a huge chip on his shoulder"? So do hundreds of thousands of other New Yorkers riding the subways. But whatever was going on in his head, his situation was that of a potential victim of a mugging under way. Goetz was also a "mark": a skinny blond guy with glasses—he had "mug me" written all over him. What's the conclusion, then, that vulnerable looking white people shouldn't live in New York City? Should he have waited until they pulled out weapons, until he was down? By then it's too late. Goetz certainly violated the formal police rules of engagement; by any humane standards he responded with excessive violence. Very possibly a valid defense would be temporary insanity, as a result of his previous mugging. On the other hand, one of the youths is paralyzed for life, and his life presently hangs in the balance. That, too, counts for us. But we don't want to, and can't, play all-knowing Marxist gods, especially on this all-too-common form of social interaction.

We can, however, make some social observations. The hard fact is that oppression oppresses. Marauding by black youths on the NYC subways is a mass phenomenon. Now it's official: the *New York Times* reported a poll saying

God created men and women, and Colonel Colt made them equal.



crime is the number one issue for New Yorkers. Is it racist to say that? To deny it is to push the masses into the arms of the racists. Moreover, ghetto youth marauding against other blacks in the slums is an everyday event. And it's become trite in the ghetto to say that the cops are never there when you need them, but always there with their hand out and to make trouble. This is one of the most tightly gun-controlled cities in the country: just about nobody but cops can carry legally. No wonder that in a recent *Daily News* poll, blacks far more than whites had considered carrying a gun.

The immediate overwhelming popular response for Goetz was based in part on the population's sense of defenselessness. But the liberal/reformist line is that to talk about crime in the streets just fuels racist reaction. So the writers claim that subway crime is not so common, although perhaps the level of violence is "unacceptable." For them lumpen violence is a fact of life, the less said the better, and the left should go after the *Post* for making an issue out of it. They accept the status quo, including the police as the only defense—hence their desire to play down gun control. (The SWP's "proof" that Goetz was a vigilante: "He carried a gun...") Incidentally, the author of the article would like to note that *she* has been riding the subways since before the letter writers first set foot on the IRT, and that not everyone riding the subways is a robust young fellow home from Berkeley for the Christmas holidays. What about women, or the elderly? Their fears are

not just media hype whipped up by Murdoch's *Post*.

Don't believe us—read what Claude Brown, the celebrated black author of *Manchild in the Promised Land*, had to say about how pervasive lumpen crime has become in the ghetto today ("Manchild in Harlem," *New York Times Magazine*, 16 September 1984): "All street kids are at least semi-abandoned," he wrote. "They are at the mercy of a coldblooded and ruthless environment.... Consequently, the manchild who survives is usually more cunning, more devious and often more vicious than his middle-class counterpart." He went on:

"Manchild 1984 is the product of a society so rife with violence that killing a mugging or robbery victim is now fashionable....

"For more than a year, I was thoroughly baffled by the apparent senseless and often maniacal, rampant killings of mugging and robbery victims....

"I had been talking to young men in the prisons and on the ghetto streets—prisons with invisible bars—but I wasn't comprehending what they were telling me. Perhaps what I was hearing was too mind-boggling, too ghastly to understand: 'Murder is in style now'."

One black youth doing a stretch for armed robbery told Brown that ghetto kids "can't lose" from street crime: if they get "wiped" (killed) they've got no more needs; if they get "popped" (shot) and paralyzed, they'll be on welfare; and if they get busted, it's free rent and three squares a day in the joint. Brown concluded: "This is the new manchild enigma. He is so deadly and cynically rational that he is terrifying." Do you want to accuse Claude Brown of stirring

up vigilantism for saying what is?

Yes, we "make a big deal" of blacks cheering when they heard of someone shooting muggers. Because that shows the public reaction to the subway shooting is not "primarily racist." It is black women, carrying groceries or walking to work through the burnt-out ghettos; black elderly afraid to leave their apartments to take their social security checks to the bank; black workers whose cars are repeatedly vandalized, who feel most strongly about lumpen crime because they are the main victims. Their own kids are being destroyed, and it is dragging the race down. That's why blacks cheered when someone pulled the trigger on would-be muggers. And on January 18, an older black man in Chicago's West Side shot and fatally wounded one of two black youths who tried to steal his groceries at knife-point.

There is a social truth here, an anti-capitalist social truth. Youth crime by lumpen layers is no joke, and the Reagan years have intensified (not created) the conditions which produce it. Moreover, in racist capitalist America the lumpenproletariat overlaps to a very large degree with the oppressed minorities. So when you talk about crime and vigilantism, it's explosive because you're talking about the black question, the key to the American revolution. What's the answer? Jobs, education, housing—all the things decaying capitalism can't provide because it's in repeated economic crisis and spending trillions for war against the Soviet "evil empire" (where unemployment is a thing of the past). This society cannot do anything about miles of devastation in the South Bronx, East New York, Bushwick and the rest of the burnt-out slums that make Harlem look like heaven. Carter, Reagan and the pope have all been to Charlotte Street and it's still rubble. The bourgeoisie wants to ignore that reality, just like they and the rad/libers want to ignore lumpen crime.

Stalin had a reason to lie—he was in the business of selling out revolutions. The labor fakery have a similar excuse. The rules of the Fourth International, as Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, are "to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be." That's why Lenin called his paper *Pravda* (Truth). It's the only way to make a revolution. ■

Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

intense fighting and artillery shelling along the China-Vietnam border. Ominously, the Chinese have amassed forces on the border with Vietnam comparable to those which invaded in 1979 to "teach Vietnam a lesson" for intervening in Cambodia to oust Pol Pot. But, as *Newsweek* (21 January) observed, in 1979 "Hanoi's troops fought the Chinese to a draw, and revealed Peking's military doctrines and technology to be antiquated.... A new conflict between

China and Vietnam would probably go badly for China... the Vietnamese appear to have substantially improved their firepower, the caliber of their troops and their defensive positions." Or, as one Vietnamese diplomat put it, "We are a very patient people. We have been waiting for them a long time."

The threat to Vietnam comes not only from China and the Pol Pot clique. Embittered Vietnamese contras, many based in the U.S., have repeatedly tried to infiltrate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. *Far Eastern Economic Review* (17 January) reports that Hanoi carried out

a cross-border raid into Thailand in early December against a group of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries led by Hoang Co Minh, formerly an admiral of the Saigon puppet regime. It's no wonder the Vietnamese have balked at the recent U.S. "humanitarian" campaign demanding the release of the remaining inmates of Vietnamese re-education camps—imperialism's last loyal butchers. Russian émigrés, Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese social people: the refuse of successful social revolution become the shock troops of counterrevolution.

The Vietnamese, driven by self-preservation, were compelled to liberate the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's terror and save them from genocide. But, imperialist "domino" theories notwithstanding, the Vietnamese are not pursuing a program of revolutionary internationalism. On the contrary—with the nationalist blinders of Stalinism they seek to preserve the status quo through "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism and the bourgeois Southeast Asian states of ASEAN. Thus a recent communiqué of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries called for negotiations over Kampuchea, including ASEAN and the U.S., to arrange withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and exclusion of the Pol Pot clique, the holding of "free general elections with the presence of foreign observers," and guarantees that no state will allow its territory to be used against other countries. Yet historical

experience ever since the Western attempts to strangle the young Bolshevik Revolution, and the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive which has targeted Vietnam in particular, have made it clear that the imperialists and their toadies will never accept the revolutions that have overthrown capitalist exploitation.

Ten years after the liberation of Saigon, after 40 years of almost continuous war against colonialism and imperialist aggression, the Indochinese nations find themselves besieged on all sides by the allies of Washington. Rather than hoping for the Thai colonels and the Pentagon to join with Vietnam against the "Chinese hegemonists," the only way to ensure a peaceful future for the long-suffering peoples of the region is through revolutionary struggle for a genuine soviet federation of Indochina. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution.

Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! Defending the gains of the Russian October, defending the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, requires proletarian revolution in the capitalist strongholds—the program of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Neo-Nazi Murder, Inc.

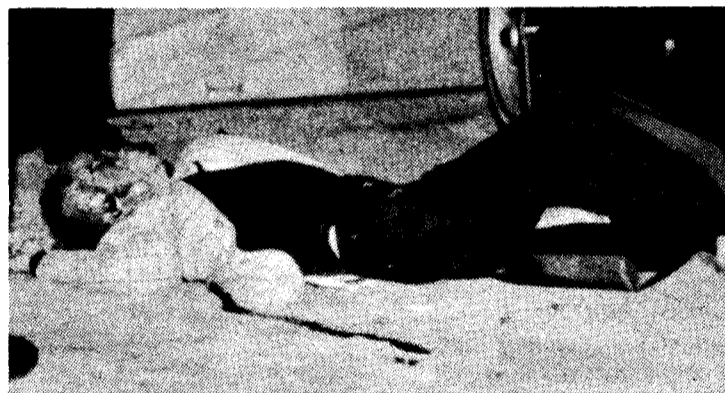
SAN FRANCISCO—In Ronald Reagan's America, where the FBI officially certifies abortion clinic bombers as non-terrorists while left-wing political opponents of U.S. imperialism are smeared as "terrorist conspirators," the anti-Soviet war drive has spawned a very real terror network. A murderous fascist conspiracy has recently surfaced, centered on the Northwest and Mountain states, which is responsible for a wave of violent crime—including the machine-gun murder of a popular Jewish radio talk show host, armed robberies netting millions and counterfeiting. These white racist terrorists are armed to the teeth and linked by a home computer network which they use to communicate with backwoods "survivalist" nuts, soldier of fortune "mercs" and neo-Nazi preachers to decide whether to pull a heist this week or murder another member of the "Jew-controlled media."

There have been no "anti-terrorist" pronouncements from the White House or Justice Department on this one, no sensational exposés or RICO "anti-conspiracy" hearings on these psychopathic killers. Indeed, the FBI insists the network is not "a major threat." Precisely because these ultrarightists are only the logical extension of Reagan's "new patriotism" of racism, anti-communism and militarism, they have been downplayed by the "responsible" media (only one article in the *New York Times* so far). If the feds are now paying some attention to them, it's because these neo-Nazi killers have not only targeted blacks, Jews and communists but also FBI agents and judges. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (2 January) reports that documents from the white supremacists' computer network, the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net," call for war on the U.S. and Canadian governments. One message ended: "Arm yourselves! Liberate Canada!"

The core of this neo-Nazi network is

something called the "Silent Brotherhood of the White American Bastion," linked to the Aryan Nations, a fascist organization which recruits degenerate thugs from the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang. (The Aryan Brotherhood gained notoriety when mass murderer Charles Manson was reported to have joined it.) The FBI apparently only stumbled onto the group while doing undercover investigation of motorcycle gangs. Last October the feds tried to question "Silent Brotherhood" member Gary Lee Yarbrough in his Idaho home about several other cases. Yarbrough fled after shooting at the FBI man, but inside his house they discovered, apparently by accident, the .45-caliber Mac-10 submachine gun with which Denver radio personality Alan Berg was assassinated on June 18. Also found in the cache were loaded crossbows, plastic explosives, automatic rifles, night scopes and thousands of dollars in cash.

Berg was an outspoken and acerbic commentator, a Jew who spoke out angrily against anti-Semites and white supremacists (along with practically everybody else) on his top-rated rush-hour radio show. He was cut down in front of his home, taking 12 bullets to the head and chest. Yarbrough was finally arrested on November 24, after a shootout at a Portland, Oregon motel,



Alweis/Denver Post

Alan Berg, Jewish talk show host, was gunned down by fascist murderers.

on charges stemming from his October shooting at the FBI. But Denver police chief Don Mulnix complains that the investigation of the Berg killing has been hampered by the "untimely" disclosure of the murder weapon and its link to the neo-Nazi terrorist network (*San Francisco Examiner*, 16 December 1984).

Yarbrough's roommate at the motel, Robert J. Mathews, managed to escape. Inside the room the feds found automatic weapons, a grenade, \$30,000 and a "declaration of war" by the "White American Revolutionary Army" on the U.S. government, which it called the "Z.O.G." for "Zionist Occupation Government." Mathews, leader of the "Silent Brotherhood," was tracked to an island in Puget Sound, where on December 8 some 60 FBI agents surrounded his hideout and set it afire. Burnt to a crisp, Mathews was promptly declared a martyr by the Aryan Nations, presumably to reside in glory in the Valhalla of half-witted fascist barbarians.

The surviving "Silent Brotherhood" types caught December 8 were arrested on a variety of charges including counterfeiting. Now FBI and state officials believe that the "Brotherhood" is behind at least four bank and armored car robberies, including one in Ukiah, California last July, where over a dozen



Pike/SF Examiner

Neo-Nazi Richard Butler, godfather of deadly Aryan Nations.

men surrounded an armored truck brandishing automatic weapons and a sign reading "Get out or you die." Unlike the bumbling ex-Weathermen types accused of the failed Brinks heist in Nyack, New York, they made off with the loot—\$3.6 million—which is still missing. In its only mention of these murderers to date, the *New York Times* (27 December 1984) quotes a 1982 Aryan Nations newsletter defining the organization's goals as a "national racial state," "at whatever price is necessary."

The "spiritual" godfather of the Aryan Nations is apparently neo-Nazi Richard Butler, leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which holds that "Jews are the sons of Satan, of the line of Cain, and should be exterminated." The *SF Examiner* (16 December 1984) reports that every July Butler hosts a "World Aryan Congress" at his headquarters in Hayden Lake, Idaho. This conclave is attended by 200-300 Nazis, Klansmen, Posse Comitatus members, survivalists and tax protesters. The

continued on page 9

Anti-Communist Cause Célèbre

U.S. Court Harbors Latvian Nazi

On January 9 the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco blocked the deportation of Edgars Laipenieks, former head jailer of the notorious Riga Central concentration camp during 1941-43, under the Nazi occupation of Latvia in the Baltic. Laipenieks was an officer of the Latvian political police, set up as an auxiliary to the SS *Einsatzkommando 2*, the murder squad whose function was to liquidate communists and Jews in German-occupied Latvia. Twelve witnesses, all but two survivors of Riga Central, testified that Laipenieks was a notorious torturer, who used fists, truncheons and blackjacks against his imprisoned victims. One survivor identified him in a photo: a dead man whose neck was in a noose was suspended over a pit on a pole maneuvered by Laipenieks and several others. Riga Central was a "terminal prison": Laipenieks ordered the execution of 200 to 300 communist prisoners from 1941 to 1943.

Simple justice and human decency demand that this Nazi assassin be given a one-way trip to the Soviet Union, where he can be tried by his surviving victims for his heinous crimes. But in Reagan's America, where refugees from Haiti and El Salvador are regularly sent home to face death at the hands of right-

wing juntas, Hitler's murdering henchmen are transformed into heroic "freedom fighters" against "Soviet totalitarianism." It was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler's murderous regime, liberated the Baltic republics from the domination of German barons and dealt out the only real justice to the SS and Gestapo filth.

Outfits like the Latvian political police were set up by the SS in the Baltic states and Ukraine for the express reason that the Nazis didn't have enough personnel to murder all the Jews and communists fast enough. By all accounts the native fascist collaborators were even more vicious than their German Nazi masters. In exonerating Laipenieks of charges of persecuting communists, the U.S. court legitimized the Latvian political police as "an organization formed to investigate and arrest individuals who had participated in the atrocities during the Soviet occupation." In short, the U.S. court ruled that indiscriminate Nazi mass murder of suspected communists was no crime! In Cold War II murder of communists, Soviets and Jews is considered a patriotic act.

The court explicitly disqualified the testimony of most of the witnesses because their depositions were taken in

Latvia, on the grounds that the Soviet hearing officer present was "prejudiced" against suspected Nazi war criminals! Since the majority of the surviving witnesses to these fascist atrocities reside in the Soviet Union, this decision makes it virtually impossible to prosecute war criminals. And you better believe that the USA's own Murder, Inc. is plenty happy about this decision: the last thing the CIA, Radio Free Europe and the other spy agencies here want is further exposé of their own liberal recruitment of these butchers and

torturers. *None* of the bourgeois press accounts of this case have mentioned that when Laipenieks came to the U.S. in 1960 after having fled to South America, the CIA immediately put him to work ferreting out information on East Europeans who visited America.

At the same time Laipenieks was being let off, a bipartisan gang of Congressional bigwigs, including Democratic Party House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Dante Fascell and New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato,

continued on page 9

Nazis butchered millions. Ship Riga concentration camp jailer Laipenieks back to USSR to be tried by his surviving victims!



Progress

Dig Deep for the British Miners!

"Your encouragement and support, like the hundreds of others we are currently receiving, gives added strength to our determination to win this fight, not only to save Pits and Jobs, but against the Anti-Trade Union Legislation of the present Tory Government." This message, addressed to the Partisan Defense Committee's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families from the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, underscores the urgency of the PDC's \$25,000 fund drive among American trade-union locals to come to the aid of the courageous striking miners. Now in its eleventh month, the NUM's battle is widely backed by all those facing "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher's lash, especially the trade-union ranks, black and Asian minorities and the Irish.

In the United States, there has been a virtual news blackout by the capitalist press, except where they have portrayed the miners as "terrorists on the picket line" or have backed Thatcher's miserably failed attempt to whip and bribe the miners back to work by Christmas. The truth is that the miners are standing firm. They know if they go back to the pits on their knees it will be the death of their union and a historic defeat for the British, and international, labor movement. In the U.S., despite the cringing of some local union officials before the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's refusal to defend the NUM, the PDC's campaign has brought to dozens of union locals the urgency of aiding the British miners.

Fearing the impact that a powerful solidarity movement and a successful strike would have on its own members, the position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is to let the miners hang. Their press spokesman put it this way: "To our knowledge, we have not given any money to the British miners' strike." Contrast this to Lane Kirkland's favored causes. Not a cent for the NUM in over ten hard months, but millions for Democrat Mondale and millions more for the Reagan/CIA company "union" in Poland, Solidarność. Many of the "labor lieutenants of capital," both at the international and local levels, have used appeals to anti-Sovietism, lies spread by the bosses' press, and racist, jingoist protectionism to sabotage international working-class solidarity. This is no surprise to the trade unionists we have met during this campaign who

remember with anger how the same union misleaders stood back and watched while Reagan ripped PATCO to shreds!

But decades of class-collaboration have not wiped out consciousness of labor's basic principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. In the absence of any national trade-union campaign on behalf of the heroic British miners, and with modest resources, the PDC has sought to galvanize international working-class solidarity in action. In many cases, the Spartacist League and PDC's history of class-struggle defense of causes in the interest of all the oppressed has been instrumental in gaining support for the miners. Additionally, we have encouraged parallel efforts on the part of left and labor organizations and assisted those efforts in a number of places.

The Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign has enabled the PDC to introduce its class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense work to many trade unionists. Particularly important have been the locals who have assisted in SL-initiated labor/black mobilizations against the fascists, like November 27, 1982 in Washington, D.C., and those which have contributed and demonstrated on behalf of victimized militants that the PDC has defended. In the Bay Area, many of the union locals approached on behalf of the miners remember in particular our participation in the successful defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, phone workers framed up on multiple felony charges for defending themselves against a management scab's racist assault on a picket line.

The eyewitness reports on the strike by comrade Eibhlin of the Spartacist League/Britain to Bay Area trade-union locals brought large donations to the fund drive, particularly from the executive board of the Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, SEIU, who doubled their normal maximum and gave \$500. One of the exec board members described the desperate situation faced by workers in the industrial areas of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and noted that "Arthur Scargill [NUM president] has been much maligned in this country, but when he went to Dublin he was given the keys to the city." One Local 250 official noted with pleasure that it was an Irish

British Miners Union Thanks PDC Campaign

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

ST. JAMES' HOUSE, VICAR LANE,
SHEFFIELD, SOUTH YORKSHIRE S1 2EX

President A. SCARGILL

Secretary P. E. HEATHFIELD

Telephone: 0742 700388

Please quote our reference in reply:

Your Ref:

Our Ref. N083/IRW/ST

10th January, 1985

Dear Sir,

AID TO BRITISH STRIKING MINERS

I thank you sincerely for your donations listed below:-

£829.87	banked 20th December 1984
£3,301.19	banked 14th December 1984
£945.15	banked 2nd January, 1985
£1,054.48	banked 10th January, 1985

all the above amounts have been received safely and paid into our Miners' Solidarity Fund at the Co-operative Bank.

Please rest assured that at present the Miners' Solidarity Fund is unaffected by the Sequestration Order. It is not classed as part of the National funds and the Trustees are unconnected with the National Union of Mineworkers.

Your encouragement and support, like the hundreds of others we are currently receiving, gives added strength to our determination to win this fight, not only to save Pits and Jobs, but against the Anti-Trade Union Legislation of the present Tory Government.

With all best wishes and heart-felt thanks.

Yours faithfully,

P. E. HEATHFIELD
Secretary

Partisan Defence Committee,
Box 99,
Canal Street Station,
NEW YORK.
NY10013

comrade appealing to their local on behalf of the British miners. This largely black and heavily female local has contributed generously to PDC campaigns in the past.

In the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, San Francisco, Militant Caucus spokesman and exec board member Stan Gow moved at the local's January 17 meeting

to raise the local's monthly contribution of \$99.99 to \$250, which is being sent to striking miners in Nottinghamshire. This followed long-time CP supporter Leo Robinson's introduction of a constitutional amendment to raise the previous \$100/month cap on local union contributions. Brother Gow accepted an amendment from former ILWU president Harry Bridges to add an appeal to the ILWU International and other locals to make similar contributions. The motion carried overwhelmingly.

The fund drive has recently received support from the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1575, San Rafael, California; the Graphic Communications International Union, Madison; and the National Association of Letter Carriers, Pasadena. In addition, International Longshoremen's Association Local 333 in Baltimore, which had made an important endorsement of the SL-initiated November 27, 1982 demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C., contributed to the campaign. One PDC supporter in Iowa obtained aid for the miners' fight from a craft union local and AFSCME Local 12 at the University of Iowa. And a large percentage of the donations continues to come from regular readers of *Workers Vanguard*, who have sent a steady stream of contributions both large and small (see accompanying box for detailed listing). Keep the money coming! The British miners are fighting for all of us!

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. ■

Chicago Transit Union Votes \$\$\$ for British Miners

"Fair Words Butter No Parsnips!"

CHICAGO—At the January 7 meeting of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, representing bus drivers and mechanics of the Chicago Transit Authority, over 250 workers had come out to hear the details of a tentative contract which would mean total surrender of the union in the face of draconian union-busting legislation passed last year in Illinois with the crucial support of Chicago's black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. Transit workers, who have been on the job without a contract since November 30, were fired up over the proposed sellout and the union bureaucrats' secret negotiations with the CTA.

So when an executive board motion denying a request from the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families was read to the meeting, the membership was not exactly pleased. Local 241 member Kevin Quirk told *WV* he took the floor to reverse the executive

board's decision and move that the local donate \$300 to the PDC's campaign. Quirk, who has been working with the miners aid campaign, said his motion received seconds from around the room, most enthusiastically from International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) supporter Danny Bishop. Quirk said that "Local president Gresham attempted to undercut the overwhelming sentiment for the motion by repeating the slanders of the bosses' press, both in England and the U.S., suggesting the miners were fighting a losing battle and that only a small pocket of militants were holding out and that the vast majority had returned to work. I answered these slanders by detailing the ten-month struggle of the miners and the widespread solidarity it has received not only within the ranks of the British union movement, but among all layers of the oppressed in the British Isles, including the black,

Asian and Irish population."

Several months ago, the Local 241 bureaucrats were willing to pass an InCAR motion of "solidarity" with the NUM, but faced with the demand for a concrete donation of support, they echoed the lies and slanders of the bosses. Quirk told *WV* that in referring to the InCAR motion and the bureaucrats' opposition, he paraphrased NUM president Arthur Scargill's statement that the time for mealy-mouthed resolutions had passed, the miners need real solidarity. "I appealed to the brothers: 'Fair words butter no parsnips! The miners need this money to win. It's our obligation as trade unionists to support these struggles whether it be in Britain, South Africa, Phelps Dodge or our own struggles in Chicago.' The membership came through. The executive board motion was overturned, \$300 was voted for the miners, and the membership gave itself a big hand."

"The real story of the ILD is the story of the work it did, the campaigns it organized, the scrupulous handling and public accounting of its funds..."
—James P. Cannon (1958)

In the tradition of the International Labor Defense we list below the contributions to date to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Local unions listed have authorized their names to be used to publicize their support for these courageous brothers and sisters. The PDC has established a separate account ("Aid to Striking British Miners' Families") for the deposit of every penny raised by the fund drive. All funds collected are rapidly and securely forwarded to the Miners' Solidarity Fund as donations clear the account. The entire administrative costs of the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families are borne by the PDC. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

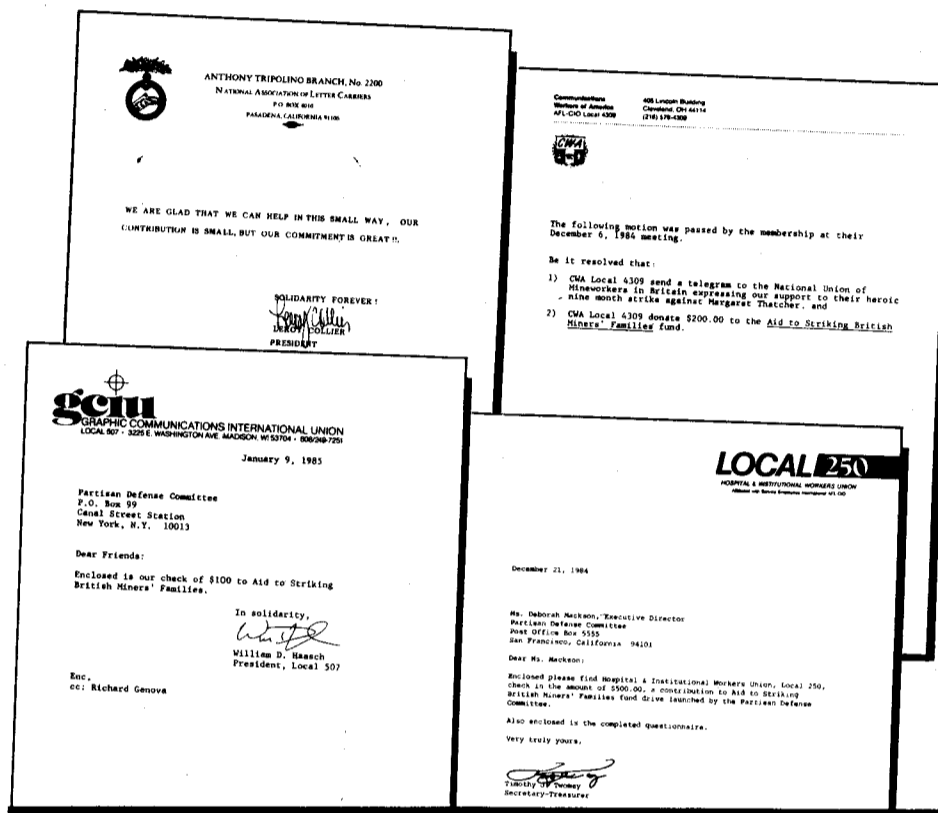
Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-97

Partisan Defense Committee Donation	\$5,000.00
Trade Union Donations	2,275.00
including contributions from:	
ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Ca.)	
TWU Local 100 (NYC)	
Library of Congress Employees Union Local 2477	
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)	
UFCW District Union 442 (Atlanta)	
Hospital & Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)	
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 (Pasadena)	
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)	
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees, AFSCME Local 1644	
Construction & General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)	
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)	
Union Membership Collections	750.38
including members of:	
Tunnelworkers Local 127 (NYC)	
USWA Local 1010 (E. Chicago, Ind.)	
IAM Local Lodge 824 (Richmond, Ca.)	
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Ca.)	
USWA Local 1011 (E. Chicago, Ind.)	
Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)	
Individual Donations	3,600.93
Total Collected (as of 22 January 1985)	\$11,626.31
Amount Sent to Miners Solidarity Fund	9,303.00
(as of 22 January 1985)	
Amount on Deposit (as of 22 January 1985)	2,323.31



Workers Hammer

June 22: Thousands of determined striking miners from all over Britain march in funeral procession for comrade murdered by scab truck driver.



U.S. union locals support fund drive.

SL Suit Against FBI

Salute Victory for Democratic Rights!

On 20 October 1983 the Spartacist League filed suit against the FBI witch-hunters' new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," charging that the Guidelines falsely equate Marxist political opposition to the government with "terrorism." This was the first direct legal challenge to the Guidelines. On 30 November 1984 the FBI agreed to settle the suit by retracting their long-standing set-up "definition" of the Spartacist League as a conspiratorial grouping secretly advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what we are, a Marxist political organization (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," WV No. 368, 7 December 1984). In recent weeks we have published some of the many messages of support and congratulations received from a wide range of people concerned about civil liberties; more are printed below. And in light of the evident bourgeois press blackout on this important news, we want to thank the Atlanta Voice, In These Times and Pacifica Radio for their coverage of our victory.

Structured Outrage

The beauty of a free society is inextricably connected with the rights of its citizens to speak out and to assemble. When government can encroach upon these rights without triggering a response of outrage and rebuke among its populace, freedom becomes a meaningless buzzword designed to appeal to the ethos of a mindless majority. The Spartacist League's suit was structured outrage and should serve as a signpost, a warning of the dangers to freedom which still threaten us!

Sandra C. Ruffin
President, Harvard Black
Law Students Association*

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

Dissenting Voices Must Not Be Silenced

A victory for freedom is a victory for the freedom of all of us. It is especially important that radically dissenting

voices should not be silenced and that smear tactics should not be successfully employed to crush opposition. A successful fight for democratic rights deserves to be saluted; we can build fresh new victories on each success.

Professor Dennis Brutus
South African exile and
former political prisoner

A Victory for All Who Oppose the New McCarthyism

Congratulations to the Spartacist League on your victory against the F.B.I. and the Attorney General's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines. This is a victory not just for your organization but for all those who oppose the new McCarthyism being whipped up in Cold War II.

As someone who spent many years fighting HUAC, Attorney General witchhunts, Smith Act prosecutions, and the COINTELPRO operations that destroyed the Black Panther Party, I am fully aware of the sinister role played by the government's secret police. Like you, I have no illusions that your legal victory will put an end to government spying and anti-communist activities. The Reagan administration's war moves in Central America and drive for war ultimately against the Soviet Union fuels repression of those who oppose these ominous developments. But I believe your legal victory will help stay the hand of the witchhunters and secret

police agencies.

Again, my congratulations and good wishes.

Charles R. Garry
Attorney

Fight FBI Thought Control

The Spartacist League's victory in this settlement shows once again the FBI's role in red-baiting and thought control as a way of engineering American public opinion against social change.

Chip Berlet
Secretary, National Lawyers
Guild Civil Liberties Committee
Editor, *Public Eye*

A Great Feeling to Win

I would like to warmly congratulate you and the Partisan Defense Committee for your important victory over the Attorney General and the FBI. We on the Left know only too well that it's not only sticks and stones which can break our bones, but that words—especially those spoken by the Government—can do almost as much harm. So it is a significant victory whenever anyone or any group on the Left gets the Government to withdraw some of the language with which they oppress us. It's also a great feeling to win sometimes.

Bertell Ollman
Professor
New York University

Morenoites' "Peace and Freedom"

Bubble Bursts

A "socialist" election slate that runs on a ticket headed by a pro-capitalist candidate, that calls for "reducing" the Pentagon war budget, that looks to the bourgeois Democratic Party to win strikes for the workers? You expect (and get) that from whole-hog reformists like the Communist Party, whose "Dump Reagan" slogans were simply a cover to call for "Vote Mondale." But we're talking about the electoralist campaign mounted by the Internationalist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist. This Los Angeles-based group follows the notorious Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, whose checkered history is one of political impersonation of everything from staid social democrats to fire-breathing guerrillas. And for the last two years, the IWP has been serving up not even the Latin nationalist rhetoric that is standard Morenoite fare, but beansprout liberalism through the rad-lib California Peace and Freedom Party. What's more, this time these consummate con artists managed to outcon themselves in the process.

The Morenoites set up shop in L.A. a few years ago with their standard M.O., bombastically claiming to represent an international with "tens of thousands" of members and posing as the advance guard of the Central American revolution heading north. These political bandits shamelessly borrow militant slogans—such as our call for military victory to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador—while avoiding a sharp break with the reformists who are looking for a treacherous deal with imperialism. Even then they have to lie like a rug: claiming, for instance, that aside from themselves "the entire world left" supports the Contadora sellout of revolution in Central America. There were the usual Morenoite organizational shenanigans: spawning 57 varieties of front groups, all involving the same handful of people, as they pretend to be a mass party. With their third-worldist politics, the IWP declared the ghetto the "meeting place of the North American proletariat," and aside from the "poorest sector of the white workers," the rest of the white workers were dismissed as "privileged."

When the Morenoites tried to break out of the Los Angeles Latino ghetto, however, they sang a different tune. They began by picking up a couple of two-bit aspiring bureaucrats who have wheedled their way into minor nooks in the U.S. labor aristocracy, Harry Turner and Earl Owens. Turner is the original one-man "Anti-Spartacist League," and Owens has been described as a walking culture medium for every deviation known to Marxism. Soon the IWP began to exhibit a schizoid quality: Moreno & Co. like to pose as super-Guevarists in Central America, while Turner once declared that the assassination of Che Guevara was no loss, comparing the heroic guerrilla to Adam Clayton Powell, the demagogic Harlem Democrat! The result was an unstable lash-up of Latin American café guerrillaists and North American aspiring labor aristocrats.

For such would-be wheeler-dealers, electoral politics is where it's at on the American scene. So as early as 1982 the IWP was trying to hook up with the anti-Reagan popular front. They marched in a thinly disguised labor-for-Mondale demonstration in San Francisco that October and began campaigning for a common left slate in '84. By early 1983 this call had been "concretized" by entering that New Left hangover, the California Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP). The Morenoites began fantasizing about making it in the big time: "if the entire left made use of its human resources," why then with 20,000 members and 60,000 sympathizers "we could

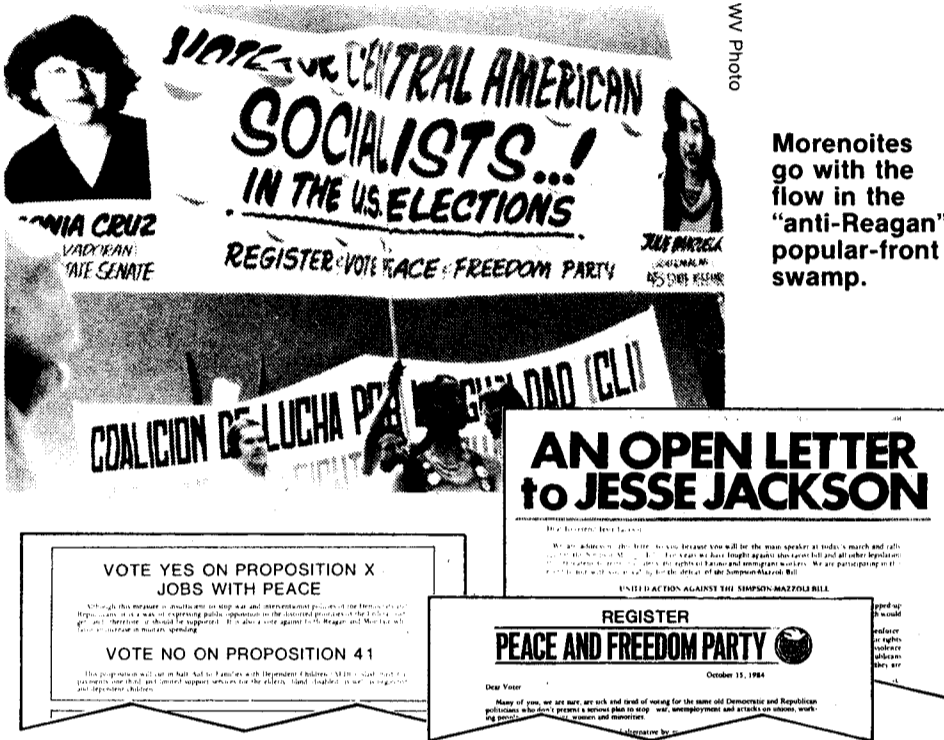
carry out an electoral campaign where we would receive 1,000,000 votes"! Soon the front groups started popping up like crazy. It was like one of those pyramid games so popular in California...until suddenly last summer the Communist Party pulled the rug out from under them and the whole house of cards came crashing down.

From "SCULPT" to Scalped

When they began their Peace and Freedom caper, the Morenoites' basic

ites, pointing out that the West Coast address of the P&FP/SCULPT was the same as that of Casey's SP!

Since the IWP's projected "anti-Stalinist" bloc with the social democrats wasn't working out, their next ploy was to conjure up a "Left-Wing Tendency of the Peace and Freedom Party." This phantom put out a newsletter in which the former "East Coast P&FP" is transmogrified into local "Committees for the P&FP," gay/lesbian and Latino caucuses of the P&FP suddenly appear,



Morenoites go with the flow in the "anti-Reagan" popular-front swamp.

gambit was to appeal to social-democratic anti-Communism. They correctly noted that the Communist Party "works within the P&FP to make it an appendage of the Democratic Party's liberal wing." So too, it added, do the assorted social democrats swimming around in the Peace and Freedom swamp. But this didn't stop the IWP from jumping in feet first. In April 1983 they managed to get the P&FP California state central committee to set up a "Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket" (SCULPT). Meanwhile, Morenoite León Pérez appealed to "sectors of the Socialist Party" for a bloc against the Stalinists who were allegedly "trying to destroy the P&FP" (*Working Class Opposition*, May-June 1983). The Socialist Workers Party and Workers World were denounced as "sectarians" for running their own candidates. Yet in a "Proposal for Electoral Unity in 1984" the IWP called for a ticket with CP'er Angela Davis as presidential candidate and an SWPer or WWPer for vice president!

In the same document, the IWP announced that after studying the left press over three months, it had discovered that "all of the socialist left parties without any exception agree on at least 15 slogans or programmatic points"! Like "end unemployment." Talk about lowest-common-denominator politics! However, "unity of the entire left" was not in the cards. In late May 1983 a California P&FP leader, Casey Peters, sent a letter to the Morenoites complaining about an ad in the rad-lib *Guardian* taken out by an "East Coast Committee for a Peace & Freedom Party National Slate in 1984," whose addresses turned out to be P.O. boxes of the IWP. The ad, said Casey, could lead people "to the presumption that this [East Coast P&FP] is nothing more than a front group for the Internationalist Workers' Party." Two can play this game, replied the Moreno-

etc. The high point of this phase of the Morenoites' "struggle" was a Thanksgiving 1983 conference of SCULPT notable for the absence of the CP, SWP and SP. This gave the Morenoites (along with Steve Zeltzer's PTT and the Ann Arbor-based RWL) over a fifth of the votes, whereupon the "Left-Wing Tendency" fell apart as bloc partner Zeltzer tried to exclude the "Coalition to Fight for Equality" as an IWP front! When the Morenoites put forward an election platform, the other groups either refused to endorse or walked out and the "National Conference" adjourned without picking a candidate.

With the demise of SCULPT, the IWP with great fanfare launched a P&FP candidate of its own, Sonia Cruz. One of the first activities of the Morenoites' "Socialist Slate" was to march in a May 19 Jesse Jackson rally in L.A. These "socialists" declared in an "Open Letter to Jesse Jackson," that "we are here today to fight with you against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill," lamenting only that this cynical bourgeois politician had not "taken the road to breaking with the Democrats and forming a party of the working class and the oppressed." Taking reformist pressure politics to the point of absurdity, the IWP's program for the Las Vegas hotel strike was to demand "that the Democratic Party publicly refuse to hold its Convention or house its members in any hotel in this country" until the strikers' demands were met (*Working Class Opposition*, May 1984)!

As election time approached, the Communist Party decided enough was enough and finally made short shrift of the Morenoites' charade. The Morenoites had by then infuriated the rest of the P&FP with their underhanded organizational maneuvering, and at the California statewide convention in late August the Stalinists delivered the KO punch. The CP supported Sonia Johnson, feminist candidate of the liberal

Citizens Party, as the P&FP presidential choice, and in the final tally Johnson received 40 out of 72 delegate votes cast, as against eight for the IWP's Cruz. The IWP's article had to admit that the P&FP "socialist electoral coalition" (!) had nominated a "petty-bourgeois, pro-capitalist candidate for President" (*Working Class Opposition*, September 15-October 15, 1984).

The IWP waxed ironic about the CP's "dilemma" ("Three Candidates for President?") of supporting its own Hall/Davis ticket, Sonia Johnson of the Citizens Party, and Democrats Mondale and Ferraro. That's old hat for the Stalinist horse traders, who have been playing this game ever since the CP supported Roosevelt while running Browder in 1936. But what about the Morenoites' own dilemma? They were running on the Peace and Freedom ticket whose presidential candidate was admittedly "pro-capitalist"! Never mind, the IWP sent out a flyer in October calling on voters to register for the P&FP, and making no mention of socialism or revolution. Yet for all this unbridled opportunism, for their more than two years of nonstop electoralism, what did they get? Certainly nothing to write home to Buenos Aires about.

Anti-Soviet Scabs, Thugs, Finks

And what about program? In the P&FP campaign the IWP's "Socialist Slate" fell right into line with the Democratic Party popular front. Notably they supported Proposition X, a "jobs with peace" initiative on the ballot in California, a measure so right-wing that even the rotten-reformist SWP opposed it. It called for getting rid of "wasteful" military programs and "reducing" the Pentagon budget to 1980 levels—i.e., sanctioning the anti-Soviet war buildup under the Carter administration! Prop X was a device to get out the vote for the Democrats from liberals who opposed Reagan but found mundane Mondale unappetizing. In its own election program, the IWP raised the utopian-pacifist demand for "unconditional disarmament" of the United States. This is a typical reformist hoax: the imperialists will not disarm, they must be *disarmed*, through proletarian



Morenoites' claw-hammer attack on militant L.A. phone worker, October 1982.

revolution. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program:

"Disarmament?"—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers."

So here it was 1984 in Reagan's America, and the IWP election propaganda nowhere mentioned the fundamental fact that the U.S. war drive is targeted on the Soviet Union. Worse yet, in their international publication (*Alternativa Socialista*, January/February 1984), the Morenoites called for a "democratic referendum in the-USSR, so that the population can state whether

Neo-Nazis...

(continued from page 5)

B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League reports that Truedel Roeder has also attended the gatherings, which are surrounded by armed guards and where explosives and guerrilla warfare are reportedly among the topics of discussion. She is the wife of German neo-Nazi leader Manfred Roeder, who is currently serving a prison term for bombing a Vietnamese refugee center in West Germany in which two were killed.

These bitter and twisted racists, losers and pathological criminals have flourished and spread in the atmosphere of Reagan's war on blacks, women and workers. Emboldened by years of official anti-communism, the fascist terrorists plot new and bigger Greensboro massacres. When they start having shootouts with FBI agents, then the feds may give them the opponents treatment. The fiery death of Mathews was a replay of the immolation of Posse Comitatus fugitive Gordon Kahl, besieged by federal agents in a bunker in Arkansas in May 1983. But so long as they obey the secret protocols of terrorism in Reagan's America and keep their cross hairs trained on those on the government's "enemies list," these armed killers are tolerated by the cops and FBI, and even overlap with them, as in the South where the local Klansman by night is often the local sheriff's deputy by day.

Ultimately such fascist killers are capitalism's reserve shock troops, to be unleashed in periods of deep social crisis. The Spartacist League has initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in urban centers—Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C.—to interdict the fascists from emerging out of the backwaters. But it will take socialist revolution to sweep away these scum once and for all, abolishing the sick, decaying capitalist system which breeds these terrorist nightriders. ■

Latvian Nazi...

(continued from page 5)

were intervening to demand that the State Department halt the deportation of Estonian mass murderer Karl Linnas. (D'Amato, who apparently realized that this would be a liability with New York's Jewish voters, subsequently tried to

back out and pleaded unsuccessfully with columnist Jack Anderson not to publicize his name.) Ignoring the substantial evidence documenting Linnas' murderous activities as a concentration camp commandant who ordered and participated in the executions of Jews and other prisoners, the U.S. lawmakers decided in effect that there's no such thing as crimes against the Soviet people. According to their Cold War logic, Linnas can't be shipped back to Estonia because the U.S. government has never recognized the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly the virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet Captive Nations crowd got into the act, railing against the Justice Department's collaboration with "Jewish Zionists" and Soviet secret police.

Nor are these policies anything new. A recently published book on the history of Nazi war criminals in America is Allan Ryan, Jr.'s *Quiet Neighbors* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984). Ryan is a former director of the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), set up in the waning years of the Carter administration in the face of embarrassing revelations of Washington's refusal to prosecute the fascist criminals. Ryan convincingly demonstrates the links between the long-standing toleration of the Nazi refugees and Cold War anti-Communism. In the period following World War II, over 900 camps were set up for "displaced persons" in Germany, Austria and Italy. Jewish refugees made up a small percentage of this camp population; the centers were in fact loaded with Nazi collaborators who had fled the Ukraine and Baltic states one step ahead of the advancing Red Army.

As a U.S. Army major at one DP camp put it: "You've probably got everything in this camp except Hitler, and I wouldn't be surprised if you turned up that bastard when you get started on the registration." The Displaced Persons Act of 1948, under which 400,000 European refugees came to America, actively discriminated against Jewish survivors and established preferential quotas for groupings known to be rife with fascist collaborators. The Nazi butchers of yesterday were now U.S. imperialism's ally against the "Red menace." This was formally codified by the Immigration Act of 1952: while mass roundups and deportations of suspected communists were

being organized, the new act explicitly did *not* exclude Nazis and their collaborators from the country.

So things remained until the Carter government felt compelled to clean up its act a bit in order to motivate its anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. The one substantive new measure was an end to the decades-long refusal to seek Soviet cooperation in prosecuting war criminals. The Russians cooperated fully in providing witnesses against the fascist terrorists. Yet for all that, the OSI's work has been largely cosmetic. Ryan himself conservatively estimates that at least 10,000 war criminals got into the U.S., yet the OSI has tried only 50 cases, and only a few of these scum were forced

out of the country, in some instances to be set at liberty. Thus in 1984, after years of stalling, the notorious Romanian fascist, "Archbishop" Trifa, was finally sent to Portugal!

As Reagan heats up the anti-Soviet war drive, the courts are threatening to quash even these token prosecutions. Underlying this whole foul affair is the simple fact that the U.S. imperialists have not only "tolerated" the war criminals—they have actively recruited the services of these butchers to use against the Soviet Union. They *can't and won't bring these criminal filth to justice*, because any attempt to do so would threaten to blow sky high the secret links between these butchers and the U.S. spy agencies. Ryan's book is deeply flawed precisely because it seeks to deny this. Yet several of the cases cited by Ryan, including those of Laipenieks and Klaus Barbie, point to this.

Ryan consciously omits mentioning the wholesale recruitment by U.S. intelligence outfits of literally almost the entire Nazi puppet government of Byelo-



Red Army liberates Latvia from fascism, 1944.

And then there's "Project Paperclip," under which 1,500 German scientists, including known war criminals, were imported to work for the U.S. government. *Workers Vanguard* has repeatedly documented the links between the Nazi butchers and their new imperialist masters. The anti-communism and thwarted nationalist ambitions of these sadistic killers coincided with the U.S. government's appetites to reconquer Eastern Europe and Russia for capitalism. That is why they have been protected by conservative Republican and liberal Democratic administrations alike, just as have the Cuban racketeers, Saigon generals, Vietnamese gusanos and Nicaraguan contras who followed in their footsteps. And as we noted before ("U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Only victorious workers revolution will sweep the fascist murderers from the face of the earth and prevent a future holocaust which is even now being prepared using the services of the technicians and executioners of the last one." ■

or not it considers the defense of the workers state positive on the basis of arms race policies"! For Trotskyists, defense of the Soviet Union, of the social and economic conquests of the October Revolution is *unconditional*, a matter of principle, despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration. Soviet nuclear weapons have stayed the hand of the Yankee imperialists from Vietnam to Cuba. For the Morenoite *traitors*, who want to sidle up to the liberal pacifists, this is a matter subject to an opinion poll.

The IWP's program is social-democratic anti-Sovietism. It declared that defense of the Soviet Union is *not* posed in Afghanistan, despite CIA arms to the Islamic reactionaries; denounced Jaruzelski's counter-coup in Poland against Solidarność, Reagan's favorite "union"; and equated El Salvador and Poland, echoing the treacherous "two superpowers" line. When U.S. imperialism staged its deadly KAL 007 war provocation, sending a civilian airliner over some of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military installations, the IWP's *El Bolchevique* (November-December 1983) denounced the Kremlin for "using the methods of thugs in shooting down the airplane." Afghanistan, Poland, El Salvador, KAL 007: with this record of virulent anti-Sovietism, the IWP had no problem in fitting in with the anti-Reagan Democratic Party popular front.

The Morenoites' particular "contribution" to the pop-front scene has been their penchant for deadly gangsterism. From the beginning, IWP honcho Nicholas Kramer began manufacturing and provoking physical attacks against the Spartacist League. In order to seal off their members from our exposure of their *lider máximo's* sordid record (see the SL's *Moreno Truth Kit*), and from our denunciation of scabbing by their supporters in the Communications Workers of America (CWA), in October 1982 the IWP launched a murderous attack using claw hammers and numchakus against Spartacist supporters in Los Angeles. (To his credit, this gangsterism was too much for Earl Owens; he resigned from the IWP declaring, "The use of weapons by one radical tendency against another is a gift to FBI provocateurs.") They followed this up by acting as finger-men for the notoriously CIA-connected CWA bureaucracy in a red purge against SL supporters in the phone union (see "Morenoite Scabs, Thugs, Finks," *WV* No. 331, 3 June 1983).

The Morenoites' inveterate maneuverism is in the service of a Stalinophobic program—that is what leads them to join Democratic Party marches and run on a ticket headed by a "pro-capitalist candidate," as well as to assault SL supporters with deadly weapons and to act as finger-men for the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy's anti-communist

witchhunts. As for the decrepit Peace and Freedom Party, some Spartacist supporters mistakenly wandered into that Bay Area sandbox back in 1968 when it was a new outfit with some support among California rad-libs. As our comrades quickly exited, they wrote the epitaph for this short-lived expression of middle-class protest politics: the

P&FP would be "a reformist, third capitalist party" which "will do nothing to educate the American people on the capitalist character of war, racism and economic exploitation" (*Spartacist West*, 10 March 1968). Adopting the P&FP hollow shell, 17 years later, the Morenoites expose their radical pretensions as a cynical hoax, and a joke. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Reagan's America...

(continued from page 1)

Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues, and a Reagan bodyguard was armed with a Stinger anti-aircraft missile. The Secret Service forbade opening windows of offices and apartments to watch the parade: "If anybody opens a window or steps out on a balcony, you can be sure they'll be in somebody's crosshairs." As liberal CNN news commentator Daniel Schorr remarked, "Washington is coming under such a curtain of security as to suggest to visitors a wartime capital. The closed windows, the sharpshooters along the parade route, the missiles ready to intercept an intruding airplane... It is altogether hardly a picture of domestic tranquility."

Security frenzy and war mania. As fireworks crackled and bugles blared in the Prelude Pageant, Davy Crockett (the president's pal Fess Parker) praised the pioneer spirit and denounced the Vietnam syndrome. Reagan's election was supposed to wipe out the humiliation of the United States' first defeat in war, he said. But it hasn't worked out that way. Even today, Vietnam is the war that won't go away. The *Wall Street Journal* (14 January) wrote, "'No more Vietnams' has become a guiding principle—some would say a crippling obsession—of American foreign policy." Secretary of State Shultz and his clique of former Marines denounce war secretary Weinberger for insisting on the need for popular (or at least Congressional) support for new military

around a fire barrel waiting for jobs. Looking out from the White House you could see Lafayette Park, where a black derelict Viet vet froze to death at Christmastime. One of "Queen Nancy's" attendants commented, "I feel like Marie Antoinette." Today's sequined plutocrats have an advantage over the plumed aristocrats of yore: shielded by smoked-glass windows, they don't have to see the poverty in the nation's capital, and the poor can't see them.

Even from its liberal perspective, the Urban League's "State of Black America 1985" captured the devastation of the black population, "the object of malign neglect and hostile disregard" by the government. A decade ago, black unemployment was 14.1 percent, about double that of whites (7.6 percent). By the end of 1984, black unemployment was officially up to 16 percent, while for whites it had fallen to 6.5 percent. And ghetto life grows steadily more brutal:

"Concerns about schools that do not teach but graduate functional illiterates, about horrendous unemployment rates and the tens of thousands of people who have never held a job and probably never will, about the staggering increase in families headed by single women, about violent crime where blacks are both the principal victims and the perpetrators... Survival is a way of life in all too much of Black America..."

And much of this is a direct result of government policy. A *New York Times* (25 October 1984) study showed that six million people had gone below the official poverty line in the first three years of the Reagan presidency, one million were thrown off food stamps, a million kids found the prices of their school lunches soaring out of reach, and 500,000 people with severe mental and

Chicago labor rally, November 13: Teachers' strike beat back black Democrat Harold Washington's takeaways.



struggle in the last couple years has seen black and Latin workers in the vanguard (Greyhound, Phelps Dodge, auto). A layer of black union militants has emerged: many are veterans of the 1960s integration struggles, lots of them Vietnam veterans who learned to hate U.S. imperialism in their gut. These are the fighters who most frequently buy *Workers Vanguard* at plant gates and community sales, who refused to load South African cargo at the San Francisco docks, who formed a Nat Turner Brigade from the Virginia Tidewater area to join with the Spartacist League in stopping the KKK terrorists from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

Smash Reagan's War on Blacks, Unions and the Soviet Union!

After the inaugural party's over, the Reaganites will get down to business trying to implement their "mandate." On domestic policy they will have little or no opposition from the Democrats, who themselves campaigned in '84 for tax increases, cutting social programs and increasing war spending. The "opposition" party in Congress may even end up voting for the MX missile, while on Central America last year liberals and conservatives united to more than double U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime of "democratic" butcher Duarte. It would seem smooth sailing for the Reaganites, and indeed on inauguration day the stock market went up 34 points. But even after the '84 election landslide, leading spokesmen for American capitalism are expressing concern about Reagan's leadership. The job swap between White House "chief of staff" Baker and Treasury secretary Regan, about which the president was reportedly informed only at the last moment, led the *Wall Street Journal* (9 January) to worry in a lead article whether Regan is "in charge," talking of "drift and indecision in the administration" and a "leadership vacuum."

If there is a vacuum, who will fill it? The architects of the "conservative revolution" are chomping at the bit to get on with their agenda. The Heritage Foundation, a leading New Right think tank, recently released a thick volume, *Mandate for Leadership II*, which is crafted by top administration aides such as attorney general nominee Edwin Meese as the bible for Reagan's second term. Domestically it calls for "peel[ing] back" virtually all federal government social programs established after the mass struggles of the 1960s. This is already being implemented as scores of second-level positions in cabinet departments of health and human services, labor, housing and urban development, education and social security are unfilled. The Reaganites are seeking not only to dismantle the leftovers of the phony Kennedy/Johnson "war on poverty," but every social program since the beginning of the New Deal.

But this domestic program is only part of an overall strategy building for global "confrontation" and ultimately war with the Soviet Union. The Heritage Foundation blueprint calls for getting a "running start" on Reagan's second term by capitalizing on the Grenada invasion, "which once again legitimized U.S. use of force and illustrated that Marxist control is not irreversible." A call for invasion of

Nicaragua? But this is not their final goal. These most determined Reaganites say the administration must proclaim its "refusal to accept the permanency of totalitarian rule or Soviet imposition of its system in Central Europe." This call for "overturning Yalta," the post-World War II division of Europe resulting from the victory of the Soviet Red Army over Nazi Germany, will certainly dominate the Americans' celebration of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II this May. They also call for pushing ahead Reagan's nuclear first-strike "Star Wars" plans. And they are working like crazy to put Jeane Kirkpatrick, that admirer of mass-murdering "moderate authoritarians" from Pinochet to the shah of Iran, into the White House basement.

The Reaganites can be stopped, but not by the Democrats, who support massive anti-black, anti-worker austerity measures as part of the current anti-Soviet war drive which they began. Sharp working-class struggle led by the strategically located, combative black workers can cut short Reagan's "four more years" in a hurry. For black people the American dream has always been a nightmare. Last year black rap singer Gil Scott-Heron recorded a hit song, "We don't need no Re-Rons," denouncing the gladiator invader of black Grenada. We are watching, he said:

"a third of all our fellow Americans breaking their backs in third-class citizenship,
"taking a third less home on payday because of the dollar's inflation,
"while 30 years after segregation was tried and banished from the nation,
"here it comes again, discrimination."

"Would we take Fritz with our grits?" Heron asked. "We'd take Fritz the Cat. Would we take Jesse Jackson? Hell, we'd take Michael Jackson." But it is precisely this support for the Democratic Party as the supposed "lesser evil" which has blocked the struggles for the emancipation of blacks and other working people from capitalist society. Blacks did vote overwhelmingly, but unenthusiastically, for Fritz Mondale and Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party. And for their loyalty to this "people's party" of American capitalism they got... shafted. But by breaking with the Democrats, by taking the lead in building a multiracial class-struggle workers party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed, blacks can and must be in the vanguard of the fight for socialist revolution which alone can achieve liberation and survival for all of humanity. ■



Englehart/Hartford Courant

adventures. Reagan's America is going for war, all right, but when they get there it will be another story. Just watch what happens when the kids that kissed the runway for the Grenada invasion start coming home from Managua in flag-draped aluminum caskets.

Black America: "Malign Neglect"

Inaugural '85 was a real tale of two cities in D.C. As Reagan was being sworn in before dignitaries and celebrities at the Capitol, Courtland Milloy reported in the *Washington Post* that all over black Washington poor people were swearing at him. While Reagan swept the rest of the country, this black city voted 86 percent against him. As luxury limos shuttled the wealthy swathed in furs from ball to ball, outside on the corner of Fifth and K Streets frostbitten and shivering men hovered

physical handicaps were thrown off the disability rolls.

Thousands of them can be found wandering around the streets of New York City with shopping bags, gripping tattered coats, ranting incoherently, staring, dying. Many have been driven by the cold into abandoned subway tunnels where there are now whole colonies of hundreds of homeless persons. And the city is now housing more than 20,000 homeless in churches, armories, abandoned apartment buildings and single-room occupancy hotels where they are kept awake warding off the thieves and rats. And now in the middle of the night landlords are demolishing SRO hotels with wrecking balls as they are sold off for luxury apartment conversion. (There are so many homeless adults in NYC now that last fall the Democrats changed the election laws so that they could sign them up to vote by the hundreds.)

But with all the statistics of black misery in Reagan's America, the Urban League study reports an important fact with tremendous importance for the future: "Statistically, more black workers than ever belong to unions, a greater proportion of total union membership is black and black union leaders are increasing in number." Today almost a third of the membership of the AFL-CIO is black, and while the labor misleaders have been engineering give-back contracts, virtually every union

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Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

live in the home, was never seen in possession of the gun, and his fingerprints were not found on the weapon...

f) In August, 1969, Julius Butler allegedly gave a letter in a sealed envelope to Sgt. DuWayne Rice of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for safekeeping. The letter, which was allegedly an "insurance" letter meant to protect Butler from Panther members who had threatened him, in part referred to Petitioner's confession.

IV

Subsequent to his conviction, Petitioner discovered that numerous pieces of exculpatory evidence existed which had been known at the time of trial by members of the state prosecution team and agents of the FBI who were cooperating with that team. In spite of an "open file" discovery policy by the state prosecution, the Petitioner was never advised of any of the following:

a) At trial, Butler denied working with the FBI or any other law enforcement group since his resignation from the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office in the early 1960's...

In fact, the government withheld evidence that Butler had met at least thirty-three (33) times with the FBI during the twenty-two (22) months prior to Petitioner's trial and had provided information regarding both Petitioner and the Panther organization. Petitioner is informed and believes that members of the state prosecuting team knew

of Butler's relationship with the FBI. These meetings took place during the time of the FBI's now infamous counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) which by the late 1960's, had made the Black Panther Party its principal target. In 1970, specific written orders from the top ranks of the FBI declared that Petitioner, then the leader of the Southern California Panthers, was to be "neutralized." Moreover, the FBI has admitted that it had received specific information long before Petitioner's trial that Butler was planning to "frame" Petitioner. At no point in the state habeas corpus process, however, was Petitioner permitted the opportunity to subpoena Butler's state or federal files, to obtain the report that Butler was going to "frame" Petitioner, or to call Butler to the stand in order to further clarify the nature of his relationship with the state and FBI...

c) At trial, Sgt. DuWayne Rice of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) (the investigating agency in the case) had testified that after receiving the sealed "insurance" letter from Butler in August of 1969, the letter remained unopened for a year-and-a-half in the possession of the LAPD. The letter was allegedly opened during an internal affairs investigation of Rice in 1970 which was unrelated to the 1968 homicide. The letter made Petitioner the chief suspect in the Olsen murder as soon as it was unsealed.

In fact, the government withheld evidence that two FBI agents had appeared on the scene the moment Butler had delivered the letter to Rice. The agents had called out to "Julio" by name as Butler left the scene, and had proceeded to threaten Rice with obstruction of justice if he did not turn

over the letter. According to the FBI, when Rice refused, the FBI immediately contacted his superiors in the LAPD (a year-and-a-half before the letter was allegedly opened) about the letter...

d) The taller of the two assailants never appeared at trial. The only mention of the taller assailant was made by Butler who testified that on the evening of the murder Pratt had visited Butler in the company of a taller man, "Tyrone," and stated that the two of them were going on a "mission."

In fact, the government withheld evidence that in 1971 the FBI had provided the state with details concerning the identity of the second suspect...

e) ...The government withheld evidence that the FBI had surveilled Petitioner's key alibi witness while she was going to a Panther meeting in Oakland the night of December 18, 1968; that the FBI had surveillance reports of Petitioner in Oakland on December 20, 1968; and that the FBI, with knowledge of the LAPD, had a wiretap and "radio" in the Los Angeles Panther headquarters during December, 1968....

V

Subsequent to his conviction, Petitioner learned that the FBI had admitted placing three spies in his defense camp during the trial. The spies had reported information to the FBI regarding defense concerns and strategies. At that same time the FBI was in constant contact with the state prosecution team through a liaison at the trial who was a member of the LAPD....

VI

Both the state and FBI knew the full significance of the information which was being withheld. The state was the

official prosecuting agency. The FBI, which was continually monitoring the case through an LAPD liaison at trial and through its spies, was aware of Petitioner's desire to find evidence attacking Butler's credibility and supporting Petitioner's alibi.

VII

Evidence not made available to defense counsel at the time of Petitioner's trial demonstrates that the FBI was deeply enmeshed in the state prosecution...

In addition, the FBI had an established working relationship with the prosecution's case investigator, Sgt. Ray Callahan of the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS). More generally, the FBI and the Intelligence and Criminal Conspiracy Sections of the LAPD exchanged information daily concerning the activities of local Black Panthers, especially leadership personnel like Petitioner, for the specific purpose of producing arrests and prosecutions of such individuals. The law enforcement bodies of the two governments were in the matter of the Los Angeles BPP, in the words of FBI Agent Swearingen, "as close as peas in a pod"....

VIII

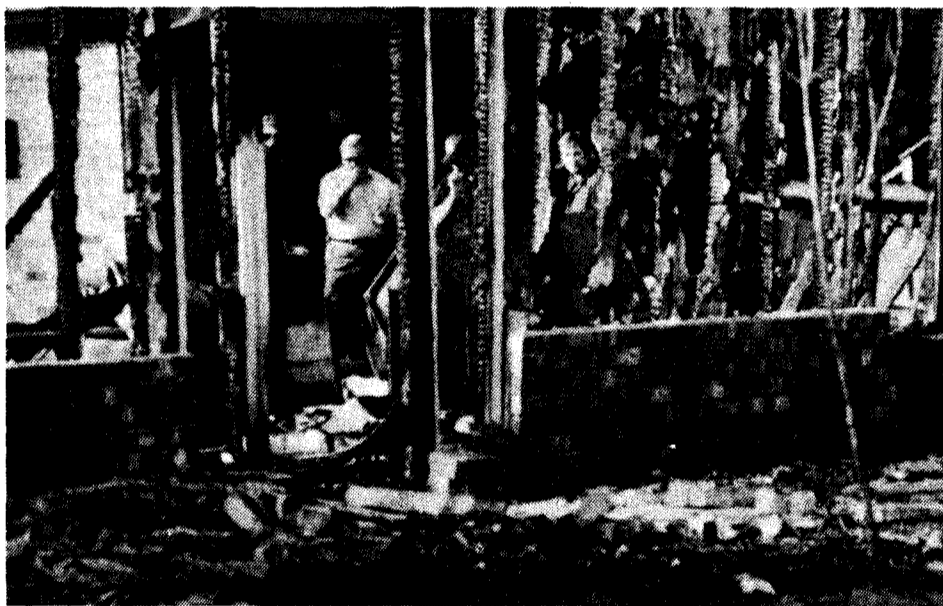
As detailed throughout paragraphs IV, V and VII, Petitioner was never provided any discovery and was never permitted an evidentiary hearing regarding any issue raised in his petition at any point in the state habeas corpus process. Petitioner is informed and believes, and thereupon alleges that such discovery and hearing would provide fuller and more detailed substantiation of all of his claims... ■

Abortion Clinics...

(continued from page 1)

telephone hookup. This is the first time that a president has ever addressed this annual ultra-reactionary mobilization. While cautioning against "violence," Reagan solidarized with the assembled bigots and urged that abortion be done away with for all time.

Late last month, the federal government served unprecedented official notice to abortion clinics that they could expect to be bombed between January 20-22. Sure enough, in the wake of the announcement by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agency, a rash of bomb threats was reported in the days leading up to the inauguration, including at clinics in Washington, D.C. and Huntsville, Alabama. Today in New York, noted abortion rights advocate Bill Baird held a press conference outside St. Patrick's Cathedral. "I've gotten threats all week long that I would be dead before the day is out," said Baird, who now has a private security guard accompanying him. Baird noted that the FBI's refusal to consider such attacks "terrorism" is a reflection of Reagan, who is "anti-woman, anti-abortion." Baird, who operates abortion clinics in Boston and Long Island, had earlier



McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic bombing, Christmas 1984.

announced he was posting armed guards around his facilities (*New York Times*, 12 January). Baird's clinic in Hempstead was firebombed six years ago, while 50 people were inside. Baird says he gave the FBI evidence in 1980 that clinic bombings were being planned at the National Right-to-Life Convention at Anaheim, California.

The wave of public outrage against FBI director William Webster's declaration that the clinic bombings don't constitute "terrorism," and perhaps the suggestion by Baird and a few others that abortion clinics might be undertaking measures of self-defense, seems finally to have got across to the government the idea that some of the self-righteous bomber bigots were going too far. On January 10, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms announced the arrest of three men charged with bombing seven abortion and family planning facilities in Washington, D.C., Maryland and Virginia, as well as allegedly planting a pipe bomb at an American Civil Liberties Union office in Washington.

Planned Parenthood head Faye Wattleton castigated Reagan's criticism of the anti-abortion violence as too little,

too late (*CNN News*, 22 January). Indeed the vicious "right to life" campaign with its terror-bomber fringe has been the leading edge of the rampant capitalist reaction of which Ronald Reagan is the keynoter. As the obscene inaugural carnival piously professes "Christian values" and the "American way" while record numbers of the destitute and homeless starve and freeze in inner-city hellholes across the face of one of the richest nations on earth, desperate women along with blacks and minorities and strikers and "reds" find themselves high up on the hit list. Last May in Birmingham, Alabama, a man forced his way into the Women's Medical Clinic and smashed up the surgery rooms with a sledgehammer. A Roman Catholic priest was charged with the assault. In Everett, Washington, clinic patients for months ran a sidewalk gauntlet of protesters who videotaped them and took down their cars' license numbers. As many as 700 silent callers jammed the phones by day, and the clinic was finally closed last April after three arson attacks in five months.

The Christmas bombers of three abortion centers in Pensacola, Florida, said this was "a gift to Jesus on his

birthday." John Burt, a Pensacola anti-abortion fanatic who operates "Our Father's House," a home for pregnant women, called the bombers "heroes." Burt brags of his activities in the Ku Klux Klan's anti-integration violence in St. Augustine, Florida 20 years ago. "I was a very bigoted young man," said Burt, "I was convinced that integration was a Communist conspiracy to take over the U.S.A." (*New York Times*, 18 January). He hasn't changed much.

The feminist National Organization for Women has been organizing vigils to pressure the FBI to act against the clinic bombers. This is a fatuous perspective. We salute courageous supporters of women's rights like Bill Baird who raise the urgent question of self-defense. To put the fear of god into these "god-fearing" anti-abortion terrorists will take integrated working-class defense guards protecting women's legal right to free, safe abortions. The Spartacist League, which has been in the forefront of mass militant mobilizations in defense of blacks and minorities, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and all the oppressed against Klan and Nazi provocation, stands ready to assist in the self-defense of abortion clinics. We fight for a revolutionary labor movement which will fully champion the struggles of all the oppressed against the arrogant capitalist reaction which today targets fundamental rights of women. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

L.A. Hearing on COINTELPRO Frame-Up of Black Panther

Geronimo Pratt: "I'm Going to Expose the Truth"

From Our Correspondent

LOS ANGELES, January 21—A new hearing into the racist frame-up of imprisoned Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt opened today in Los Angeles federal court. Pratt has been fighting for years to have his case reopened on grounds of proven evidence of a murderous COINTELPRO conspiracy against him. The new hearing was finally ordered last fall after retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen of the L.A. office came forward to say straight out: "Pratt was set up."

In court today Swearingen testified, "I remember seeing documents when the wiretaps began and ended on four telephones at Panther headquarters." The FBI wiretaps demonstrate that Pratt was in Oakland attending a Panther meeting at the time of the murder of Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica, for which the black militant was framed up. The wiretap logs from that critical period in December 1968

are mysteriously missing from the huge volumes in the FBI's Los Angeles office. Swearingen testified that this was the first and only time he could remember that logs were missing in his 25 years work for the FBI.

At the hearing, Pratt's defense team will present before Judge John R. Kronenberg evidence exposing the conspiracy between the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department to "get" Pratt and the Black Panthers, orchestrated at the highest levels of government. Swearingen was questioned on the stand by former California liberal Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey, who is now working actively with the Pratt defense. Geronimo Pratt was brought into court in handcuffs and wearing prison garb. Sitting quietly at the defense table he exuded the dignity and determination that has made his struggle a symbol of resistance to racist oppression.

America's foremost class-war prisoner, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, the former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader, has been incarcerated 15 years for a murder he did not commit. We reprint below sections of Pratt's "Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus" which expose the history of sinister cover-ups and COINTELPRO dirty tricks against Pratt.

The Petition states that in 1970 the FBI issued written orders that Pratt be "neutralized," part of the racist capitalist state's infamous COINTELPRO campaign to wipe out Panther leaders across the country. This was after Pratt had survived a murder attempt by hundreds of L.A. cops who staged a Gestapo-style raid on the L.A. Panther headquarters on 8 December 1969, four days after Chicago cops murdered

Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in their beds. It was Ed Meese, then California governor Reagan's special assistant for "law enforcement" and now his U.S. attorney general-designate, who oversaw the state's efforts to disrupt the Panthers.

Railroaded into jail where he still languishes, Geronimo Pratt was forced to suffer six years of solitary confinement in an effort to break him. But far from breaking, this courageous black militant has pursued every avenue open to him to expose the state's frame-up and win his freedom—even refusing attempts to get parole which would require an admission of guilt on his part—and stood fast to the cause of black liberation.

Pratt's ordeal in California's courts and prisons is an object lesson in the

brutal, racist American "justice" system. The state prosecutors and FBI worked hand in hand to convict Pratt, withholding several key pieces of evidence in his favor. The only eyewitness to the murder, the victim's husband, Kenneth Olsen, had positively identified another man as the "shorter assailant" and then perjured himself in denying this at the trial. Another key witness was the despicable FBI informer Julio Butler, an ex-cop who had infiltrated the L.A. Panther organization. Butler also lied at the trial, denying that he had acted as an FBI informant, while, as Pratt's Petition states, Butler met repeatedly with the FBI between the time of the murder and the trial. And the FBI suppressed surveillance and phone tap reports proving that Pratt was at an Oakland Panther meeting on the night of the L.A. murder.

The legal bases for Pratt's defense are that the state violated due process in withholding evidence which would have cleared him of the murder charge; that the FBI violated the Sixth Amendment right to counsel by placing three spies in the defense camp during the trial; and that the state knowingly presented false testimony which helped convict him. Pratt is the victim of an obvious frame-up. But under racist bourgeois "democracy" this doesn't count for beans. Pratt went through the appeal procedure to the California Court of Appeals, only to have his appeal denied in February 1974. He also sought a state writ of habeas corpus, which was rejected by the California Supreme Court without a hearing. Now Pratt is trying again, in federal court, with new evidence. But the facts of this frame-up have been clear from the beginning.

Pratt's Petition gives an extraordinary view of the mechanics of the government's bloody COINTELPRO vendetta against him. In fact, the new hearing gives Pratt's lawyers an ex-

tremely important opportunity to subpoena and cross-examine for the first time cops and agents involved in the COINTELPRO program of disruption and murder. Now that the Reagan administration is refurbishing COINTELPRO tactics and the Meese nomination is sailing through the Senate, it is all the more urgent for defenders of democratic rights to back the struggle of this valiant fighter for black freedom. Free Geronimo Pratt!

Excerpts from Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus by a Person in State Custody

III

The case which the prosecution had presented to the jury principally consisted of the testimony of three witnesses, and three pieces of physical evidence:

a) Kenneth Olsen, the sole eyewitness to the crime, identified Petitioner as the shorter of the two assailants. Olsen had first identified Petitioner in a photo display which was held approximately two (2) years after the murder. There were sixteen pictures in the display. Only Petitioner appeared in two of the pictures. Only Petitioner was photographed wearing a safari-type jacket such as was worn by the shorter of the two assailants.

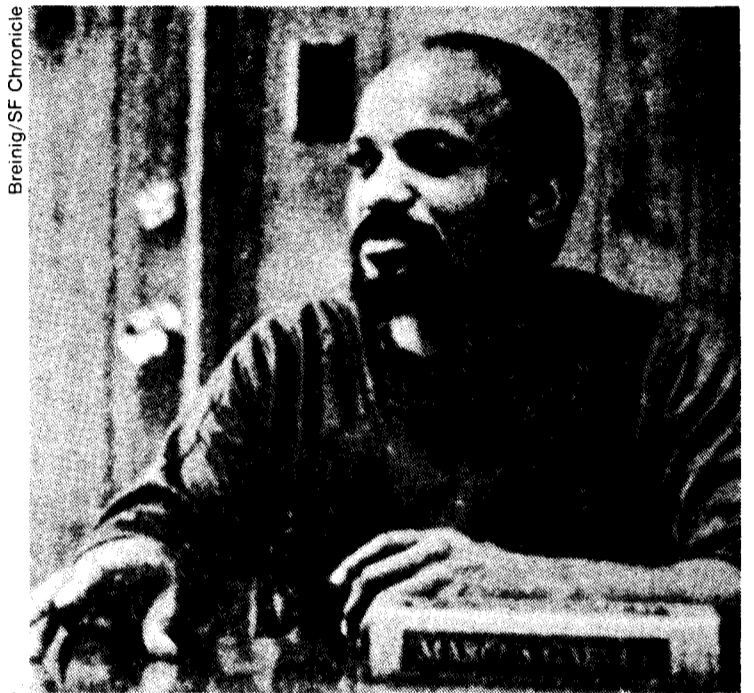
b) Julio "Julius" Butler, a former Black Panther Party (BPP) member who had been a Los Angeles Sheriff until the early 1960's, testified that Petitioner (also a Panther member) had confessed committing the crime to Butler the day after the murder....

d) The murder weapon was found during a raid of the home of a Black Panther member in early 1969. Petitioner had been arrested outside the home at the time of the raid. Petitioner did not

continued on page 11



LAPD staged massive "search and destroy" operation against local Black Panther Party headquarters, 8 December 1969.



Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!