Smash the Imperialist War Drive!

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

Defend the Soviet Union! Oust the Kremlin Bureaucracy—Forward to Lenin's Program!

January 7—When Ronald Reagan talks about “disarmament,” the Russians better reach for their SS-20s. Reagan has opposed every U.S./Soviet arms control agreement to date. He has doubled Pentagon spending over the last four years, and launched the United States on a $1.5 trillion high-tech arms buildup. In December 1983, the U.S. unilaterally escalated the arms race by stationing Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe, threatening the Soviets with nuclear “decapitation” in eight minutes. He threatens to militarize outer space under the guise of the “Star Wars” plan known in Pentagonese as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). And now Reagan wants to “negotiate” reductions in (Soviet) land-based missiles while giving a free rein to (American) space weapons, while “investigating” invented Soviet “violations” of the SALT II treaty the Americans refused to ratify!

To lure the Kremlin to the bargaining table, last fall Washington proposed “umbrella talks” covering strategic nuclear arms, intermediate range missiles and space weapons. But on the eve of the “talk about talks” which opened in Geneva today, White House officials leaked word that Secretary of State Shultz was instructed to “spurn any Soviet proposal to negotiate limits” on space weapons (New York Times, 3 January). The SDI is “not a bargaining chip” Reagan’s national security adviser Robert McFarlane announced. No wonder Soviet leader Chernenko complained bitterly about U.S. “deception” and warned that “Star Wars” plans urged by militarist forces could create an “irreversible situation.” Foreign minister Gromyko must feel pretty foolish sitting there negotiating about nothing with the gang that vows to destroy the Soviet “evil empire” with their “ET” laser weapons.

Adding insult to injury, the U.S. put together a “peace” delegation to Geneva which is about as interested in disarmament as Adolf Hitler. Virtually all of them (including Shultz) are members of the ultraright Committee on the Present Danger, the cabal which helped torpedo the 1979 SALT II agreement. “Arms control” negotiator Nitze practically invented the arms race back in 1950 when he discovered the mythical “bomber gap” (followed a decade later by the equally nonexistent “missile gap”). Kenneth Adelman had trouble getting confirmed as head of the arms control and disarmament agency in 1983 because he wouldn’t even label the effects of nuclear war “horrible.”

While the Reaganites are playing on the Kremlin’s yearning for “detente,” U.S. war plans are going ahead full steam. SDI, they tell us, is just “research” at this point, and who can oppose scientific advance, especially for “defensive” weapons. Yet the Pentagon provocatively announces it will launch a militarized space shuttle flight this month, and plans to test an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon in the spring. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy is running “exercises” right up against the Soviets’ most vital military areas as part of a “forward strategy.” And NATO has just adopted an ominous doctrine of the offensive, for “deep strikes” inside the Soviet bloc in a European conflict. Liberal critics complain that it all doesn’t “make sense,” that it’s not “necessary” for American defense. But the Reaganauts aren’t interested in defense; they’re going for the Big One—a nuclear first strike against the Soviets.

It’s very good of the Russians to talk to the Americans. But they should be telling Reagan: “You want star wars? We’ll give you galactic wars! We asked you not to deploy your missiles eight minutes from Moscow, but you did it anyway. So screw your treaties. For decades you’ve been trying to drive the Soviet Union to economic ruin with an unbridled arms race. Now the shoe is on the other foot. Go ahead, make our day—develop your “Star Wars” and “Star Wars II”! But in the meantime, the U.S. is going to do everything it can to bankrupt the Soviet Union, then turn to the most dangerous military buildups of all: on the planet Mars and the moon. Only the armed forces will bathe in the public’s blood and sweat for the benefit of the ultraright, while the rest of us will be left to clean up the mess.
Kurdish Workers in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958-59

1 November 1984

To the editor:
The Spartacist greetings to a recent Kurdish conference in Central Europe ("For a Social Republic of United Kurdistan.") Woring address: No. 362, 14 September 1984) state: "While the Iranian Kurdish workers, more or less, are working out of the national regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity, the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora." This may well be true today due to the policy of "Arabization" of Kurdistan conducted by Iraq's Ba'athist regime. According to the book People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan (1980), edited by Gerard Chaliand, more than 200,000 Kurds have been removed from the strateigal oil region of Iraqi Kurdistan. Historically this was not always the case, however. Communist-led Kurdish workers con-

centrated in these oil fields played a vital, if contradictory, role in the revolutionary period following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958.

Iraq, like most of the states of the Near East, is an artificial creation of the post-World War I imperialist partition of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Ottoman Empire, Iraq was divided between the vilayet (administrative division) of Mosul and Baghdad. Upon the collapse of the empire, the vilayets of Baghdad and Mosul both attempted to control this region which is rich in petroleum. The British tried to protectate something resembling a viable economy. Until recently Kirkuk was the heart of the Iraqi Kurdish Communist Party, which though small was the most important Marxist-Leninist political party in the country. As Uriel Dann wrote in Under Qassem (1969): "The thousands of oil workers, at the oil installations, in the city's commercial and middle class and government quarters, made up the class-consciousness of the proletariat."

Barzma fields in the south, during the late 1970s Kirkuk continued to supply more than 70 percent of the country's petroleum output.

Around the oil fields of Kirkuk there developed a militant, Communist-led proletariat that was in its majority Kurdish. As Urie Dinn wrote in Iraq Under Qassem (1969): "The thousands of workers at the oil installations, the majority of whom were Kurds, had nurtured a local communist branch with a fighting record unrivaled in Iraq." However, this Kurdish working class was recruited directly from the agrarian and nomadic background people who were (and still are) governed by feudal and tribal rulers and custom. Although the workers, as a whole, were conscious of the class consciousness of this proletariat was rudimentary. As the July 1959 Kirkuk massacre demonstrated.

July 1958: Baghdad masses hail downfall of British-backed monarchy.

ed, membership in the Iraqi Communist Party, which was at best equivocal about Kurdish self-determination, was little to Kirkuk Kurds from nationalism.

The ICP was not only the most proletarian of the Stalinist parties in the Near East, it always had a large number of members from national and ethnic minorities who played an important and often leading role in the life of the party. In the period up to the 1958 revolution, Kurdish Communists spearheaded a party of a party decimated and driven underground by the savage repression of the 1940s. Hanna Batatu, in her exhaustive study, The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq (1978), notes that during 1949-55 every general secretary of the ICP was Kurdish, as was nearly one third of its central committee, and the party was run from Kirkuk rather than Baghdad.

This period was marked by a significant rise of class and national struggle, fueled by the infamous U.S.-backed, anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact between Britain, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. While resented by all sections of the region's oppressed, for uniting the principal enemies of the region, this grossly partisan policy was particularly hated by them. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's generous treatment of its own oppressed minority and its support of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iran after World War II gave an enormous prestige in Kurdistan, so that in the 1950s even Kurdish nationalist parties claimed to be "Marxist-

Leninist." Thus the entire Kurdish nation and especially its urban working class enthusiastically welcomed the 1958 revolution, which was made as much against the Baghdad Pact as against the corrupt, decrupt and repressive British-backed monarchy. The unstable bourgeois-democratic government of General Qassem, leader of the 1958 revolution, sought at first to consolidate its rule by relying on the ICP, which though small was the unchallenged leader of the Iraqi working class, both Arab and Kurdish. Instead of pursuing this rich opportunity for proletarian revolution, the ICP subordinated itself to Qassem through the "United National Front" with these bourgeois parties (soon joined by the Kurdish nationalists). The betrayal of the Iraqi revolution was ordered directly by the Kremlin, in the name of cementing the "Spirit of Camp David" with Eisenhower (whose answer to the 1958 revolution was to land 10,000 Marines on the coast of Lebanon). Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher noted at the time: "Khrushchev refused to countenance a communist upheaval in Baghdad, afraid that this would provoke renewed Western interventions in the Eastern Mediterranean, set the Middle East aflame, and wreck his policy of peaceful coexistence.

The contradictory role of the Communist-led Kurdish proletariat in this period was demonstrated by the events in Mosul of March 1959 and the Kirkuk massacre in October of that year. At the time of the 1959 revolution, the regime of "pan-Arab" unity with Nasser and the classical secular modern land reform created an unholy alliance between the old reactionary classes and the Nasserites, who plotted a grandiose revolution to replace the monarchy. The coup was to begin with an army revolt in Mosul. Anticipating this revolt, the ICP called a mass rally from all over Iraq, 250,000 youth, many armed, flocked to Mosul. The ICP was able to unite Kurd and Arab soldiers against their officers; the poor laborers of the Muslim Arab quarter were agitated by Turkish and Armenian workers who swept in from the countryside. The coup was suppressed, and the popularity and revolutionary opportunity of the ICP grew to its height.

This makes the Kirkuk massacre of July 11, 1959, all the more tragic. In the aftermath of the 1958 revolution the ICP concentrated in its hands control of many of the most important organs of the workers, and even army garrisons. The largely Kurdish ICP branch in Kirkuk used this control to organize a celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution into an intercommunal bloc that included the Turkomans who made up much of the city's commercial and middle classes. Under one of the central committee plenums called to deal with the consequences of the Kirkuk massa-

cre, Qassem: "The real leadership membership was forced to condemn "the dragging of bodies, torture of detainees, looting and terrorism on the rights and liberties of citizens."

The Kirkuk massacre was a tragic turning point for the ICP and the Iraqi working class. It generated an enormous erosion of support for the ICP and Qassem used it as a pretext for increased anti-Communist repression. The revolutionary opportunity was squandered, and with it the opportunity to forge a national socialist front with the Kurdish proletariat. Leadership of the oppressed Kurdish toilers reverted to sheiks, religious leaders, both secular and religious, as the subsequent Kurdish national revolution devolved. For that reason, by multitudes of Kurds throughout the Near East, in defense of feudal relations in the countryside as it was against the Arab chauvinism of Baghdad. In March of that year the Kirkuk proletariat of this divided nation, carved up by four oppressive capitalist states, lost a unique opportunity to be the vanguard of social emancipation, not only for the rest of Kurdistan, but for the entire Near East.

Comradely, Reuben Samuels

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Black Panther Behind Bars Since 1969

Free Geronimo Pratt!

America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Los Angeles Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, has been behind bars for 15 years for a crime he did not commit. He was coerced from the hellhole of six years of solitary confinement, Pratt vigorously pursued every available avenue of legal protest. With Pratt in jail, the FBI/LAPD/COINTELPRO frame-up of which he was a victim fighting for his freedom. Now, Hear11's Wes-"Swearingen, formerly of the Los Angeles office, has come forward to say something. "Pratt was set up" (See WV No. 366, 9 November 1984). On January 21, U.S. District Court magistrate John R. Kronenberg held a new evidentiary hearing in L.A. regarding this racist frame-up.

The racist imperialists American state first tried to murder Pratt on 8 December 1969 in a pre-dawn raid and massive bombardment by hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos on the Los Angeles Panther headquarters where he lived. Only days earlier a similar FBI/cop raid in Chicago murdered Black Panther militiamen Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds. The state then tried to silence and criminalize Pratt in words and bars. But Pratt remains unbowed and committed to the principles of black freedom. The silence has been on the part of the fake-leftists who once courted the Panthers in the heyday of 1960s radicalism. Pratt's cause must be made a vital issue for all working people, the oppressed and every genuine defender of democratic rights. We reprise below a statement by black socialist and Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Andrews.

Here are a few words about Geronimo Pratt, a Black Panther Party member in prison for over a decade. In the early 1970s I attended Pratt's trial, including the day the FBI COINTELPRO conspirators obtained their conviction. Pratt's trial was overcome by anyone who had the slightest interest in justice. I remember at the time how the prosecuting attorney did his damndest to whip up a Southern-style lynch mob atmosphere against Pratt in particular and the Panthers in general. It did not matter that Pratt did not murder the Santa Monica schoolteacher, that one witness's description of "two light-skinned blacks had been seen in the area" could not possibly have been Pratt, that solid evidence was amassed by Pratt's attorneys to show that he was in the Bay Area at the time—none of this murder and had not mattered.

The racist capitalist rulers were busily orchestrating one of this country's most violent, racist, terrorist vendettas to wipe out the Panthers. And in Pratt's trial capitalism's human refuse was paraded in court, including one Julie (Butler, an FBI informant who lied about it at the trial), who claimed that Pratt had "undermined" U.S. policy in South Africa. The bourgeois state determined to get Pratt and to "teach" active, surviving black militants a lesson or two. This was painful to watch because in the courtroom the racist cops were numerous, happy and smiled a lot, while Pratt's supporters were few. I thought then, "Why is it that the left abandoned Pratt and the Panthers? Why?"

I can't describe for comrades how much joy I felt a few years ago we took up the fight for Pratt's freedom. This was so long overdue, and we brought Pratt's case to the attention of the American and international working class through our organ, the Workers Vanguard. You see, this was sort of personal, because I knew that this could have happened to me. As was the case throughout the trial, Pratt's defender suggested that he knew what the class enemy had in store for him. It was clear to his friends as well as his enemies that he stood for revolution in the belly of the beast.

The working class must give its all in securing the immediate release of Geronimo Pratt. America's foremost class-war prisoner, who has been rotting, suffering and wasting away in the bourgeois's jail for 15 years for the "crime" of being a fighter for black liberation, although lacking the necessary revolutionary program to secure it. It is our task to champion his freedom, to bring it to the attention of the working class for the purpose of militant action leading to the release of Geronimo Pratt.

Asylum for South African Militant!

The Reagan administration is trying to deport black Howard University student Thembekile "Twiggs" Enoch Xiphu, a determined fighter against racist apartheid, to the dungeons and torture chambers of South Africa. Twiggs has been an active member of the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa (BUCMA) for over a decade, having joined Steve Biko's South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1973. In his hometown of Port Elizabeth, Twiggs was a leader of student resistance to apartheid. Following the Soweto rebellion and student strikes in Port Elizabeth, and one month after Biko was murdered by South African security police, in October 1977 Twiggs was seized by the cops (including one of Biko's murderers). He was held incommunicado and in solitary under South Africa's draconian National Security Laws, and taken daily for interrogation and torture to the very building where Biko was murdered.

Twiggs was released in December, 1977 but subjected to close surveillance until his arrival in neighboring Botswana in June 1978. In January 1979 he came to the United States as a refugee scholar-student delegate to Howard University, where he continued his anti-apartheid activity as chairman of Students for a Revolutionary U.S. and a founder of the South African Students Committee (SASCO). Last September Twiggs chaired a united-front anti-apartheid protest at the South African embassy which SASCO, BCMA and the Spartacus Youth League helped organize and which also included representatives from the Pan-African Congress of Azania (PCA), the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) and the Howard University Student Association. Following his arrival, the Naturalization Service authorities have continuously denied Twiggs' requests for political asylum; they have tried to deport him, even before he finishes his studies, back to racist South Africa to its Botswana client state where refugees from apartheid terror are routinely kidnaped or murdered.

The following telegram was sent January 2 by the Partisan Defense Committee:

Richard R. Spurlock
District Director, Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.
Naturalization Service
Baltimore, MD

Halt proceedings to deport Thembekile Enoch Xiphu to racist South Africa where he faces imprisonment, torture and murder at hands of blood-drenched apartheid regime and grant this fighter for black freedom and human dignity political asylum.

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Partisan Defense Committee

Striking miners up against "Iron Lady" Thatcher's despised Tory regime are now in the tenth month of their battle. It is a fight in which the workers of the world have a big stake. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is hanging tough, despite massive police violence and Thatcher's "hear them back to the mines" attitude. The NUM is making an attempt to provoke urgently needed international labor solidarity and financial assistance. The United Steelworkers Union has launched a $25,000 "aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive.

The PDC campaign aims to raise the bulk of contributions from the American trade-union movement; the PDC has contributed $5,000 itself and is assuming all administrative costs. As one union official in Washington, D.C. put it when he learned of the fund-raising efforts: "If Thatcher gets away with it, it'll be that much easier for Reagan and his union-busting." A member of the Spartacist League/Britain, comrade Eibhlin, spoke to numerous unionists in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area, giving eyewitness accounts of the strike in Britain and urging that the labor movement here dig deep for the miners. In addition to contributions from the NYC Transport Workers Union Local 100, individual members of the TWU and Tunnelworkers Local 147 have given hundreds of dollars. In Canada, the PDC assisted a miner from B.C. Colliery, Northumberland in appealing to United Auto Workers Local 303 near Toronto which voted to send $100 to the Bates Hardship Fund and to continue the same donation each month until the end of the strike.

After their two-month strike in San Francisco, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 passed the hat for the British miners and collected over $200, most of it at the local's Christmas party. Denver also contributed to AFSCME Local 2477 in Washington, D.C., UFCW District 442 in Atlanta, AFSCME Local 5 in Boulder, Communications Workers of America Local 4309 in Cleveland and AFSCME Local 2733 in Ann Arbor. A PDC social in Boston, attended by a number of workers of Irish ancestry who have special hatred for the British rulers, was able to raise nearly $300 in an evening.

Since the initiation of the fund-raising campaign, WV readers have donated generously. As Reagan prepares his second inauguration with a call for non-union entertainers to perform gratis—a trivial but symbolic provocation and insult to the labor movement—his British counterpart is hell-bent on smashing the courageous miners. All of labor must be hell-bent on seeing the miners win. As comrade Eibhlin put it: "It really is in the interest of every trade unionist of no matter what country to make sure that this type of union of miners is protected and that a way is found to keep going down the way that PATCO went." Victory to the British miners' strike!

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.
How the FBI Tried to Get Us Kicked Out of the SWP

COINTELPRO “Dirty Tricks”

Only in 1971 when anti-Vietnam War protesters like [deleted] and [deleted] filed a suit in federal court in Pennsylvania were the first documents on the FBI’s decades-long COINTELPRO disruption program within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brought to light. Among these extensive operations were the Bureau’s efforts to exacerbate factional divisions within the SWP, to castigate that party’s leadership, and to foment the expulsion in 1963 of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), the predecessor of the Spartacist League. In response to our requests for files under the Freedom of Information Act, the FBI never acknowledged the existence of these COINTELPRO documents. We obtained copies of these files by purchasing them from the SWP during that organization’s suit against the FBI.

This is one piece among many of our party’s files which have been reproduced in a perverse fashion in the files of the secret police. As Marxists, we understand that we will never get the real story of what the FBI has done to us until the victorious proletarian revolution liberates the documentation. But in uncovering issues of WT, we look forward to examining for our readers the tip of the FBI “counterintelligence” iceberg, which has been glimpsed in the ultra-expurgated materials which we have. Such material should be given to all opponents of the capitalist spy agencies’ witchhunting assaults on democratic rights, and to the many people, ranging from the parents of SLP members to the lawyer supporters of various of our opponents, who have just become aware on the recent successful settlement of our landmark suit against the current FBI, “Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines” (see “FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists,” WTV No. 386, 7 December 1984).

We begin by considering the FBI’s disruption campaign against the SWP’s Revolutionary Tendency in the early 1960s. Poisonous letters were sent to the SWP’s New York office, itself into the internal political disputes of the SWP. Substituting Castroism and vicious character assassination for revolutionary Trotskyism, the SWP slid rightward on a course which would and did ultimately finish it as a Trotskyist party. At the beginning of May an anonymous “FBI forgers at work” letter was sent by the FBI to the New York office, attacking the two factional groups within the SWP, and the SWP leadership, in the death of liberal pacifism and nationalist separatism fell to the Spartacists. In pursuing that task, we became a target both for the SWP leadership, in the throns of centrist degeneration, and for the spies of the imperialist state.

We publish below some appropriate excerpts from the files of the FBI’s “Counterintelligence Program” (COINTELPRO): 17 April 1962

SWP Disruption Program
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

“This program was initiated by Butlet 10/2/61 [letter from Bureau headquarters]... for the purpose of causing disruption within the SWP and making public the awareness of the true nature of the SWP.”

28 March 1963

Director to New York:

“The suggestion of the Detroit Office that anonymous letters be mailed to the two factional groups within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been considered. It is felt that such anonymous letters would not have the desired over-all effect that is sought in operations to disrupt the SWP.

In the event any information of a

FBI Forgers at Work

In early April 1964 the FBI sent the Spartacist group a letter purporting to come from a “Spartacist Insider,” in which the FBI forgers was published in Spartacist No. 2 (along with other letters, like the one from the SWP). The letter was sent after the FBI learned that the SWP had sent an anonymous letter to the SWP membership, which had been circulated among the RT members. The letter was sent after the FBI learned that the SWP had sent an anonymous letter to the SWP membership, which had been circulated among the RT members.

New York, N.Y.

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I saw “Spartacist” and it opened my eyes. I’m too busy to get involved, but I remember that there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn...

Comradely,

The Insider

The FBI also succeeded in the early sixties in planting a number of such malicious slanders in the bourgeois press, defaming black SWP leaders and candidates for public office. The failure of the SWP to attain influence in the Negro civil rights movement may be in part attributable to disruptive activities taken by the New York Office.”

regards,

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Which

As Marxists, we understand that we will never get the real story of what the FBI has done to us until the victorious proletarian revolution liberates the documentation. But in uncovering issues of WT, we look forward to examining for our readers the tip of the FBI “counterintelligence” iceberg, which has been glimpsed in the ultra-expurgated materials which we have. Such material should be given to all opponents of the capitalist spy agencies’ witchhunting assaults on democratic rights, and to the many people, ranging from the parents of SLP members to the lawyer supporters of various of our opponents, who have just become aware on the recent successful settlement of our landmark suit against the current FBI, “Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines” (see “FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists,” WTV No. 386, 7 December 1984).

We begin by considering the FBI’s disruption campaign against the SWP’s Revolutionary Tendency in the early 1960s. Poisonous letters were sent to the SWP’s New York office, itself into the internal political disputes of the SWP. Substituting Castroism and vicious character assassination for revolutionary Trotskyism, the SWP slid rightward on a course which would and did ultimately finish it as a Trotskyist party. At the beginning of May an anonymous “FBI forgers at work” letter was sent by the FBI to the New York office, attacking the two factional groups within the SWP, and the SWP leadership, in the death of liberal pacifism and nationalist separatism fell to the Spartacists. In pursuing that task, we became a target both for the SWP leadership, in the throns of centrist degeneration, and for the spies of the imperialist state.

We publish below some appropriate excerpts from the files of the FBI’s “Counterintelligence Program” (COINTELPRO):

17 April 1962

SWP Disruption Program
From [deleted] to [deleted]:

“This program was initiated by Butlet 10/2/61 [letter from Bureau headquarters]... for the purpose of causing disruption within the SWP and making public the awareness of the true nature of the SWP.”

28 March 1963

Director to New York:

“The suggestion of the Detroit Office that anonymous letters be mailed to the two factional groups within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been considered. It is felt that such anonymous letters would not have the desired over-all effect that is sought in operations to disrupt the SWP.

In the event any information of a

FBI Forgers at Work

In early April 1964 the FBI sent the Spartacist group a letter purporting to come from a “Spartacist Insider,” in which the FBI forgers was published in Spartacist No. 2 (along with other letters, like the one from the SWP). The letter was sent after the FBI learned that the SWP had sent an anonymous letter to the SWP membership, which had been circulated among the RT members. The letter was sent after the FBI learned that the SWP had sent an anonymous letter to the SWP membership, which had been circulated among the RT members.
New York to Director:

"There is one question, however, as to how widespread we could expect the disruption to be in the SWP if a few minority members receive an anonymous mailing. Based on past experience, no communication is apt to cause any of these individuals to renounce Trotskyism—most of the most that could be expected would be to exacerbate the already raw nerves exposed when one faction clashes with the other."

"Upon serious consideration the New York Office (NYO) has concluded that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority with which he would have been sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect."

"The NYO considers that an anonymous letter to SWP headquarters as suggested in relet [referred letter] might be more effective since it would get to the core of minority leadership, those in a position to take serious action. With the goal of engendering a split in the Party, a letter such as the following might be sent to FARELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the Party, who is the person in charge of dealing with dissident members:"

"Dear FARELL DOBBS,

"As one who left the Party in the ‘big split’ of 1935, please let me tell you what a laugh I get over the ‘uneasy alliance of the leaders’ (March 1964). I have recently learned that Tim WOLFORTH, a candidate for the post of Loc. Sec. of the New York Local, is also a member of the minority of 10 years ago. The Cochairmen were forced out of the Party because they had a different point of view and exchanged a few of those with Pablo. This was supposed to rid the SWP of ‘unprincipled wreckers.’ No where are we today in the Party confronting the question of getting shoved around by a minority group. I think this is sad. Our Party doesn’t compete with the knowledge, and yes, principle of CLARKE, Cochairmen and their minority of 1935…. FARELL, I am glad I am out. I look forward to laughing on the outside next time I meet my new minority ‘friends’ and hear more about your troubles."

"An Old TIMER"

16 May 1963

From [deleted to [deleted]]

"This letter is to prompt Dobbs to deal harshly with the minority faction during the convention with the definite possibility that the minority faction would be driven out of the SWP."

17 May 1963

Director to New York:

"Authority granted to anonymously mail the communication to FARELL DOBBS. Every SWP member should be taken to insure that the Bureau does not become known as responsible for this communication."

31 March 1964

New York to Director:

"One phase of the NYO SWP Disruption Program has been to use the factional developments in the Party as a means of demoting the leadership and demoralizing the membership….

"The NYO then sent an anonymous letter charging the leadership for accepting from this minority what others had been expelled for in the past. Following this, an administrative action was taken which culminated in the expulsion of five faction leaders….

"This was to have a major disruptive effect on the SWP. Within the Party, there are rumblings of discontent in several local leaders for the SWP because of the ‘undeniably’ expulsions. On the other hand, the expelled faction leader, JAMES ROBERTSON, has brought the struggle to public notice. He has issued a publication, ‘Spartacist,’ bitter denunciations regarding the utilization of such a letter by mailing Xerox copies of the letter to the Bureau. The SWP leadership chiding them for tolerating this minority faction because other leaders had been expelled in the past for less censurable activities. This inference of weakness is believed to have undermined the leadership's confidence in itself….

"The SWP leadership has been compelled to back off of its characterization that the Spartacist League is a ‘terrorist’ group. This is because the FBI has itself incapable of seeing this as a real terrorist activity when it is not going on right under its nose."

"A capturing the current wave of (so-called) twenty-five arson and bombing attacks directed against abortion clinics. According to the December 5, 1963 Los Angeles Times, FBI Director William H. Webster has decided that these attacks do not fall within the FBI’s definition of ‘terrorism.’ Thus, the FBI has decided that these attacks do not warrant priority attention."

"Nevertheless, the fact that the FBI has been compelled to back off of its characterization that the Spartacist League is not ‘terrorists’ will serve to deter the FBI and other law enforcement agencies from making irresponsible accusations about the left."

"We sincerely hope that your lawsuit will serve to deter the FBI and other law enforcement agencies from making irresponsible accusations about the nature and work of political organizations."

Sincerely yours,

John W. Roberts Executive Director, Civil Rights Union of Massachusetts

Marxists Are Not Criminals

Congratulations!

The Spartacist League’s legal victory against the Attorney General and FBI is an important victory for everyone who defends democratic rights. As a long-time supporter of the socialist cause I am proud of the fact that the FBI is compelled to concede that Marxism does not equal “violence,” “terrorism” or a criminal enterprise.

James Weinstein
Editor, In These Times

America’s Supported Terrorism

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has no business putting labels on political organizations. This is because the FBI has itself incapable of seeing this as a real terrorist activity when it is not going on right under its nose. A capturing the current wave of (so-called) twenty-five arson and bombing attacks directed against abortion clinics. According to the December 5, 1963 Los Angeles Times, FBI Director William H. Webster has decided that these attacks do not fall within the FBI’s definition of “terrorism.” Thus, the FBI has decided that these attacks do not warrant priority attention. Nevertheless, the fact that the FBI has been compelled to back off of its characterization that the Spartacist League is not “terrorists” will serve to deter the FBI and other law enforcement agencies from making irresponsible accusations about the left.

We sincerely hope that your lawsuit will serve to deter the FBI and other law enforcement agencies from making irresponsible accusations about the nature and work of political organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Hampton
Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors

A Blow Against Racism and Oppression

Congratulations to the Spartacist League for this victory. This is a victory for all those people who are fighting against racism, class and sexism, and more struggles of this sort will have to be continued to be won.

John George
Lawyer of murdered Panther leader

First Amendment Rights

The victory won by the Spartacist League is important not only for it but for all persons who believe in the Constitution of the United States. I congratulate the Spartacists and hope that it will help the fight of all individuals and organizations to maintain their full first amendment rights.

Ben Morales
Attorney

11 JANUARY 1965
Abortion Clinics: It's Violent, but Why Not? (Los Angeles Times, 27 November 1984)

Already at least one clinic has closed as a result of an attack, while the National Abortion Federation has been operating out of a make-shift office since July, when its Washington offices were bombed. Meanwhile, International Planned Parenthood, the world's largest private birth control organization, has announced a 30 percent cut in its budget due to the withdrawal of $17 million by the American government. The Reagan administration declared last summer that it will no longer fund any organization which performs or actively promotes abortions. Inevitably, this loss of funding will lead to more unwanted pregnancies, more back-alley butchers.

In the recent period Congress has passed legislation denying federal employee coverage for abortions under their medical insurance plans; this legislation applies to the entire federal workforce of hundreds of thousands, including all the underpaid women clerical workers and armed forces personnel and their families. Medicaid recipients cannot use Medicaid for abortion, and Congress means they simply can't afford them.

It's no surprise to Marxists that the feds won't do anything to stop attacks on women's rights. The NARAL pro-choice committees don't get anywhere with their pleas to federal law enforcement officials. Mondale and Ferraro, Cold War hawks whose only response to this reactionary barrage is to ask us questions about "choice" while condemning abortions—as if the millions of ghetto women who have wanted abortions have any. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the Hyde Amendment was passed, which prohibited federal funds for abortions under Medicaid was passed, while he coldly told poor women that they had to end their lives in that life that are not fair.

In the feminist movement as a whole has bought the Moral Majority answer that the only thing that's going to stop the violence is abortion on demand and free, quality health care for women. dynamited, firebombed, 'devastated'... 

The rhetoric of intolerance at the top continues to foam at the mouth against alley butchers. On whose hands will be the end of the women, whose only response to this reactionary barrage is to ask us questions about "choice" while condemning abortions—and as if the millions of ghetto women who have wanted abortions have any. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the Hyde Amendment was passed, which prohibited federal funds for abortions under Medicaid was passed, while he coldly told poor women that they had to end their lives in that life that are not fair.

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Ever since the Soviet Red Army moved into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, the U.S. ruling class has portrayed that just mission against CIA-backed feudalists as “Russia’s Vietnam.” The imperialists wishfully hoped the USSR would become involved in an endless no-win war that would drain its defenses and open up the formerly Muslim area of Soviet Central Asia to Islamic counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. But it’s clear five years later that the Red Army has put the reactionary mujahedeen (Islamic tribalist warlords) on the run. Moreover, the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and other Central Asian troops who make up a large portion of the Soviet force, far from being attracted to the Koran and the chador (veil), correctly see themselves as liberators of the oppressed Afghans. Even so-called Red Army “deserters” (soldiers captured by rightist guerrillas) from “carpet bombing” to “free-fire zones.” (Interestingly, this time around they didn’t have much to say about “yellow rain,” the CIA’s pet strategy. Instead, in countless newspaper articles, TV specials and “human rights” reports, the Soviet army was accused of every atrocity committed by America’s military. Tribal chieftains and landowners. The armed might of the Red Army poses the possibility of the Bolshevik Revolution as well. The Spartacist League welcomed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the slogan: “Hail Red Army!” As we wrote in Spartacist No. 29 (Summer 1980): “For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet Army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic, anti-peasant and landowner war. The Soviet troops are not fighting one of the reactionary resistance. But there is no Afghan “nation” and there never has been. The petty-bourgeois nationalist People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in 1978 amidst an incredibly backward society with virtually no industry (not a single mile of railroad track, for example) and a multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority. The Red Army’s arrival in December 1979 meant that, as we wrote, “the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun!” (“Hail Red Army!” 1974 No. 247, 11 January 1980). The troops were originally sent in to bolster the beleaguered PDPA regime, whose moderate reforms had outrun the meager social forces available in the country to institute them. (There was no Afghan proletariat to speak of.) To talk today about “self-determination for Afghanistan” is to condemn the Afghan masses, particularly women draped head to toe in heavy muslin, to a barbarous existence under the mullahs, tribal khans and landowners. The armed might of the Red Army poses the possibility of Afghanistan achieving not only the social gains of the bourgeois French Revolution, but of the proletarian Bolshevist Revolution as well.

Mopping Up Feudalist Reaction

Over a year ago the imperialists were forced to admit that, for all intents and purposes, the Soviet/PDPA forces had won the civil war. An article by New York Times military “expert” Drew Middleton (26 December 1983) reportd that the reconstituted Afghan army, originally plagued by desertions, was carrying out the bulk of the fighting against the imperialist-armed guerrillas, and that so more frequently

one Soviet division was involved in combat. The Soviets were in control of all the population centers and had managed to close off the Wakhlan corridor in the northeast, through which China had been sending arms for the rebels. The Red Army had averaged only an estimated 1,000 deaths per year, overwhelmingly from disease rather than combat.

During 1984 the Soviets scored a major advance in convincing up what remained of the reactionary resistance. Several successful offensives were mounted against mujahedeen pockets in the interior of the country, most importantly driving the U.S.-backed guerrillas out of the Panjsher Valley north of Kabul. Reports in the Western press portraying a downtrodden populace universally despising the “Russian invader” are belied by such things as the effective intelligence network the Kabul government has managed to build. One French journalist who traveled with the rebels moaned, “In some northern areas, no one had had a meal in a small village for the night than it was bombed or rocketed. They seemed to know where we were.” (Newweek, 3 December 1984). And the Chicago Tribune (16 November 1984) quoted one official as saying “The war has been deadlocked up until now, but we are beginning to lose the population…. If the U.S. continues, we may eventually lose the war because there will be nowhere for the Mujahedeen to hide.”

The Soviets warn against uncritically accepting reports emanating from Peshawar and New Delhi about rightist and Soviet atrocities (like the carpetbombing of crops!). Here’s a rule of thumb concerning the claims of Soviet, casualties inflicted by an Afghan tribal chief: throw out 95 percent of them as patently false, and divide the rest by a hundred the number of wives he has.

Even before Reagan jacked up American aid to the mujahideen in 1985, the Soviet-backed social revolutionaries, they were getting more than $1 million per day in military goods from the U.S. and West Germany to Arabia, Israel, Germany and Japan. Yet they had barely scratched the Soviet armor. Indeed, when the ten or so guerrilla groups weren’t busy blowing each other away, they were carrying out random terrorist attacks on the Afghan population itself. These neanderthals love to scalp a Red Army officer when they get the chance, but more frequently

their targets are the civilians who frequent hotels, bars, theaters, airports, and any public place where the Soviets want to be seen to be “self-determining” by teaching little girls to read! These supposed “freedom fighters” have done a better job in the last five years and killed hundreds of teachers in the name of Ronald Reagan’s “free world.”

Another French journalist, Jacques Abouchar, traveled into Afghanistan last year with a band of rebels. When Abouchar was captured by the Red Army, the imperialists erupted in indignation. Yet when the Soviets freed Abouchar, the New York Times (24 November 1984) denounced this act as a “deception of Afghan statehood”!

continued on page 10
U.S.-Anti-Soviet Provocations

Drumbeats of War

It takes more than weapons to make war, and ever since coming into office the Reagan administration has worked hard at whupping up anti-Soviet war fever. Their favorite tactic is to provoke a response which could lead to war. One way they have done this is by announcing a cruise missile deployment in Okinawa.

The plan substance can be seen in the recent news reports that the Defense Department is pushing hard to get approval to deploy cruise missiles in the Pacific. The U.S. has plans to deploy cruise missiles as part of a three-pronged strategy to counteract Soviet strategic forces.

The strategy includes deploying cruise missiles in the Pacific and the Western Hemisphere, and using them as a part of a larger nuclear arsenal. The Defense Department has been working on this plan for several years, and has been attempting to get approval from Congress to move forward with it.

The plan is seen as a way to counteract the perceived threat from the Soviet military buildup, which has been growing in recent years. The plan is also seen as a way to boost the U.S. nuclear deterrent, which has been under pressure in recent years due to the increasing number of Soviet forces.

The deployment of cruise missiles in the Pacific is seen as a way to target potential Soviet targets, including China and Cuba. The U.S. has been working to improve its relations with these countries in recent years, and the deployment of cruise missiles is seen as a way to show the U.S. military presence in the region.

In the meantime, the U.S. is continuing to work on its strategic nuclear forces, which are seen as a key component of the nation's nuclear deterrent. The U.S. is also working to improve its capabilities in other areas, including missile defense and cyberwarfare.

In conclusion, the deployment of cruise missiles in the Pacific is seen as a way to counteract the perceived threat from the Soviet military buildup, and to boost the U.S. nuclear deterrent. The U.S. is also working to improve its capabilities in other areas, including missile defense and cyberwarfare.

War Plans...

(continued from page 1)

schemes like crazy, and we'll develop out at 110 miles per hour or the cost. You threaten surgical strikes against Nicaragua if they get MIGs! Oh, sure, but why did something you want to get to the countries where you stationed Pershings. It can be anything.

The imperialists will never disarm, just as they have never accepted the elimination of capital. The entire world is to blame. But the Stalinist bureaucrats' piqued as of convincing the imperialists to beat their swords into plowshares represent a grave danger to the remaining legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet Union has indeed survived until 1984, but faced with imperialist madmen who seriously discuss the possibility of Armageddon in their lifetime, the only way to secure the gains of Bobo to extend the revolution throughout the world. Defend the workers states through proletarian perspective, and replace the imperialists with those out of the Kremlin—Forward to the program of Lenin! The imperialists are more than a little nervous about Reagan's scripts, it is because they fear their countries are the theater in which the trigger-happy cowboy in the White House plans his spectacular last round-up. For now they seek to expand counterrevolution by "peaceful" means, undermining the Soviet bloc from within as our attacks to end the status quo of a divided Europe. The Trotskyists fight for a revolutionary realignment of forces for a united front against the Soviet Socialist United States of All Europe.

Socialist America, the organizing center of the anti-war Soviet war drive, is the number one enemy of the working and oppressed peoples of the United States as in Europe, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Solidarity with South African blacks fighting apartheid, with Central American workers and peasants facing the threat of the invasion of the United States. Their plans are for a "limited nuclear exchange" but faced with imperialist forces, their schemes are worthless. The strategy doesn't work.

The late Soviet defense minister Omin Ustinov, their warheads while in flight. Among the publicized weapons under development are space-based lasers, particle-beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail guns" flying on orbiting battle stations. The technical problem is that nobody can come up with a method to guarantee that their second strike could penetrate the defense of hundreds of missiles during the short (three minutes or less) boost phase. The problem is multiplied in the mid-course and descent phases when thousands of warheads and decoys have separated from their missiles. The Soviets would have numerous, and relatively inexpensive, countermeasures available, such as putting reflective coatings on their missiles, multiplying the number of decoys, and creating a "racket" of only 1 percent in the shield would mean the failure of the whole system, since it only takes a few nuclear warheads to devastate a country. And the scheme doesn't even take into consideration the threat from the "proactive" low-flying Sidewinders and other missiles. The cost of launching sufficient numbers of battle stations would be eleven to twelve billion dollars.

As an umbrella against surprise attack, "Star Wars" is truly a hig-

hazardous system, untried and untested, impotent and obsolete. But virtually every reputable scientist who has looked into its "behavior" on "Star Wars" extremely dangerous and destructive. Soviet leaders are bound to see such weapons as a first-strike threat.

Thus the scheme would destabilize the current rough balance of terror by vastly encouraging the U.S. to strike first. Simply to defend themselves, the Soviets would be forced to accelerate their production and deployment of defensive missiles in order to guarantee that their second strike could penetrate the U.S. BMD arsenal. And they will have to develop their own ASAT weapons, add to their satellites and other satellites. In a period of changing political climate the pressure to launch a pre-emptive strike would be ever increasing. The Soviets face pressure to "use them or lose them."

In practice, though, the only aspect of ballistic missile defense systems which appears to be within reach of present technology is the limited defense in the terminal phase. "Star Wars" is becoming strikingly similar to the early 1970s ABM system. "There are no decisive intermediate steps which have interme-
da-utility. The Undersecretary of Defense for Health, Education and Welfare, in a statement, said: "The U.S. military is working on a 'sensible' system, one which will be judged on its ability to stop enemy missiles."

Weinberger has said that indeed the U.S. might have a "transitional phase" in the Gulf of Fonseca off Nicaragua or the Sea of Okhotsk or whatever. The terrorist provocateurs are entrenched in the centers of power in the White House and the Pentagon. We say: U.S. hands off the world!
invoking point of defense of U.S. missile sites. However, the 1972 ABM treaty sharply limited the number of ballistic missile defense clusters to two each for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This was a tacit admission on both sides of the futility and danger of ABM defense. Now the Pentagon has decided that ABM defense may have to be "revised"—in other words, broken as even the New York Times (12 Dec. 1984) admits.tted.

Space Shuttle Provocation

No war plans are complete without muzzling the press, and the Reagan administration threw down the gauntlet in mid-December when the Defense Department provocatively announced that the next shuttle mission scheduled for January 23 would contain a "secret" military payload, and anyone who even speculated about its content would be subject to a Pentagon investigation. This was clearly no way to keep a secret, and indeed when the Washington Post broke the whole thing open it merely stated what everyone who followed the subject had already figured out. Surprise, a new SSTI (signals intelligence) spy satellite was to be sent into geo-synchronous orbit placing it in a military position above western Russia.

With 30 secret military missions already scheduled for the next five years, the Pentagon's purpose was to get the press to keep its mouth shut. And, of course, to shut down the Reaganites. Even the Post emphasized that it deliberately withheld some details for "national security" reasons, which didn't save it from being denounced by Weinberger for giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." However, a Post editorial (5 Jan. 1985) called for "shuttle" trials for the press. Indeed, the administration is trying to establish legal precedents for prosecuting journalists under espionage laws. The test case is the Justice Department's prosecution of the former front-page reporter Samuel Loring Morison, grandson of the famed naval historian, for providing a reconstructed chronology of a photograph of a Soviet aircraft carrier to Jane's Defence Weekly, a house organ of Western intelligence agencies, of which he is the American editor.

"Why won't they muzzles the press: the media had uncovered a gigantic hoax. The public had been led to believe that the Pentagon was unlike "evil" Soviet space missions, is intended for purely peaceful, scientific purposes. But now, even the New York Times, in the middle of an article about the "secret" military payload, casually mentions the "miracle" space "buy, whose dimensions were specifically designed for military missions." The name of the ship is "Trojan"-a word that highlights how the Pentagon's enormous space budget enabled it to take over the whole scientific world. A New York Times article (5 Nov. 1984) was even more sensational, reporting that the Pentagon apparently has a plan for a space "troop"—one of the many mili-"tary space representatives of the "troop"—one of the many military space representatives of the Soviet Union. Only a few days later, a report in The New York Times called for a secret military satellite photo to be taken of the Soviet Union.

Anti-Soviet Madman in the White House

Quite a few establishment figures and even some of Reagan's staunchest defence ministers now worry about his nuclear forces. However, the "Roberts Plan" that the Reagan Administration is putting forward for first use of nuclear weapons, "ET," "Star Wars," "Air-Land," and the Reagan regime's nuclear policy is the distilled essence of Silicon Valley, Orange County and the Pentagon, concocted by an aging YAF dressed up like Darth Vader in a video games parlor. Half of the fabled U.S. "enemies" are "terrorists" (the Pershings which regularly miss their targets, the Sergeant York gun systems, the Patriot surface-to-air missile systems. The AIDS nuke system which can hit some targets that the Soviets think they don't exist. No one buys the administration's pretense that it is talking about defense. What worries rational imperialists, however, is not that Reagan wants war but that he may screw it up and lose badly.

Some of the more responsible statesmen, like veteran diplomat George F. Kennan, for instance, aren't afraid that Reagan might blow up the world. In a column titled "World War II; I, II, III, IV..." (New York Times, 11 November 1984), Kennan recalled that the first imperialist world slaughter was pre-planned to win the "...new vainglorious dreams of total war which culminated in the total victory that was supposed to make all old wars unnecessary."

And we of this age: How about us?"

This from the famous "Mr. X," the architect of the anti-Soviet Cold War. Let no one forget that Kennan's co-authors McNamara and Bundy were the war criminals who ordered the "(conven­ tional)" slaughter of millions of IIndochinese. In reality, the nuclear "recovery movement" led by Democratic "doves" like Senator Edward Kennedy, is only a sicker plan to prepare the hyperpower to drive toward war on the Soviet Union. The money saved, wrote Senators Kennedy and Hatfield in their book, Fire and Ice (1982), could be spent "to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces." As in the Roberts Plan?

From KAL 007 to Geneva

In order to foak off the blame for shamming the 1972 FRMG, the Reaganites, with a cynicism rivalling Goebbels, have invented a list of supposed Soviet violations. Top on their list is the unfinished phased-array radar located at Abukalova (near Karabok) in the Soviet Union. Top on the list are the US/UK/FRG, who have not been overly optimistic about the upcoming Geneva talks. Communist Party general secretary Chernenko (who called for "radical" arms reductions, Broada commented pessimistically in its New York Times (16 March 1985) that. "We have no illusions," Unfortunately, the history of the Stalinist bureaucracy shows an over-ambitious desire for "peaceful coexistence," "detente" and other code words for achieving a live-and-let-live deal with the imperialists. Indeed, the US government is using the new space program to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces. This is the Roberts Plan.

No "preemptive strike" will help the strategic situation in the Persian Gulf, either. The Pentagon is going to send its fleet, its 1.6 million tons of war, its nuclear submarines, to the Persian Gulf in a strategic provocation, to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces. This is the Roberts Plan.

"The prestige of disarmament" has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of confrontation has cost the United States—up to now only on paper—to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that weapon, and to shift the question of disarmament is one of the United States and the Soviets, in which the new wars are being prepared. It should be noted also that the distinction between defensive and offensive weapons is artificial. American policy is dictated in this area by the very fact that two American military, the most terrible of all.... Petit-bourgeois pacifism, when it is the question of the 70 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the "trend" towards the end of the 70s is more dangerous than all the explosives and bombs in the world."

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitulation of the imperialists or the arms limitation, the revolutionary太平洋 of all the imperialists, whose hands are the weapons? Any device in the hands of the enemy is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against the weak nations, against the weak nations. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of repelling the threat of oppression and of preparing the revolution."

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1912)
Red Army Mops Up... (continued from page 7)

Apparatchiks and Red warmongers would have preferred that Abochuk's story remain locked up in Kabul. When he got back to Moscow he claimed he was not between the Afghan Communists and the ayatollahs, the former having attempted to expel members solely “on the basis of opinions” for the first time in its history. Kihss indicated the political basis for the expulsions, quoting the first issue of Spartacist attacking the SWP for “surrender of all Marxist principles.” (On another point, the protagonist of this story was not a journalist but a member of the SWP.)

The Times (30 December 1984) obituary was a retrospective of Kihss’s career covering almost half a century. “He was, by every standard of American journalism, an ideal reporter,” wrote Robert McFadden, noting his thoroughness, tenacity and objectivity, as well as the speed and grace of his prose. McFadden recorded the true story that Kihss literally picked up Mayor Fiorello La Guardia from the City Hall steps for asking embarrassing questions. He remembered that Kihss faced down a hostile crowd of racists when he was covering the enrollment of the first black student at the University of Alabama. He didn’t have much to say about Kihss’s activities as an active member of the New York Worker’s Guild, though. Kihss’s retirement notice noted that during the 1950s McCarthy period he had authored two big stories on the “Communist and Nazi” beat. And A.J. Liebling in his collection of essays on The Press (1975) contrasts Kihss’s factual reporting on the Alger Hiss case to the sensation-mongering of his editors at the New York Herald Tribune.

We didn’t know Peter Kihss well, but on the occasions when we intersected, we found his reporting accurate and intelligent. Kihss wrote a substantial story about the Salvadoran military (“22 March 1984”) on the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency, predecessor of the Spartacist League, from the Socialist Workers Party. Based on an interview with Spartacist editor James Roberts, he noted that the SWP stood preferable... The men of the principal resistance movement... are religious fanatics. They send a shiver down the spine” (quoted in the Nation, 15 December 1984).

Soviets are preparing to mops up... (continued from page 7)

Soviet intervention is pulling Afghanistan into the 20th century. Schools are being built. More than a million Afghans have been taught to read and write. Thousands of youth are being given a chance to study in universities. Mineral deposits of copper and uranium have been discovered and are being opened up for development. A key index of social progress is the position of women—women who are being liberated from the ‘chador,’ educated and slowly integrated into the workforce. Last summer a reporter for India Today (31 July 1984) encountered five 15-year-old girls, armed with rifles and belonging to “civilian self-defense” groups. Kihss wrote an ominous editorial denouncing “those who call for the expulsion of the faction that organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialists’ allegiances.”

The house organ of American finance capital warned, “Anyone seeking a delegation of the leaders’ fronting for Washington should be aware of just how serious an attack is being launched against them and that they persist in this ‘very dirty business’—they should not be allowed to do it easily.”

Kihss covered the Solidarnosc press conference, and stopped to observe our demonstration. The New York Times, 15 December 1984—Peter Kihss had expressed dissatisfaction for "resorting to force for implementation of anything to the left of the mainstream". When we ran into him at another event, he apologized again, adding "I don't think the policy of not covering demonstrations is your problem."
Slogan spray-painted on FDR Drive. In racist America, vigilantism targets blacks.

power of the nulls. Now the standard of living in the cities of Soviet Central Asia is reportedly higher than in Moscow!

Contrary to imperialist propaganda, the Afghanistam intervention has broad popular support in the Soviet Union itself. The New York Times (3 December 1984) reported:

"it is clear that the war is not resulting in the domestic backlash that has been reported in the United States. In talks with people around Moscow, however, one finds a general consensus that it is..."

A Moscow novelist said: "We see how poor the Afghans are, how dirty ..."

A Moscow newspaper said: "We see how poor the Afghans are, how dirty ..."

The bourgeois’ response to crime is to...
Ronald Reagan's election was supposed to be a celebration of the "New Patriotism," new confidence in "American standing tall," wherever anybody can make it big who just has the will to do it. But coming on top of the deepest depression since the 1930s, there is an undertow of fear and despair in the country focused on the ghettos of America's inner cities. Here is the utter hopelessness of a generation of minority youth who, with black unemployment even in the present "recovery" still running over 40 percent, are condemned to a life in these mean streets, trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty, drugs and crime. In this deeply race-divided society, the ghetto is also the focus of the fears and fantasies of the white population which feels preyed upon by a menacing criminal underworld. The New York subway is one of the flashpoints of intersection.

In the absence of any mobilization for social struggle, the desperation of black youth has produced a wave of teen-age crime around the country. In Detroit, even with a vicious anti-youth curfew and police riding roughshod on the streets and in the schools, more than 220 kids were shot in street violence during 1984. In Chicago, where 133 youth were killed last year in gang-related violence, there's been an outcry for "more cops" and police riding roughshod on the streets. Ghetto residents are the most frequent victims of the mugger. Driven by the sort of fear that is familiar way system....